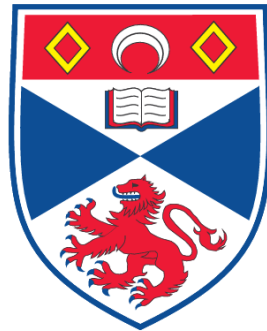# STUDIES IN TWO TRANSMISSIONS OF THE QUR'AN

Adrian Alan Brockett

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews

1985

University of St. Andrews

Department of Arabic Studies

STUDIES IN
TWO TRANSMISSIONS
OF
THE QUR'ĀN

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Adrian Alan Brockett

1984

I dedicate this thesis to

to Susan, Fiona and Andrew,
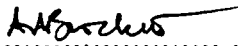
and to my Mother, John and Margaret.

DECLARATION

I HEREBY DECLARE that this thesis has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not previously been submitted for any other degree.

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance no.12 in October 1981, and as a candidate for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY on the 28th. April, 1982; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the UNIVERSITY OF ST.ANDREWS between 1981 and 1984.

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I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY of the UNIVERSITY OF ST.ANDREWS and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for that degree.
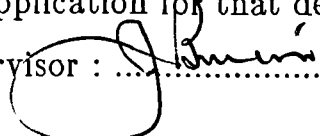
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PREFACE

§ 1 *TRANSLITERATION*

DISTINCTIONS between Qur'ān readings can be fine and are sometimes a matter of subtle differences in the archaic orthography of the Qur'ān, so in order to write about them in English, it is necessary to have a precise system of transliteration. Since, moreover, the vocal form of the Qur'ān was not originally indicated in writing, it is useful to have a system which can highlight, where necessary, which elements are vocal and which are graphic. (The term 'vocal form', with respect to the Qur'ān, is used throughout to signify the consonantal skeleton fully fleshed out with diacritical marks, vowels, and so on. The term 'graphic form' refers to the bare consonantal skeleton).

But such a precise system is not needed for Arabic from outwith the Qur'ān, so the transliteration in this thesis is of two kinds, the first a simple, straightforward kind for general use, and the second a more detailed one specifically for words from the Qur'ān. Both follow the system for transliterating consonants employed in the third English edition of Wehr's Dictionary, except for the character $\underline{k}$ which is here rendered χ, or, in capital, X. When Qur'ān citations appear in other works, they are transliterated as they are cited. The reader is advised that the extra conventions in the more detailed transliteration might take time to get to know. Their purpose is simply to enable the fineness of detail causing some readings to differ from others to be shown. There is therefore little need for the reader to try to assimilate them all, and this section can be quickly read.

Quotations of transliterated Arabic from other Western works are usually changed to the simple, straightforward system, except in book-titles, where the particular author's own system is adhered to. Old-fash-

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ioned spelling-systems and terminology are usually modernised, e.g. Muhammad for "Mahomet" and Muslim for "Mahometan".

Quotations from Arabic works are transliterated with assimilation and selected end-vowels. When not within a quotation, proper names, technical terms and, again, book-titles, are cited without assimilation or end-vowels, thus al–Tabarī rather than at–Tabarī, *al–lām lil–ta'līl*, rather than *al–lāmu lit–ta'līli*, and *al–Kaššāf* rather than *al–Kaššāfu*, and so on.

The extra conventions for transliterating words from the Qur'ān are as follows, subscript or lower letters in general indicating graphic forms unrealised vocally, and superscript or upper letters in general indicating vocal forms unrealised graphically.

1   A wavy line above a consonant has been used to indicate that it is vocal, that is, not part of the graphic form. This mainly occurs with the vowel-consonant *alif* and with *hamza*, as in *ir–rahmãni*, *was–sãbi'ũna* (*5: 69*), but also with the vowel-consonants *wāw* and *yā'*, and with *nūn*, as in *dāwũda* (e.g. *4:163*), *'ĩlãfihim* (*106: 2*), *nuñji* (*21: 88*). When the vowel-consonants are graphic, the usual macron is used, as in *ir–rahīmi*.

2   A graphic long vowel with extra vocal prolongation is indicated by a wavy line above a macron, as in *it–tãmmahᵗu* (*79: 34*), *qurũ'in* (*2:228*), *sĩ'a* (e.g. *11:77*), and a vocal long vowel with extra prolongation is indicated by a double wavy line, as in *ta'wīlahũ 'illa* (*3: 7*), *lã yastahyĩ 'an* (*2: 26*), *'uₒlã'ika* (e.g. *2: 5*).

3   A subscript zero, as in the preceding example, *'uₒlã'ika*, indicates a graphic consonant not realised vocally, most frequently *alif al–wiqāya*, e. g. *qālũₒ*, *'imru'unₒ* (*4:176*). This is the convention used in the 1342 Cairo text, except there it is superscript. Graphic long vowels which are invariably shortened before *hamzat al–wasl* have not been transcribed and nor have *hamzat al–wasl* itself, or the *alif* indicating the accusative, as in *'ila r–rasūli*, (*5: 83*), *fi l–qisāsi* (*2:179*), *illa l–lahu* (*3: 7*), *nuñji l–mu'minīna* (*21: 88*), *firãsan* (*2: 22*).

4   A subscript italic "o" indicates a graphic *alif* realised vocally in pause, but not otherwise, as in *kānat qawārīraₒ qawārīraₒ min fiddahᵗin* (*76: 15,16* in the 1342 Cairo text), where the first *qawārīraₒ* is a case in point, while the second is an instance of the preceding category. Again, the convention in the 1342 Cairo text is superscript.

5   *hā' al-ta'nīt* (*tā' marbūṭa*) followed by a vowel is h^t, as in the preceding example. Compare *ni'mata l-lahi* (*5: 11*) with *ni'mah^{t}a l-lahi* (*5: 20*).

6   *wāw-alif* and *yā'-alif*, that is, vocal $\tilde{alif}$s written over graphic *wāw* and *yā'*, are written $\overset{a}{w}$ and $\overset{a}{y}$ respectively, as in *aṣ-sal$\overset{\tilde{a}}{w}h^tu$*, *at-tawr$\overset{\tilde{a}}{y}h^tu$* (e.g. *3: 3*), *bil-hud$\overset{\tilde{a}}{y}$* (*2: 16*). The last is in fact *alif maqṣūra* with a dagger-*alif*. When this has an added *madda* it is indicated by a double wavy line, e.g. *astaw$\overset{\tilde{\tilde{a}}}{y}$ 'il$^{\tilde{a}}_{y}$* (*2: 29*). The character $\overset{a}{y}$ indicates simple *alif maqṣūra* in defined words and particles, as in *mūs^a_y*, *'il^a_y*, and the character $\overset{an}{y}$ indicates it in undefined words, as in *hud$^{an}_y$* (*2: 2*).

7   *Hamzat al-qaṭ'* is transliterated as follows.

7.1   When it is without a seat, it is transliterated $\tilde{\text{'}}$.

7.2   When initial (see § 4.6 on p.9 below), and seated in, on or under an alif, that is, *alif-hamza*, it is transliterated simply by an inverted comma, as in *'unzila* (*2: 4*), *wabil-'aχirah^{t}i* (*2: 4*), *fa'in* (*2: 24*), *'īlā fihim* (*106: 2*). In *3: 15* it is preceded by an interrogative *alif-hamza* and so seated in fact on a *wāw* – *'a'unabbi'ukum*.

7.3   When it is medial or final, and vowelless, seated and preceded by a vowel corresponding to its seat, that is, *a* before *alif-hamza*, *u* before *wāw-hamza* and *i* before *yā'-hamza*, it is again transliterated simply by an inverted comma, as in *faddā̃ra'tum* (*2: 72*, seated on *alif* in the Warš copy), *mu'minīna* (*2: 93*, seated on *wāw* in the 1342 Cairo text), *bi'samā* (*2: 93*, seated on *yā'* in the 1342 Cairo text), *yaša'* (*4:133*).

7.4   When it is medial, or final, but vowelled, the seat is indicated by a lower letter, as in *yu$_w$'ayyidu* (*3: 13* in the 1342 Cairo text, seated on *wāw*), *naba$_a$'in* (*6: 67*, under an *alif*), and *su$_y$'ila* (*2:108* in the 1342 Cairo text, seated on a *yā'*).

8   Complete assimilation of a consonant to a following one is indicated by a superscript letter, e. g. *naχluq^{k}kum^m min^m mā̃'in^m mahīnin$^{\rightarrow}$* (*77: 20*).

9   Partial assimilation of a consonant to a following one is indicated by a superscript arrow, e. g. *mahīnin$^{\rightarrow}$ faja'alnā̃hu* (*77: 20,21*), *šihābun$^{\rightarrow}$ ṭāqibun* (*37: 10*). These indications of assimilation, complete and partial, are often not transcribed when the word is cited on its own or when indication would be irrelevant.

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10 A bullet over the letters *w, a, y,* ' or *n,* for example, *yuẘāχidukum* (*2:225b*), indicates that they have a large black dot in one or other of the copies. Similarly, a circle over a letter indicates that the same is written over a letter, as in '*å'jamiyyun* (*41: 44* in some Ḥafṣ copies). The large black dot is used in the Warš copy to indicate partial deflection of the vowel *ā*, as well as that of the five consonants just mentioned, but only the consonantal usage has been transcribed. The matter is discussed in chapter 1, § 3.12 below.

§ 2 *REFERENCES AND CROSS-REFERENCES*

REFERENCES to the Qur'ān have a colon between the *sūra*-number and the *āya*-number, and are in small italic numerals, e. g. *2:106; 106: 2.* They are given according to the Kufan numbering employed in the 1342 Cairo text. In references to other works, when the relevant line of the page is noted, it is indicated by a full-stop, for instance, p.2.4 means page 2, line 4. Notes are indicated by "n.", for example, p.2 n.4. In the case of some Arabic works, a bound volume will have several parts each with its own pagination. With these the part, abbreviated to pt., is referred to, rather than the volume.

A book or article's full title and details of publication are given in the Bibliography. In the endnotes, no more than the author and/or a shortened title is usually given.

Cross-references to sections, subsections, and so on, of the same chapter, mention only the section-number, the subsection-number, and so on. Cross-references to sections, subsections, and so on, of another chapter mention the chapter. If reference is to be made here, for instance, to subsection 1 of section 4 below, it would be "see § 4.1". And the same if it is to be made from § 4.2. If it is to be made from another chapter it would be "see Preface, § 4.1". Where a number of pages intervene, the page of the cross-reference is also usually cited.

THE USEFULNESS of giving dates according to both the Muslim and Christian eras has often been thought outweighed by the distraction it causes. Dates are therefore nearly always A.H. when not specified otherwise. Where a date has, however, been given in duplicate, the order is A.H., A.D. When both dates are given by the source they are separated by an oblique, A.H./A.D., and when only the A.H. date is, the A.D. one has been calculated from Wüstenfeld-Mahler and is given in brackets, A.H. (A.D.) The exception to this is the Bibliography, where dates are A.D., although again A.H./A.D., or A.H. (A.D.), when in duplicate.

§ 4 *OTHER TERMS AND CONVENTIONS*

1 The word "Qur'ān" is used as both noun and adjective.

2 The word "reading" has been used for the Arabic "*qirā'a*" since, like the Arabic, it can imply either "reading out" or "reading into". The term "Qur'ān reading" is also often used, but the term "variant reading" unnecessarily restricts the Arabic and has been avoided as a translation of "*qirā'a*". The Qur'ān is just as much a source as a text.

3 The Arabic word "*mushaf*" has been rendered variously. In its general sense as "the collected Qur'ān", it has been rendered "text". On the one hand this word conveys sufficient physical connotations to contrast with "the uncollected Qur'ān", which has been rendered "source", and on the other it conveys fewer specifically written connotations than the words "document" or "codex". It is therefore more neutral regarding those *mushaf*s for which there exists no hard documentary evidence. In its particular sense of one physically existing edition or manuscript of the Qur'ān, "*mushaf*" has been rendered "copy". When editorial activity is implied, "*mushaf*" has been rendered "recension", but this only occurs with the "recension of 'Uṯmān". Occasionally, the word "text" is used in its meaning of the body of matter making up a book, but it is clear on these occasions that the word "*mushaf*" is not being meant. And finally, when a distinction is being drawn between written and oral texts, "*mushaf*" can be rendered "written text".

4 The word "Tradition" on its own, usually refers to the general concept of Muslim Tradition, Arabic "*sunna*". When qualified, for instance by

"written" or "oral", it can refer to Scripture, as in, "the oral Tradition of the Qur'ān". When the written Tradition of the Qur'ān (Arabic "χaṭṭ", "rasm" or "kitāba") is at issue the word "version" is at times also used. The regional styles of printed copies of the Qur'ān have also been termed "Traditions". The word "tradition", with lower-case t, usually indicates a specific report, Arabic "ḥadīṯ".

1   The word "transmission" is used for Arabic "riwāya", that is, a particular way of reading the Qur'ān. It conveys more oral connotations than "version", and less indication of having being begun by the person named than "Tradition".

2   The words "initial", "medial" and "final" refer to the positions of consonants within a word, not within a root. Particles orthographically part of a word are not in this respect considered to be a part of it. Thus the words "al-'asmā'a" (2:31), "bi'asmā'i" (2:31), "fa'amsikūhunna" (4: 15) and "'a'andartahum" (2:6), for instance, are all still considered to have initial hamzat al-qaṭ'. Positions of consonants within a root are specified by including the word "radical", as in "verbs final radical hamza", "nouns medial radical wāw", and the like.

3   A distinction has also been made between the terms "word" and "form" with respect to Arabic. "Word" refers to a noun, verb or particle, regardless of prefixes, suffixes and/or differences in case, whereas "form" refers to a particular realisation of a word, with prefixes, suffixes and/or differences in case. Nouns and verbs from the same root are considered different words.

4   An oblique sometimes separates a Qur'ān utterance given in duplicate, māliki/maliki, for instance. The first element is always that of the Ḥafṣ copy, and the second that of the Warš copy. For brevity, where both copies are identical, the utterance under discussion is only cited once and there is no oblique. Further, where the utterance contains more than one word, often only the differing elements words are obliqued.

Introduction

TWO TRANSMISSIONS of the Qur'ān can be found in printed copies today. One stems from Kufa and the other from Medina. They are more commonly called by the names of their respective second-century transmitters, Ḥafṣ and Warš.[1]

This thesis examines the relationship between these two transmissions, as exemplified in the first five *sūras*.[2]

The Ḥafṣ transmission is found in printed Qur'ān copies from all but West and North-West Africa, which employ the Warš transmission. The Ḥafṣ transmission is therefore the transmission found in the vast majority of printed copies of the Qur'ān, and printed copies of the Warš transmission are rare in comparison.[3]

There is no doubt that copies according to other transmissions have existed as well, but none has apparently been printed. The Basrans al–Xalīl and Sībawayhi, for instance, had texts that differed in places from both the Ḥafṣ and Warš transmissions.[4] And the existence of manuscripts according to the Basran reading-system of abū 'Amr by way of al–Dūrī has been testified in the Sudan this century.[5]

The Qur'ān according to this last transmission has in fact been printed at the head and side of the pages of editions of al–Zamaxšarī's commentary *al–Kaššāf*,[6] but these are not considered by Muslims as Qur'ān copies proper.[7] They are type-set and have occasional misprints,[8] and at times do not tally with data on the reading-system of abū 'Amr given in works on Qur'ān readings.[9]

Qur'ān copies according to transmissions such as these or others might therefore still exist in manuscript,[10] but would not readily be consultable. So it would be of use to document differences between those transmissions that actually are available in print.

On a general level, this provides a step towards a critical apparatus of the Qur'ān,[11] and on a more specific one, it provides the data for this thesis.

part one

The copies used for comparison

Chapter 1

THE ḤAFṢ COPY

THE ḤAFṢ COPY used as the basis for comparison is the 1402 Qatari text. It has "'inna hāda l-Qur'ān yahdī lillatī hiya 'aqwamu" (17: 9) on the spine, and is entitled "al-Qur'ān al-karīm" on the upper cover, and "al-Qur'ān al-karīm bir-rasm il-'Utmānī" on the title-page. It was printed by Matābi' Qatar al-Waṭaniyya in Doha on 1/8/1402 / 24/5/1982, at the expense of the Emir, Šayx Xalīfa ibn Ḥamd Āl Ṭānī. The printing was checked and supervised by the Committee of Religious Affairs in Qatar headed by Šayx 'Abdallah ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ansārī. It is the same facsimile as the one that was used for the Cairo text printed 7/12/1342 (10/7/1924), and is therefore in the hand of Šayχ al-Maqārī of the time, Muhammad "al-Ḥaddād" ibn 'Alī ibn Xalaf al-Ḥusaynī.[1]

It has 827 pages of text with 12 lines to the page, and the frame containing the text measures 18 x 11 cm.[2]

• From now on this 1402 Qatari text will be referred to simply as "the Ḥafṣ copy".

Taking the Cairo text printed 7/12/1342 (10/7/1924) (now more usually referred to as the "1342 Cairo text") as a basis is justified by its clarity and faultless accuracy. It is also the printed text generally thought by Western scholars to have had most official Muslim sanction. It was completed under the patronage of Fu'ād I of Egypt, who ruled from 1335/1917 to 1355/1936.

In contrast to previous copies, manuscript as well as printed, this 1342 Cairo text claimed to have made a break with the continuous written Tradition and to have gone back to the original text of the caliph 'Utmān.

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A generally more archaic orthography was the natural result. And far and away the largest element of this was that many *alifs*, that had become part of the graphic form through the process of transmission, were now returned to the vocal form.[3]

In certain careful manuscript-Traditions many of these vocal *alifs* had already in fact been indicated as such. They had been written in red, so it did not matter should they touch the black graphic form. But in black-and-white printing, as also in many careful manuscript-Traditions that did not use red for vocalisation, the majority of these vocal *alifs* were graphic.

None of this was considered to have been done, however, at the whim of contemporary Egyptian scholars, but according to the oral Tradition about the orthography of the Qur'ān. Unlike the actual written Tradition of manuscript-copies, which had been exposed to an on-going effect over fourteen centuries, and in various locations, this oral Tradition about the graphic form had begun to be preserved in writing since about the early third century A.H.[4] This would have been in large part due to the wide-spread availability of paper from this time on.[5]

Moreover, the record of this oral Tradition about the orthography of the Qur'ān over the preceding two and a quarter centuries is carefully documented in these written works, implying that the exposure to these centuries had no effect either. For the Egyptian scholars, therefore, the Tradition about the graphic form of the Qur'ān stretched right back to the times of the third caliph. The effect of time was, if possible, even less after the writing down of this oral Tradition, and so, that the written sources used by the Egyptian scholars date from the 5th century A.H. and later does not diminish their justification in using them. Whatever free rein had existed would have been well before even the first writing down.[6]

Fu'ād's time might be called the high point of the Egyptian Awakening, and he himself took a lively interest in the intellectual development of Egypt, encouraging, among other things, the reform of the Azhar.[7] However, the issuing of this Cairo text cannot at all be attributed solely to his initiative, or even patronage. For one thing, until 1927 the Azhar had been directly responsible to the king, and so the printing could hardly have been under any other auspices, and for another, work had begun on the text well beforehand, around 1907, during the rule of his nephew 'Abbās II Hilmī.[8]

The reason for producing the 1342 Cairo text, given in the colophon, was that Qur'ān copies for schools had previously mostly been imported

from abroad, and many of these had contained errors and so had had to be destroyed. This had led to the decision to produce a printed text in Egypt according to the 'Uṯmānic orthography.[9] This pedagogical motive would certainly have been a predominant one, as it would have been with the printing of the Qur'ān in Istanbul during the time of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II.[10] The Qur'ān, after all, is learnt by the children.[11] And only one of the five signatories to the 1342 Cairo text was not a teacher, the chief editor of al-Matba'a al-Amīriyya. Another, Ḥifnī Bey Nāsif (1856 – 1919) had been a distinguished student of al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afġānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh, and was the author of a number of textbooks used in Egyptian schools.[12]

But purposes of teaching would not have been the only impulse at work, and other, equally compelling, motives and factors may also be found. Cairo had gradually ousted Istanbul over the preceding decade as the foremost centre of Islam. This is epitomised by the way that in the early 20th. century, and especially after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the Ottoman office of Šayχ al-Islām declined steadily in influence and importance, and was completely replaced in 1924.[13] The calls for secularisation in Iran too had been growing louder since the example of Atatürk, notably those of the Constitutionalists. The secularisation here, however, did not go as far as in Turkey. Nonetheless, with the break-up of the Qājarī dynasty from 1906, the increasing encroachment of Bolshevik Russia after the First World War, and the coup d'état in 1921 by the modernist, and at that time pro-British, founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, all would have caused Egyptian Muslims to think that Iran was going the way of Turkey.[14] India too, a prolific producer of printed Qur'ān copies, was tainted by a long history of British rule and influence, extending even into the religious sphere.[15]

Hand in hand with such religious factors, there was the growth of Egyptian nationalist feeling, fostered by the British occupation (1299-1340 / 1882-1922). This may have contributed to the need for an Egyptian copy rather than a Turkish, Iranian or Indian one. Part of the complaint against earlier copies was that they were imported from abroad. The use of the printing-press in Egypt was also rapidly growing. The press at Būlāq had begun working in 1822, and copies of the Qur'ān furnished with al-Zamax-šarī's commentary had indeed been printed there since at least 1864.[16] But the turn of the 19th. century A.D. saw an unprecedented growth of printing activity. The Society for the Revival of Arabic Literature (Jam'iyyat Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya), for instance, was founded in Egypt in 1318 (1900) under Muḥammad 'Abduh.[17] This society greatly increased the number of works in print. Again, one of the tenets of the movement stemming from

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Muhammad 'Abduh was that Islam was not irreconcilable with modern civilisation,[18] and the 1342 Cairo text certainly employed the latest printing technology.

Another factor would have been the steady reform of the Azhar since 1872. In 1896 to know half the Qur'ān by heart became an entry-requirement, and in 1921 the whole Qur'ān.[19]

The influence of Western scholarship might also be discerned in one feature of the 1342 Cairo text, namely, the stress on the caliph 'Utmān. Muir, and especially Nöldeke, and his revisers, had laid great emphasis on the "recension of 'Utmān".[20] Claims to the authority of the "recension of 'Utmān" had certainly been made in Indian copies since at least 1878,[21] but that could well have been under Muir's influence also.[22] This is not to say that the "recension of 'Utmān" was not a recurrent theme in Muslim Tradition,[23] but that the renewal of emphasis on it could well have been a result of Western influence. The actual text of the Qur'ān of course, because based on recorded oral Tradition, was entirely free from Western influence.[24]

All this goes to show that the 1342 Cairo text was a child of its own time, and of its own place.

Turning from cause to effect, to what extent has this 1342 Cairo text become the last word in printed copies of the Qur'ān ?

Since Bergsträßer's (highly informative) article in 1932, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', some Western scholars have tended to regard the 1342 Cairo text as the standard version of the Qur'ān. Bergsträßer himself termed it "the official Qur'ān" (Der amtliche Koran). The main fault with this view is that the presumed attitude towards it of Egyptian Muslims has been taken as that of the entire Muslim world. Jeffery, therefore, was a little less at fault when he wrote of the "Egyptian standard edition".[25]

However, the terms "official", "standard" and "edition" should be avoided for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it was only official in a limited, Egyptian sense. Egyptian in that it was prepared by the leading professors of the Azhar and printed under the auspices of King Fu'ād I, hence sometimes called by Westerners the "Fu'ād Qur'ān". And limited in that the professoriate of the Azhar has since also authorised a number of other facsimiles of manuscripts by different scribes and even with different conventions (e.g. the Kadırgalı text revised by al-Dabbā'[26]). Bergsträßer was in Cairo for little over a

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month, from November 1929 to January 1930 (Jumādā II to Šaʿbān 1348), and the 1342 Cairo text, while an achievement well worthy of Egyptian admiration, would to a certain extent only have been so because it was so recently completed. To consider that it had an official status elsewhere in the Muslim world, in North-West Africa or Iran, for instance, would be mistaken. In the last decade, for instance, even in central Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia and Qatar, texts differing considerably in orthography from the 1342 Cairo text have been printed under official approval. It did, it must be said, achieve a certain recognition in India, but not sufficient to supplant the local Tradition.[27]

Secondly, the Christian concepts, perhaps at the back of the minds of some Western scholars, such as a "revised standard version" or an "authorised version", simply do not apply to the Qur'ān, which is not a translation. Educated Muslims on the whole do not tend to have any concept of a standard version in this sense. For them there is only one text wherever it is printed, and they may well even dislike an Egyptian, Qatari or other label. It is the Word of God, not of man. Even among Egyptian Qur'ān scholars there is no such term as a "standard version". Muhammad ʿAbd al-Bāqī, for instance, in the forward to his concordance, with regard to the numbering of verses, referred twice to "*Mushaf al-Malik*".[28] This was in the 1945 edition, and in a second foreword, by Mansūr Fahmī, the then President of Fārūq I University, it is referred to as "*al-Mushaf al-Malikī*".[29] In a later, post 1952, reprint, these terms were replaced by "the Egyptian Government text" (*Mushaf al-Hukūma al-Misriyya*).[30] Another, post 1952, term for it is "*al-Mushaf al-Amīrī*", often dated, it should be noticed, according to later reprints.[31] And recently, the most prominent present-day Egyptian scribe, Muhammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAbd-al-lah referred to it as *Mushaf ul-Malik [Fuʾād]*.[32] Further, the use of lithography has in fact prevented standardisation of the calligraphy, if not of the orthography. The far-reaching standardisation of European script that resulted from the spread of printing by letter-press[33] simply did not occur with copies of the Qur'ān, reproduceable lithographically in potentially infinite hands and styles.

Thirdly, the term "edition" implies editorial activity. And that was scarcely even held to have been performed by ʿUtmān, let alone by Egyptian scholars of only sixty years ago.

All in all, therefore the 1342 Cairo text is clearly neither official, in a pan-Islamic sense, nor a standard edition, even in an Egyptian sense.

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Nonetheless, most probably owing to the clarity of its calligraphy and its known precision, the 1342 Cairo text has been, and still is, well regarded by Sunnī Muslim scholars. It was used, for instance, as the text for the new edition of the translation into English by Muhammad Asad, *The Message of the Qur'ān*, printed by Cahill Printers Ltd., Dublin, and published in 1980 by Dār al-Andalus Ltd., Gibraltar, and for the recent translation into French.[34] Other reprints have also certainly been made in Egypt and elsewhere since 1342, suffice it to cite three. One, by al-Matba'a al-Misriyya at the expense of al-Sayyid Muhammad Ridā Šarf al-Dīn (although in this case with the *'unwān* in another hand). Another by al-Matba'a al-Amīriyya itself in the copy checked and signed 1/8/1371 by 'Alī Muhammad al-Dabbā', with signatories and date 10/4/1137, the frame containing the text measuring 15 x 10 cm. And a *"rubu' yāsīn"*, with 251 pages, and a frame containing the text of 16 x 10 cm., printed (29/4/1398 / 7/4/1978) in W.Germany by special permit no.307 of an Azhar committee dated 28/3/1398, at the expense and under the supervision of Muhammad Bassām al-Ustuwānī, owner of the publishers Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, Beirut and Damascus.[35] Its most recent reprint is probably the 1402 Qatari text, the text used here as the basis for comparison. But the Qatari Government have also, it should not be forgotten, reprinted a Turkish text in a similarly attractive format.[36]

Chapter 2

THE OTHER HAFS COPIES CONSULTED

A LARGE VARIETY of printed Ḥafṣ copies, other than the 1342 Cairo text, is available in bookshops and libraries. So before the differences between the two transmissions can be determined, those between printed copies within the Ḥafṣ transmission must be. A representative sample of copies from most Muslim countries that have printed the Qur'ān has been consulted. These copies and the broad Traditions they belong to, are described in this chapter. Illustrations of their variations make up chapter 3. This will also be useful in showing that the 1342 Cairo text is not, as is thought, "the standard version" of the Qur'ān.

Distinct Traditions of manuscript-copies of the Qur'ān emerged in various areas of the Muslim world. Similarly, the transition from manuscript to printed copy which began last century was made more or less independently in several places. The Muslim world was not a unity, and lithography allowed individual places to print copies from their own manuscript-Traditions. Manuscript-Tradition thus became printed Tradition. This of course did not prevent certain printed copies from dominating or influencing others, just as some manuscripts had done in the past. In this chapter the progression of the regional printed Traditions is examined.

Copies of the Qur'ān were in fact printed (by letter-press) as early as the 16[th.] and 17[th.] centuries A.D.[1] But they were by non-Muslims and had no currency among Muslims. Muslim scholarly culture, notably that of

the foremost Muslim city of the time, Istanbul, had an aversion to printing as a whole, let alone to printing copies of the Qur'ān. A Turkish opinion from 1560 is recorded, that if Scripture is printed it ceases to be Scripture.[2] This is strictly correct. Another from 1650 considered manuscripts superior to printed books for a number of reasons. A superabundance is avoided, wisdom does not necessarily increase in proportion to the number of books owned; quantities of bad books are avoided, scribes would not waste time reproducing them; handwriting is easier to read (which it would have been then). A third opinion, recorded in 1764, explained the aversion by the Turks' attachment to calligraphy and beautiful manuscripts, not usurpable by printed books.[3]

This aversion was not just one of the earliest head-on collisions between Islam and Western technology. It had existed, and to a certain extent been kept alive by the rich in Europe also.[4] But in addition, for the Muslim, not just the text of the Qur'ān, but the very letters in which it is written, are considered uncreated, eternal and divine. In the hands of the great masters, many of whom were Turks, the art of calligraphy achieved an intricate and transcendental beauty, completely unapproachable by letter-press.[5] The act of engraving the image of a letter into the steel of the type-cutter's punch with a pointed engraving tool is totally unlike the flowing movement of a hand and a reed-pen. It is more like carving on stone.[6]

The establishment of the first Muslim printing-press in Constantinople in 1727 was therefore a surprise move, for which the Mufti 'Abdal–lah's approval was gained under threat of deposition from his post as Šayχ al–Islām. The threat came from Ibrāhīm Pasha, the Francophile Grand Vizier of the energetic Sultan Ahmed III who reigned 1703-1730.[7] If the Mufti did not prevent the establishment of this printing-press he at least prevented its use for religious literature. The Sultan's permit (dated 1139/1726) authorising the establishment of the printing-press included the Mufti's fatwa to this effect.[8] In the fatwa the ban was given a religious rationale. That for one thing, according to a statement in the Qur'ān, "written Scripture"[9] is the basis of belief, and so is not to be replaced by print. And that for another, no tradition from the Prophet could be found authorising such a thing as printing copies of the Qur'ān.

But less pious considerations, brought to bear on the Mufti from his community, were probably at the back of the religious rationale. First, in traditional communities based on a legal canon, written works play a central role. Second, the Ulema may well have feared the loss of their intellectual and spiritual supremacy over the illiterate masses, should literacy spread. Third, there was a population of scribes who would have been concerned about their future. In the 1730's upwards of ninety thousand copyists

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were reported to be working in Istanbul.[10] And fourth, there would have been the fear of losing a beautiful heritage. In comparison to the delicate elegance of hand-written and coloured copies of the Qur'ān, especially then in those from Turkey, black-and-white machine-made copies from the type-faces of the time would have produced crude, ugly and lifeless shadows. Furthermore, on a purely technical level, much of the interlinear notation would then have been impossible to set in type.

The history of Muslim printing of copies of the Qur'ān nevertheless began sixty years later, but in Russia. This was with the Mulla Usman Ismā'īl copy, printed in St.Petersburg in 1201/1787. It was said to have been reprinted there without change three and six years later.[11] Others give dates 1787, 89, 90, 93, 96 and 98.[12] According to de Schnurrer, this first printing was done under the auspices and at the expense of the Empress Catherine the Great so that her Muslim subjects could use the book. It made no mention of place or date of publication, but on other authority de Schnurrer was certain that it was St. Petersburg, 1787. He suggested that these details had deliberately been omitted lest Muslims should abstain from using it, which he presumed they would have done had they realised that it had been printed by the efforts of Christians.[13]

This first printed copy was reprinted in two forms in Kazan' city in 1218/1803, one in large quarto (10 x 8 in.) and the other in a number of volumes octavo (8 x 5 in.). It was produced under the supervision of a certain 'Abd al-'Azīz Toqtamiš, again by Imperial decree, this time from Alexander I. The same type-face of the St.Petersburg copies were used, but by now they were worn and blunted by repeated use. Also the marginal commentary of the St.Petersburg copies was omitted from the Kazan' version. This Kazan' version is said to have been reprinted in more than one format,[14] and often.[15]

According to Karabacek these Russian copies were lithographs.[16] This cannot be so, for lithography was first invented only in 1798. Moreover, the transfer-process, presumably indispensable for preparing plates of Arabic script, was not perfected until the early 1800's.[17] By the transfer-process a text could be written more or less as usual, that is with a greasy fluid on cartridge paper, rather than having to be written mirror-image on stone. The use of lithography for printing texts did not begin to become widespread in Europe until the 1820's.[18] Photolithography was not per-fected till 1859, and the offset-process was not invented till 1875.[19] That the St.Petersburg (and therefore the 1803 Kazan' ones) were printed by letter-press is confirmed by the copy in the British Museum.[20] Turkish qualms were presumably absent this far north, as they were in India in

the following century. Nonetheless, according at least to non-Muslims, the type was of exceptionally elegant appearance.[21]

Copies continued to be printed in Kazan' city from at least 1832 through the 1850s, many of these lithographs.[22] But printing of the Qur'ān in the U.S.S.R. this century appears to be limited to a copy in 1947 by the Central Asian Directorate and in 1964 in Tashkent.[23] Some of the Kazan' lithographs from the 1850's on provide readings from the "7" in the margin, and these also appear on those Indian lithographs derived from the Kazan' text.[24]

India followed Russia, with copies first printed in Hugly, Calcutta in 1824, the earliest centre of Indian Muslim printing, and then in Lucknow.[25] These were by letter-press. The move was perhaps a reaction to Christian Missionary printing-activity which had become particularly energetic in the first two decades of the 19th· century. That they were probably not subsidised by the Christians might explain the time-gap from the St.Petersburg copies.

It seems that lithographic printings first began to be produced in Iran. This was during the time of the second Qājarī ruler, Fath 'Alī Šāh, who ruled from 1797 to 1834. The first, if the date is correct, was in Shiraz in 1830,[26] and already as clearly done as to appear at first sight a manuscript. The next was in Teheran in 1244/1828, and then the next was in Tabriz, the second city of the empire, in 1248/1833.[27] This was perhaps following the recent move made by India, but incorporating the far better invention of lithography.

Copies of the Qur'ān furnished with al–Zamaxšarī's commentary had been printed in Cairo as early as 1864.[28] And perhaps not wishing to be outdone in this respect by their subjects, the religious leaders in Istanbul acquiesced in the printing of the Qur'ān there from around 1291/1874, a century and a half after the Ulema's original ban.[29] This was carried out by the Ministry of Public Instruction, under Imperial order, and was the result of many years' persistent effort to try to obtain permission.[30] Lithographs nullified many of the original reasons behind the ban, and in the fifty years in which Qur'ān-lithographs had by then been produced in Iran, many would have found their way to Turkey. With the secularisation of Turkey after 1908, and the spread of printing in Egypt, Egypt began to print many more copies of the Qur'ān, most notable among these being the 1342 Cairo text.

Morocco appears to have been the first country in North-West Africa to print copies of the Qur'ān. This was from at least 1892,[31] and were according to the Warš transmission. Nigeria was printing them by 1905,[32]

but under Christian supervision, if not expense. Algeria had a printing-press by 1847,[33] but did not apparently print the Qur'ān until the 1930's.[34] Tunisia had a printing-press by 1860,[35] but again, it is possible that the Warš copy (1969) is one of the few copies ever printed there.[36] It is also probable that Tunisia is the only one of these countries to print copies according to the Ḥafṣ transmission.[37]

Corresponding in some ways to this historical progression, printed Ḥafṣ copies fall today into five broad Traditions —

<div align="center">

an Iranian Tradition (pp.19–21)
an Indian Tradition (pp.21–31)
a Turkish Tradition (pp.31–39)
an Egyptian Tradition (pp.39–43)
a North–West African Tradition (pp.43–44)

</div>

The differences between these Traditions comprise script, orthography, recititive details and textual division. A representative list of them is given in chapter 3. In some respects the two outlying Traditions, the Indian and the North-West African, are markedly different from the other more centrally situated ones. They have also retained a few fossil elements of orthography lost from the central ones.

On the spines, covers and title-pages certain quotations from the Qur'ān are often printed. By far the most frequent in the copies consulted is *56: 77–80* (in whole or part).[38] The next most popular is *17: 9*, and others are *2: 1, 14: 52, 15: 9, 16: 98, 39: 55, 65: 3*.

<div align="center">

THE IRANIAN TRADITION
OF PRINTED QUR'ĀN COPIES

</div>

The Iranian Tradition's calligraphy is generally in an upright style,[39] but more rounded than that of the Egyptian one. It is less rounded than that of the Indian one. Its orthography is markedly different from that of the Egyptian Tradition.

<div align="center">19</div>

entitled *"Qur'ān majīd"* on the outside cover. In a rhombus on the title-page is *"bal huwa qur'ānun majīdun fī lawhin mahfūzin"* (*85: 21-22*) at the top, and then the following in Farsi,

> "This is copied from the famous Qur'ān Sultānī, in the hand of the well-known scribe Hasan Harīsī.[40] It was photographed and printed, and paid for, by Muhammad 'Alī 'Ilmī, of Chāp Offset, Xiyābān Nāsir Xusraw, Teheran".

It is a facsimile of a manuscript completed in Rajab 1366 (May 1946). This copy is therefore undoubtedly well after the 1342 Cairo text, nevertheless also entirely outwith the Egyptian Tradition set up by it. The text is 476 pages long, with 17 lines to the page and the frame containing the text measures 8 x 5 cm.

- It is referred to from now on as "the Harīsī text".

Within the frame, at the top right of each recto page, this copy and the following one,[41] have indication of *istixāreh*, usually χub or *bad* (good or bad), but also *vasat* (intermediate) and others, e.g. *bax, miyāreh, basyār bad* and *tad*.

The same text, apart from a slightly different *'unwān*, and accompanied on each verso page by a type-set translation into Farsi, was photostatically reproduced and published by Ahmad 'Ilmī of Intisārāt Īrān on 7/3/1395 A.H., 23/1/1354 *Šamsī* (21/3/1975 A.D.), with a frame measuring 18 x 11 cm. The upper and lower covers have a golden, central rectangle containing a lozenge of apple blossom in pink, green, brown and red, with cartouches of hazelnuts around the borders. This is in imitation of the common Iranian style of lacquer-bindings decorated with floral motifs.[42] In the centre of the spine is *"Kalām al-Majīd"*. The title-page has *"Mushaf Šarīf"* at the top, and in large letters below, *"Qur'ān Majīd"*, and in smaller letters below this, "from the Qur'ān known as Sultānī,[43] accompanied by the translation of [the late] Āgā Hājj Šayx Mehdi Ilāhīqamšehi. This text is distributed by the Iranian Embassy in London.

§ 2 A second copy from Teheran

entitled *"Qur'ān karīm"* on the spine, *"Qur'ān bā χulāsat at-tafāsīr fārsī"* on the upper cover, and *"Qur'ān majīd"* on the title-page. It is a photolithographic facsimile of an Arabic manuscript, accompanied on each verso page by a type-set translation into Farsi. The Arabic manuscript is

signed at the end by the scribe, abū l-Qāsim Xūsnawīs al-Isfahānī, and dated 1326.[44] The copy itself is not dated, but was published by the Kitābfurūsī 'Ilmīyyeh Islāmiyyeh, Teheran, and has been with the present owner for at least thirty years. The Arabic text is 411 pages long, with 19 lines to the page and the frame containing the text measures 17 x 10 cm.

• The copy is referred to from now on as "the Isfahani text".

The usual convention with dates in Iran since 1925 A.D. has been to specify "*hijrī qamarī*", or give the name of the Muslim month, when the date is what Arabs simply term "*hijriyya*", "*lil-hijra*" or "*min al-hijra (an-nabawiyya)*". When the date is unspecified it therefore usually implies "*hijrī šamsī*", by which reckoning 1326 would be 1947/8 A.D., two and a half decades after the 1342 Cairo text.[45] However, with religious texts the usual convention may not always apply, and a simple date may indicate *hijrī qamarī*. A small, pocket-selection of *sūras* (numbers 1, 36, 55, 56, 62, 94, 97, 99–114) for instance, published, decorated and paid for by the Āšriā Publishing Company in Teheran, with the frame containing the text measuring 7 x 5 cm. and written by Ahmad al-Najafī al-Zanjānī, is dated simply 1390. This has to be *hijrī qamarī*, since 1390 *hijrī šamsī* would be 2011 A.D.[46]

If the same is the case with this Isfahani text the date of its manuscript would therefore be 1908 A.D. This might be supported by the fact that before 1925 "*hijrī qamarī*" would have needed to have been specified. It would in this case date from some sixteen years before the 1342 Cairo text.

• Sometimes the Isfahani text and the Harīsī text are referred to jointly as "the Iranian copies".

THE INDIAN TRADITION
OF PRINTED QUR'ĀN COPIES

The Indian Subcontinent has probably always been the most prolific source of printed copies of the Qur'ān. Nowadays these mainly come from Pakistan.[47] The Indian Tradition of printed copies of the Qur'ān is much older than the Egyptian one and yet is remarkably similar to it in orthography. Before the 1920's its isolation from the Turkish and Iranian Traditions must therefore have been more apparent. The isolation no doubt also pertained in the manuscript-Tradition during the preceding centuries. This is what may well have enabled it to preserve in places an older Tradition, which in turn passed from manuscript to printed copy. The orthography of the manuscripts, however, does not always tally with that of the Egyptian printed Tradition.[48]

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The Indian Tradition has some individual traits, by which it can be readily recognised.

Firstly, its script can be eclectic. Although predominantly $nas\chi\bar{\imath}$, some words can contain letters written, for instance, in the $ruq'a$ script. It is most akin to the calligraphy of the Iranian Tradition in roundness and uprightness, but it is even rounder and bolder, and the letters are more widely spaced.[49] This style is found in 18th· century manuscripts.[50]

Secondly, some of its section-divisions and verse-numbering are unique. It has a division called a "$s\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}rah$", or "$p\bar{a}rah$". According to the South African revision of the earlier Tāj text (see below, p.26) this equals three-quarters of a juz'. By reciting one a day, the whole Qur'ān can be completed in forty days. But this appears to be incorrect, since elsewhere a $s\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}rah$ means a juz'. This can be seen from the marginal notes in individual Indian copies. The word "$s\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}rah$" itself is never found there, however the $ruk\bar{u}'\bar{a}t$ of each $s\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}rah$ are marked by the letter 'ayn there (as well as over the $\bar{a}ya$-roundel). Three numerals usually accompany it. The upper one indicates the number of $ruk\bar{u}'\bar{a}t$ completed in the present $s\bar{u}ra$. The middle one indicates the number of verses contained in the $ruk\bar{u}'$ just completed. And the lower one indicates the number of $ruk\bar{u}'\bar{a}t$ completed in the present $s\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}rah$.[51] In all the copies consulted this last, lower, numeral is always 1 in the first $ruk\bar{u}'$ of a new juz'. The Indian copies also have a larger, sevenfold section-division, enabling completion in a week. Each of the seven is called a $manzil$, a halting-place, and the word is written in the margin. They begin at *1: 1, 5: 1, 10: 1, 17: 1, 26: 1, 37: 1* and *50: 1*. Apart from these the Indian Tradition is also unique in verse-numbering in a number of places. Since the 1920's the Indians have been aware of this and several copies have been made to conform in this respect with the Egyptian Tradition.

Thirdly, its orthography preserves a number of fossils not found elsewhere. Two in particular are useful in identifying copies as belonging to the Indian Tradition — the $y\bar{a}'$-$alif$ of $h\tilde{a}d_y^{\tilde{a}}ni$ in *20: 63*, and the otiose second $alif$ of $la'a_ontum$ in *59: 13*.

§ 3 A copy from Delhi[52]

entitled in a central roundel on the title-page "$Qur'\bar{a}n\ maj\bar{\imath}d\ bit$-$tar\bar{a}jim\ \underline{t}al\bar{a}\underline{t},\ 1289$". At the top of the innermost frame is "$waman^y\ yatawakkal\ 'ala\ l$-$l\tilde{a}hi\ fahuwa\ hasbuh\tilde{u}$" (*65: 3*), and below this in small Urdu characters an expression of thanks to God for being able to print this copy in

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Delhi. At the bottom of the innermost frame in Arabic is "printed by Šayx 'Alī Nasīb at the Mujtabā'ī Press", and above this in small Persian characters that the Urdu translation is by Šāh Rafī' al-Dīn, the Farsi translation is that of *"Fath al-Rahmān"*, and the marginal commentary is that of Šāh 'Abd al-Qādir, author of *Mūdih al-Qur'ān. "Fath al-Rahmān"*, an annotated Farsi translation of the Qur'ān, was the greatest achievement of the famous fundamentalist *muhaddit* of Delhi, Šāh Walī al-lāh. He was born in 1703 and died in 1762. He spent fourteen months studying in the Hijaz during the time of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d.1792). On his return to India he set in motion the first changes in Indian traditionalist orthodox Islam.[53] This copy can therefore be seen as a product of the Indian reformist movement. Šāh 'Abd al-Qādir of Delhi (d.1826) made the earliest Urdu translation of the Qur'ān. He was the son of Šāh Walī al-lāh. Šāh Rafī al-Dīn was also of Delhi, and would no doubt have belonged to the school of Šāh Walī al-lāh.[54]

At the bottom of the final page are further sentences in Persian and Urdu, including poetry, the name of the publisher, Mawlānā Muhammad Sayf al-Haqq, and the completion date, 1289 (1872/3). The Arabic text is set in orange clouds with interlinear Persian and Urdu translations. There are 664 pages of text, with 10 lines of Arabic per page. The frame measures 24 x 15 cm. Its verse-numbering begins afresh on each page.

- From now on it is referred to as "the 1289 Delhi copy".

§ 4 A copy from Calcutta

whose title-page depicts a Mughal style mosque. In a cartouche between the two minarets top centre, in large interwoven script, is *"dālika l-kitābu lā rayba fīhi"*, and below it to the right, in smaller script, *"lā yamassuhũ 'illa l-mutahharūn"*. Below the picture is the name and address of the publisher, Hājjī Muhammad Sa'īd, 85 Xulāsī Tolah, Calcutta. Below this line the page is torn.

The colophon has four lines of Urdu at the top but mainly consists of a flower-vase motif, which has nineteen flowers and two handles. The Urdu says that this copy of the Qur'ān has been thoroughly checked and corrected by twenty-one scholars, and that in their joint opinion it is as far as humanly possible free from mistakes. The names of the twenty-one are given on the flower-heads and vase-handles.[55] The bowl of the vase has the name of the publisher again, and on either side, the name and address of the printer, Muhammad Qāsim, Matba'a Islāmiyya, 26 Nārkal Danghar, North Rd., Calcutta. If any of the twenty-one scholars could be identified,

a rough date could be assigned to the copy. It appears to have been printed early this century.

It has 723 pages of text, with 14 lines per page. The frame containing the text measures 20 x 12 cm.

It has no verse-numbering, but its most remarkable feature is that it was printed by letter-press and not lithography. The type is very much in the upright, bold, round style of Indian Qur'ān script, but because it never varies, it has a somewhat stilted appearance. It is thicker and larger than the type-face used in the 1803 Calcutta translation,[56] and the 1831 Calcutta copy of the Qur'ān.[57] Its symbol for vowellessness is an angular caret, which gives the text an odd initial appearance. The usual Indian-style symbol is more rounded and has its open end downwards towards the left, rather than straight down. The Egyptian equivalent is more angular, and explained as a dotless $\chi\bar{a}$'. The caret, along with the left-facing $<$, was in fact a very early sign for *sukūn*.[58] This caret is found in the Hindustani translation of the Qur'ān printed in Calcutta in 1803,[59] and the 1831 Calcutta copy of the Qur'ān. It is not found in early copies of the Qur'ān from Russia or Iran. *Madda* is as usual, but the lengthened one before *hamzat al-qat'* is signified by an elongated wedge-shape pointing right. This is the *madda* symbol with a third side joining the end of the long stroke with the bottom of the hook.

Apart from these, the copy has the customary Indian-style symbols. It does use a smaller type-face to indicate pause, usually between the *āya*-roundels, such as "$l\bar{a}$" and "qif", but does not have any of the interlinear or marginal notes of the later Indian copies consulted. This, and other minor divergences from these copies, suggests that it is older. Following the prayer on completion of the Qur'ān, are a benediction (*darūd*)[60] and prayer (*namāz*) of certain men in the past, described in Farsi.

- From now on it is referred to as "the Calcutta copy".

§ 5 A copy from Bombay

entitled in a central roundel on the upper cover "*Qur'ān majīd nūrānī 'aksī*". The same is found in a roundel at the top of the spine. Above it on the upper cover is "$l\bar{a}$ *yamassuhū 'illa l-muṭahharūna*", and below it "Matba'a Muhammadī, Bombay". Below the frame on the final page this firm, from Mujgā'ūn, Bombay 10c, is said to have supervised both the printing and publication, which were actually carried out by Muhammad Ṭāhir 'Alī Wārāwalla of the Private Limited Company of 'Alī Bahā'ī Šarf

'Alī. The title-page is similar to the upper cover but without "*nūrānī*" in the central title, and with the motif and name of the printer at the bottom. It has 732 pages of text, with 13 lines per page. The frame containing the text measures 22 x 15 cm.

 • From now on this copy is referred to as "the Bombay copy".

As usual with modern Indian copies no date is given, but the scribe is mentioned in the colophon – "the well-known calligrapher Šayx Husayn Šāh Ābādī". This is preceded by a statement in Arabic that the copy had been checked against many others widely accepted for their complete correctness.

Preceding this are two lines,

> "By the help of the one God, the printing is now complete of this exalted text in conformity with the orthography of the text of the caliph 'Utmān. Here are the names and stamps of the distinguished revisers – Mawlvī Fath Muhammad, Mawlvī Salīm al–Dīn, Mawlvī 'Abd al–Salām and Muqādim Muhammad 'Abd-al–lah."[62]

There being no stamps, nor indeed any place for them, probably makes this a later reprint. The script is of the usual bold round type but in a finer pen than most. The explanatory notes are extensive, covering sixteen pages. Of particular interest are two lists on page twelve. The first is of twenty places where special care has to be exercised not to mispronounce a Qur'ān utterance, lest it lead to negation of faith. Three of these are "*wa'id ibtal$_y^a$ 'ibrāhīmu rabbahũ*" in *2: 3*, '*al–lãhũ* in 2:255 and "*warasūlihĩ*" in *9: 8*. Such a list would scarcely have been drawn up in an Arabic-speaking setting where the oral Tradition would have precluded any such mispronunciation, and probably even the suggestion of it. The second list is of eighteen places where graphic *alif* is otiose and should not be pronounced. Surprisingly, *59: 13* is not one of them.[63]

both entitled "*Qur'ān majīd*" on the upper cover and on the title-page. They are written with exactly the same calligraphy although the number and size of the pages, and the number of lines per page, differ. The former has 549 pages with 16 lines per page, and the frame containing the text measures 22 x 13 cm., while the latter has 429 pages each with 18 lines, and a frame containing the text measuring 21 x 13 cm. Both have thin

ruled lines added between each two lines of text. Both also have two leaves preceding the title-page and following the final page, with their inner pages containing the ninety-nine names of God, and a similar list of names for the Prophet respectively.

The former was printed and published in Karachi by the Tāj Company Ltd. at the expense of the managing agent 'Ināyatallah. No dates are given, but this is unlikely to have been before 1960.

- From now on it will be referred to as "the later Tāj text".

The latter was published by Kutub Khana Ishaat–ul–Islam, Delhi, again undated. It was purchased in Oman in 1980. Although not published by the Tāj Company, and also from a different manuscript, it has been subsumed under the later Tāj text for simplicity of reference.

These have also been compared with an earlier copy printed by the Tāj Company in Lahore (Railway Road).

- This copy is referred to from now on as the "earlier Tāj text".

This earlier Tāj text is also entitled *"Qur'ān majīd"* on the upper cover and spine, but *"al–Qur'ān al–hakīm"* on both title-pages. It is written in a similarly rounded although slightly different calligraphic style. It often has the reversed *yā'* in prepositions like *'al$\overset{\sim a}{y}$* for example. It is also without ruled lines. The text covers 848 pages with 13 lines each, and with a frame containing the text of 11 x 8 cm. Once again there are no dates. It was purchased at a Chinese Trade Fair in Khartoum in the early 1950s.[64] Here the managing agent is called Šayx 'Ināyatallah, but the main point of interest is that, although clearly earlier than the later Tāj text, it is closer to the 1342 Cairo text. The verse-numbering corresponds with the 1342 Cairo text, and in *21: 88* it has *nunji$_o$* with a full superior *nūn* with a *sukūn*.[65]

This earlier Tāj text has been revised in a copy printed in South Africa in 1398/1978, and with a second impression in 1400/1980. It is entitled *"al–Qur'ān ul–karīm"* on the spine, and in a roundel on the upper cover has *"'innahū laqur'ānun karīmun fī kitābin maknūnin"* (*56: 77–78*). In a similar roundel on the title-page is *"'inna nahnu nazzalnā d–dikra wa'innā lahu lahāfizūna"* (*15: 9*). Above is *"'inna hādā l–Qur'āna yahdī lillatī hiya 'aqwamu"* (*17: 9*), and below the name and address of the publishers. The printers were Cape and Transvaal Printers (Pty) Ltd., and the publishers the Waterval Islamic Institute, P.O.Box 1, Johannesburg, 2000. The plates were presumably provided by the Tāj Company. This is because it has the same number of pages as the earlier Tāj text, but is in the hand used for the later Tāj text, supplied with ruled lines. As in the

earlier Tāj text also the full superior *nūn* with *sukūn* is found in *21: 88*, and the verse-numbering tallies with the 1342 Cairo text.[66]

In a number of other places small revisions in orthography have also been made in this South African impression, making it the closest Indian copy to the Egyptian Tradition. For example, in *5:29*[67] the graphic *hamza* following the *wāw* in *tabū'a* has apparently been erased from the plate, leaving a gap, and in the occurrences of *wamala$_o$ihī*[68] the circular symbol is clearly a later addition. In *10:75* it is faint, and in *7:103* it is only just visible. On page 6 of its twenty-one pages of explanatory notes is the same list of twenty places where mispronunciation should be especially avoided, as in the Bombay copy. In this copy they are indicated also in the text, by a dotted line above the relevant utterance and a hollow asterisk in the margin.

This copy departs from the general Indian Tradition in a number of other ways. The main one is that it is dated and, on p.13 of its explanatory notes, has the *isnād* of the Ḥafṣ copy and a brief explanation of 'Uṯmān's sending seven copies to seven countries. Another is that by means of an asterisk in the text, is indicated where a "masnoon prayer" is to be said. These are then written in the margins of the page. "*āmīn*", for instance, is to be said after *1:7*, and "*bal$_y^a$ wa'anā 'al$_y^a$ dālika min aš-šāhidīna*" is to be said after *75:40*.

A later impression of the later Tāj text purchaseable now in London is also of interest. It differs from the earlier impressions only in its frame-measurement of 15 x 9 cm., in having "*al-Qur'ān al-ḥakīm*" on its title-page, and in having Dacca removed from its address (Bangladesh became independent in 1972). The interesting feature is that it has a certificate from the Saudi Deputy Mufti Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Āl al-Šayx, dated 19/11/1389 (28/1/1970). The reason for the certificate was that a formal question had been addressed from the head of al-Maḥkama al-Kubrā in Jedda to Dār al-Iftā' concerning the copy's spelling *la'a$_o$ntum* (*59:13*) for the usual *la'antum*.

The certificate is in the form of a reply —

> "We hereby inform you that although this [Tāj] impression appears to be the only one with this extra *alif*, this does not bar it from being allowed to be distributed. This is because the extra *alif* is to be taken as one of those present in the graphic form but not to be pronounced. Similar occurrences are found, for instance, in *la$_o$'awda'ū* and *awla$_o$'adbahannahu*, which are written [according to a report from Mālik cited from *al-Muqni'* of al-Dānī] in the original way".[69]

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The quotation from al-Dānī is authenticated by the mention of Muhammad "al-Haddād" ibn 'Alī ibn Xalaf al-Husaynī, the chief Egyptian Qur'ān Reader at the time of the 1342 Cairo text.

A handsome, interlinear translation into Urdu with marginal commentary has also been printed by the Tāj Company. It is on green paper with the Arabic text on a darker green background, and the Urdu on white. On the spine is "Qur'ān majīd 'aksī", and on the upper cover "al-Qur'ānu l-hakīm ma'a tarjamat Mawlānā Aśraf 'Alī Sāhib Thānawī". The title-page follows two leaves with the ninety-nine names of God on their inner pages. The final two leaves contain a similar list of names for the Prophet. The title on the title-page is as on the upper cover, with the additional verses, "lā yamassuhū 'illa l-mutahharūna" above, and "wattabi'ū₀ 'ahsana mā 'unzila 'ilaykum" (39:55) below. At the bottom is the name of the publishers, Tāj Company Ltd., Lahore and Karachi, and a space where Dacca used to be. This impression must therefore be after 1972. It has 732 pages of text, with 12 lines to each, and a frame measuring 11 x 6 cm. It is coincidental that it is almost the same length as the Bombay copy, which has 13 lines per page. Although of different format and original manuscript, the Arabic text is identical to that of the later Tāj text. It has a double 'unwān. On the right-hand side of the first is the darūd śarīf, and on the left the Fātiha. The second unwān contains the first eleven verses of sūrat al-Baqara. Below the frame of the final page of text 'Ināyatallah is not entitled "Šayx" but he is now termed the Managing Director of the Company, rather than just the agent.

While as usual the text is undated, there is a dated certificate on a page following the sūra-index at the back. It is from the binder, 'Abd al-Rašīd Jaldasāz, of 1579/15 Dastagir Society, Federal B Area, Karachi. It is signed by Hāfiz 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid, of the 'Ubaydiyya Institute, and formerly from the state of Bhopal [in India], and states that he has checked the copy, and in his opinion it is free from omission and mistake. The date is 1373 A.H. (1953/4 A.D.) and is presumably of the first, or an earlier, impression.

Perhaps the most obvious feature of these copies (excepting the earlier Tāj text) is that their verse-numbering differs in places from the Hafs copy, which, for instance, A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation does not.

all with a similar Arabic text. The script varies slightly but the orthography
is exactly the same. The Ahmadiyya Anjuman has a Qadiani and Lahori
branch. The present head of the former is Zafrulla Khan. The latter branch
is considered less heretical and is called the Ahmadiyya Anjumān Isā'at–i
Islām. Its leader, from its inception to his death in 1951, was Mawlāna
Muhammad Ali.

One coming from the Qadiani branch, in three volumes, is entitled
"The Holy Quran". Part of it was first published in 1915 by Anjuman-
i-Taraqqi-Islam, Qadian, Punjab. The edition consulted was printed by
P.Heal at the Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore and published for the Sadr
Anjuman Ahmadiyya by Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman Qadiani. This was under
the auspices of Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, "the Second
Successor of the Promised Messiah". It was reprinted in one volume under
the same title and auspices and published by The Oriental and Religious
Publishing Corp., Ltd., Rabwah, West Pakistan in 1955. Here it is specified
that the translation is by the late Mawlvi Sher Ali.[68]

One coming from the Lahori branch by its former President, Mawlāna
Muhammad Ali, is also entitled "The Holy Quran". The copy consulted
was printed by A.A.Verstage of Basingstoke in 1951, but the first printing
was in Woking in 1917.[69] A section in the Introduction, pp.lvi – lix deals
with qirā'āt, including remarks against Mingana's *Three Leaves*.

One comes from Britain by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Foreign
Minister of Pakistan, 1947, and President of the International Court of
Justice, the Hague). It was first published in 1971 by the Curzon Press Ltd.,
of London and Dublin, with a second, revised edition in 1975.[70] It is entitled
on the spine and title-page "The Quran", with "*Qur'ānun majīdun*"
below. Following 42 pages of Preface and Introduction, is another title-page
with "*al-Qur'ān al-hakīm*" above "The Quran". There is no discussion
in the Introduction of the orthography or calligraphy of the Arabic text.
Each Arabic verse begins in the right-hand margin, and its number is given
in the roundel at the end. The verse-numbering is not normalised to the
Egyptian Tradition, for instance, in *2:246* and *41: 45*. There are 630 pages
of text. The number of lines per page varies, and there is no frame arond
the text.

which was completed in 8/12/1352 / 4/4/1934. Yusuf Ali came from the Bohorā Muslim community in India, and was born in 1872. In contrast to the translations from the Aḥmadiyya movement, his translation has been espoused and many times reprinted by Arab Muslims. It is entitled "the Holy Quran" in the Beirut 1965 reprint, and "the Holy Qur-an" in the 1975 publication (and 1976 reprint) by the Ashraf Press, Lahore, and in its recent reprinting by the Qatar National Printing Press. Muḥammad Ashraf was the printer and publisher of the original, two-volume, 1937-8 edition in Lahore. In its 1397/1977 reprinting by Interprint (Malta) Ltd., for the Libyan Jamʿiyyat al-Daʿwā al-Islāmiyya, it is entitled "The Glorious Kur'an".

The Arabic calligraphy is in an almost identical style and size to that of Zafrulla Khan's translation, but printed more neatly and clearly. The orthography is the same. Each Arabic verse begins at the right-hand margin, but the numbers are placed at the beginning, and the roundel at the end is left empty.

In the Beirut, Lahore and Qatari reprints the original facsimile of the Arabic text is kept throughout, but after the *Fātiḥa* in the Libyan one it has been replaced by a text written in an Egyptian hand. As a result the Arabic text of the Libyan reprint is in the Egyptian Tradition of script and orthography, whereas that of the Beirut, Lahore and Qatari ones is in the Indian Tradition. Thus, for instance, whereas all of these have *sirāt* in *1: 6, 7* for the Ḥafṣ copy's *sirāt̃*, all other differences beyond the *Fātiḥa* given in chapter 3 § 2 pertaining to the Indian copies are to be found only in the Beirut, Lahore and Qatari reprints of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation. In a reprint by the Saudi Jamʿiyyat al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya in Riyad, the whole Arabic text is in the Egyptian Tradition, even the *ʿunwān*. Conversely, in its publication by the Islamic Education Centre in Jedda the whole Arabic text, including the *ʿunwān* is in the original Indian hand.

The 1965 Beirut reprint is different in two ways. Firstly in being in two volumes, and secondly in having two certificates in Arabic. These contain a number of points relevant here. The first is from Aḥmad al-Qāsimī on the authority of al-Lajna al-ʿIlmiyya, Damascus, and dated 3/6/1383 (23/10/1963). This committee examined this text at the request of the publisher, Šayx Xalīl al-Rawwāf. They corrected a few minor errors due to scribal negligence,[71] as well as implementing the observations made by the Azhar committee of 6/4/1962, and those made by the Muslim World League in Mecca. The second certificate is from the Secretary general of

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the Muslim World League, Muḥammad Surūr al-Ṣabbān, dated 15/9/1384 / 13/1/ 1965, and containing the following information. Until the first printing of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation in Lahore in 1937, the most famous translation of the Qur'ān into English had been that done in 1917 by Muhammad Ali. The printing of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation took three years to complete. Subsequent to this 1937 printing it was reprinted many times in India and America.[72] This new Beirut impression is the first in Arab lands.

As for the verse-numbering, ʿAbdal-lah Yūsuf ʿAlī said in the Preface to the first edition (1352/1934)[73] that he mainly adopted that of the "Egyptian edition published under the authority of the King of Egypt". He added that the text shortly then to be published by the Anjuman-i Himāyat-i Islām of Lahore was doing the same.[74] This association was founded in 1884 under the inspiration of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Xān of Aligarh (1817–1898). It is to be distinguished from the Aḥmadiyya Anjuman discussed above.[75]

Apart from verse-numbering, A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation in its original edition employed the usual conventions of the Indian Tradition. But because of these divergences from the general Indian Tradition, whether at the hand of translator or later printers, A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation is not included when reference is made to "the Indian Tradition".

THE TURKISH TRADITION
OF PRINTED QUR'ĀN COPIES

The Iranian and Turkish Traditions differ from each other only in their script, and in a few other characteristic details. The Turkish one is in a nasχi script similar to the Egyptian, although with the tops of the letters more towards the left than the right, whereas the indigenous Egyptian one is more vertically orientated.[76] Their orthography is markedly different from that of the Egyptian Tradition, and this is the main difference between them and it.

§ 9 A copy from Ankara

with no title on the cover, but "ʿinnahu laqur'ānun karīmun" in a central roundel on the title-page. At the top and bottom of the frame of the title-page it has "ʾinna hāda l-qur'āna yahdi lillatī hiyya 'aqwamu" and "lā

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yamassuhu 'illa l-mutahharūn" respectively. The year 1392 (1972) is also written in the roundel. It has 604 pages of text (the double page of the *'unwān* being treated as one) with 15 lines each and a frame of 15 x 8 cm. For explanatory notes it has only a section on the symbols for pause, since it does not indicate in the text any of the other conventions described at length in the explanatory notes of the 1342 Cairo text.

On a page subsequent to the final page of the text are the following details. This second, offset impression was completed 1392/1972, undertaken by the Head of Religious Affairs of the Republic, and printed by Ajans-Türk Matbaacılık Sanayii, Ankara. It carries an official stamp (*muhr rasmī*) in ink, and the comment that this text was copied from the manuscript in the hand of *Āyat Barkanār*.[78]

• From now on it will be referred to as "the 1392 Turkish text".

The translation into French by the Istanbul University Professor Muhammad Hamidullah, assisted by Michel Léturmy (8[th.] revised edition 1973) reproduces the 1342 Cairo text for its Arabic text, and so breaks with the Turkish Tradition. This may be explained by its not being a wholly Turkish enterprise. It was printed in Ankara, by Hilāl Yayinları, but published in Beirut, at the expense of Salih Özcan.[79]

§ 10 A small copy from Damascus

entitled *"Qur'ān karīm"* on both the outside plastic jacket (the upper cover is blank) and the title-page. On the latter it is accompanied by *"'innahu laqur'ānun karīmun fī kitābin maknūnin lā yamassuhu 'illa l-mutahharūna tanzīlun min rabb il-'ālamīna"* (*56:77-80*), the publishers' motif, and and at the bottom, what is clearly an addition to the facsimile, the name of the printer – Matba'at Karam waMaktabathā biDimašq.[80] Nothing is stated regarding printing dates or original copyist. It has 486 pages of text, each with 17 lines contained in a frame measuring 8 x 5 cm.

Perhaps its most interesting feature is that although much closer to the Hafs copy than the Istanbul Kadırgalı text and the Teheran copies in terms of vocalisation, as for instance, with assimilation and indications of pause, it is akin to these other three in terms of orthography, as for instance, with all vocal *alif*s except in *dālika, walākinna* and the like, being graphic, e.g. *māliki* (*1: 4*) and *li'īlāfi* (*106: 1*), and certain archaic spellings being normalised (e.g. *4:176, 21: 88*).[81] It is thus in the general Turkish graphic Tradition, but in the Egyptian vocal Tradition.

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which has "*al-Qur'ān al-karīm*" on the spine, and "'*innahu laqur'ānun karīmun fī kitābin maknūnin*" in a roundel on the upper and lower covers. It also has "'*inna hāda l-Qur'ān yahdī lillatī hiya 'aqwamu*" (*17: 9*) at the top of the frame on the title-page, "'*inna nahnu nazzalnā d-dikra wa'innā lahu lahāfizūn*" (*15: 9*) in the central roundel, and at the bottom the fact that the [re-]printing was ordered by the President Saddām Husayn in 1401/1981. This is recorded again in the colophon, in addition to the fact that a committee convened by the Iraqi Minister of Awqāf and Religious Affairs, al-Sayyid Nūrī Faysal Šāhir, supervised its [re-]printing, completed during Ramadān.

It has 666 pages of text with 13 lines to the page, and the frame containing the text measures 16 x 9 cm. A two-centimetre band with gold and blue arabesques surrounds three sides of the frame of each page. The text of the *'unwān* is in red, set in white clouds on a golden, circular background. For explanatory notes it has a single page outlining the symbols employed for pause and textual divisions. Since there is no assimilation in the text it has no symbols for these.

- From now on it will be referred to as "the 1370 Iraqi text".

Following the prayer on completion of the Qur'ān is the following relevant information (pp.668*ff*.) —

> This is the first lithograph of the Qur'ān printed in Iraq. It was completed at Matba'at Mudīriyyat al-Masāha al-'Āmma in 1/9/1370 (6/6/1951) from a manuscript in the hand of al-Hājj Hāfiz Muhammad Amīn al-Rušdī,[82] dated 1236. It had belonged to the mother of the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz Xān (ruled 1277/1861 – 1293/1876) until it was bequeathed in 1278 to the tomb of Šayx Junayd al-Bagdādī. It is now kept in the library of [the Sunnī] al-Imām al-A'zam mosque in Baghdad. A committee of six prominent Iraqi scholars, headed by al-Šayx al-Hājj Najm al-Dīn al-Wā'iz, corrected the proofs [of the lithograph], and the scribe of Mudīriyyat al-Masāha al-'Āmma, al-Sayyid Hāšim Muhammad al-Xattāt "al-Bagdādī", implemented certain peripheral improvements, such as in the *sūra*-headings. The six carried out their revision of the vocalisation in accordance with the transmission of Hafs.[83] The *isnād* is as in the 1342 Cairo text. Its spelling,[84] textual-division and *sūra*-titles were done according to the copy of al-Hāfiz 'Utmān printed in Istanbul (and therefore without verse-numbering), and the verse-numbering according to the Cairo 1342

(1923/4) copy, that is the Kufan system. The system of pause is that of al–Imām abū Ja'far ibn Ṭayfūr al–Sajāwandi.[85]

The same text was printed in 1400 (1979) in Qatar. It also has "al-Qur'ān al-karīm" on the spine, but is entitled "Qur'ān karīm" on the upper and lower covers. It also has "'inna hāḏa l-Qur'ān yahdī lillatī hiya 'aqwamu" (17: 9) at the top of the frame on the title-page, "'inna naḥnu nazzalnā ḏ-ḏikra wa'innā lahu laḥāfizūn" (15: 9) in the central roundel, and at the bottom the fact that the printing was paid for by the Emir of Qatar, Šayx Xalīfa ibn Ḥamd Āl Ṭānī. The same is recorded in the colophon, in addition to the facts that it was printed by Maṭābi' Qatar al–Waṭaniyya in Doha on 1/1/1400 (21/11/ 1979), and that, as with the 1402 Qatari text, the printing was supervised by the head of the Committee of Religious Affairs in Qatar, Šayx 'Abdal–lah ibn Ibrāhīm al–Anṣārī.

• From now on this reprint will be referred to as "the Qatari centennial copy".

On the lower half of the final page of this text a roundel containing the phrase "ṣadaq al–lāh ul-'aẓīm" replaces the details concerning the original manuscript.

The same 1370 Iraqi text was also printed the year before for the Saudi Govenment. The frame containing the text of this copy measures 9 x 5 cm. It has a mock leather cover with a zip. Embossed in golden cartouches on the upper and lower covers and spine are "Qur'ān karīm" in ṯuluṯ, the publishers' motif, and "'innahu laqur'ānun karīmun fī kitābin maknūnin" respectively. The motif is a Qur'ān opened at sūra 96 in front of a circular map of the world.

The first page after the red fly-leaf is the basmala written in mirror-image in jalī–ṯuluṯ script on a gold background. Then follow two pages with quotations from the Qur'ān handsomely written in white ṯuluṯ on red backgrounds within a central medallion, and upper and lower cartouches. They are from 16: 98 ("fa'iḏā ... ir–rajīmi"), 17: 19, 15: 9 and again 56: 77–80. The next two pages are on gold backgrounds. The former gives the publishers' name, motif and address, and states that it was printed in West Germany in 1398/1978. The latter is the title-page, with the title "al–Qur'ān al–karīm" in ṯuluṯ, and states below that it was printed by special permit no.205/5 of the directorate of four Saudi Government departments.[86] The next two pages are the 'unwān, which is taken from the 1342 Cairo text. This makes the copy a hybrid in that the 'unwān

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therefore is annotated with different conventions from the rest of the text regarding pause and assimilation.

After the sūra-list at the back are another two pages decorated as the 'unwān. These repeat the details of printing, revision and publication, adding that it was done under the supervision of Muhammad Bassām al-Ustuwānī, the general manager of the publishers Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, Beirut and Damascus. There follows another page of quotation in the same cartouche as before, this time containing sūrat al-iχlās with the šahāda above and below. A final two pages contain a note from Muhammad Bassām concerning the effort spent and asking for notification of any errors.

The frames around the text are different to those of the 1370 Iraqi text and the Qatari centennial copy, and the Egyptian system of textual division is followed. That is to say the aḥzāb are divided into quarters and increase to number 60 (at 87: 1) whereas those of the 1370 Iraqi text and the Qatari centennial copy only number four to a juz', and begin again at number 1 with each juz'.

That this text has been printed in the last few years by the Governments of Iraq, Qatar and Saudi Arabia is an indication of how little the 1342 Cairo text is in fact an "official text".

§ 12 A text originally printed in Istanbul

but consulted in two Cairo reprints. It is 522 pages long, with 15 lines to the page. The frame containing the text of the first measures 17 x 11 cm., and of the second 11 x 7 cm.

The first is entitled "Qur'ān karīm" on the title-page, and the text is accompanied by Tafsīr al-Imāmayn al-Jalālayn type-set in the margins. It was printed at the expense of the Azhari Mustafā Efendi Fahmī by Matba'at al-'Ulūm al-'Arabiyya, Ḥīdān al-Mūsilī, Cairo, owned by Ahmad Muhammad 'Īd.[87]

On the margin of the page following the final page of text is this further information from the reviser, Šayx Muhammad 'Arif al-Faḥmāwī —

> "This printing of the Noble Text ... has been completed with the utmost precision and perfection, correcting the mistakes previous printings of the Qur'ān had fallen into ... on the 30th. of Ramadan, 1343 A.H. (24/4/1925 A.D.)"[88]

The 1342 Cairo text was probably not actually out when this copy was being prepared. It could not, however, not been known about. Here

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therefore is a text fully in the Turkish Tradition, being printed in Egypt after the 1342 Cairo text, under the auspices of an Azhari.

More details about the origin of this text are found from the second reprint consulted. This was by Mu'assasat al-Ḥalabī waŠurakāh lil-Ṭab' wal-Naŝr under permit 156 (18/3/1970) of the Azhar Majma' al-Buḥūt al-Islāmiyya. This copy is entitled "*Muṣḥaf Šarīf*" on the title-page with "*lā yamassuhu 'illa l-mutahharūna*" below. The title has been added by the printers, and the designation "*bir-rasm il-'Utmānī*" is absent, as with the first reprint. More than half the pages of this reprint are in fact cancels (and therefore disregarded here). The plates must have been shipped to Cairo from Istanbul. The conventions employed are akin to the present 1392 Turkish text.[89] Similarly, many *alifs* are graphic, which in the Egyptian Tradition are vocal.

The colophon reads[90] –

> "In these most auspicious days of the glory of the Ottoman Sultans, the Sultan, son of the Sultan, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Xān, the Ghazi – may God preserve his rule and perpetuate his Sultanate to the Last Day – when the Ottoman Printing Press was founded, it was guided to produce printed works of high accuracy, especially this noble copy of the Qur'ān, printed here for the first time. In its preparation all possible human effort has been expended by the Committee for the Inspection of Qur'ān copies, set up at the Sublime request, in the Office of the *Šayχ al-Islām*. The unworthy Muṣṭafā Naẓīf, known as Kadırġalı, one of the students of Husayn Efendi, completed [the manuscript] 30/9/1308 (9/5/1890)."

'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (Ġāzī) was born in 1842, succeeded to the Sultanate in 1876, was deposed in 1909 and died in 1918. During his reign there was a great increase in literacy and printing flourished. In 1876 there were only a few printing-presses in Istanbul, whereas in 1908 there were not less than 99.[91] Censorship also, however, flourished, because of which most publications needed support from the Sultan. In return, laudatory acknowledgments, such as the one above, were required, and their qualifications were usually in superlatives.[92] For two centuries the Ottoman rulers had cared little for the religion, but 'Abd al-Ḥamīd asserted himself in various ways as the spiritual head of Islam. Perhaps printing copies of the Qur'ān like this one was part of his pan-Islamic aspirations.[93] The first Turkish copy of the Qur'ān had in fact been printed during the time of his predecessor,[94] but only after protracted requests for permission. Under 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and his aide-de-camp Osman Bey a regular flow of officially sanctioned copies of the Qur'ān began.[95]

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• From now on this copy will be called the "Istanbul Kadırġalı text", to distinguish it from later copies made from texts written by Kadırġalı and printed elsewhere.

Nazîf Kadırġalı (1846–1913) was one of the three Turkish calligraphers who represented the schools of Ḥâfiz 'Utmân (1642–1698) and Muṣṭafâ Râqim (1787–1825) in the second half of the 19th· century.[96] There is indeed little to distinguish the nasχî writing of Ḥâfiz 'Utmân from that of Kadırġalı.[97]

The fact that this Istanbul Kadırġalı text was reprinted and published in Cairo as late as the 1970's shows both that it remained highly regarded in Egypt, and in circulation there, long after the 1342 Cairo text, and also that even Azhari committees did not consider the 1342 Cairo text "the standard version". That it was probably also the basis of the text revised by al-Dabbâ'[98] further indicates that it was still well regarded in the 1350's (1930's), that is, a decade after the 1342 Cairo text, and by the leading Qur'ân reader in the Muslim world. It was indubitably the model for the Cairo Kadırġalı text,[99] indeed the cancels in the Istanbul Kadırġalı text, referred to as the second reprint, are from the Cairo Kadırġalı text.

§ 13 A second Kadirgali text, printed in Teheran

It is entitled "Qur'ânun mubînun" in a central roundel on the title-page. The covers and spine are decorated with roses in the customary Iranian way, although only in two shades of brown. The text is handsomely printed with pausal indications, madda before hamzat al-qat', and certain other recitative instructions in red.

The title-page is preceded by eight pages, framed as is the text (12 x 7 cm.) The first is blank. The second names the publishing Company, Mu'assaseyeh Amîr Kabîr of 235, Šari' Sa'dî, Teheran. The third gives the binder and printer, Šarkat-i Sahâmiyye Offset, Teheran, and the date 1346. That this is according to Šamsî reckoning is specified in the colophon, where it is repeated, but with a "šîn", and accompanied by both the A.D. date, 1967, and the Qamarî date, "fî šahr Rabî' il-awwal lisannat sab'a watamânîn watalâtmi'a min al-hijra an-nabawiyya" (1387). This is the second impression. On the next page is the publisher's motif, a horse and chariot, and on the fifth page begin the explanatory notes. These cover four pages and correspond in some ways to those of the Ḥafs copy. They begin by saying that this is a copy of a text written about seventy years ago by Kadırġalı.[100] And that this text, which had been printed in Berlin, has now been revised and checked, its verses renumbered,

and published under the auspices of Āqā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ja'farī, the head of Mu'assaseyeh Amīr Kabīr.

The copy has 605 pages of text, including the title-page as page one, with 15 lines to the page. It is basically in the Turkish Tradition but with Iranian modifications.

• So from now on it will be referred to as "the Teheran Ḳadırġah text".

The orthography is said to be ancient.[101] The *qirā'āt* are those most accepted as going back to the Prophet, and the verse-numbering (6,236 in total) is according to the Kufan method, as passed down from 'Alī to Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abdal-lāh ibn Ḥabīb al-Sulamī. Each *juz'* has four *aḥzāb*, and the *sajadāt* are according to famous scholars. It then states two ways in which it diverges (or, rather, has been revised) from copies written in Ottoman times, "*masāḥif 'Uṯmānī*". The first, is where Ottoman copies omitted *ḥurūf* which should be pronounced. These are inserted in red. For example, *talwū̃ₒ* (2nd *wāw* red) (*4:135*);[102] *dāwū̃du* (*2:251*);[103] *wū̃riya* (*7:20*) (2nd *wāw* red).[104] The second is where Ottoman copies included *ḥurūf* which are not pronounced. For ease of reading, these are omitted. For example, *salāsila* (*76:4*) is said to have had a red *alif* at the end;[105] *bi'aydin* (*51:47*) is said to have had a second red *yā'* after the present one;[106] some otiose letters, formerly in red, now have "*qiṣr*" (shorten !) below, e.g. *wa'u̇ₒlū̃ₒ* (*3:18*); *'aw la'aḏbahannah* (*27:21*); *fa_wu̇ₒlã̃'_yika* (*2:160*); *yatlū̃ₒ* allegedly previously red, is here black. Sometimes the "*qiṣr*" has been retained after the removal of the otiose letter, and is therefore redundant, e.g. below *naba'ahum* where the *hamza* has been removed.[107] Four other symbols in red are also found. "*qaṭ'*", as below *'attaχiḏu* in *6:14*; "*sakta*", as below and after *'iwajan* in *18:1*; "*tafχīm*", as below *irtad_y^a* in *24:55*; and "*madd*", as below *bada_wū̃kum* in *9:13*. Another note says that scribes in the old days wrote a red circle, "*dāyereye qirmiz*", to indicate *imāla*, as in *11:41*. A colophon in Arabic also mentions the revision and reorganisation of numbering, "*ṭubi'* ... ba'd at-tadqīq wat-tashīḥ wata'yīn ta'dād il-āyāt*".

The same text was printed, in black and white only, and in a much less handsome form, by the *Kitābfurūsī Χāwur* in 1369. This has to be a *hijrī qamarī* dating, making it 1949/50 A.D.It was also reprinted, again handsomely, by Mu'assasat al-Ma'ārif, P.O.Box 11 - 9424, Beirut. This copy, undated, in a larger frame in red roundels on the blue background of the

upper cover and spine, and has a flap. The text is again only black-and-white.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION
OF PRINTED QUR'ĀN COPIES

The Egyptian Tradition finally broke from the Turkish one with the 1342 Cairo text. It is the odd one out, in that not only is it (with two exceptions) the only one claiming 'Uṯmānic authority, but in a sense it is the only one which is solely a printed Tradition. That is, it specifically claims that its orthography is not based on the written Tradition of the last ten or more centuries, but on the recorded oral Tradition of the first century.

It would not therefore be expected that the orthography of Egyptian manuscripts prior to the 19th century A.D. would correspond with Egyptian printed copies.[108] In respect of uprightness, the script of the Ḥafṣ copy, at least, is in line with many Mamluk and subsequent copies.[109] So it is surprising that the Indian and North-West African Traditions, both of manuscript descent, are so similar in orthography to this Egyptian printed Tradition. This could indicate that the orthography of the 1342 Cairo text was in fact simply breaking with the Iranian and Turkish Traditions, and that leaning on the authority of 'Uṯmān was more a politico-religious move than a textual one.

§ 14 A third Kadirgali text, printed in Cairo

It is entitled "*Qur'ān karīm*" in the central design of the upper cover with *56: 77–80* in the four inside corners of the frame. On the title-page is "*al-Qur'ān al-karīm, biχaṭṭ is-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Naẓīf aṣ-ṣahīr biKadırgalı, munaqqahan 'ala r-rasm il-'Uṯmānī*" – "The noble Qur'ān, in the hand of al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Naẓīf known as Kadırgalı, revised according to the 'Uṯmānic graphic form".[110] It was printed by Maktabat al-Gumhūriyya al-'Arabiyya under a permit dated 7/8/1965 from the professoriate of the Azhar, and at the expense of the publisher, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Murād. It is the Istanbul Kadırgalı text in a revised form, having the same number of pages (522), the same number of lines per page (15), and even the same position for each word per line.

• From now on it will be referred to as "the Cairo Kadırgalı text".

The Cairo Ķadırġalı text is still a common form of copies today, and different sized facsimiles of the same manuscript from different printers and publishers can readily be found.[111]

The copy consulted makes claim to the authority of the 1342 Cairo text by appending that text's explanatory notes and the four signatories to its completed manuscript.[112] In the Cairo Ķadırġalı text, however, the date given is a month earlier (10/3/1337).[113] This in itself is an acknowledgement that the Cairo Ķadırġalı text antedated the 1342 Cairo text. It is clear from certain small discrepancies that the Cairo Ķadır-ġalı text was not in fact copied with exactly these explanatory notes as a guideline.[114] This is also clear from a statement by the printer below the list of signatories that the notes were entered in full in this copy to define its conventions, as they had done for their well-known original.[115] In other words, the notes had not originally belonged to the Cairo Ķadırġalı text. But the correspondence between the Cairo Ķadırġalı text and the 1342 Cairo text with respect to these notes is so close that either the 1342 Cairo text was copied from the Cairo Ķadırġalı text, or else the two texts must have been written more or less alongside each other. This could only have been in the early stages of the 1342 Cairo text, since Ķadırġalı died in 1913.

What was it though that had prompted this revision of the Istanbul Ķadırġalı text ? Ķadırġalı's having moved to Egypt ? And his having become a scribe there ? Post 1908 Turkey would not have been a good place for a prominent Qur'ān copyist. For it merely to have been that the plates were simply shipped to al-Matba'a al-Amīriyya in Bulaq from its namesake in Istanbul is improbable. Why should a Turkish scribe write in a new orthographic Tradition while still in Turkey ? Since the Cairo Ķadır-ġalı text was completed at least twelve years before the 1342 Cairo text, it is therefore most likely that the manuscript for the 1342 Cairo text was modelled on this Cairo Ķadırġalı text, incorporating a few small improvements, and a generally more easily read text.[116]

Perhaps the 1342 Cairo text was trying to represent an *Arab*, copy, now that the Turkish Empire was no more. The omission of the name of the Turkish copyist from another reprint of his text,[117] might support this. And a possible new emphasis on the term *"bir-rasm il-'Utmānī"* could be seen to capture the motivation behind the whole new Egyptian Tradition. This was to take it to mean "according to the graphic form of the caliph 'Utmān", rather than any reference to the Ottoman script.[118]

which has "'*innahu laqur'ānun karīmun fī kitābin maknūnin*" (*56:77,78*)
on the upper cover and is entitled "*Mushaf al-Haramayn al-Sarīfayn
bir-rasm il-'Utmānī*" on the title-page. In insets on the cover it has
"'*innahu laqur'ānun karīmun fī kitābin maknūnin lā yamassuhu 'illa
l-mutahharūna tanzīlun min rabb il-'ālamīna*" (*56:77-80*), as on the title-
page of the Damascus copy.[119] The frame containing the text measures
30 x 20 cm., and having 522 pages of text with 15 lines to the page, it is
essentially the same as the Cairo Kadırgalı text. The position of the words
on the pages is identical. But it has a number of different conventions
which place it in some ways more in line with the earlier, Istanbul Kadırgalı
text, and so with the general Turkish Tradition. A different original must
nevertheless have been used, since at times these conventions impinge on
the spacing of the graphic form. e.g. p.326.2, the *hamza*-character before
'*ānastu* in the Cairo Kadırgalı text. The explanatory notes, modified from
those of the 1342 Cairo text, were signed by the official reviser of Egyptian
Qur'ān copies, 'Alī ibn Muhammad al-Dabbā', whose stamp is reproduced
on the last but one page. He therefore must have revised the whole original
manuscript.

• So from now on this copy will be referred to as "the Kadırgalı text
revised by al-Dabbā'".

The stamp is dated 1341, but it has to be anachronistic, even for the
original manuscript. For one thing, the source for the *sajadāt* was only
published, as he himself (presumably) noted, in 1349, and for another, the
date of completion (*tahrīran fī* ...) given next to his stamp is 21/1/1354
/ 24/4/1935. This particular Beirut facsimile-impression of this text must
be later than 1977 A.D. too, as it is under the same permit 22, from the
same printers and publishers, and at the expense of the same Muhammad
'Alī Baydūn as the Beirut copy.

al-Dabbā' was the foremost teacher of Qur'ān readings in Egypt in
the 1920s and 30s at least, and as official reviser of Qur'ān copies was also
the foremost official authority on the written text.[120] Not only therefore
is this copy of the utmost accuracy, but it is of significance in that it was
prepared a decade after the publication of the 1342 Cairo text, and yet it
reverts in a number of ways to the Turkish Tradition. While the Damascus
copy is Turkish with Egyptian modifications, this Kadırgalı text revised by
al-Dabbā' is the converse. Even for leading Egyptian Qur'ān scholars the
1342 Cairo text was not considered the last word.

entitled "*Mushaf al-Ḥaramayn al-Šarīfayn*" on the upper cover, and "*Qur'ān karīm bir-rasm il-'Utmānī*" on the title-page. The latter also has "*hāda balāġun lin-nāsi waliyundarūₒ bihi*" (*14: 52*) in small print below left. It is not dated, but is later than 1977 A.D., as it was printed under permit 22 of the Dār al-Fatwa al-Lubnāniyya of that year, by the publishing firm, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, and at the expense of Muḥammad 'Alī Baydūn. The text is 486 pages long, with 17 lines to the page and the frame containing the text measures 17 x 11 cm. It has the full, explanatory notes (*ta'rīf*) of the 1342 Cairo text. The scribe of the manuscript is not mentioned.

• From now on this copy will be referred to as "the Beirut copy".

Another copy of the same facsimile, with the same cover-title and the same explanatory notes, but with a frame of 9 x 6 cm., was printed some two decades earlier in 7/1380 / 12/1960, at the expense of the same firm. The title on its title-page is the same, but it lacks details of the permit and owner of the publishing firm, and the designation "*bir-rasm il-'Utmānī*". Instead, the claim to the 'Utmānic graphic form is made on a final page (absent from the Beirut copy). Here also are printing dates and a paragraph stating that the copy was checked by the Azhar committee under Šayx 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Qādī, with seven named members. Five of these are as in the Cairo Kadırġalı text, and the two others are Šayx Muḥammad Sālim Muḥaysin and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Muḥammad Sālim.

§ 17 The official Indonesian text

This copy has two columns of text per page, the Arabic in one and a parallel translation into Indonesian in the other. It is similar in layout to the column-and-column-about translation of the Qur'ān into English by 'Abdal-lāh Yūsuf 'Alī. The Arabic text of the official Indonesian text, however, is closer to the Ḥafṣ copy than the original Arabic of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation, with little or no normalisation of spelling. It is entitled "*Al-Qurāan Dan Terjemahnya*" on the upper cover, with "*al-Qur'ān al-karīm*" in Arabic below, and the same on the title-page. The translation was completed in 1971, the foreword was written by the Minister for Religion on 15/6/1394 / 5/7/1974, and the final recommendation on the last page, by the Committee in charge, is dated 20/8/1977. It was published by Bumi Rastu in Jakarta. The copy is 1,122 pages long and the frame

containing the text measures 14 x 9 cm. There is a long introduction of 132 pages, including a discussion of the "recension of ʿUtmān" and ending with a section on readings.

Apart from details noted in chapter 3, the orthographical conventions of the official Indonesian text correspond most closely to those of the Kadir-ġalī text revised by al–Dabbāʿ, as, for instance, in having an inverted *damma* for *ũ*, and a small *alif* beneath a consonant to indicate *ĩ*.

THE NORTH-WEST AFRICAN TRADITION
OF PRINTED QUR'ĀN COPIES

Finally, the North-West African Tradition, although again similar to the Egyptian one in orthography, is in many ways closer to the different *transmission* of Warš. Its calligraphy, it need hardly be said, is different from all the other Traditions. For these reasons it has been classed as a separate Tradition, although only one printed Maġribī copy has been consulted.

§ 18 A copy written in Maġribī script

and published by the Tunis Publishing House (*al–Dār al–Tūnisiyya lil–Našr*),[121] as usual without a date. It is a facsimile of a manuscript from the collection of the late Šayx Muhammad al–Tāhir ibn ʿAšūr,[122] completed on the 1/8/1200 (30/5/1785) by the scribe, al–hājj Zubayr ibn ʿAbdal–lāh al–Hanafī. In red ink above the 1200 is added 76 which would make it 23/2/1859. It follows the Fāsī practice in not having diacritical dots on final *fā'*, *qāf*, *nūn* or *yā'*.[123]

- From now on it will be referred to as "the Maġribī Hafs copy".

The facsimile has been made with all the original colours. The effort involved in masking the various colours for each stage of printing would have been enormous. It is hoped that more facsimiles like this will be made, and so bring some of the many exquisite Qur'ān manuscripts into general circulation. It is entitled "*Qur'ān karīm*" on the inside and outside, and is sixty pages long, each page being a *hizb*. The frame containing the text measures 24 x 15 cm., and would probably not have been reduced from the original, despite the 55 lines of each page being in tiny handwriting, and the occasional minute, in-between-the-line comments in red. The similar-sized (25 x 16cm.), sixty-paged, Edinburgh University Oriental manuscript

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no.149 (dating probably from the 9th. century A.H.) also has such in-between-the-line comments.

This Maġribī copy is of interest for several reasons. Firstly, it is less subject to the black-and-white restraints hitherto imposed on manuscripts destined for publication. Secondly, it is not more than a decade old, and therefore indicates that in North-West Africa also, the 1342 Cairo text is not considered the only authority. But thirdly, and most importantly, while deviating hardly at all from the 1342 Cairo text in vocal form, it corresponds with the Warš copy in graphic form on several occasions, rather than with the 1342 Cairo text. It also corresponds with the Warš copy in a number of other features, some of which are noted in the following section. This is further indication that the vocal form of the Qur'ān is older and more rigid than the graphic form.

Chapter 3

VARIATIONS BETWEEN
THE ḤAFṢ COPIES

THE PURPOSE of this chapter is to show areas where Ḥafṣ copies vary among themselves. These areas can then be excluded from the lists of differences between the Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy. The variations are therefore documented only in so far as to delineate an area, and do not claim to be exhaustive.

Most of the variations simply concern orthography or recitation, and it must be said at the outset that none has any effect on the meaning of the text. Within a given transmission, such as Ḥafṣ', that never varies. It must also be said that there is no clear dividing line between reading and chanting, so some variations are purely recitative.

§ 1   *GENERAL VARIATIONS*

1.1 In orthography

1.1.1 The usual differences between Fāsī–Maġribī and *nasχī* scripts, where this applies, with respect to the diacritical dots of initial and medial *fā'* and *qāf*, and those of final *fā'*, *qāf*, *nūn*, and *yā'*.

1.1.2 The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy employs the old system of colours. Vocal *alif* (*hadf al-alif*), which includes *yā'-alif*, and all vocal long vowels are written in red, *hamzat al-qaṭ'* is a golden dot and *hamzat al-waṣl* a blue one. The Teheran Kadırgalı text uses red for vocal *alifs*, pause and remarks like *qiṣr*. All other copies consulted use only black. Many Eastern Ḥafṣ manuscripts use only red in addition to black, and not for vocalisation but for pausal notes, and the like.

1.1.3 The word *allayl* (e.g. *92:1*)[1] is written with one *lām* carrying both *šadda* and *fatḥa* in all the Ḥafṣ copies, except the Teheran copies and the Damascus copy which have *al-layl*. In the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy[2] the word is written with one *lām*, which is given neither *šadda* nor *fatḥa*, e.g. *2:164*.

The word *al-lah* (or *al-lãh*) in all copies does have *šadda* and *fatḥa* (or vocal *alif*), except in the form *lil-lahi* in the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy,[3] e. g. *1: 2; 2:112*.

Similarly, the relative adjectives, *alladīna* and the like, are written with a single *lām* in both transmissions, but in the Warš copy and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy the *lām* has no marks at all, whereas in all the other Ḥafṣ copies it carries both *šadda* and *fatḥa*.

Since the Warš copy does not vowel the *lām*, in cases where the Ḥafṣ copies have the feminine plural *ullãti, allãti, illãti* or *allã$_y$i*, the pronunciation in the Warš copy has to be found out from *qirā'at* works. This occurs in *4: 15, 23a, b, c, 34, 127* and *65: 4*. That the last is *wallãy*, for instance, can be inferred from ibn al-Jazarī's statement regarding *wamahyãy* (*6:162*) that a closed, long syllable requires *madda*.[4]

1.1.4 The Ḥafṣ copy has *'isrã'īl* where the Warš copy has *'isrã'īl* throughout, and *'ibrãhīm* where the Warš copy has *'ibrāhīm* in *Sūrat al-Baqara* (fifteen occurrences, e.g. *2:127, 132*). Otherwise both have *'ibrãhīm*.[5]

The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy again, is as the Warš copy in both. So also is the Damascus copy, although with *'ibrāhīm* throughout. Most Turkish copies are similar to the Warš copy in having *'ibrãhīm* and *'isrã'īl* throughout, except that in the latter it amalgamates the vocal *hamza* to the *yā'*. This is a trait of the Turkish Tradition.[6] The Teheran copies have *'isrã$_y$īl*, and are as the Warš copy for *'ibrãhīm* (e.g. = *2:122, 127* in the Isfahani text).[7] The Indian copies are like the Warš copy for *'isrã'īl* but

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like the Ḥafṣ copy for 'ibrāhīm. All the others are like the Ḥafṣ copy.

1.1.5   The Egyptian Tradition (bar the official Indonesian text) always has al-lah, 'aχir and 'aχira where the Indian copies, the Teheran copies and the Turkish Tradition (bar the Damascus copy) all have al-lãh, 'ãχir and 'ãχira.

1.1.6   The Turkish and Persian Traditions frequently, but not totallly, normalise many of the archaic spellings of the Ḥafṣ copy. Half a dozen examples illustrate this.

Nearly all vocal alifs in the Ḥafṣ copy are graphic alifs, e.g. māliki for māliki (1: 4), al-kitābu for al-kitãbu (2: 2), excepting dãlika and the like, lãkin, ar-rahmãn, and names like 'ibrāhīm and 'ismā'īl. cf. also wamīkāla (2: 98, = 93) for wamīk $\frac{a}{y}$ la of the Ḥafṣ copy. The Indian Tradition is close to the Egyptian regarding alif, but occasionally varies, e.g. the later Tãj text has limīqātinā (7:155) for the Ḥafṣ copy's limīqãtinā.

Vocal hamzas and vocal yā's in the Ḥafṣ copy can be graphic, e.g. χatī'atuhu in the Teheran copies and the 1392 Turkish text for χatī ' at-uhũ (2: 81 = 77), and šay$_y$an in the Teheran copies in 6: 80 (= 81). In 6: 80 the Turkish copies tend to put the hamza and the yā' with the same seat.

Final long vowels in the Ḥafṣ copy are not always given extra prolongation before hamza in the Teheran and Turkish copies, e.g. bihī 'illa in the Isfahani text and the 1392 Turkish text for the Ḥafṣ copy's bihĩ (6: 80, = 81) and bihi in the Harīsī text; and bimã 'unzila in the Isfahani text, the Damascus copy and the 1392 Turkish text (2: 4) but bimã 'unzila in the Harīsī text. Nor always is final hu/hi given the prolongation of the Ḥafṣ copy in the Teheran copies, e.g. 2: 81 (= 77) as above, and bihĩ 'alaykum (6: 81, = 82) in the Isfahani text, the Damascus copy and the 1392 Turkish text (as in the Ḥafṣ copy), but only bihi in the Harīsī text and the Teheran Kadırgalı text.

Vocal sīn in the Ḥafṣ copy can be graphic, e.g. yabsutu for yab$s$utu in the Isfahani text (2:245, = 247).[3] The Teheran Kadırgalı text here has yabsutu with "yuqra' bis-sīn" in red below. P.George's manuscript has sīn in the text with a red sãd on top and "wabis-sãd" below.

Archaisms like alif al-wiqāya on certain nouns final hamza, and 2nd. and 3rd. singular imperfect verbs final radical wãw can also be modernised, e.g. imru'un in the Teheran copies for imru'un₀ of the Egyptian and Indian

copies (*4:176*).[9] But this is not always the case, e.g. *'abnā̃ $_w$ũ$_o$* in the Isfahani text for *'abnā̃ $_w$ũ$_o$* of the Ḥafṣ copy (*5:18,* = *22*), but *'abnā̃'u* in the Harīsī text, the Damascus copy and the 1392 Turkish text. Nor do the Teheran copies modernise, for instance, *ar–rib$_w^{\tilde{a}}$$_o$* (e.g. *2:275*), *ta'fũ$_o$* (*2:237,* = *239*), or *yatlũ$_o$* (*2:129,* = *124*). Nor is *alif al–wiqāya* inserted after 3$^{rd.}$ plural perfect verbs final radical *hamza* as in the Ḥafṣ copy, e.g. *wabā̃'ū* (*3:112*) in the Damascus copy or the 1392 Turkish text or the Harīsī text, but in the Isfahani text it can be, e.g. *wabā̃$_w$ũ$_o$* (= *109*).

Archaic *tā' ṭawīla* for *hā' al–ta'nīt* is usually modernised in the Isfahani text, but not in the Harīsī text or the Damascus copy or the 1392 Turkish text, e.g. *rahmata* (*2:218,* = *216*) in the Harīsī text, the Damascus copy and the 1392 Turkish text, but *rahmah^{t}a* in the Isfahani text; *ni'mah^{t}a* in the Isfahani text, for *ni'mata* in the others (*2: 231,* = *232*, and *5: 11*), and *imra'ah^{t}u* in the Isfahani text, for *imra'atu* in the others (*3: 35*).

1.1.7

The Egyptian Tradition, the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Damascus copy use a superior, circular zero to indicate letters not vocally realised, e.g. on *alif al–wiqāya* and the quiescent *wāw* in *'u$_o$lā'ika* and *'u$_o$lũ$_o$*, e.g. *2: 5, 269 (= 273)*. The Kadırġalı text revised by al–Dabbā' does not do this, nor do other copies in the Indian, Persian and Turkish Traditions (bar the Damascus copy). The Indian copies tend to have a similar but more oval symbol,[10] but employ it differently. With the 3$^{rd.}$ masculine plural perfect they have the symbol on the preceding *wāw* rather than on the *alif al–wiqāya*. The official Indonesian text does not differentiate between this symbol and that for *sukūn*, employing a rounded zero for both. It also has this on all unvowelled consonants except *hamzat al–waṣl*, and so, in the case of the 3$^{rd.}$ masculine plural perfect, has the zero on both the *wāw* and the *alif al–wiqāya*.

1.1.8

One difference in the Turkish Tradition makes the text less crowded, while not forfeiting anything in accuracy. *Alif–hamza*, whether *hamzat al–qaṭ'* or *hamzat al–waṣl*, is not indicated, since, as noted in the explanatory notes, the presence or absence of a vowel obviates the need. It means that on occasion the graphic form differs from that of the Egyptian Tradition, for example, in *6: 76–78.*[11] Other *hamzas* also, e.g. *wāw–hamza* and *yā'–hamza*, especially when vocal, can be written differently, in the

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Kadırğalı text revised by al-Dabbā' and the Turkish Tradition, e.g. *2:14*.[12]

That regional Traditions can diverge on points like this graphic indication of *hamza*, but not on vowels, indicates how much more fixed the vocal form of the Qur'ān is than the graphic form.

1.2 In recitation

1.2.1 Assimilation.

This is an area in which variation and conflicting reports within transmissions were current in the time of al-Dānī (d.444)[13] and still are today. The Hafs copy, the Cairo Kadırğalı text, the Beirut copy and the Damascus copy follow exactly the same system of partial and complete assimilation. The Kadırğalı text revised by al-Dabbā' differs in a few ways, and is most like the Istanbul Kadırğalı text.[14] The official Indonesian text and the Teheran Kadırğalı text indicate partial assimilation only in the nominative, and what is partial in the Hafs copy tends, in the official Indonesian text, to be complete. The Indian copies have only complete assimilation, what is partial in the Hafs copy being complete, and the Maġribī Hafs copy indicates only complete assimilation, what in the Hafs copy is partial being omitted. The Persian and Turkish Traditions as a whole do not even indicate complete assimilation, which is also the practice with most manuscripts from whatever provenance. The 1370 Iraqi text, in the Turkish Tradition, does, however, indicate *idġām* below, in *basatta*, for instance, (*5:28*) and *qālat ṭā'ifah^tun* (*33:13*).

1.2.2

Indications of pause vary between the copies. The same conventions are found in the Beirut copy, the Cairo Kadırğalı text and the Damascus copy, but the value of the pause can differ, as for instance in *2:37*. Different and more extensive indication is found in copies in the Turkish Tradition. In the Maġribī Hafs copy there is next to no indication at all. The system in the Indian copies and the Teheran copies is basically the same as that in the Turkish Tradition, with small extras and differences here and there.

An illustration of variation over an example of pause, which does impinge on the vowel quantity is the change of $\bar{a}$ to a_o in pause.[15] The Kadırğalı text revised by al-Dabbā' (and the Qatari centennial copy) does not indicate this pausal *alif* at all (not even in the explanatory notes), e.g. *18:38* – *lākinnā*, where the Beirut copy has *lākinna_o*, the Cairo Kadırğalı text has a misprint,[16] the 1392 Turkish text has *qisr* below (indicating
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shortening) and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy has a red and gold dot (the latter normally indicating *hamzat al-qaṭ‘* and the former something vocal). With '*anā* the Egyptian Tradition has '*ana₀* throughout (e.g. *3: 81, 5: 28*), and the Turkish Tradition usually has *qiṣr*. The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy has a tiny "*qiṣr*" in red below each '*ana*.

When final *ā* is followed by *hamzat al-qaṭ‘*, what is *ā* in the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā' (and the Isfahani text), is $\widetilde{a}$ in the Warš copy, whether in pause or not, e.g. '*anā/'an$\widetilde{a}$ 'uḥy$\widetilde{\imath}$* (*2:258*), *wa'anā/wa'an$\widetilde{a}$ 'awwalu* (*6:163*), *anā/'an$\widetilde{a}$ 'ātīka* (*27: 39*). In the Turkish Tradition *anā* tends to have *qiṣr* below in these examples. This rule does not apply to *y$\widetilde{a}$'adam* etc., *h$\widetilde{a}$'antum* nor *ī'i/a*[17] and *yastaḥyī 'an* etc.

1.2.3 Divisions of the text.

— Verses.

The verses of the Egyptian and Turkish Traditions are according to the Kufan numbering. The verse-numbering of most Indian copies diverges in a number of places, and not according to any particular one of the listed systems. For instance, *4:177* (for *176* of the Ḥafṣ copy) is found only in the Syrian numbering;[18] and *6: 77–79* (for *76–78*) of the Ḥafṣ copy) is the Meccan and second Medinese numbering, although in *6: 1* they do not tally with that numbering.[19]

As for the Persian Tradition, the Ḥarīsī text is as the Egyptian, but the verse-numbering of the Isfahani text is apparently unique.[20] The North-West African Tradition does not have numbers, but divisions were not found to differ. The verses of the Warš copy are numbered according to the version of the first Medinese numbering, which is identical to the Kufan Tradition.[21]

— Sections.

The five Traditions vary,[22] in position and nomenclature. For example, excluding the Teheran copies, which are radically divergent, the following differences were found in the first five *sūras*.

> *3: 92* – the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā', the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy;[23] *3: 93* – the Ḥafṣ copy, the Beirut copy and the Cairo Kadırġalı text.

> *4: 1* – the Ḥafṣ copy, the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā' and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy; *4: 6* – the Warš copy.

> *4: 87* – the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā', the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy; *4: 88* – the Ḥafṣ copy, the Beirut copy and the Cairo Kadırġalı text.

4:135 – the Ḥafṣ copy and the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā';
4:130 – the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy.

4:163 – the Ḥafṣ copy and the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā';
4:166 – the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy.

5: 3 – the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy; *5: 1* – the Ḥafṣ copy, the Beirut copy.

5: 28 – the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā'; *5: 27* – the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text, the Ḥafṣ copy, the Beirut copy and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy; *5: 23* – the Warš copy.

5: 51 – the Ḥafṣ copy and the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā';
5: 49 – the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy.

5:109 – the Ḥafṣ copy and the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā';
5:111 – the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy.

The Egyptian system can be seen as a refinement of the Turkish. The Iranian Tradition is different, as is the Indian one too.[24]

1.3 In other peripheral features[25]

1.3.1 *sajadāt* (prostrations)

Taking two *sajadāt* as examples, the following copies indicate them.

16: 49–50. The Egyptian, Turkish and Indian Traditions, and the Iranian Tradition bar the Isfahani text (= *52–53*). The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy does not.[26]

27: 25–26. Again, the Egyptian, Turkish and Indian Traditions, and the Iranian Tradition bar the Isfahani text (= *26–27*). The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy does not.[27] The second *sajda* in *sūrat hajj* (*22: 77*) is noted as obligatory only in the *Šāfi'ī* rite in the Indian Tradition. Zafrulla Khan's translation marks it as a normal *sajda*, the later Tāj text and South African revision mark it as *Šāfi'ī*.

1.3.2 Names of *sūras*.

The Isfahani text, the official Indonesian text, Turkish and Indian copies usually call *sūra 17 benī 'isrā'īl*, others call it *al-isrā'*. Iranian and Indian copies and the official Indonesian text usually call *sūra 40 al-mu'min*, others call it *ġāfir*. The Indian copies, the Teheran copies and the Qatari centennial copy call *sūra 76 ad dahr*, others call it *al-insān*.

The Harīsī text, the small Teheran pocket-selection of *sūras*, the Qatari centennial copy and the 1392 Turkish text call *sūra 94 al-inširāh*, the official Indonesian text calls it *alam našrah*, and others call it *aš-šarh*. The Harīsī text, the small Teheran pocket-selection of *sūras*, the Qatari centennial copy, the 1392 Turkish text and many Indian copies call *sūra 99 az-zilzāl*, others call it *az-zalzala*. The small Teheran pocket-selection of *sūras* calls *sūra 106 aš-šitā'*, others call it *qurayš*, or *al-qurayš*. The Teheran copies and the 1392 Turkish text call *sūra 111 tabbat*, the official Indonesian text, the small Teheran pocket-selection of *sūras* and the Qatari centennial copy call it *al-lahab* and others call it *al-masad*.

1.3.3 Explanatory notes.

The explanatory notes at the back of the Ḥafṣ copy, the Beirut copy and the Cairo Kadırgalı text are identical, but those of the Kadırgalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā' differ in places, both in the conventions it employs and in its sources. This would account for a number of minor differences between the Kadırgalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā' and other copies, e.g. pausal *alif* (see § 22 re *3: 81*), and partial assimilation within a word (see § 22 re *5: 28*). The explanatory notes at the back of the Damascus copy cover only one page and are an abbreviation of notes 1–8 of the Ḥafṣ copy and its conventions for pause, all of them shortened but in the same order. The notes at the back of the Indian copies, the 1392 Turkish text and the Qatari centennial copy refer only to the symbols for pause, *rukū'* and textual division. The Qatari centennial copy and the Teheran Kadırgalı text are as the 1392 Turkish text (which = the Kadırgalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā' and the Indian copies) although with three extra refinements (the letters *kāf*, *sīn* and *ṣād lām-alif*), and the Indian copies are alone in having occasional marginal notes concerning the Ḥafṣ transmission, and regular ones concerning pause. Late Indian copies, probably under the influence of the 1342 Cairo text, have many more explanatory notes than earlier ones.

In conclusion, the areas covered by the examples in this section can be excluded from the discussion of variations between the transmissions of Ḥafṣ and Warš.

§ 2 *PARTICULAR VARIATIONS*

Here follow a number of examples of places where variations obtain in printed copies of the Ḥafṣ transmission. The list again is not exhaustive, but selective, for purposes of illustration. In each case, as a point of reference, the utterance is given in its form in the Ḥafṣ copy and then within square brackets in its form in the Warš copy, when this differs. Then follows information about the copies described in chapter 2.

2.1 In vocalisation

2.1.1 *30:54 – daʿfin... daʿfin... daʿfan [duʿfin... duʿfin... duʿfan].*

The Turkish and Egyptian Traditions (bar the official Indonesian text) are as the Ḥafṣ copy, but the Teheran copies and the Indian Tradition are as the Warš copy. In the earlier Tāj text there is a marginal note saying, "Ḥafṣ read the *ḍād* with both *ḍamma* and *fatḥa* in all three, but *ḍamma* is preferable" – *walākin ad-ḍamma muχtāra*. The Qaṭari reprint of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation has *daʿfin... duʿfin... duʿfin*. The Maḡribī Ḥafṣ copy is as the Ḥafṣ copy graphically, but is as the Warš copy vocally — each *ḍād* has a *fatḥa* in black with a red *ḍamma* sitting on it. Conversely, the 18th- century Indian copy (Edinburgh University Qurʾān ms.148) has the three *fatḥas* in red and the three *ḍammas* in black. The 1067/1656 Iranian (?) copy (Edinburgh University Qurʾān ms.152) has three black *ḍammas* sitting on three black *fatḥas*.

2.1.2 *hamza bayn–bayn*

41:44 – ʾaãʿjamiyyun [ʾã̃ʿjamiyyun].[28]

The large dot is in most copies in the Egyptian Tradition, but is also found in the North-West African one. The Turkish and Indian Traditions tend to have "*tashīl*" written below, and the Iranian one nothing. In

detail, the following can be said. The Cairo Kadırġalı text, the Beirut copy and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy are as the Ḥafṣ copy, except that in the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy the dot is in red, and in the Cairo Kadırġalı text it is a circle – ʾaãʿjamiyyun. In the Cairo Kadırġalı text's explanatory notes the convention is described as in the Ḥafṣ copy – nuqta mudawwara masdūdat ul-wast – but both there and in the text it is a circle.[29]

The Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbāʿ has ʾaʾaʿjamiyyun without any sign, although in the explanatory notes it says that it has tashīl written below. The 1392 Turkish text has the same spelling but with the tashīl. So does the Teheran Kadırġalı text, in red below. Similarly, most Indian copies (manuscript[30] and printed) have ʾaʾaʿjamiyyun without any sign, although often have a marginal note saying, "Ḥafṣ read tashīl of the second hamza". The Qatari reprint of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation has nothing, but the Libyan one is as the Ḥafṣ copy. The official Indonesian text, the Damascus copy, the Isfahani text (= 45) and the Harīsī text all have ʾaʾaʿjamiyyun without any sign or note.

2.2 In orthography

2.2.1 The orthography of hamza

2:14 – mustahziʾūna.

All the copies consulted are as both the Ḥafṣ and Warš copies, except those from the Turkish Tradition, which amalgamate hamza to a following long vowel. The Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbāʿ has mustahzi$_w$ʾūna. The Istanbul Kadırġalı text, the Teheran Kadırġalı text and P.George's manuscript also combine the wāw and hamza, but have u for ū. So does the 1392 Turkish text but writes in "madd" below the wāw, that is, it is the same as the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbāʿ. Compare also the 1392 Turkish text's writing of ʾisrāʾīl.[31]

2:72 – faddāraʾtum [faddāraʾtum].

The Beirut copy, the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbāʿ, the official Indonesian text, the Indian copies and the 1392 Turkish text are all as the Ḥafṣ copy.[32] The Cairo Kadırġalı text harmonises by having a tiny alif as a seat for the hamza (whereas the Istanbul Kadırġalı text is as the Ḥafṣ copy), but the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy as the Warš copy. The Damascus copy,

the Teheran Kadırgalı text, the Isfahani text (= *69*) and the Harīsī text
are also as the Warš copy, except that they normalise the vocal *alif* after
the *dāl* to become graphic - *faddāra'tum*.

2.2.2 The orthography of *yā'-alif*

2: *29* - *fasaww* $\overset{\tilde{a}}{y}$ *hunna*.

Without dots under the seat for the *alif* [with dots].

The Egyptian Tradition (including here the Damascus copy) and the
Indian Tradition[33] are as the Ḥafṣ copy. The Turkish Tradition (bar the
Istanbul Kadırgalı text), the Teheran copies and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy are
as the Warš copy with *yā'-alif*.[34] The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy, like the Warš
copy, also has dots below *yā'-hamza*.

That these dots are simply orthographical filling-in, rather than in-
dication of partial elision (*hamza bayn-bayn*) or intermediate deflection
(*imāla bayn-bayn*) respectively, is shown by the Warš copy's use of an
extra convention to indicate these, the large dot. In fact, on the one hand,
when the Warš copy is indicating partial elision, the character for *hamza* is
not written,[35] and on the other, in the sole case of intermediate deflection
in the Ḥafṣ transmission, *majr* $\overset{\tilde{a}}{y}$ *hā* (*11: 41*), *yā'-alif* and dots are not writ-
ten together when the deflection is recorded.[36]

2: *98* - *wamīk* $\overset{\tilde{a}}{y}$ *la* [*wamīkā* $\overset{\tilde{\approx}'}{y}$ *ila*].

All the copies consulted are as the Ḥafṣ copy, except the Damascus
copy, the 1392 Turkish text, the Teheran Kadırgalı text, the Isfahani text
(= *93*) and the Harīsī text which normalise the *yā'*[37] into a graphic *alif*
- *wamīkāla*.

20: *63* - *'in* [*'inna*] *h* $\overset{\tilde{a}}{}$ *d* $\overset{\tilde{a}}{}$ *ni*.

The Cairo Kadırgalı text, the Beirut copy, the Kadırgalı text revised
by al-Dabbā', the official Indonesian text and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy are all
as the Ḥafṣ copy. But the Indian Tradition has a *yā'-alif* - *'in hā* $\overset{\tilde{a}}{d}$ $\overset{a}{y}$ *ni*.
The Qatari reprint of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation belongs to this
Tradition, but the Libyan one is as the Ḥafṣ copy. The Damascus copy,
the 1392 Turkish text, the Teheran Kadırgalı text, P.George's manuscript,
the Isfahani text (= *67*) and the Harīsī text again normalise, by making
the vocal second *alif* graphic - *'in h* $\overset{\tilde{a}}{}$ *dāni*.

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2.2.3 Otiose *alif*

4:176 – imru'un$_o$.

All the copies consulted are are as both the Ḥafṣ and Warš copies. except the Damascus copy, the Isfahani text (= *177*) and the Ḥarīsī text which normalise and have no final *alif al-wiqāya – imru'un*. The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy has a small, red, inverted semi-circle over *alif al-wiqāya*.

9: 47, and 27: 21 – wala'awḍa'ū$_o$, and *aw la'a$_o$ḏbaḥannahū̃.*[38]

The Cairo Kadırġalı text and the Beirut copy are as the Ḥafṣ copy. The Kadırġalı text revised by al-Ḏabbā' is also as the Ḥafṣ copy, except that it has no superscript zero over the redundant second *alif* in *27: 21*, and in an attempt to minimise the discrepancy between the vocal and graphic forms, joins its top to that of the *alif* in the *alif-lām*.

The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy is as the Ḥafṣ copy too, except with -$\tilde{u}$ for -$\tilde{u}$ in *27: 21*, with a red dot over the second, redundant *alif*. P.George's manuscript here has a small red second *alif*, but in *9: 47* has no otiose *alif*, like the Ḥafṣ copy. And the Damascus copy is as the Ḥafṣ copy in *9: 47*, although negligently omitting *hamza* over the *alif*. The official Indonesian text is as the Ḥafṣ copy in *9: 47*, but normalises *27: 21* to *aw la'aḏbaḥannahū̃*. The same goes for the Isfahani text (= *9: 48, 27: 22*) and the Ḥarīsī text, but with *u* for $\tilde{u}$ – *aw la'aḏbaḥannahu*. The later Tāj text, the South African revision and the Delhi copy have *wala$_o$'awḍa'ū$_o$*, and *aw la$_o$'aḏbaḥannahū̃*, and the earlier Tāj text has *aw la'a$_o$ḏbaḥannahū̃*. In *9: 47* all three copies have an italic *o* over the first *alif*, indicating redundancy, but in *27: 21* the later Tāj text and the earlier Tāj text have no italic *o*, in this case the second being redundant, whereas the Delhi copy has an italic *o* added later. (The italic *o* is here transcribed by a zero to avoid confusion with the pausal *alif*). These copies do not use the zero as a symbol for *sukūn*. The 1392 Turkish text is as the Indian copies in *9: 47*, but with "*qiṣr*" in small print below the first *alif*. However it normalises *27: 21* to *awla'aḏbaḥannahū̃*. The comparable *la'antum (59: 13)* of all copies except the Indian ones (and the Qatari reprint of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation) should be mentioned here. The vast majority of Indian copies have *la$_o$'antum.*[39]

2.2.4 vocal/graphic *nūn*

11: 14, and 28: 50 – fa'illam, and *fa'in^l lam.*

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All the copies consulted are as both the Ḥafṣ and Warš copies, except the Isfahani text (= *11: 17* and *28: 51*) and the Harīsī text which normalise both to *faʾin lam*, and the 1392 Turkish text which has *faʾin lam* in *28: 50*.

12: 11 – *taʾmannā* [*tāmañ•nnā*].

The first *nūn* in the Warš copy was most probably red in the manuscript,[40] as it is in Edinburgh New College ms.1*. The Ḥafṣ copy has a rhombus above the seat for *nūn* to indicate *išmām*.

The Cairo Ḳadırġalı text and the Beirut copy are as the Ḥafṣ copy in the explanatory notes, but without a rhombus in the text. The Ḳadırġalı text revised by al–Dabbāʿ, the official Indonesian text and the 1392 Turkish text have a small "*išmām*" written below the *mīm* in place of a rhombus. The Teheran Ḳadırġalı text has the same, although written below an elongated *nūn*-ligature. The Damascus copy, P.George's manuscript, the Indian copies, the Isfahani text (= *12*), the Harīsī text and many Indian, Iranian and Turkish manuscripts of the Qurʾān have simple *taʾmannā* with no indication of *išmām*. The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy is similar to the Warš copy and has *tāmañ•nnā*, in which the first *nūn* is written in red and the second is preceded by a black dot within a red one. The words *išmām warawm* are also written tinily in red below.

21: 88 – *nuñ̃ji₀* [*nunji₀*].

In the Ḥafṣ copy the second *nūn* is vocal and without *sukūn*. This is due to the effects of black-and-white printing. When colours were used there was no need to have a superscript vocal *nūn*. In the Warš copy it is graphic, but in the original manuscript was probably in red. It is also without a *sukūn*. In Edinburgh New College ms.1* the second *nūn* is red and does not impinge on the graphic form. In the Persian copy (Edinburgh University Qurʾān ms.442) the first *nūn* is red.

· The Cairo Ḳadırġalı text, the Beirut copy and the official Indonesian text are as the Ḥafṣ copy. The Ḳadırġalı text revised by al–Dabbāʿ, the Ahmadiyya translations and the earlier Tāj text are as the Ḥafṣ copy, but with a *sukūn*. The later Tāj text, the Delhi copy, the Damascus copy, the Isfahani text (= *89*) and the Harīsī text are as the Warš copy – *nunji₀*, the Isfahani text having a *sukūn*. The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy is also as the Warš copy, except that the *nūn* is in red, and so is transcribed as in the Ḥafṣ copy. Indian, Iranian and Turkish manuscripts of the Qurʾān often have *nunji*, e.g. the three 18th· century Indian ones (Edinburgh University Qurʾān mss.148, 149, 150), the two 19th· century Iranian ones (Edinburgh University Qurʾān ms.15 and Edinburgh New College ms.3) and the 1165/1750 Turkish one (Edinburgh New College ms.5).

2.3.1 Assimilation

2: 27 – '*an*⁻ ['*an*ʸ] *yūṣala* (the assimilation of vowelless *nūn* to *yā*').

In the Ḥafṣ copy vowelless *nūn* is incompletely assimilated to *yā*', whereas in the Warš copy the assimilation is complete except with *tanwīn*, e.g. *man*⁻ [*man*ʸ] *yufsidu* (*2: 30*), '*in*⁻ [*in*ʸ] *yaša*' (*4:133*), *walākin*⁻ [*walākin*ʸ] *yurīdu* (*5: 6*), but *waylun*⁻ *yawma* ᵧ*idin* (*77: 24*), *nuʿāsan*⁻ *yaḡš* ᵧ*ā* (*3:154*) and *liqawmin*⁻ *yaʿqilūna* (*2:164*) in both the Ḥafṣ and Warš copies.

The Cairo Kadırġalı text, the Beirut copy and the Damascus copy are as in the Ḥafṣ copy in all the examples. The Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbāʿ has '*an y–* and *in y–*, but as the Ḥafṣ and Warš copies with *tanwīn*. The official Indonesian text and the Indian copies in these examples have *an*ʸ, *man*ʸ, *in*ʸ, *walākin*ʸ, i.e. as the Warš copy, but also *waylun*ʸ, *nuʿāsan*ʸ and *liqawmin*ʸ. The Teheran copies, the Teheran Kadırġalı text and P.George's manuscript have *–n y–* in all (in fact they do not indicate assimilation anywhere). So also the 1392 Turkish text, except with nominative *tanwīn* where it has *un*⁻ (*77: 24*). The Maḡribī Ḥafṣ copy has *–n*ʸ *y–* in the first four, but *–n y–* with *tanwīn*.

4:102 – min⁻ [*min*ʷ] *warā* ᵧ'*ikum* (the assimilation of vowelless *nūn* to *wāw*).

The Cairo Kadırġalı text, the Beirut copy and the Damascus copy are as in the Ḥafṣ copy. The Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbāʿ, the Isfahani text (= *104*), the Harīsī text, the Teheran Kadırġalı text, P.George's manuscript and the 1392 Turkish text have no assimilation at all – *min w–*. The official Indonesian text, the Indian copies, and the Maḡribī Ḥafṣ copy are as the Warš copy.

106:4 – jūʿin⁻ *wa–* (the assimilation of *nūn* of *tanwīn* to *wāw*).

The Cairo Kadırġalı text, the Beirut copy, the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbāʿ and the Damascus copy are as both the Ḥafṣ and Warš copies. The official Indonesian text and the Indian copies have *–n*ʷ *w–*, but not in pause, e.g. *maʿrūfan wa–* (*4: 5, 6*). The Isfahani text, the Harīsī text, the 1392 Turkish text, the Teheran Kadırġalı text, P.George's manuscript and the Maḡribī Ḥafṣ copy have *–n w–*.

$4:176 - 5:1$, and $5:120 - 6:1 - $ '$al\bar{\imath}mun^m$ ['$al\bar{\imath}mun$] $bism\ il-lah$, $qad\bar{\imath}run^m$ [$qad\bar{\imath}run$] $bism\ il-lah$ (the change of $n\bar{u}n$ of $tanw\bar{\imath}n$ to $m\bar{\imath}m$ before $b\bar{a}$', termed "$qalb$").

These examples occur between $s\bar{u}ras$, and therefore also concern pause. The Cairo Kadırgalı text, the Beirut copy and the Damascus copy are as the Ḥafs copy. The Kadırgalı text revised by al-Dabbā', the Teheran Kadırgalı text and the official Indonesian text have $un^\rightarrow$ in the first, but un in the second. The Indian copies (both = $4:177$) and the Teheran copies and the Maġribī Ḥafs copy are all as the Warš copy. The 1392 Turkish text has $un^\rightarrow$ in both. P.George's manuscript has un in both.

Elsewhere, not in pause, all copies assimilate completely except the Teheran ones and the 1392 Turkish text, e.g. '$al\bar{\imath}mun^m$ $bid\bar{a}t\ is-sud\bar{u}r$ ($3:$ 154). The Teheran copies and P.George's manuscript have only un. The 1392 Turkish text and the Teheran Kadırgalı text have $un^\rightarrow$.

$2: 27 - min^m\ ba'di$. (the change of vowelless $n\bar{u}n$ to $m\bar{\imath}m$ before $b\bar{a}$', again, termed "$qalb$").

All the copies consulted are as the Ḥafs copy, except the Kadırgalı text revised by al-Dabbā', the official Indonesian text and the Indian copies which also have a $suk\bar{u}n$ over the $n\bar{u}n$ either below, or next to, the vocal $m\bar{\imath}m$, and the Teheran copies and P.George's manuscript which, as always, have no assimilation – $min\ b-$. The 1392 Turkish text has nothing.

$5: 28 - basat^\rightarrow ta$ [$basat^t ta$],[41] and '$ahat^\rightarrow tu$ ['$ahat^t tu$] ($27: 22$) (the assimilation of $t\bar{a}$' to $t\bar{a}$').

The Cairo Kadırgalı text, the Istanbul Kadırgalı text (inconsistently), the Beirut copy and the Damascus copy are as in the Ḥafs copy. The official Indonesian text, the Indian copies and the Maġribī Ḥafs copy are as the Warš copy. The Kadırgalı text revised by al-Dabbā', the 1392 Turkish text, the Teheran Kadırgalı text, the Isfahani text (= 32) and the Ḥarīsī text (as usual) have $basatta$ and '$ahattu$, as also $yahzunka$ (i.e. a $suk\bar{u}n$ on the $n\bar{u}n$, where others have $n^\rightarrow k$, e.g. $5: 41$ (- 46)), just like $yud\chi ilhu$ (e.g. $4: 13$ (= 18)).

$7:176b - yalhat^d$ [$yalhat$] $\tilde{d}\bar{a}lika$ (the effect of pause on assimilation). In the Ḥafs copy pause is optional but in the Warš copy it is obligatory.

It is the only occurrence of vowelless $t\bar{a}$' before $d\bar{a}l$, and again within both the Ḥafs (through 'Ubayd and 'Amr) and the Warš transmissions there is variation.[42] Most widespread from Ḥafs is in fact complete assimilation ($yalhat^d$ $\tilde{d}\bar{a}lika$),[43] as here in the Ḥafs copy, the Cairo Kadırgalı text, the Beirut copy, the Damascus copy and the Maġribī Ḥafs copy. Pause is

optional, as in the Ḥafṣ copy, in the Beirut copy and the Damascus copy. In the Cairo Ḳadırǧalı text there is no pause at all, and in the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy it is obligatory as in the Warš copy, indicated by *idġām* written in red below. The Ḳadırǧalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the official Indonesian text, the Indian copies, the 1392 Turkish text, the Teheran Ḳadırǧalı text, P.George's manuscript and the Isfahani text here are unassimilated as in the Warš copy (*-t̠ d̠-*), but with indication of preferable, not obligatory, pause. The Harīsī text has no pause here, but preferable pause on *yalhat̠* in *7:176a*.

11: 42a_b – *arkab*^{m} *ma'anā...takun*^{m} *ma'a* [*-b m-...-n*^{m} *m-*] (assimilation of *bā'* and *nūn* before *mīm*).

One transmission from Ḥafṣ assimilates here, that of al-Hāšimī through 'Ubayd ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ,[44] but others do not, e.g. that of his brother 'Amr.[45]

The Cairo Ḳadırǧalı text, the Beirut copy, the official Indonesian text, the Indian copies and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy are as the Ḥafṣ copy. The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy, the Teheran Ḳadırǧalı text and the 1392 Turkish text have *idġām* written below element a, but the latter two do not indicate *šadda* over the *mīm*. The Damascus copy is as the Ḥafṣ copy, in element a, but *takun*⁻ in element b.[46] The Ḳadırǧalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the Isfahani text (= *45*) and the Harīsī text are as the Warš copy in element a, but have *takun ma'a* in element b, as do the Teheran Ḳadırǧalı text and the 1392 Turkish text, in other words indicate assimilation in neither.

2.3.2 *ṣād/sīn*

2:245 and *7:69* – *wayabṣutu* and *baṣṭah*^{t}*an* [*wayabṣutu* and *baṣṭah*^{t}*an*].

The Cairo Ḳadırǧalı text, the Beirut copy, the Ḳadırǧalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the official Indonesian text, the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy and the Indian copies[47] are all as the Ḥafṣ copy. The 1392 Turkish text has an inferior *sīn* in both. In the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy the superior *sīn* is written in black, not red. The Isfahani text (= *247* and *7:68*) has *sīn* in both – *wayabṣutu* and *baṣṭah*^{t}*an*. The Harīsī text and the Damascus copy have *sīn* in the first and *ṣād* in the second – *wayabṣutu* and *baṣṭah*^{t}*an*, except the Damascus copy has a superior *sīn*, as does the Ḥafṣ copy, in the second.

2.3.3 Pausal *alif*

3: 81 – *wa'ana$_o$ ma'akum* [–*ā m*–] (the change of *ā* to *a$_o$* in pause).[48]
The same applies to *'ana$_o$ bibāsiṭin* in *5: 28*, *iz-zunūna$_o$* in *33: 10*, and
qawārīra$_o$ qawārīra$_o$ in *76: 15, 16*.

The Cairo Ḳadırġalı text and the Beirut copy are as the Ḥafṣ copy.
The Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā' and the official Indonesian text
are as the Warš copy. The Istanbul Ḳadırġalı text is as the Warš copy in
the first two and as the Ḥafṣ copy in the second two. Most of the Indian
copies are as the Warš copy in the first two, but in *76:15, 16* – *qawārīra$_o$*
qawārīra$_o$, with a marginal note saying, "When not in pause Ḥafṣ read
both without the *alif*, but in pause *alif* with the first but not the second".
Similarly, P.George's manuscript has a red *alif* with the first (*qawārīra$_o$*),
and in red below the second (*qawārīra*) "*waslah biġayr alif*", and in *33:*
10 has –*ā* with "*fil-wasl biġayr alif*". The Damascus copy is as the Ḥafṣ
copy in the first three but in *76: 16, 17* has *qawārīra$_o$ qawārīra*. The Isfahani
text (= *3: 80, 5: 32*, and *76:16, 17*) is as the Warš copy in the first three, but
in *76:15, 16* – *qawārīra$_o$ qawārīra*, with forbidden pause after the first. The
Harīsī text is as the Warš copy in the first three, but in *76:15, 16* – *qawārīrā*
qawārīra, although the final *alif* of the first has been added later. In *3: 81*
and *5: 28* the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy signifies nothing, like the Warš copy, but
in *33: 10* and *76: 15* it has a small, red, inverted semi-circle over the *alif*.
The 1392 Turkish text has a small *qiṣr* beneath the *alif* in *3: 81* and *5: 28*,
but not in *33: 10*, nor *76: 15* where it has *qawārīra$_o$ qawārīra*, exactly like
the Isfahani text. It has *qiṣr* also beneath the *wāw* of *'u$_o$lā$\widetilde{~}$$_y$'ika* (e.g. *2: 5,*
6) in place of *sukūn*.

2.3.4 *imāla* [49]

11: 41 – *majr$\widetilde{~}^a_y$ hā* [*mujr$\widetilde{~}^a_y$ hā*].

This is the sole example of intermediate deflection in the Ḥafṣ trans-
mission. It is indicated by an empty rhombus below the *rā'*, presumably
because of printing difficulties.

The Beirut copy, the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text, P.George's manuscript and
the Damascus copy are as the Ḥafṣ copy. The 1392 Turkish text is the
same except with "*imāla*" below instead of a rhombus. The Ḳadırġalı text

revised by al-Dabbāʿ and the Teheran Ḳadırġalı text have neither an *alif* nor a rhombus, i.e. *majrayhā*, but with "*imāla*" written small below. The official Indonesian text has no vowel or *alif* on a dotless seat, but *imāla* written small beneath. The Indian copies have *majr̃ıhā*,[50] i.e. an *alif* below a dotless seat, although most have a marginal note saying that Ḥafṣ read *majràyhā*. The Isfahani text (= *44*) has a *yā'* with *sukūn* and without indication of deflection, i.e. *majr̃ayhā*. The Harīsī text – *majr*^a_y*hā*, but with deflection simply not indicated. The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy is as the Warš copy in the second half of the word, that is with a *yā'–alif* and a dot below the *rā'* except that the dot is red. Edinburgh New College ms.1* has *mujr̃ayhā* with a red dot below the *jīm*.

In conclusion, the differences illustrated in this section can be excluded from the list of differences between the two transmissions. They comprise two instances of vocalisation, but mainly concern orthography and recitative details. It is worth noting that a number of the differences are graphic.

It need hardly be repeated that none of these differences have any effect on the meaning of the text. They serve, in fact, to show just that. However disparate these transmissions may have been from each other, and for however long independent, they present no variant readings of any substance.

Chapter 4

THE WARŠ COPY

THE WARŠ COPY used as the basis for comparison is entitled "*Qur'ān karīm*" on the upper cover in *rayhānī* script, and in a Kufic script on the spine, and "*Mushaf Šarīf biriwāyat il-Imām Warš*" on the title page. It was published by the Tunis Publishing Company (*al-Šarika al-Tūnisiyya lil-Tawzī'*)[1] in 1389/1969. Each quarter begins with an '*unwān*, is preceded by a differently decorated title-page containing "*ar-rubu' ul-awwal/ut-tānī*" etc. and *56:79*. Each quarter is followed by an index of its *sūras*. There is a dual pagination, the first, in European characters, top left, beginning afresh with each quarter, and the second, in Arabic characters, bottom centre, running continuously. There are 648 pages of text, with 16 lines to the page, and a frame containing the text of 9 x 6 cm. Forty-two pointed "finials" round outer frame of each page. Sixteen-lobed medallions with two "finials" in the margins indicate textual divisions and *sajadāt*. There are also smaller textual divisions every fifth *hizb*, three per quarter. A new page begins with each, suggesting that in the original manuscript these would have formed separate fascicles, making a dozen for the whole copy of the Qur'ān, facilitating annual recitation or reading.[2]

Like the Ḥafṣ copy, this copy also is extremely clear and faultlessly accurate in all its detail. A note in the colophon says that the preparation of the text for printing took four years of painstaking and continual work.

- From now on it will be referred to simply as "the *Warš* copy".

It is a black-and-white, first facsimile-impression of "an ancient manuscript, given a new form by modern techniques".[3] This must mean that the manuscript used for the lithograph was old and that the plates were then modified, rather than that a new manuscript was copied from the old

one for purposes of the lithograph. The latter is the case with the Ḥasan II text.[4]

The manuscript probably would have followed the usual conventions of having vocal *alif*, *madda*, the "large dot", and the vowels, in red.[5] Red in photocopying comes out as black as original black of the same thickness. But the cost and effort of masking all these for the stages of colour-printing was no doubt prohibitive. The decorative frames and marginal motifs have indeed been printed in blue-green, red, gold and black, and most attractively, but to print the text in colours also, would have been an enormous extra task. The roundels for the *āya*-numbers are in blue-green filled with gold, on which the numerals have been type-set in black. The roundels vary in size and would have been hand-drawn.

A small dot over an *alif*, no larger than a diacritic for *bā'* or the like, indicates *hamzat al-waṣl*. In Maġribī manuscripts this was usually larger and in greenish-blue or green.[6] In the Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A16964, for instance, it is larger than the "large dot".[7] The small dot therefore is probably an alteration made in the plates. It may have been altered in order to distinguish it in black-and-white reproduction from the large red dot indicating *bayn–bayn*.

A small *hamza*-character indicates *hamzat al-qaṭ'*. In Maġribī manuscripts of the Qur'ān the yellow or golden dot[8] was still almost ubiquitously used as late as the 18th century A.D.[9] So it is probable that the *hamza*-character here has been inserted in the photographic process, if the manuscript *is* old. The *hamza*-character is also found in the Ḥasan II text, and in the 1892 lithograph from Fez.[10]

The hand in the Warš copy is delicate, quite the opposite to the thick *Sūdānī* style. It is similar in thickness of stroke to the Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A16964 and is more regularly fine than the varying thickness of the strokes in the Ḥasan II text. In not having diacritical dots on final *fā'*, *qāf*, *nūn* and *yā'*, it follows the Fāsī practice.[11] It is uncannily similar to the hand of the Cairo Warš copy, and must spring from exactly the same Tradition. Indeed, on most occasions, the number of words per line of each copy is identical.[12]

The following letters may be remarked upon as differing in some ways from other Maġribī copies.

As usual *ṣād* and *ḍād* have no "teeth". The body of the letter is hemispherical, as opposed to those of the Ḥasan II text which are more elliptical, and those of the Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A16964 which are more quadrilateral and Kufic.[13] The upper stroke of *ṭā'* and *ẓā'* inclines at an angle of about 45° arising from the centre of the base of the hemispherical body, whereas that of the Ḥasan II text is more acute. In the latter it

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does not touch the base line as in the Warš copy, but intersects the top line of the body of the letter in a similar way, about half-way along. The upper stroke in the Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A16964 is an extension of one of the angular sides of the body and does not intersect.[14] Initial and final 'ayn reach as high as lām, as with the Hasan II text, but in the Chicago manuscript it is only as high as dāl. Final curves of sīn, sād, lām, nūn, and their "sister" forms frequently sweep well under the following word, especially nūn and yā', but rarely touch it as in the Hasan II text and in the Chicago manuscript. On the other hand, final nūn, and bā' and its like, can be as small as the head of a wāw.

.   The page of explanatory notes (p.653) is in a slightly more cursive hand than the text. By including an isnād and a reference to the authority for the system of pause employed, these explanatory notes seem to be modelled on those of the 1342 Cairo text. The likelihood is increased by the fact that the Azhar issued a text from the very same Tradition some eight years earlier than this Warš copy, the Cairo Warš copy. The titles to each sūra are in a delicate Magribī tulut. In Magribī manuscripts from North-West Africa these were usually in western Kufic, so the titles may be another instance of insertions into the photographic process. The four-page prayer on completion is in another, less confident and more angular, upright Magribī hand.[15]

Finally, all numerals in the Warš copy, apart from the lower set of page-numbers, are in European characters. Since this includes even those of the āya-numbers, it could hardly have been part of an original "ancient manuscript", so must have been the result of "modern [photgraphic] techniques". The āya-numbers of the Cairo Warš copy are in Arabic characters. By the same token, the five- and ten-āya divisions are not indicated by different devices, as they usually are in Magribī manuscripts.

As for the date of the original manuscript, it is unlikely to be from before 900 (1494/5), and could be from well after that date. This is inferred from the fact that the indications of pause are stated in the explanatory notes to be those of the Šayx al-'allāma Ubayy 'Abdal-lāh Muhammad ibn Ubayy Jumu'a al-Habtī [al-Sammātī] who died [in Fez] in 930 (1523/4).[16]

Chapter 5

THE OTHER WARŠ COPIES CONSULTED

ONLY A SMALL NUMBER of printed copies of the Qur'ān according to the transmission of Warš is available in bookshops and libraries in Britain.[1] To redress the balance for this study therefore, three manuscripts of the Qur'ān have been brought into the comparison. Again, before the differences between the two transmissions can be set out, those between individual printed copies within the Warš transmission must be. Illustrations of their variations make up chapter 6.

The following copies have been consulted.

§ 1   A copy from Morocco

with dark blue covers. "*Qur'ān karīm*" is written in gold in *ruq'a* script on the spine, and in Maġribī *t̲ulut̲* at the top of a light blue lozenge, which occupies most of the upper cover. In the remainder of the lozenge, again in gold Maġribī *t̲ulut̲*, is —

> "This Noble Text was printed by order of our lord, the Commander of the Faithful and Defender of the Faith, His Majesty the King of Morocco, al-Ḥasan II, may God make him victorious, in the year 1387 (1967/8)."[2]

In a similar lozenge on the lower cover is *56:77-80*, again in gold Maġribī *t̲ulut̲*.

The title-page is the same as the upper cover apart from the colours. Instead of gold writing on a blue ground, "*Qur'ān karīm*" and the year are in red, the rest is in black, and all is on a gold ground. The following page is an inserted photographic reproduction of a letter of recommendation from the King, carrying his seal. The next page depicts a cloudy blue sky with "*fa'idā qara'ta l-Qur'āna fasta'id bil-lāhi min aš-šaytān ir-rajīm*" (*16: 98*) as an oval sun in red Maġribī *tulut* with lines radiating outwards like rays. The frames of the '*unwān* on the next two pages are handsomely decorated in red, blue and gold with large medallions in the margins. The text, here and throughout, is in black on a gold ground, with *āya*-numbers and roundels in red. These were added to the manuscript by letter-press in spaces left by the scribe.

The text is 677 pages long, page one being that containing *16:98*. There are 15 lines to the page, and the frame containing the text measures 19 x 12 cm.

Following the text are seven pages —

A page the same as the title-page, but with "*watammat kalimatu rabbika sidqan wa'adlan*" (*6:115*) in black Maġribī *tulut*. Oddly, this is the reading of Ḥafṣ. That of Warš is "*...kalimātu...*", as in the main text. A page with abundant, foliated decoration in gold on blue and red grounds around a white, circular centre, in which is written, in gold Maġribī *tulūt* outlined in black, a completion-prayer beginning "*sadaq al-lāh ul-'azīm*". Two pages describing the copy, written in black on a gold ground in the Fāsī style of Maġribī, more cursive than the more monumental variety used for the main text. A two-page index of *sūras* in alphabetical order, again in black on a gold ground, but type-set in *nasχī*. A page like the title-page again in colour and hand, but with *56:77–80*, and finally a fly-leaf with the name of the printers, Dār al-Kitāb, Casablanca.

Amongst the information in the two page description of the copy is the following. After an encomium to the King, it says how he conceived the idea to have a magnificent copy of the Qur'ān made during his reign in an ancient Maġribī script according to the transmission of Warš.[3] It says that he delegated the task to the Minister of Religious Affairs, who sought out the best calligraphers, the top artists, and the foremost scholars and readers to attend to "the Ḥasan II text" in a way that would fulfill all expectations.[4]

• From now on this copy will therefore be referred to as "the Ḥasan II text".

It says that Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sūsī al-Bahāwī was chosen as the scribe, and that the following scholars and teachers were appointed to certify the orthography and vocalisation [5] —

'Abdal-lāh ibn al-'Abbās al-Jarrārī, Aḥmad al-Ḥasnāwī, Mubār-ak al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Rakkālī, Muḥammad ibn Kabbūr al-'Abdī, Mu-ḥammad Birbīš, al-Ḥājj al-'Arabī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥimrī, and alḤājj al-Mahdī al-Maṭṭā'ī.

The description closes with a further encomium to the King and his heir Muḥammad, and a blessing on his deceased father, Muḥammad V.

There being neither *isnād* nor explanatory notes, the copy would not seem to have been influenced by the 1342 Cairo text, as it seems that the Warš copy was. Nor is there any claim that the scribe followed any particular scholar or established work from the past in his orthography and vocalisation. The nearest to that is the King's expressed intention for it to be "in an ancient Maḡribī script". Its degree of correspondence with the Warš copy, whose printing was completed, presumably independently, only two years later, in Tunis, is almost exact. This indicates a common Tradition, given variations in others.

That the text is the transmission of Warš by way of al-Azraq, is shown by *11: 42, 12:100* and *20: 18*.[6]

§ 2 A copy from Nigeria

printed in 1322/1905.[7] The graphic form is thick, as is customary with Sūdānī script. The vocalisation is in a finer pen, as also are most of the *sūra*-titles. Both would probably have been in red ink in the manuscript.[8] The coarse overall appearance of the graphic form belies exactitude in indication of vocal details like $\tilde{u}$, $\tilde{\imath}$, $\tilde{u}$ before *hamzat al-qaṭ'*; *yan^mbaḡī* (*19.92*); and assimilation e.g. of *nūn* to *lām* and *mīm*, but not *nūn* of *tanwīn* to *wāw*. In fact the indication of vocalisation is as complete, if not exactly the same, as that of the Warš copy.

The title-page has three lines centred within a frame —
"Kitāb ul-Qur'ān nabiyyu
Muhammad
salli wasallim 'alayhi 'āmīn"

in a poor, irregular hand. These are reproduced in gold on the red upper cover, centred within a larger, gold frame. The binding, or rather casing, is Western, presumably British, Southern (and Northern) Nigeria then being a British Protectorate. It does not look as though it was bound by the British Museum.

There are 13, sometimes 14, lines to the page, and the text within the frame measures 19 x 13 cm., as on the title-page. Some nine different arabesques alternate within the inch-wide frames. These frames were added in the lithographic process, since the marginal text-divisions, comments, final curves of letters, etc., intrude. These comments are occasionally orthographical, e.g. p.14.4, where attention is drawn to the speling *'ihsānan* (*2: 83*), which in the Warš copy and the Hasan II text is *'ihsānan*. *āyā*-endings are marked by trefoils. Five-verse-divisions are occasionally indicated by a *hā'*, e.g. on pp.8.12, 15.3. Ten-verse-divisions are indicated by a circle, either empty or containing a linear motif. Fifty-verse-divisions are usually indicated by a circle containing a dot.

The text is 646 pages long (paginated in Arabic and European figures),[9] page one containing the following —

"hādā ǧina d-dārayn" in a roundel at the top; a statement that this holy book was sent down by Gabriel to his Prophet Muhammad in Arabic;[10] that it was foretold in earlier Scriptures; and that it should be touched only by those who are ritually clean (*56: 79, 80*). Sayyid al-Hājj Muhammad, called Belo, ibn al-Šayx Ibrāhīm ibn al-Šayx 'Alī was the scribe, completing it 14/11/1323 (sic.) / 1905 A.D.[11] He lived in Lagos. No details about the printing or publishing are given.[12]

The Fāsī practice of not dotting final *nūn*, *fā'*, *qāf* and *yā'* is followed. *hamzat al-qat'* is sometimes written like a large Greek χi, ξ, without the final flourishes, when it looks somewhat like a final *'ayn*.[13] This is merged with the tooth when medial (e.g. p.331, *19:89*). When medial and without a seat (tooth) it is like an *'ayn*, although less rounded. When initial and on or under an *alif*, it is often like a small ξ (e.g. *19:89, 92*). But when it has no seat, and is in initial or final position, it is mostly represented by a dot the size of the diacritics, e.g. *al-qur•āna* (p.331.9, *19:93*), *ul-asmā•u* (p.331.ult., *20:8*). It can be represented by a large χi. *hamzat al-wasl* is not indicated. The "large dot" is indicated, see pp.32.ult., 44.5 up. Unlike in the Warš copy, it is much smaller than the diacritics – see *al-kāfirīna*

(p.241.6, *11:41*); *mujr^a_yhā wamurs^a_yhā* (p.241.3,4, *11:41*). *ṣād* and *ḍād* are round, or hemispherical, and have no "tooth". The upper stroke of *ṭā'* and *ẓā'* is vertical, arising from the left of the usually round body, which is smaller than that of *ṣād* and *ḍād*. *fā'* rises as high as *ṭā'*.[14] Initial '*ayn* is no larger than in medial position, and well short of the uprights of *lām*, *alif*, etc. Final curves often sweep well under the next word.

Surprisingly, *māliki* is found in *1:4*. Since the rest of this copy is firmly in the Warš transmission, this Ḥafṣ reading is presumably due to the word's prominent position and the far more widespread use of the Ḥafṣ transmission.[15] There are copyists' errors, e.g. "*walā d-ḍāllīn*" *1:7*, "*watahizzu*" (*19:90*) for the Warš copy's "*wataχirru*", and "*zilla*" (p.91.12, *4:57*) for the Warš copy's "*zillan*". These are mostly errors by the copyist of the graphic form. Following the text is a half-page prayer. There are no indexes.

- From now on this copy will be referred to as "the Lagos copy".

That the text is the transmission of Warš by way of al–Azraq, is shown by *11:42* (*irkab ma'nā*), *12:100* (*iχwatiya*) and *20:18* (*waliya*).[16] On the other hand, that it is not according to exactly the same written Tradition as the other printed Warš copies is shown by small differences, like the lack of a large dot below *ṭaha* (p.331.9, *20:1*).

§ 3   A quarter copy from Algeria

·reprinted in 1981. The unusual feature of this copy is that its graphic form is in *nasχī* script. The further east along the Maġrib, the more the Maġribī script is supplanted. Printed in red on the pink upper cover at the top is "*al–rubu' al–aχīr*" and in the centre, within a lozenge, *56:79–80*. At the bottom is "*biriwāyat Warš 'an il–Imām Nāfi'*". The title-page is similar, in black-and-white.

There are 15 lines to the page, and the text within the frame measures 18 x 12 cm., as on the title-page.

The text runs from p.440 to ·p.608, and is followed by six pages of explanatory notes. These are basically modelled on those of the 1342 Cairo text,[17] and were written by the Egyptian, Šayx 'Amir al–Sayyid 'Uṯmān. The final page of these explanatory notes contains the following information about the copy, written in *ṯuluṯ* script

Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd Šarīfī completed the manuscript in Algiers on 9/11/1397. The committee for revision of copies of the Qurʾān. appointed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, comprising Aḥmad Tījānī Bāšan, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Zāwīdī and Bakīr al-Šayx Balḥāǰ checked it. It was printed by al-Šarika al-Waṭaniyya lil-Našr wat-Tawzīʿ on 17/6/1398 (26/5/1977).

Below the bottom of the outer frame is added "printed at Markab al-Ṭibāʿa, al-Riġāya, 1981".

Modelled on the 1342 Cairo text, some of the latter's vocal conventions are employed, in contrast to those used in the other printed Warš copies. e.g. the small χāʾ representing sukūn. Compare also the Algerian copy's rhombus below ṭaha (20: 1) for the other printed Warš copies' large dot. The same applies to some graphic forms, e.g. 'īlā̃fihim (106: 2), as opposed to the Warš copy's 'īlā̃fihim. As such it is a hybrid between the two transmissions. hamzat al-waṣl, however, is not indicated. The "large dot" is indicated and explained in the explanatory notes.[18]

• From now on this copy will be referred to as "the Algerian copy".

§ 4   A copy from Egypt

printed in 12/1380 / 5/1961, and found nowadays in Morocco in general mosque-use. The upper cover is blank, and the text is preceded by the thirty-two page-book of al-Dabbāʿ on the difference between the transmissions of al-Azraq and al-Iṣbahānī.[19] The title-page has 56: 79–80 at the top, the fact that it was printed by permit from the Azhar in the middle, and the name of the printer, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad Ḥanafī, at the bottom.

There are 18 lines to the page, and the text within the frame measures 19 x 11 cm.

There are six paginations, top right and left, in Arabic and European characters respectively, beginning afresh (on p.2) of each twelfth (5th· hizb-division); bottom right and left, in Arabic and European characters respectively, continuous throughout the quarter; and centre bottom, with Arabic and European characters next to each other, continuous throughout and reaching 595. The verse-numbering diverges from that of the Warš copy frequently.[20] The text is followed by the same four-page-prayer as in the Warš copy. A final page contains an Egyptian certificate in nasχī script, signed by ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Qāḍī and other Azharis, containing the following,

The printing of this copy of the Qur'ān was completed by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ḥanafī at the Maṭba'at al-Mashad al-Ḥusaynī according to the 'Utmānic graphic form ('ala r-rasm il-'Utmānī) ...

This Cairo Warš copy could be a reprint of the 1347 (1928) copy revised by al-Dabbā',[21] and inspired by the recent 1342 Cairo text. Unfortunately, in none of its forms is the original scribe mentioned.[22]

The script of the Cairo Warš copy, and hence the orthography, is virtually identical to that of the Warš copy. The only deliberate orthographical difference appears to be the Cairo Warš copy's lillāhi.[23]

• From now on this copy will be referred to as "the Cairo Warš copy".

That the text is the transmission of Warš by way of al-Azraq, is shown by $11:42$ (irkab ma'nā), $12:100$ (ixwatiya) and $20:18$ ($= 17$) (waliya).[24]

• The above four copies are sometimes referred to jointly as the "printed Warš copies".

§ 5   St. Andrews University Oriental manuscript no.16[25]

Fragment of a Qur'ān on paper in Maġribī script, probably Spanish, 9th century A.H./15th century A.D.[26]

8 leaves; 28·2 x 20·2 cm.; 11 lines per page.

This manuscript comprises a quire of four sheets of paper folded in folio. While no single piece of evidence points conclusively on its own to a 15th century southern Spanish provenance, the cumulative evidence all but does. The evidence of the watermarks suggests that the manuscript would not have been written earlier than 812/1410, nor later than 884/1479, and that the most likely provenance of the paper was southern France. And the evidence of the hand, both in script and orthography, points to a southern Spanish provenance for the text. Unlike the usual conventions of Fāsī Maġribī script (followed as far south, in fact, as Marrakesh[27]), the final forms of the letters fā', qāf, nūn and yā' of St.Andrews ms.16 are dotted. So it can safely be said that it did not come from Morocco, or from as far west or south as Fez and Marrakesh, at least. This leaves Spain and central North-West Africa, the area covering Tunisia to Eastern Morocco, as

possible provenances for the fragment. And comparison of the orthography of St.Andrews ms.16 with Maġribī manuscripts of the Qur'ān from these areas fairly conclusively points to the southern Spanish Tradition. Granada could have been the place.

As for the watermarks, that of three of the four sheets is a chariot with two wheels and a crown centred on the chain-line. It is European and corresponds almost exactly with Briquet's no.3547, for which two dates and provenances are given.[28] The earlier is 1410, Basses-Pyrénées, and the later 1467, Lucq, which is in the Pyrénées Atlantiques, some twenty-five miles from the present-day Spanish border. There is nothing sufficiently similar in Mošin-Traljić, which deals with the 13[th.] and 14[th.] centuries, nor in Piccard's volumes on Kronen-Wasserzeichen, and Wekzeug & Waffen.

The watermark of the remaining, central, sheet (pp.7–10) is a bull's head, centred on the chain-line, with indentations for eyes. These are situated well below the rounded ears which jut out at right angles to the head. The watermark is 3·8 cm. long and 2·5 cm. wide at the ears. The horns curve out from the head, in to 1·2 cm. apart at the top and then very slightly out again. There is nothing sufficiently similar to it in Briquet, but Piccard gives a number of similar bulls' heads with indentations for eyes, nearly all dating between 1369 and 1411. Most come from central Europe, in the vicinity of München and Nürnberg. Some come from further north, Köln, Essen and the Netherlands, and some from further south, Bologna and Como. However they are all a good deal larger than that of St.Andrews ms.16. Perhaps the most similar one, in that it has ears jutting straight out and horns curving slightly outwards at the top, is no.VI 281.[29] It is dated 1369–73 and found from the Netherlands down through present-day West Germany to Bologna. But it is longer (5 cm.), much broader at the ears (5·5 cm.), and the slope of the muzzle is more triangular than the bull's head of St.Andrews ms.16. In the light of the probable date of the chariot-watermark of the other three sheets, it is too early. The other watermarks of the same style recorded by Piccard are less similar.[30] One from Como (about 20 miles north of Milan) is worth separate mention, as it is the only relevant watermark in Mošin-Traljić.[31] This is Piccard's no. VI 11, dated 1394, and measuring 5·4 cm. long.[32] Mošin-Traljić record it for 1390–1396 from, among other places,[33] Rodez in France, which is about ninety miles from the present-day Spanish border. The sharply drooping ears of these bulls' head watermarks from Como and Rodez are markedly different from those of St.Andrews ms.16, but the overall style is the same. That this style continued in use into the first half of the 15[th.] century, and is found for southern France, fits in well with the probable provenance and date

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of the chariot-watermark. Given the variability of watermarks, and their generally short life,[34] it is the close correlation of the chariot-watermark of three of the sheets of St.Andrews ms.16 with Briquet's no.3547 that is the most reliable piece of evidence for the provenance and date of the manuscript's paper, South-West France, 1411–57.

§ 6 Edinburgh University (New College)

Oriental manuscript no. 1*[35]

(1141–43 A.H./ 1728–30 A.D.)

This is a paper copy of the Qur'ān in excellent condition, with a leather binding probably added in this country, at which time the pages were cut to a smaller size. In gilt capital letters on the dark brown upper cover is "la yamassoho illa motaheran", and on the spine, "Koran" in the same. It would have been destined for mosque-use, because although there are frequent marginal and textual additions and emendations, the vocalisation is highly accurate and fully supplied with indications of pause and assimilation. In other words, while the graphic form has been at times carelessly reproduced, the vocal form is of high accuracy. When extra words have been written in, through dittography, for instance, they have been left unpointed.[36]

The double-lined frame, drawn before the text, measures on average 24 x 15cm. There are 18–19 lines to the page. The first eighteen *sūras* were completed 11/5/1141 (13/12/1728), and the rest 27/2/1143 (11/9/1730). Although no provenance is mentioned in the original colophon, the text can safely be assumed to have come from Fez or Meknes in Morocco. It is written in a Fāsī–Maġribī hand, and quotations from al–Suyūṭī and others have been added at the foot of the back of the last page by a certain Šayx 'Abd al–Raḥmān al–Miknāsī.

The paper came from Venice. The twin watermarks of most of it are first, three crescents placed horizontally to each other between the chain-lines,[37] 3·5 cm. long, and 1·4 cm. between the ends of their horns, and second, a trefoil on the chain-line placed above the letters I and A. Briquet reports[38] that there were many watermarks with three crescents placed horizontally to each other throughout the 17th· and 18th· centuries. Most were from Venice, where this paper was known as "trelune" and was manufactured specially for the Levant. Mošin -Traljić (covering the

13th. and 14th. centuries) has nothing sufficiently similar to the three cres-
cents of Edinburgh New College ms.1*, nor does Briquet (covering the late
14th. century to 1600), but there is a markedly close correspondence in
Heawood,[39] dated c.1725 from Venice. Various combinations of letters are
found in conjunction with three crescents in paper from Venice throughout
the 17th. and 18th. centuries,[40] including P with A.[41] Several also have the
trefoil on the chain-line.[42] The paper of Edinburgh New College ms.1* can
therefore safely be dated to the first quarter of the 18th. century in Venice.

The hand is not as neat as that of St.Andrews ms.16, and irregularity
in the thickness of some of the strokes shows that a brush must have been
used. The *sūra*-headings are neater. These are in brownish-yellow ink
in Maġribī *tulūt*, with dotted finials. Some have rudimentary palmettes
at their sides in the margin. Other marginal motifs for textual divisions
and prostrations are found, but vary in their style, suggesting more than
one hand. The *alif* of the *lām-alif* ligature is upright, and if anything
with barb to the right at the top.[43] The *dād* and related letters have a
hemispherical body, and the tail of the *tā'* lies at an angle of 45° and does
not cut into the body. The *'ayn* is small. Cursive ligatures occur, such as
between *wāw* and *alif* at the end of the line.[44] Pausal signs are in green.
The large dot is in red, and is no larger than the sign for *sukūn*.

From *31:16 – 33:16* the text of this manuscript tallies with that of the
Warš copy in every detail, barring four small exceptions.[45] These details
include assimilation, pause, *bayn–bayn*, and point to a remarkably unified
Tradition, compared to the variations in copies of the Qur'ān in the Ḥafṣ
transmission.

§ 7   British Library Oriental manuscript Or. 2165

(late 1st. or early 2nd. century A.H./early 8th. century A.D.)

Qur'ān on vellum, covering *7:40 – 43:71*.

171 leaves; about 32·4 x 21·1 cm.; 23–26 lines per page.

No full collation of this important early manuscript has been done,
and discussion of it has almost entirely been based on the single facsimile
given by Wright.[46] This, however, was sufficient to show that the text was
in the Medinan transmission.[47]

The date of the manuscript is to a certain extent disputed, but it
is considered by many as one of the two or three earliest extant manu-
scripts of the Qur'ān.[48] Abbott dated it to "about the second century

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A.H."[49]   Compared with her dating for some of the fragments in the Chicago collection this dating is overcautious. The Chicago Qur'ān manuscripts A6959, 6990, and 6988, for instance, she dated "1ˢᵗ· to 2ⁿᵈ· century A.H."[50]   Abbott's basis for these dates was that she considered the *mā'il* script a development of an earlier Makkan script,[51] but a desire for the Chicago fragments to be the earliest extant is discernible. "Makkan" here is short for "Makkan-Madīnan",[52] which was a category derived perhaps too readily from ibn al-Nadīm's cryptic description of the first Arabic scripts.[53] That manuscripts do not fit this particular category Abbott admitted,[54] nevertheless she continued to use it as an established stage in the history of Arabic script.

Compared to these allegedly earlier Hijazi Qur'ān fragments, however, the hand in B.L. Or. 2165 is unsophisticated,[55] possibly indicating an unevolved type of script,[56] and the lack of a well-established art of calligraphy. The slanting of the *alifs* and *lāms*, for instance, while not always consistently parallel, are of uniform height, and the red roundels marking the ten-verse-divisions, while inelegant are consistent. Again, while ascending and descending strokes often impinge on other lines, the same is found in the most calligraphically artistic Maḡribī manuscripts. Further the lack of margins could suggest the lack of a well-established tradition or art of calligraphy. The vellum is in vertical format, unusual in copies of the Qur'ān before the 4ᵗʰ· century A.H.[57]

So it cannot be said that, rather than being an example of a primitive style, it was simply that the copyist was not particularly professional, and that this was a copy for private use. The *mā'il* script was recognised as a distinct type by Arab historians,[58] and there are other examples of copies of the Qur'ān in this script.[59] Furthermore, scribes of the time would not have been nonchalant towards parchment and vellum.[60]

Wright, who considered the writing a type of Kufic, had no doubt that it belonged to a distinct type of script. He went so far as to describe it as an "easy, flowing style ... so different from the stiff, artificial Kūfī of a later date", and as "a fine, flowing Kūfī, evidently written *currente calamo*".[61] It should not, however, be classed as a cursive script.[62] For it is yet more different from the contemporary, round, cursive script found in less important texts, written with light pens on papyrus.[63]

The indications are that B.L. Or. 2165 is of very early date, perhaps even first century A.H. Wright dated it to the eighth century A.D.[64] And the palaeographer Karabacek does not appear to have had ulterior motives in dating it firmly to the late first or early second century A.H.[65]

Chapter 6

VARIATIONS BETWEEN
THE WARŠ COPIES

THE PURPOSE of this chapter is to show areas where the Warš copies vary among themselves. These areas can then be excluded from the lists of differences between the Ḥafṣ copy and the Warš copy. The variations given in this chapter, are again therefore, illustrative and not exhaustive.

The variations simply concern orthography or recitation, and it must be said at the outset that none has any effect on the meaning of the text. Within a given transmission, such as Warš', that never varies. Variations in script have been mainly discussed above in chapters 4 and 5. That many of these variations have been covered by those between Ḥafṣ copies ·obviates the need for extensive description here. In general, it was found that, the printed Warš copies and many North-West African manuscripts of the Qur'ān, notably here Edinburgh New College ms.1*, belong to a scrupulously adhered-to Tradition. Warš manuscripts from Spain and the Hijāz, on the other hand, are clearly outwith this Tradition.

§ 1 In orthography

1.1 The usual difference between Fāsī–Maġribī, which omits the diacritical dots of final fā', qāf, nūn, and yā', and other Maġribī scripts; and in the case of the Cairo Warš copy, the difference between Maġribī and nasχī.

A peculiarity of St.Andrews ms.16 is that *fatha* and *damma* are always below *šadda*. This is not usually[1] the case with Edinburgh New College ms.1*, or the printed Warš copies.

1.2 Partial assimilation of *tanwīn* is not found in St.Andrews ms.16 or the Lagos copy, but only complete assimilation, indicated by *šadda* over the following consonant.[2] In other printed Warš copies and Edinburgh New College ms.1* it is indicated.

1.3 *alif al-wiqāya* does not carry *sukūn* in St.Andrews ms.16[3] as it does in the printed Warš copies and Edinburgh New College ms.1*.

1.4 With the words *lil-lahi* and *al-layl* the Cairo Warš copy, St.Andrews ms.16[4] and the early 19th century Nigerian copy[5] vocalise and assimilate the second *lām*, whereas the Warš copy, the Ḥasan II text, the Algerian copy[6] and Edinburgh New College ms.1*[7] do not.

1.5 Dagger-*alif* is not always written on *alif maqsūra* in St.Andrews ms.16 where it is in the Warš copy. In *31: 16–33: 16*, for instance, it is written in St.Andrews ms.16 only in the following cases.

il-wuṭq $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ wa– (p.2.9, *31: 22*); *astaw $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ ‘ala* (p.6.9, *32: 4*); *tar $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ ’iḏ* (p.8.4, *32: 12*); *tatajāf $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ junūbuhum* (p.9.3, *32: 16*); *ul-ma’w $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ nuzulan* (p.9.11, *32: 19*); *il-adn $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ dūna* (p.1.5, *32: 21*); *mat $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ hāḏa* (p.11.1, *32: 28*); *yūh $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ ’ilayka* (p.12.8, *33: 2*); *wakaf $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ bil-lāhi* (p.12.1, *33: 3*); *awl $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ biba‘din* (p.14.1,3, *33: 6*); *wamūs $^{\tilde{a}}_y$ wa–* (p.14.8, *33:7*).

1.6 $\tilde{u}$ and $\tilde{\imath}$ are found in St.Andrews ms.16 only before *hamza*, e.g. *’inna* (p.); *’aḥsana* (p.). But in the Warš copy they are found also before

consonants, e.g. *ni'amahū z̃āhirah^tan* for St.Andrews ms.16's *ni'amahu* (p.2.1, *31: 20*); *wālidihī wa* for St.Andrews ms.16's *wālidihi* (p.5.5, *31: 33*).[8]

1.7 In St.Andrews ms.16 there are two dots under *yā'-hamza* when preceded by *kasra*, as in the Warš copy, e.g. in *31: 23* (p.2.11) and *32: 13* (p.8.7), but not when preceded by *ḍamma* or *fatḥa*, e.g. in *31: 25* (p.3.3), and *33: 6* (p.14.5). Similarly, *yā'-alif* is dotted in *32: 13* (p.8.7), but not elsewhere, e.g. in *31: 32* (p.5.1), and *32: 3* (p.6.5,6). Edinburgh New College ms.1* and the 703/1303 Granadan copy dot neither *yā'-hamza* nor *yā'-alif*.

1.8 Taking *31: 16–33: 16* as an example.[9] St.Andrews ms.16 was collated with the printed Warš copies. Edinburgh New College ms.1* tallies with the printed Warš copies, with one exception.[10] The printed copies form the second column from the left.

al-aswāti	*al-asw̃āti*	p.1.9	*31: 19*
z̤āhirah^tan	*z̃āhirah^tan*	p.2.1	*31: 20*
yujādilu	*yujãdilu*	p.2.2	*31: 20*
'āqibah^tu	*'ãqibah^tu*	p.2.9	*31: 22*
aqlāmun	*aqlãmun*	p.3.8	*31: 27*
il-bāṭilu	*il-bãṭilu*	p.4.6	*31: 30*
'ālimu	*'ãlimu*	p.7.3	*32: 6*
waš-šahādah^ti	*waš-šahãdah^ti*	p.7.4	*32: 6*
wal-abṣāra	*wal-abṣãra*	p.7.9	*32: 9*
ṣāliḥan	*ṣãliḥan*	p.8.6	*32: 12*

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la'amlā~'anna	la'amla'anna	p.8.8	32: 13 [11]
jazā~'anₒ	jazā~'an	p.9.7	32: 17
'isrā~'īla	'isrā~'īla	p.10.10	32: 23
'an'ā~muhum	'an'ā~muhum	p.11.9	32: 27
'īmā~nuhum	'īmā~nuhum	p.12.1	32: 29
'azwā~jukum	'azwā~jukum	p.13.1	33: 4
ullayi	ullaẏ	p.13.2	33: 4 [12]
'ummahā~tikum	'ummahā~tikum	p.13.2	33: 4
fa'iχwā~nukum	fa'iχwā~nukum	p.13.8	33: 5
mawā~līkum	mawā~līkum	p.13.8	33: 5
wa'azwā~juhū~	wa'azwā~juhū~	p.14.1	33: 6
'ummahā~tuhum	'ummahā~tuhum	p.14.2	33: 6
wal–muhā~jirīna	wal–muhā~jirīna	p.14.4	33: 6
mīṯā~qahum	mīṯā~qahum	p.14.7	33: 7
mīṯā~qan	mīṯā~qan	p.14.9	33: 7
ni'mata	ni'mahᵗa	p.15.1	33: 9
il–absā~ru	il–absā~ru	p.15.7	33: 10
wayastāḏinu	wayastā~ḏinu	p.16.3	33: 13
'āhadū~ₒ	'ā~hadū~ₒ	p.16.8	33: 15
al–adbā~ra	al–adbā~ra	p.16.9	33: 15

All but three of these differences regard vocal *alif*, and may be compared to the Turkish and Iranian tendency in Ḥafṣ manuscripts to have graphic *alif* for vocal. In this case it can be described as a Spanish feature, as most North-West African manuscripts are here closer to printed Warš copies. Of the three, one regards medial *hamza* (*32: 13*) graphic in the printed Warš copies, vocal in St.Andrews ms.16; one regards *alif* of the accusative after independent final *hamza* (*32: 17*); and one regards *tā'* *ṭawīla* (*33: 9*).

B.L. Or. 2165[13] was collated here also, and differed from the printed Warš copies in the following places.

> *'asābak/* *'asābak* (*31: 17*); *muχtāl/* *muχtāl* (*31: 18*); *qālūo/* *qālūo* (*31: 21*); *n–nahār/* *n–nahār* (*31: 29*); *jāz/* *jāz* (*31: 33*); *l–arhām/* *l–arhām* (*31: 34*); *miqdāruh*[14] */ miqdāruh* (*32: 5*); *šaoy/* *šay'* (*32: 7*); *sawwāhu/* *saww* ^a_y *hu* (*32: 9*); *waqālūo/* *waqālūo* (*32: 10*); *nākisūo/* *nākisūo* (*32: 12*); *la'amla'anna/* *la'amla'anna* (*32: 13*); *tatajāf* ^a_y */ tatajāf* ^a_y (*32: 16*); *qurrati/* *qurrah*^{t}*i* (*32: 17*); *fāsiqan/* *fāsiqan* (*32: 18*); *'isrāīla/* *'isrā'īla* (*32: 23*); *'ad'iyāakum/* *'ad'iyā'akum* (*33: 4*); *l–arhām/* *l–arhām* (*33: 6*); *al–χanājir/* *al–χanājir* (*33: 10*); *zilzālan/* *zilzālan* (*33: 11*); *qālat/* *qālat* (*33: 13*); *maqām/* *maqām* (*33: 13*); *firāran/* *firāran* (*33: 13*); *al–firār/* *al–firār* (*33: 16*).

Converse to St.Andrews ms.16's relationship to the printed Warš copies, B.L. Or. 2165 has many more instances of vocal *alif* where the printed Warš copies have graphic *alif*. The Tradition underlying the printed Warš copies therefore became systematised after B.L. Or. 2165. Apart from the vocal/graphic *alif* differences, four others are to do with the graphic form. Similarly to the differences in the column above, the first and third (*32: 7, 13*) concern the orthography of *hamza*, the second (*32: 9*) concerns the orthography of *yā'-alif*, and the fourth *tā'* *ṭawīla* for *marbūṭa* (*32: 17*).[15]

§ 2 In recitation

2.1 Assimilation. As mentioned above in § 1.2, some copies, especially from Spain, do not have partial assimilation. The printed Warš copies are

remarkably consistent here, although the Lagos copy occasionally differs e.g. in *2:280* it has *maysurah^{t}in w–* (p.51.11) for the other printed Wars copies's *maysurah^{t}in$^-$ w–*.

2.2 The large dot is a North-West (and West) African feature.

It is present in the printed Wars copies, and most manuscript Wars copies, except those from Spain like St.Andrews ms.16, the 703/1303 Granadan copy, and the 6th·/12th· century ms.360 of the Turkish and Islamic Museum, Istanbul.[16] Its use in Edinburgh New College ms.1* is as in the Wars copy.[17]

2.3 Indications of pause.

The same positions of pausal indications in the printed Wars copies and Edinburgh New College ms.1* are also found in the Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A16964, dated 7th· or 8th· century A.H./ 13th or 14th· century A.D. In Nigerian copies they are indicated by trefoils.[18] There are no indications of pause in St.Andrews ms.16.[19]

2.4 Divisions of the text.

Verse-divisions in St.Andrews ms.16 differ from those in the Wars copy in a number of instances,[20] suffice it to cite two, seen on the Plates, where the divisions in the Wars copy are absent from St.Andrews ms.16 – at *32: 23* (p.10.10);[21] and at *33: 4* (p.13.5).[22] Conversely, Almond(*hā'*)-shaped verse-divisions are found in St.Andrews ms.16 in the following places where the Wars copy has nothing. *31: 16* (p.1.1); *31: 26* (p.3.7); *32: 6* (p.7.4); *32: 25* (p.11.3);[23] and *33: 15* (p.16.10).

. The verse-numbering of the Cairo Wars copy and the Lagos copy is not exactly as the Wars copy. In *sūra 11*, for instance, they have 121 as opposed to the latter's 123 verses, and in *sūra 20*, 134 as opposed to the latter's 135. *Hizb*-divisions in these two do tally, however, with the Wars copy, and, in the case of the Lagos copy, are apparently *bā'* for the quarter and three-quarters divisions; *nūn* for the half; and *tā'* for the eighth, three-eighths, five-eighths and seven-eighths divisions.[24] All printed Wars copies, bar the Lagos copy, have *āya*-numbers, but none of the Wars manuscripts consulted did.

Larger divisions also vary. For instance, the Wars copy has a tenth at *31: 33*, where the Hasan II text and Edinburgh New College ms.1* have

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an eighth. St.Andrews ms.16 has a tenth at *31: 30*. The Warš copy has a tenth at *32: 23*, St.Andrews ms.16 one at *32: 20*, and the Ḥasan II text has an eighth at *32: 21*. The Warš copy has a half at *33: 6*, where the Ḥasan II text has it at *33: 1*. The Warš copy has a tenth at *33: 13*, St.Andrews ms.16 one at *33: 12* and Ḥasan II text has an eighth at the end of *33: 8*. The larger text-divisions of St.Andrews ms.16 correspond with the Warš copy, apart from differing tenths in three places, *31: 30* (p.4.10)[25] for *31: 32*; *32: 20* (p.10.4)[26] for *32: 23*; and *33: 2* (p.15.10) for *33: 13*.

§ 3   In other peripheral features

3.1   Many of the *sūra*-names in the Lagos copy are different from those of the other printed Warš copies, e.g. *sūrat al-inširāḥ* for *94*, *sūrat al-qayyima* for *98*, and *sūrat al-šitā'* for *106*.

3.2   In Nigerian copies *"'amīn"* is often added as a final verse to the first *sūra*.[27]

3.3   The *sajda* at *32: 15/16*, found in all the printed Warš copies, in St.Andrews ms.16 and in Edinburgh New College ms.1*, is absent from B.L. Or. 2165.

In conclusion, as with chapter 3, § 1, the areas covered by the examples in this section can be excluded from the list of differences between the two transmissions. They comprise orthography and recitative details. Again, a number of the differences are graphic, and it need hardly be repeated that none of these differences, graphic or vocal, have any effect on the meaning of the text.
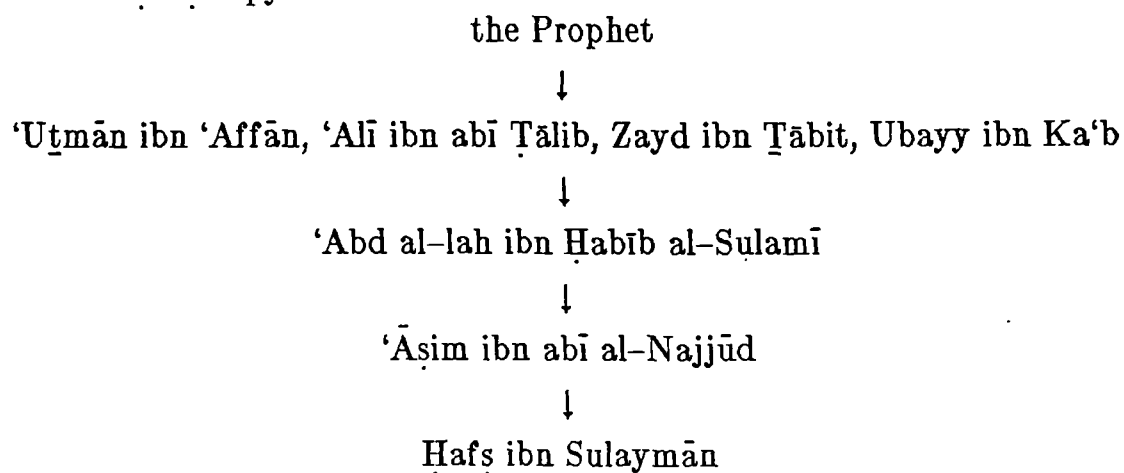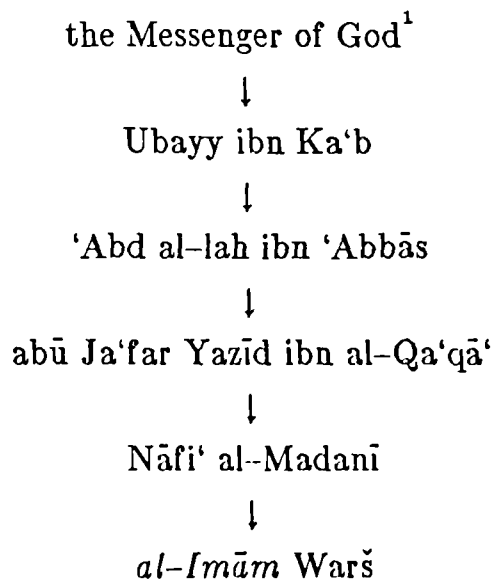
part two

The oral history
of
the two transmissions

Chapter 7

THE FIRST CENTURY AND A HALF

- The Ḥafṣ copy —

the Prophet

↓

'Uṯmān ibn 'Affān, 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib, Zayd ibn Ṯābit, Ubayy ibn Ka'b

↓

'Abd al–lah ibn Ḥabīb al–Sulamī

↓

'Āṣim ibn abī al–Najjūd

↓

Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān

- The Warš copy —

the Messenger of God[1]

↓

Ubayy ibn Ka'b

↓

'Abd al–lah ibn 'Abbās

↓

abū Ja'far Yazīd ibn al–Qa'qā'

↓

Nāfi' al–Madanī

↓

al–Imām Warš

SUCH ARE THE CHAINS of transmission, the *isnāds*, found at the back of the two printed copies chosen as the basis for this study.

It has been seen that documenting the *isnād* of the early transmission at the back of a copy was a new departure with the 1342 Cairo text.[2] Moreover, the structure of the colophon in which the *isnād* appears in the Warš copy seems to have been formed in the light of the colophon of the 1342 Cairo text,[3] and the turn of phrase makes it unlikely that its *isnād* was in the original manuscript.[4] But it would be wrong to suggest that 20[th.] century Egyptian or Tunisian scholars fabricated these *isnāds*, as they are are more or less[5] as found in the *qirā'āt* works of ibn al–Jazarī[6] and al–Dānī,[7] with well-documented sources.

Also, to attempt to validate these *isnāds* with the kind of scrutiny given to *isnāds* of traditions is misguided. Muslims are in no doubt that the Qur'ān has been transmitted by a large section of the community from the start. There is no suggestion that it came down *only* the path of its *isnād*, and that its authenticity stands or falls with these men. Besides, as will be shown below, in terms of Muslim tradition-criticism several of these links are far from being above reproach. The *isnāds* are nevertheless useful as a basis for considering the early history of the two transmissions, despite the fact that the significance behind their inclusion can only really be for purposes other than authentication.

The immediate significance of the Qur'ān having an *isnād*, is that it shows it to be an oral text. On the other hand, that it is also a written text is shown by the way the *isnād* is introduced in the Ḥafṣ copy –

> "This copy was written and vocalised according to Ḥafṣ' trans-
> mission of the reading of 'Āṣim on the authority of al–Sulamī, on
> the authority of ..."[8]

A possible inference from this that the writing was subsequent to the oral transmission, is dismissed by the immediately following paragraph, where a written Tradition is firmly stated to underlie the oral one –

> "And its spelling has been taken from the reports of the scholars
> of the graphic form of the Qur'ān concerning the copies sent by
> 'Uṭmān to Basra; Kufa; Syria and Mecca; the copy he apppointed
> for the Medinese; the copy he kept for himself; and the copies
> made from these."[9]

Some of the ways have been mentioned above in which the 1342 Cairo text stepped outside the orthography of many Qur'ān manuscripts from the preceding centuries. But in this context it may be pointed out that Bergsträßer's criticism that the 1342 Cairo text was a "reconstruction resulting from a rewriting" does not take account of an oral Tradition.[10] These written works, on which the orthography of the 1342 Cairo text was based, are the end-result of unbroken oral transmission. In the words of ibn Xaldūn,[11]

> "These Qur'ān readings, and their chains of authority, had an unbroken oral transmission, until, along with the other sciences they were set down in writing ..."

The 1342 Cairo text was therefore a stepping-back to an earlier stage of orthography, rather than a stepping-outside from the latest stage.

Another implication of the *isnād* is that reading-systems are seen to be considered in the realm of Tradition rather than Scripture. They are ascribed to humans rather than to God.

Another reason for including the *isnād* could be commercial. This may be seen in the shortened version found in the Damascus copy –

> *kutib haḏā l-muṣḥaf waḍubiṭ 'alā mā yuwāfiq riwāyat Ḥafṣ 'an 'Uṯmān ibn 'Affān wa'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib 'an in-Nabī ṣl'm.*

It can be bought both by Sunnīs and Šī'īs. The Damascus copy, although orthographically in the Turkish Tradition, has been seen to have been influenced by the Egyptian Tradition. Otherwise, printed copies outwith, or at least, uninfluenced by, the Egyptian Tradition have not been found with an *isnād*.

Turning to the *isnāds* themselves, and considering the authorities one by one, firstly those of the Ḥafṣ copy in this section, and then those of the Warš copy in the next, the following can be said.

§ 1 The Ḥafṣ isnād

1.1 Ḥafṣ (abū 'Amr Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Muǧīra al-Asadī al-Kūfī al-Ḡādirī[12] al-bazzāz), b.c.90, d.180, was the son-in-law,[13] or step-son,[14] of 'Āṣim. After the foundation of Baghdad he went there, and then to Mecca.[15] He taught the reading of 'Āṣim in both places.[16] In the transmission of the Qur'ān he was held in the highest esteem,[17] but in the transmission of traditions he was held in the opposite.[18]

1.2 'Āṣim (abū Bakr 'Āṣim ibn abī al-Najjūd ibn Bahdala al-Kūfī), Mawlā of the Benī Juḏayma of the Asad, and pupil of, among others, the Kufan Successors al-Sulamī, Zirr ibn Ḥubayš[19] (d.82) and abū 'Amr Sa'd ibn Iyās al-Šaybānī (d.96). He died 127-128.[20] .

1.3 al-Sulamī (abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-lah ibn Ḥabīb ibn Rubay'a/Rubbay'a al-Sulamī al-ḍarīr ("the blind")) was a long established Companion of 'Alī, relating many traditions from him.[21] The Teheran Ḳadırǧalı text names the transmission by him rather than by Ḥafṣ.[22] If the isnāds of the two copies of the Qur'ān are to be seen as related, his being a link in the chain could be seen as a counterpoise to 'Abdal-lāh ibn 'Abbās. The name "'Abdal-lāh" at early stages of Muslim Tradition could be fleshed out in many ways.[23] al-Sulamī was in the mainstream of the Kufan Qur'ān transmission. According to ibn Sa'd (d.230), he died in his late eighties in Kufa during the governorship of Bišr ibn Marwān.[24] Ibn Ḥajar (d.852) quoted his death-date variously as 70, 72 and 85,[25] and gave a report from abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī[26] (who taught Ḥafṣ traditions[27]) that he taught Qur'ān reading for forty years in the mosque [of Kufa]. He was certainly the teacher of 'Āṣim, and doubtless many others, but there are contradictory reports as to his own teachers. None have been seen, may it be said, mentioning Zayd, Ubayy or 'Utmān.

According to ibn Sa'd,[28] al-Sulamī is said to have said, "My father taught me the Qur'ān, and he was a Companion", and, "I learnt to read the Qur'ān from 'Alī" . Ibn Sa'd himself added that he related (traditions)

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from 'Alī, 'Abd al-lah [ibn Mas'ūd] and 'Uṯmān, although included a report from Šu'ba that he did not do so from 'Uṯmān.[29] ibn Ḥajar, however, gave ibn Mas'ūd in this report from Šu'ba specifically as not being al-Sulamī's teacher of Tradition.[30] ibn Ḥajar gave another report that his relating from 'Alī was not particularly certain, and another that he did not hear traditions from 'Umar.[31] ibn Ḥajar continued[32] that al-Sulamī had heard from 'Alī, 'Uṯmān and ibn Mas'ūd, and that others relate[33] that he was with 'Alī at Siffīn, but then became a 'Uṯmānī. ibn Ḥajar also mentioned as al-Sul-amī's teachers of Tradition – 'Umar (!), Sa'd, Xālid ibn Walīd, Ḥudayfa, abū Mūsā al-Aš'arī, abū al-Dardā' and abū Hurayra.[34] ibn al-Nadīm said that he learnt Qur'ān with 'Alī.[35]

This array of famous early figures, coupled with the contradictory reports, make it difficult to attach certainty to the reports.

1.4 'Uṯmān ibn 'Affān, 'Alī ibn abī Ṯālib, Zayd ibn Ṯābit, Ubayy ibn Ka'b.

While it is not impossible that these four taught al-Sulamī the Qur'ān, it is evident that their primary significance in the isnād is not that. In the accounts of the history of the Qur'ān text all four are eponyms and their names are immediately of wider significance. The names of the Qurašī caliphs 'Uṯmān and 'Alī give the reading Head-of-State approval and make it acceptable to both Sunnī and Šī'ī. 'Uṯmān was also, significantly, the latest link with the city of the Prophet.[36] The presence of the orthodox caliphs is a feature of Kufan isnāds.[37] And the names of the Prophet's non-Qurašī Medinese scribes Zayd and Ubayy indicate that the reading was not only based on the very best, but more importantly, the very latest form of the text. Ubayy had been the Prophet's scribe and, along with abū Hurayra (converted 7 A.H.), is taken as witness to the Prophet's late period.[38] But Zayd replaced Ubayy as the Prophet's scribe, so with respect to isnād is the later of two witnesses.[39] Zayd was also said to have attended the final review before the Prophet's death.[40] In fact he played the central role in all the traditions on the various collections of the Qur'ān, whether by the Prophet's first, second, third or later caliphs.[41]

Individually, therefore, these early authorities have religio-political and religio-historical significance. And taken as a block, their presence in the isnād of the Ḥafṣ copy is clearly the end-result of competition. It is polished

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and can scarcely be bettered. Although the Egyptians obviously did not consider that the *muṣḥaf* could stand or fall according to human chains of authority, they nonetheless wanted it furnished with the best possible chain.

§ 2   The Warš isnād

2.1   abū Saʿīd ʿUtmān ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿAbdal-lāh ibn ʿAmr ibn Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qibtī, *mawlā* of Qurayš, called al-Imām Warš, b.115 d.197.[42] He was of Coptic origin. Nāfiʿ is said to have nicknamed him "Warš" either because of his extreme whiteness, or because of his similarity to the bird called *"warašān"*.[43] He became the head Qurʾān reader in Egypt.

2.2   Nāfiʿ ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn abī Nuʿaym, *mawlā* of Jaʿwana ibn Šaʿūb al-Sijʿī was jet black and originally, according to al-Asmaʿī (his student), from Isfahan. He is said to have recited the Qurʾān before abū Maymūna mawlā of Umm Salama. As far as traditions were concerned, he is said to have heard from seventy Followers, nevertheless is not considered reliable. He is one of the later-termed "Seven Readers". He grew up and died in Medina in 159.[44]

2.3   abū Jaʿfar Yazīd ibn al-Qaʿqāʿ died 128-133 (in Medina) was *mawlā* of the Follower, ʿAbdal-lāh ibn ʿAyyāš ibn abī Rabīʿa ʿAtāqa al-Maxzūmī. abū Jaʿfar was also a Follower, and is one of the later-termed "Ten Readers". According to ibn Xallikān, abū Jaʿfar had learnt Qurʾān reading directly from ʿAbd al-lah ibn ʿAbbās, from his *mawlā* ʿAbdal-lāh ibn ʿAyyāš, and from abū Hurayra. He had learnt Tradition from ʿAbdal-lāh ibn ʿUmar, Marwān ibn Hakam, and was said to have recited the Qurʾān before Zayd.[45] ibn Xallikān continued that some say he was the *mawlā* of Umm Salama, and that he is said to have taught *qirāʾa* before the battle of the *harra* (64 A.H.).[46]

A similar array of eponymous Muslim authorities seems to have attached itself to abū Jaʿfar as to al-Sulamī.

The Warš copy follows Nāfi' where it differs from abū Ja'far, which is surprising since it seems to make abū Ja'far's link in the chain redundant.

2.4 'Abd al-lah ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is usually more the eponym of the *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān than specifically of its reading.[47] Like Ubayy he is alleged to have had a text with two extra *sūras*.[48] He also had blood-links with the Prophet, but his readings were not unimpeachable by any means. al-Ṭabarī, for instance, strongly rejected a reading of 'Abd-al-lāh ibn 'Abbās for 2:184,[49] as did al-Rāzī for 13:31.[50] He is said to have died in Taif in 78, aged about 70.[51]

2.5 Ubayy ibn Ka'b has been considered above. 'Abdal-lāh ibn 'Abbās is representative of the Companion generation, however it could be that he was found to have been born a little too late, hence the need for an additional link to this chain.
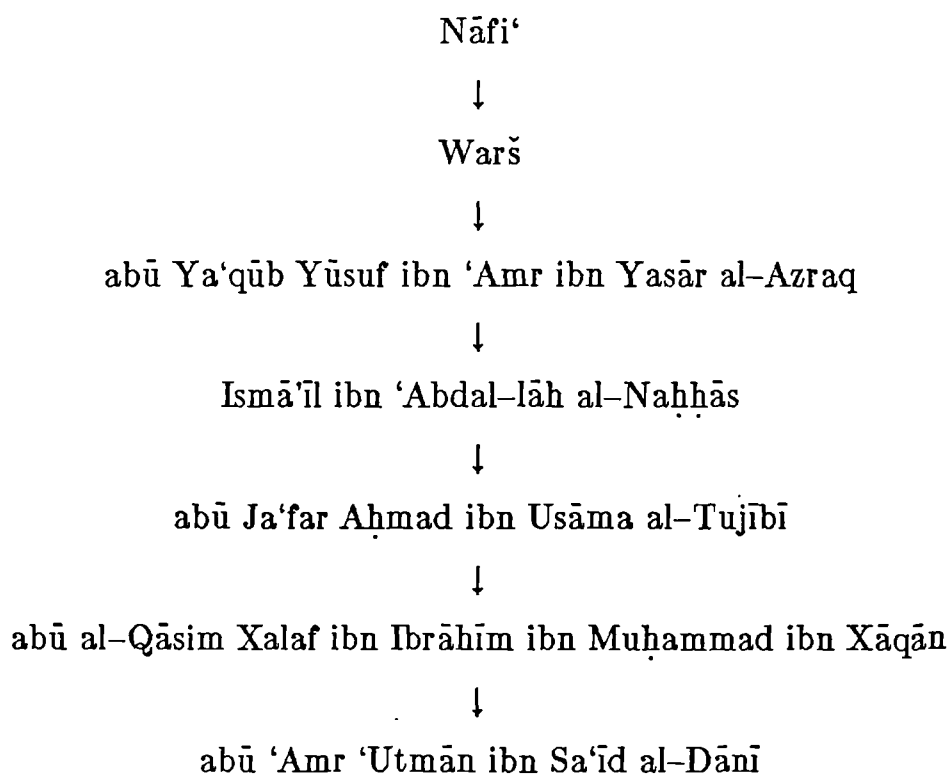
There are two interesting points about the *isnād* of the Warš copy. First, although according to official Muslim dogma, the Warš text is "'Uṭmānic", the Warš copy makes no claim to the authority of 'Uṭmān. On the other hand, the Cairo Warš copy does.[52] Second, to have no other authority than Ubayy is perhaps surprising. For one thing, Ubayy is said to have repudiated the theory of *nasχ*,[53] and the very need for *isnāds* might be thought to have arisen from that theory. And for another, Ubayy is noted for the additional material in his text, as it is cited by Muslim scientists.[54]

The *isnād* of the Warš copy was perhaps considered unsophisticated by Egyptian scholars in relation to that of the Ḥafṣ copy. In the Algerian copy, which was thoroughly under the influence of the 1342 Cairo text, and indeed written by an Egyptian scholar, the *isnād* could be seen to be an improved version —

the Prophet

↓

Ubayy ibn Ka'b

↓

abū Hurayra; 'Abd al-lah ibn 'Abbās;
'Abdal-lāh ibn 'Ayyāš ibn abī Rabī'a

↓

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-'Araj; Šayba ibn Niṣāḥ;
Muslim ibn Jundub, *mawlā* of al-Huḍalī;
Yazīd ibn Rūmān; abū Ja'far Yazīd ibn al-Qa'qā'

↓

Nāfi' ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn abī Nu'aym

↓

abū Sa'īd 'Utmān ibn Sa'īd Warš al-Miṣrī

The third and fourth links have been improved. ibn 'Abbās, a name not above criticism, has here been supported by perhaps the best Medinan authority,[55] and by the *mawlā* of abū Ja'far.[56] The Qur'ān reader abū Ja'far has been given support from several, more well-known Medinan names — al-A'raj (d.117) perhaps because of abū Hurayra and ibn 'Abbās, from whom he transmitted traditions;[57] Šayba (d.130), the son-in-law of Yazīd ibn al-Qa'qā',[58] and the "*Imām ahl il-Madīna fil-qirā'āt*";[59] Muslim (d.106) the famous *qāḍī*, and teacher of 'Umar II, and who also transmitted from abū Hurayra;[60] Yazīd (d.130), also a transmitter from abū Hurayra,[61] and who, according to ibn Ḥajar, "read the Qur'ān from 'Abdal-lāh ibn 'Abbās ibn abī Rabī'a" (sic.)[62] All these names are again traceable to the pedigrees of the transmission given by ibn al-Jazarī[63] and al-Dānī.[64]

Following this in the Algerian copy is an extension of the *isnād* down to al-Dānī, explicitly citing his *Kitāb al-Taysīr* as the source, and correspondiing exactly with ibn al-Jazarī's first line of transmission from Warš in his *Kitāb al-Našr*.[65]

Nāfi‘

↓

Warš

↓

abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf ibn ‘Amr ibn Yasār al-Azraq

↓

Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Abdal-lāh al-Naḥḥās

↓

abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Usāma al-Tujībī

↓

abū al-Qāsim Xalaf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Xāqān

↓

abū ‘Amr ‘Utmān ibn Sa‘īd al-Dānī

§ 3 In the two links of each chain directly before Ḥafṣ and Warš, there is little of the eponymous flavour of the names of the earlier links. Three of the four were first-generation *mawālī*. They are also regionally consistent. al-Sulamī and ‘Āṣim were both Kufans, and abū Ja‘far Yazīd and Nāfi‘ were both Medinese. Little significance, however, should be attached to the Qur’ān being known according to transmitters belonging to a century and a half after the Prophet. As ibn Xaldūn said, they are merely single names representing whole schools, and in no way are to be considered initiators.

> These [various readings of the Companions] were transmitted from one person to the next, becoming thoroughly well-known, and eventually settling into seven individual lines. These themselves had continuous oral transmission and each came to be ascribed to a certain man from among the great mass of readers, who had become famed as their transmitters. These seven transmissions became the basis of the science.[66]

This view places the origin of the seven reading-systems a few generations after the Prophet's contemporaries, but also a few generations before the ones by whom the systems came to be known. al-Sa‘īd placed it later and considered these [ten] masters as the ones who actually made the reading-systems individual entities. He said (somewhat paradoxically),[67]

"Each of the [ten] Readings in question is associated with the name of a famous Koran-reader ... by whom the Reading in question was transmitted at that point in Islamic history when the various Readings began to emerge as distinct systems".

But he removed the possibility that these masters actually created any new individual readings by the notion that all the readings were present in the original revelation to Muhammad, and these masters merely selected one particular combination. Even these combinations contained a certain amount of flexibility, shown by the fact that the students of these masters also carried out a certain amount of selection from the masters.[68]

Both these views are the reverse of what a non-Muslim might think. A non-Muslim might posit later proliferation from a defined static source, like a family-tree, where the progenitor is long since dead. However a stage where the proliferation apparently stopped presents problems for this view, and theories about an establishment, or canonisation, of the text have arisen. But the beauty of the Muslim view is that it posits an undefined, dynamic source, which at its origin already contained all future variation. It is a more organic, and less academic, approach, and neatly explains why the variations grew less and less – the extent of choice grew more and more limited.[69] Hence also their being called by 2nd century transmitters. After them the choice was negligible and could not warrant being in the category of a separate transmission. It also explains rejected readings. The Qur'ān potentially contained all readings that did not destroy the sense. Those that did so were declared deviant, not arising from the same unanimously accepted source. They were, nonetheless, still useful at times for exegetical discussion.[70]

It should be mentioned that 'Āṣim and Nāfi' had another famous transmitter each, Abu Bakr Šu'ba and Qālūn respectively. The former, b.95, d.192/3 in Kufa, was a *mawlā* of Wāṣil ibn Ḥayyān al–Aḥdab.[71] The latter, b.120, d.205 or 220 in Medina, was a *mawlā* of Benī Zuhra.[72] He was apparently deaf, which means he must have learnt largely from written texts, although he is said to have lip-read.[73]

Chapter 8

SUBSEQUENT ORAL HISTORY

IT IS NOT KNOWN WHEN, but these two transmissions, Ḥafṣ and Warš, crystallised into the principal Western and Eastern transmissions of the Qur'ān with the dividing line more or less between Iraq and Syria.[1] The division is already in evidence at least in the time of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d.241).[2]

As late as the time of abū al-Faḍl al-Xuzāʿī (d.408), Egypt and the Maġrib are said to have known no other transmissions of the Qur'ān than those of Warš and al-Azraq.[3] Its arrival in Andalusia and the area of modern-day Tunis is recorded, but not its arrival in modern-day Morocco.[4] The reading of Warš is said to have been adopted in Andalusia during the lifetime of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim al-ʿUtaqī al-Miṣrī (d.231).[5] According to ibn al-Jazarī it was [first] written down in Andalusia during his time, and that previously they had used the transmission of Ġāzī ibn Qays (d.199)[6] from Nāfiʿ. Two transmitters are known to have taken the transmission from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad to Andalusia, Muhammad ibn Waddāḥ al-Qurṭubī (d.286/7) who had a written copy from him,[7] and Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Bāzī (d.294, in Toledo).[8] One transmitter of the same generation is recorded as making the transmission popular in modern-day Tunisia, and one in the next century, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Xayrūn al-Maʿāfirī al-Andalusī (d.306, in Sousse),[9] and ʿAbdal-lāh ibn Muḥammad al-Qudāʿī al-Andalusī "Maqrūn" (b.290, d.378).[10] Since Morocco lies between the two areas the transmission of Warš would in all likelihood have arrived there also in the early 3rd. century A.H. Down in the mountains of Yemen, where the Zaydiyya could exist in isolation, the transmission of Nāfiʿ, that is of Warš, continued to exist with them there also. Perhaps the eventual overriding predominance of the Ḥafṣ transmis-

sion is partly to be explained by Kufa's being the first stronghold of written Tradition among other Muslim cities.[11] Kufa early took the leadership in the production of Muslim manuscripts.[12] Indeed for a long time "Kufic script" was considered synonymous with the earliest Arabic, or at least, Qur'ān, script.[13] The Kufan school of law became the Ḥanafiyya. It was favoured by the first 'Abbasid caliphs and spread early to the east and India, and north-west and north-east taking with it the transmission of Ḥafs.[14] The Seljuqs also favoured the school,[15] and with the Ḥanafī Ottomans the transmission of Warš came also to Egypt.[16]

Other transmissions became largely academic, learnt only by students of the science of Qur'ān readings. Alongside ibn al–Jazarī's statement, for instance, that the reading of ibn 'Āmir was current in Syria in his time,[17] it must be remembered, not only that his whole life revolved around Qur-'ān readings, but that he was also a Damascene. Similar considerations probably apply to the transmission of abū 'Amr in the Sudan.

The history of the written transmission from the time of Ḥafs and Warš to the printing of Qur'ān copies last century is in large part the history of Islamic palaeography and calligraphy. This subject has been well documented by Western scholars. The earliest extant manuscripts happen to date from around their time, the late 2nd· century A.H.

The oral Tradition about the various transmissions, the science of qir-ā'āt, itself began to be documented at this time. This may have been contemporary with the crystallisation of the mass of readings into a number of discrete systems, the so-called "seven" or "ten reading-systems" ("al–qir-ā'āt al–sab'" or "al–'ašr"). While this in no way supplanted the run-of-the-mill oral transmission of the Qur'ān text, which has been seen to be under threat only in our modern secular age,[18] written records slowly began to take precedence in academic areas, for instance, when variations in reading-systems were at issue. This may have been mainly as a result of competition or a crisis in confidence,[19] but the increased availability of paper from the 3rd· century[20] would also have been a major factor.

The importance of these lines of transmission to the Muslims is shown by the way they have been carefully preserved. In a feat of virtuosity, ibn al–Jazarī enumerates them for all of the "ten" Readers, sometimes reaching as far as the late 6th· century (al–Šātibī), and the 9th· century (himself), and often as far as the early 5th· (al–Dānī). From at least the mid 4th· century A.H., however, the oral transmission of all but two transmissions seems to have begun to be based on books.[21] The student would nonetheless have usually learnt the book by oral repetition from the author, or from those who had done the same from the author. In the transmissions of Ḥafs and of Warš through al Azraq, however, the oral transmission remained fully

alive outwith academic circles as well.

It is important to enumerate the recorded transmitters after Ḥafṣ and Warš to gauge their significance, for the documentation of this oral Tradition was not first systematically done until the late 3$^{rd.}$/early 4$^{th.}$ century A.H.[22]

§ 1 Of the Ḥafṣ Transmission

ibn al-Jazarī gives the transmitters from Ḥafṣ as follows.[23] The furthest west any of them came from was Egypt. The majority came from present-day Iraq. Their *kunyas*, here and in § 2, are given only if they are what they are mainly known by, or if their father's name is not given. A name printed in bold is their most common shortened one. Only their first occurrence in this chapter is endnoted, and in subsequent occurrences only their shortened name is usually given.

Ḥafṣ d.180 [24]

 1 'Ubayd ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ[25] al-Nahšalī al-Kūfī / al-Baġdādī d.235

  1.1 Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Fayrūzānī al-Ušnānī [26] d.307

   1.1.1 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Hāšimī "al-Jūxānī" [27] d.368

    1.1.1.1 Ṭāhir [ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im] ibn Ġalbūn [28] d.399

     1.1.1.1.1 abū 'Amr al-Dānī d.444

     1.1.1.1.2 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī [29] d.452

     → **al-Dānī** d.444

    1.1.1.2 'Abd al-Salām ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī [30] d.405

     → abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-**Xayyāṭ**[31]

      → Aḥmad **ibn Suwār** al-Baġdādī [32] d.496

    1.1.1.3 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-**Milanjī**[33]

     1.1.1.3.1 abū 'Alī al **Ḥaddād** [34] d.515

1.1.1.3.2 abū al-Qāsim al-Hudalī [35] d.465

1.1.1.4 ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Xabbāzī [36] d.398

→ Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad al-Harawī [37]

→ al-Hudalī d.465

1.1.1.5 abū ‘Abdal-lāh al-Karzīnī [38]

→ al-Šarīf abū al-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Qāhir [39] d.493

→ al-Sibṭ [40] d.541

1.1.2 abū Ṭāhir ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn abī Hāšim [41] d.349

1.1.2.1 ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Hammāmī [42]

1.1.2.1.1 abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī [43] d.461

→ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān "ibn al-Faḥḥām" [44] d.516

1.1.2.1.2 Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl al-Mālikī [45]

→ ibn al-Faḥḥām d.516

1.1.2.1.3 abū ‘Alī al-Mālikī al-Baġdādī [46] d.438

→ ibn al-Faḥḥām d.516

1.1.2.1.4 abū al-Faḍl al-Rāzī [47] d.454

→ al-Hudalī d.465

1.1.2.1.5 ‘Abd al-Bāqī ibn Fāris [48] d.c.450

→ al-Hudalī d.465

1.1.2.1.6 Rizqallah al-Tamīmī [49] d.488

→ abū al-Karam al-Šahrazūrī [50] d.550

1.1.2.1.7 al-Šarīf abū Naṣr al-Hubārī [51]

→ abū al-Karam d.550

1.1.2.1.8 abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim [52] d.468

→ abū al-Karam d.550

1.1.2.2 abū l-Faraj al-Nahrawānī [53] d.404

→ al-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim d.468

→ abū al-‘Izz [54] d.521

1.1.2.3 abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-'Alāf [55] d.396

→ 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Šītā [56] d.445

1.1.2.4 'Ubaydal-lāh ibn 'Umar al-Maṣāḥifī [57] d.401

→ abū Bakr al-Xayyāṭ [58] d.467

→ al-Sibṭ d.541

2 'Amr ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ [59] al-Baġdādī d.221

2.1 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Fāmī "al-Fīl" [60] d.286/7/9

2.1.1 Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Iǰlī "al-Walī" [61] d.355

2.1.1.1 al-Ḥammāmī

2.1.1.1.1 abū 'Alī al-Šarmaqānī [62] d.451

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.1.1.1.2 abū al-Ḥasan al-Xayyāṭ

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.1.1.1.3 abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār [63] d.447

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.1.1.1.4 abū al-Faḍl al-Rāzī d.454

→ al-Huḍalī d.465

2.1.1.1.5 al-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim d.468

→ al-Huḍalī d.465

2.1.1.1.6 abū al-'Izz d.521

→ al-Huḍalī d.465

2.1.1.1.7 abū al-Husayn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir[64]

→ abū al-Karam d.550

2.1.1.1.8 ibn Šītā d.445

2.1.1.2 Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī [65] d.393

2.1.1.2.1 abū 'Alī al-Šarmaqānī d.451

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.1.1.2.2 abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār d.447

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.1.1.2.3 abū al-Faḍl al-Xuzāʿī [66] b.332 d.408

→ abū al-Muzaffar ibn Šabīb [67] d.451

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.1.1.2.4 abū ʿAlī al-Ahwāzī [68] d.446

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.1.2 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Xalīl al-ʿAṭṭār [69]

2.1.2.1 ʿAbd al-Ġaffār ibn Ubaydal-lah [70] d.367/9

2.1.2.1.1 Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn

2.1.2.1.1.1 al-Šarīf abū al-Faḍl d.493

2.1.2.1.1.1.1 abū al-Karam d.550

2.1.2.1.1.1.2 al-Sibṭ d.541

2.2 Zurʿān [71] ibn Aḥmad al-Daqqāq al-Baġdādī d.c.290

2.2.1 ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Baġdādī al-Qalānisī [72] d.356

2.2.1.1 Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdal-lāh al-Sūsangārdī [73] d.402

2.2.1.1.1 abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī d.461

→ ibn al-Fahhām d.516

2.2.1.1.2 abū ʿAlī al-Mālikī

→ ibn al-Fahhām d.516

2.2.1.1.3 abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn al-Farrāʾ [74]

→ ibn al-Fahhām d.516

2.2.1.1.4 abū Bakr al-Xayyāṭ d.467

→ ibn al-Fahhām d.516

2.2.1.2 ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Xurasānī [75]

→ abū al-Fatḥ Fāris ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥimṣī [76] d.401

→ al Dānī d.444

2.2.1.3 al-Nahrawānī d.404

2.2.1.3.1 al Ḥasan ibn al Qāsim d.468

→ abū al-'Izz d.521

2.2.1.3.2 abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār d.447

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.2.1.4 al-Ḥammāmī

2.2.1.4.1 ibn Šītā d.445

2.2.1.4.2 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Fāris d.c.450

2.2.1.4.3 abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār d.447

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.2.1.5 al-Maṣāḥifī d.401

2.2.1.5.1 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Fāris d.c.450

→ abū al-Karam d.550

2.2.1.5.2 abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār d.447

→ ibn Suwār d.496

2.2.1.6 Bakr ibn Šāḏān al-Baġdādī al-Wā'iẓ [77] d.405

→ abū Bakr al-Xayyāṭ [78] d.467

→ abū Manṣūr ibn al-Farrā'

→ abū al-'Alā' al-Hamaḏānī [79] d.569

By the late 4[th.] century the same transmitters appear more frequently in more than one line, e.g. al-Ḥammāmī and al-Nahrawānī. This suggests that the independence of the particular lines was by then academic, indeed they were probably mainly learnt from books. The vast majority of ibn al-Jazarī's sources for these lines date to the late 4[th.] and early 5[th.] century.[80] Several links also appear in the lines of other transmissions, al-Ḥammāmī and al-Nahrawānī again, for instance, are found in the majority of the others.[81] Of those transmitters in the Ḥafṣ pedigree appearing also in the Warš pedigree, twice as many of them appear in the eastern line of al-Iṣbahānī,[82] than in the western line of al-Azraq.[83] Only the encyclopaedic masters of the 5[th.] century, al-Dānī, al-Huḏalī and ibn al-Fahhām, appear in all three pedigrees.

The apparent artificiality in the way some of these lines of transmission tend to bifurcate twice only for the first two links is probably a result of convenience for memorisation, and by no means of fabrication. Only the most prominent representatives of the schools would be retained in the pedigrees.

§ 2 Of the Warš Transmission

ibn al-Jazarī gave the transmitters from Warš as follows.[84]

2.1 The line of
abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn 'Amr al-Madanī / al-Miṣrī "al-Azraq"

This line has a predominance of Westerners, from Cairo and Qayrawan for example. It has few from east of Egypt. It has survived to this day, whereas the line of al-Iṣbahānī was probably purely academic already by the early 5[th.] century A.H.

That the Warš copy is the transmission of Warš by way al-Azraq is shown by readings like *iχwatiya* (*12:100*) and *waliya* (*20: 18*),[85] and *irkab ma'anā* (*11: 42*).[86] He alone transmitted the heavy *lām*s and light *rā*'s from Warš.[87] For an example *of reading-differences emerging even after al-Azraq* and al-Iṣbahānī, and in points not really any finer than most earlier ones, see al-Dabbā' re *yāsīn*[w] *al-Qur'ān* (*36: 1*)[88] where ibn Mihrān was the only one to transmit non-assimilation from al-Iṣbahānī.

Warš d.197

→ al-Azraq [89] d.c.240

1 Ismā'īl ibn 'Abdal-lāh al-Naḥḥās al-Miṣrī [90] d.c.328

1.1 Aḥmad ibn 'Usāma al-Tujaybī al-Miṣrī [91] d.342/356

→ Xalaf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Xāqān al-Miṣrī [92] d.402

→ al-Dānī d.444

1.2 Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al Xayyāṭ[93]

→ Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-lāh al-Anmāṭī al-Miṣrī[94]

  → Xalaf ibn Ibrāhīm d.402

    → al-Dānī d.444

      → abū Dāwūd Sulaymān [95] d.496

        → ibn Ġulām al-Furs [96] d.547

          → al-Nafzawī[97]

            → al-Šāṭibī [98] d.590

1.3 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn abī al-Rajā' al-Miṣrī[99] d.343

  → Xalaf ibn Ibrāhīm d.402

    → al-Dānī d.444

1.4 Aḥmad ibn 'Abdal-lāh ibn Hilāl al-Miṣrī[100] d.310

  1.4.1 abū Ġānim al-Muẓaffar ibn Aḥmad [101] d.333

    1.4.1.1 Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Udfuwī[102] d.388

      1.4.1.1.1 abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan[103]

        → al-Qanṭarī [104] d.438

          → Aḥmad ibn 'Ammār al-Mahdawī[105]

      1.4.1.1.2 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Ṭarsūsī [106] d.420

      1.4.1.1.3 abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad al-Udfuwī[107]

        1.4.1.1.3.1 Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hāšim[108] d.445

          → al-Huḏalī d.465

        1.4.1.1.3.2 Ismā'īl ibn 'Amr [109] d.429

          → al-Huḏalī d.465

  1.4.2 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Irāk al-Miṣrī[110] d.388

    → ibn Hāšim d.445

      → al-Huḏalī d.465

  1.4.3 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥaytam al-Ša'rānī[111]

    → Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn abī Bilāl al-Kūfī[112] d.358

      → al Xabbāzī

→ abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Masrūr al-Baḡdādī[113]

→ al-Huḏalī d.465

1.5 Ḥamdān ibn 'Awn al-Xawlānī al-Miṣrī[114] d.c.340

1.5.1 ibn 'Irāk d.388

1.5.1.1 Abū al-Fatḥ Fāris d.401

→ al-Dānī d.444

1.5.1.2 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Fāris d.c.450

1.5.1.2.1 ibn al-Faḥḥām d.516

1.5.1.2.2 ibn Ballīma[115] b.427/8 d.514

1.5.1.3 ibn Hāšim d.445

→ al-Huḏalī d.465

1.5.1.4 Ismā'īl ibn 'Amr d.429

→ al-Huḏalī d.465

1.6 abū Naṣr Sallāma ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mawṣilī[116] d.282/3

1.6.1 abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad[117] d.340

1.6.1.1 abū al-Faḍl al-Rāzī d.454

1.6.1.1.1 Abū Ma'šar al-Ṭabarī[118] d.478

1.6.1.1.2 al-Huḏalī d.465

1.7 Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Aḥnāsī al-Miṣrī[119]

1.7.1 Aḥmad ibn Naṣr al-Šaddā'ī al-Baṣrī[120] d.370/3/6

1.7.1.1 al-Xabbāzī

→ abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Masrūr al-Baḡdādī

→ al-Huḏalī d.465

1.7.1.2 al-Xuzā'ī d.408

→ abū al-Muẓaffar

→ al-Huḏalī d.465

1.8 ibn Šanabūḏ al-Baḡdādī[121] d.328

1.8.1 al-Šaddā'ī d.370/3/6

→ al-Xabbāzī

    → abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Masrūr al-Baḡdādī

    → al-Huḏalī d.465

1.8.2 Ḡazwān ibn al-Qāsim [122] b.282 d.386

    → Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAmr d.429

    → al-Huḏalī d.465

2 ʿAbdal-lāh ibn Mālik ibn Sayf al-Miṣrī [123] d.307

  2.1 abū ʿAdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAlī al-Miṣrī [124] d.379/80/81

    2.1.1 Ṭāhir ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Ḡalbūn d.399

    → al-Dānī d.444

    2.1.2 al-Ṭarsūsī d.420

    → abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl ibn Xalaf [125] d.455

    2.1.3 Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd ibn Nafīs [126] d.453/5

      2.1.3.1 Muḥammad ibn Šurayḥ [127] b.388 d.476

      2.1.3.2 ibn Ballīma b.427/8 d.514

      2.1.3.3 ibn al-Faḥḥām d.516

    2.1.4 Makkī ibn abī Ṭālib [128] b.355 d.437

    2.1.5 ʿAbdal-lāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zahrāwī [129]

      2.1.5.1 Qusaym ibn Aḥmad al-Zahrāwī [130] d.398/9

        2.1.5.1.1 ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn Fāris d.c.450

          2.1.5.1.1.1 ibn al-Faḥḥām d.516

          2.1.5.1.1.2 ibn Ballīma b.427/8 d.514

    2.1.6 Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAmr d.429

    → al-Huḏalī d.465

    2.1.7 ibn Hāšim d.445

    → al-Huḏalī d.465

  2.2 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān al-Miṣrī [131]

    2.2.1 ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Ḡalbūn [132] b.309 d.389

    2.2.2 Ṭāhir ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim d.399

→ ibn Hāšim d.445

→ al-Huḍalī d.465

2.3 Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Aḥnāsī

→ al-Šaddā'ī d.370/3/6

→ al-Xabbāzī

→ Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad al-Harawī

→ al-Huḍalī d.465

2.2 The line of
abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Asadī al-Iṣbahānī

al-Iṣbahānī died in Baghdad in 296, ninety-nine years after Warš. His line does not therefore have such a good pedigree as that of al-Azraq, since it is one and more stages removed. This lack of direct contact might be thought to be made up for by his having learnt the transmission from a number of Companions, and Companions of Companions, of Warš. ibn al-Jazarī gives these as follows[133] —

2.2.1 Warš

1 Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Rašdaynī[134] b.178 d.253

→ al-Iṣbahānī

2 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makkī[135] d.343/4

→ al-Iṣbahānī

3 abū al-Aš'aṯ 'Āmir ibn Su'ayd al-Jarašī[136]

→ al-Iṣbahānī

4 abū Mas'ūd al-Aswad al-Madanī[137]

→ al-Iṣbahānī

5 Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-Miṣrī[138] b.170 d.264

    5.1 al-Iṣbahānī

    5.2 Mawās ibn Sahl al-Ma'āfirī al-Miṣrī[139]

      → al-Iṣbahānī

6 Dāwūd ibn abī Ṭayyiba al-Miṣrī[140] d.223

    → 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Dāwūd ibn abī Ṭayyiba[141] d.273

    → al-Iṣbahānī

7 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Utaqī al-Miṣrī[142] d.231

    → abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn Ya'qūb al-Ḥamrāwī[143]

    → al-Iṣbahānī

8 Other reliable (unnamed) Companions [of Warš][144]

    → abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Junayd *al-makfūf*[145]

    → al-Iṣbahānī

2.2.2   The line from al-Iṣbahānī is then given by ibn al-Jazarī as follows —

1 Hibatallah ibn Ja'far al-Baġdādī[146]

    1.1 al-Ḥammāmī

        1.1.1 abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī

            → ibn al-Faḥḥām d.516

        1.1.2 al-Ḥasan ibn Qāsim d.468

            → abū al-'Izz d.521

               → abū al-'Alā' al Ḥamadānī d.569

        1.1.3 abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār d.447

            → ibn Suwār d.496

        1.1.4 abū 'Alī al Mālikī

1.1.5   abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Masrūr al-Baġdādī

→ al-Huḏalī d.465

1.1.6   ibn Šīṭā d.445

1.1.7   abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Sayyid ibn 'Itāb [147] d.487

→ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Xayrūn [148] d.539

1.1.8   abū 'Abdal-lāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bay' [149]

1.1.9   abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Alī ibn Šābūr [150]

1.1.10   abū Sa'd Aḥmad ibn al-Mubārak al-Akfānī [151] d.491

1.1.11   al-Hubārī

1.1.12   Rizqallah d.488

→ al-Miḥwalī

→ abū al-Yaman al-Kindī [152] b.510 d.613

→ al-Kamāl ibn Fāris [153] b.596 d.676

→ Muḥammad al-Ṣā'iġ [154] b.636 d.725

→ ibn al-Ṣā'iġ [155] b.704 d.776

→ ibn al-Jazarī d.833

1.2   al-Nahrawānī d.404

1.2.1   abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār d.447

→ ibn Suwār d.496

1.2.2   al-Ḥasan ibn Qāsim d.468

→ abū al-'Izz d.521

→ abū al-'Alā' al-Wāsiṭī [156] d.431

1.2.3   abū al-Ḥasan al-Xayyāṭ

1.3   abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn 'Alī al-Ṭabarī *al-naḥwī* [157]

→ abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī [158]

→ abū Ma'šar al-Ṭabarī

1.4   abū Bakr ibn Mihrān al Iṣbahānī/al-Nīsābūrī [159] b.295 d.381

2   al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'īd al Matū'ī al 'Abādānī [160] d.371

2.1 al-Kārzīnī

    2.1.1 al-Šarīf abū al-Faḍl

        2.1.1.1 al-Sibṭ d.541

        2.1.1.2 abū al-Karam d.550

    2.1.2 al-Huḍalī d.465

    2.1.3 abū Maʿšar al-Ṭabarī

The predominance of Egyptians shows that Egypt was the centre for Warš studies for a couple of generations after Warš. The line from al-Iṣbahānī, however, was situated further east, and in the pedigree given by ibn al-Jazarī reaching down to himself, only ibn Fāris and his two transmitters appear to have come from as far west as Egypt. The line contains more Easterners, from Fars, Wasit and Baghdad for example. The reading-system of Nāfiʿ was taken to Iraq in both its transmissions, the transmission of Qālūn by abū Našīṭ, and the transmission of Warš by al-Iṣbahānī.[161] But it did not survive against the indigenous reading-systems. The lines given by ibn al-Jazarī for al-Iṣbahānī are distinctly fewer than those given for al-Azraq, and by the third generation from al-Iṣbahānī (i.e. the late 4[th.]/early 5[th.] century) many of them were tied to books. The pedigrees of Warš through al-Azraq, however, and of Ḥafs, are eloquent testimonies both to the vigorous existence of an oral Tradition of the Qur'ān and to its inseparability from the written Tradition.

part three

The differences
between
the two transmissions

Chapter 9

CONSISTENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO TRANSMISSIONS

IN THOSE AREAS where there is no variation within each transmission, certain differences between the two transmissions, at least as in the copies consulted, occur consistently throughout. These are singled out here in advance, §§ 1-7, and not listed individually in chapter 10 below. For brevity, "the Ḥafṣ copy" and "the Warš copy" stand for the whole transmissions as far as they have been verified.

None of these differences has any effect on the meaning.

§ 1 Deflection (*imāla*).

In the Ḥafṣ copy a large dot over a consonant is used once to indicate *hamza bayn-bayn*, that is the intermediate pronunciation of *hamzat al-qat'* between *hamza* and *alif* — '*aa'jamiyyun*.[1]

In the Warš copy a large dot is often used,[2] and mainly also to indicate *bayn-bayn*. It is found forty times in the first hundred verses of *Sūrat al-Baqara* for instance. This is partly because, given the general tendency of the Warš transmission to soften *hamzat al-qat'*, the occasions where an intermediate sound can occur are far more frequent than the single awkward '*aa'jamiyyun* of the Ḥafṣ transmission. But it is mainly because the Warš copy uses this large dot not only to indicate *hamza bayn-bayn*, but also *imāla bayn-bayn*, the intermediate deflection of *alif* towards *yā*'. Since this latter usage is by far the most frequent, it is described as the first usage of the large dot. The less frequent second usage is of a different kind, and is discussed in § 7.2.2.1 below.

The first usage of the large dot.

— Apart from with certain particles and one verb, it is always found below the consonant preceding final $\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ and $\overset{\approx}{\underset{y}{a}}$, but not $\underset{y}{a}$ or $\underset{y}{an}$.[3] For instance, it is found with $al-hud\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (*2:185b*), $m\bar{u}s\overset{\approx}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (*2: 51*), and $nar\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (*2:144*), but not with $hud\underset{y}{an}$ (*2:185a*), $m\bar{u}s\underset{y}{a}$ (*2: 87*) or $nar\underset{y}{a}$ (*2: 55*). The verbal exception is (*mā*) $zak\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (*minkum*) (*24: 21*).

It is also always found with $\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ in medial position, as in the verbs $fasaww\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}hunna$ (*2: 29*) and $fa'\bar{a}t\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}humu$ (*3:148*); and in the nouns, $hud\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}hum$ (*2:272*), $mat\underline{w}\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}hu$ (*12: 21*), $wama'w\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}humu$ (*3:151*) and at-$tawr\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}h^{t}a$ (*3: 3*).

When preceding an independent suffix, with the *alif maqsūra* therefore written *ā*, it is still found, e.g. *hudāya* (*2: 38, 20:123*), *matwāya* (*12: 23*). And it is even found under a vocal *alif* which might either have been expected to be a *yā'-alif*, *bisīmāhum* (*2:273*), or else which follows a *yā'*, e.g. $\chi at\tilde{a}y\tilde{a}kum$[4] (*2: 58*, referring to the second vocal *alif*). It is also written under both $tuq\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}h^{t}an$ (*3: 28*) and $tuq\bar{a}tih\tilde{i}$ (*3:102*).

— A similar close connection of *alif tawīla* with *alif maqsūra* (that is, with *yā'*) might explain its being found in other words like *ad-dunyā* (e.g. *2: 85*) and *wamahyāy* (*6:162*) and always in perfect verbal forms of the root *hyy*, except when elided, compare its presence in *fa'ahyākum* (*2: 28*) and *fa'ahyā bihi* (*2:164*) with its absence from *'ahya n-nāsa*[5] (*5: 32*). It must therefore be a relic of a vocal indication. It is not found, oddly, with $ahy\overset{\approx}{a}'\overset{\sim}{un}$ (*3:169*).

— As for particles, it is always found with $bal\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (e.g. *2: 81, 112*), $mat\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (e.g. *2:214*), $'as\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (e.g. *2:216, 4: 19*, but not, of course, $'as\underset{y}{a}$ (*5: 52*)) and $'ann\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (e.g. *2:223, 247*).

Conversely, it is never found with $'il\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$, $'il\overset{\approx}{\underset{y}{a}}$, $hatt\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$, $hatt\overset{\approx}{\underset{y}{a}}$, $'al\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$, or $'al\overset{\approx}{\underset{y}{a}}$. In the transmissions of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī and Xalaf, which deflect all *alifs* originally *yā'*, as also those particles with graphic *yā'* like $mat\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ $bal\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ and $'ann\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$, exceptions are also said to be made of $'il\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$, $hatt\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$, $'al\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ and the verb $zak\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$.[6] Since also *wāw-alifs* do not have the dot, as in

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$wami\check{s}k^{\widetilde{a}}_wh^t$, and $sal^{\widetilde{a}}_wh^t$, (the reason indeed given for which being that they are at root $w\bar{a}w^{\top}$), it might appear as though deflection was worked out from the graphic form. But however much the rules of deflection were systematised on graphic considerations, these exceptions show that oral considerations must have been primary. But for scepticism, such a point would not need to be substantiated. Whatever though the oral reasons for $'il^{\widetilde{a}}_y$ and the others not being deflected in the Warš transmission, there is no possible graphic reason why they should be made exceptions of when all other $y\bar{a}'$-$alifs$ are deflected. Again, whereas the Warš copy always gives $y\bar{a}'$-$alif$ intermediate deflection, this is not so with all transmissions through al–Azraq from Warš.[8] Etymological and morphological considerations also clearly affected certain transmitters' choice whether to deflect or not. Whether the form at root had $w\bar{a}w$ or $y\bar{a}'$, for instance, or whether the word was followed by a pronominal suffix were two such. Near consistency in intermediate deflection in the Warš copy is more a result of harmonisation rather than primitive simplicity.

Another indication of the oral origin of this deflection is its frequent occurrence with $r\bar{a}'$. Intermediate deflection is always found, for instance, in words with $\bar{a}$ or $\widetilde{a}$[9] before final radical $r\bar{a}'$ with $kasra$ of the genitive or accusative, defined or undefined, with or without suffixes. It is found with n-$nah\bar{a}ri$ ($2:164, 274, 3: 27a$), for instance, but not with un-$nah\bar{a}ra$ ($3: 27b$, $7: 54$); with n-$n\bar{a}ri$ (e.g. $2: 39, 81, 126$) and $n\bar{a}rin$ ($7: 12, 38: 76$), but not with n-$n\bar{a}ru$ (e.g. $3: 24, 183$), nor $n\bar{a}run$ ($2:266, 24: 35$) nor n-$n\bar{a}ra$ (e.g. $2: 24, 174$), or $n\bar{a}ran$ (e.g. $2: 17, 4: 10$); with $ans\bar{a}rin$ ($2:270, 3:192$), but not with $'ans\bar{a}ru$ ($3: 52b$) nor $ans\bar{a}riya$ ($3: 52a$) which is in the nominative; with $biqint\bar{a}rin$ ($3: 75$), but not with $qint\bar{a}ran$ ($4: 20$); with wal-$j\bar{a}ri$ ($4: 36a, b$), $jabb\bar{a}r\bar{i}na$ ($5: 22$) which is accusative, $'abs\widetilde{a}rihim$ ($2: 7$), $wa'abs\widetilde{a}rihim\widetilde{u}$ ($2: 20b$), il-$abs\widetilde{a}ri$ ($3: 13$), but not with $'abs\widetilde{a}rahum$ ($2: 20a$); with $'adb\widetilde{a}rih\widetilde{a}$ ($4: 47$) and $'adb\widetilde{a}rikum$ ($5: 21$), but not with ul-$adb\widetilde{a}ra$ ($3:111$); and so on.[10]

Similarly, it is always found with the form $(l$-$)k\widetilde{a}fir\bar{\imath}na$, whether genitive or accusative (e.g. $2: 19, 3:100$), and with $kaff\bar{a}rin$ ($2:276$ and $50: 24$) and al-$kaff\bar{a}ri$ ($9:123, 48: 29, 60: 10, 11, 83: 34$), but only in the genitive.[11] It is not therefore found with the forms l-$k\widetilde{a}fir\bar{u}na$ (e.g. $2:254, 4:151$), $kaff\bar{a}run$ ($14: 34, 39: 3$) or $kaff\bar{a}ran$ ($71: 27$), nor with other forms of the word in any case, e.g. $k\bar{a}firun$ ($2:217$), $k\bar{a}firin$ ($2: 41$) (perhaps surprisingly), $k\bar{a}firatun$ ($3: 13$) $kuff\bar{a}run$ ($2:161, 3: 18$) and wal-$kuff\bar{a}ra$ ($5: 57$).

Nor is it found with words similar to $(l$-$)k\widetilde{a}fir\bar{\imath}na$, e.g. $(\check{s}$-$)\check{s}\widetilde{a}kir\bar{\imath}na$ (e.g. $3:144,145$), $(s$-$)s\widetilde{a}bir\bar{\imath}na$ (e.g. $3:146$).

Regarding *imāla bayn–bayn* with *rā'* in the transmission of al-Azraq,[12] the Maġribīs seem to apply it across the board. Most Iraqis, for instance, do not report al-Azraq deflecting *ram* $\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ in *8: 17*, but all Maġribīs do.[13]

Another special case is the verb *ra'* $\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$. In all occurrences of the form *ra'ā* (or *ra'ā*) except before *hamzat al-waṣl* (*6:76, 11: 70, 12: 24, 28, 20: 10, 53: 11,18*), and in the nine occurrences of the word with pronominal suffixes (*21: 36, 27: 10, 40, 28: 31, 35: 8, 37: 55, 53: 13, 81: 23, 96: 7*), the Warš copy deflects both the *a* sound of the *rā'* and the *hamza* half and half. This is indicated by two large dots and no vowels. al-Azraq is the only transmitter from Warš to do this.[14]

A further special case is the sigla at the beginning of some *suras* – with the *rā'* of *10, 11, 12, 13, 14* and *15*, the *lām* of *20*, the *hā'* and *yā'* of *19*, the *hā'* of *40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46*.

§ 2   root *hsb*

The characteristic vowel of the imperfect of root *hsb* is always *a* in the *Hafs* copy and *i* in the *Warš* copy, e. g. *yahsabuhumu/yahsibuhumu* (*2:273*), *tahsabanna/tahsibanna* (*3:169*).

§ 3   *-ūnnī/-ūnī*

Verbs 2nd· or 3rd· plural masculine followed by a 1st· singular suffix are always *-ūnnī* in the *Hafs* copy and *-ūnī* in the *Warš* copy, e. g. *'atuhājjūnnī /'atuhājjūnī* (*6: 80*), except with *'atumiddūnani /'atumiddūnanī* (*27: 36*), which must be an ancient graphic oddity, since, according to ibn al-Jazarī, *Nasr* it is unassimilated in all copies.[15]

§ 4   *-ī/-iya*

When the first person singular pronominal suffix is followed by *hamzat al-qat'* the Hafs copy has *ī*, and the Warš copy *iya*, e.g. *wa'innī /wa'inn-iya 'u'īduhā* (*3: 36*), *'innī /'inniya 'a'lamu* (*2: 30,33*), *'ansārī /'ansāriya 'ilī* $\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ (*3: 52*), *lī /liya 'āyatan* (*3: 41*). The exceptions to this general rule are in *2: 40* where both have *bi'ahdī 'u-*; in *18: 96* where both have *'ātunī 'u-*[16]; in *9:, 67:* where both have *ma'iya 'a-*[17]; in *10: 72, 11: 29,51, 26:109, 127, 145, 164, 180, 34: 47* where both have *ajriya 'i-*, *5: 28* where both have *yadiya 'i-* and *5:116* where both have *wa'ummiya 'i-*.[18]

The 2nd. and 3rd. m. pl. pronominal suffixes and the 2nd. pl. verbal suffixes in the *Ḥafṣ* copy are *-kum*, *-hum*, *-him*, and *-tum*. But in the *Warš* copy they are *-kumu*, *-humu*, *,himu*, and *-tumu* before consonants, and *-kum$\widetilde{u}$*, *-hum$\widetilde{u}$*, *-him$\widetilde{u}$*, and *-tum$\widetilde{u}$* before *hamzat al-qatʻ*, which are apparently older forms.[19] They also have the effect of safeguarding *hamza* from the rule of § 7.1.2 below.

§ 6   *i/u*

In forms of verbs, with imperfect vowel *u*, beginning with *hamzat al-waṣl* and preceded by a vowelless consonant (including *tanwīn*), the *hamzat al-waṣl* in the Ḥafṣ copy is always *i* in the Ḥafṣ copy and *u* in the Warš copy , e.g. *faman idṭurra/udṭurra* (2:173,5: 3), *'aw iχruj$\widetilde{u}$o/uχruj$\widetilde{u}$o* (4:66), *walaqad istuhzi'a/ustuhzi'a* (6: 10), *waqālat iχruj/uχruj* (12: 31), but not, of course, with verbs with imperfect vowel *i*, e.g. *'aw infir$\widetilde{u}$o* (4:71 in both). Otherwise the difference *i/u* does not occur between the two copies.

§ 7   *hamzat al-qatʻ*

The Warš transmission in general has far fewer glottal stops than the Ḥafṣ transmission. There are nevertheless cases of the Warš copy having a glottal stop where the Ḥafṣ copy has *wāw* or *yā'*. In addition to the case in § 1.28 below (*wāw/hamza*), in nominal forms of the root *nb'*, the Warš copy always has a *hamzat al-qatʻ* where the Ḥafṣ copy has a *yā'* or a *wāw*.[20] Only the first occurrence of each is cited here, and preceding particles are omitted.

— singular and undefined :

$$nabiyyan/nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}an\ (\ 3:39),$$
$$nabiyyin/nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}in\ (\ 2:246).$$

— singular and defined :

$$an\text{-}nabiyyu/an\text{-}nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}u\ (\ 3:68),$$
$$an\text{-}nabiyya/an\text{-}nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}a\ (7:157),$$
$$an\text{-}nabiyyi/an\text{-}nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}i\ (\ 5:81),$$
$$an\text{-}nubuwwah^{t}a/an\text{-}nub\widetilde{u}\,{}^{'}ah^{t}a\ (\ 3:79).$$

— singular with suffix :

$$nabiyyuhum/nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}uhum\widetilde{u}\ (\ 2:247).$$

— sound plural :

$$an\text{-}nabiyyūna/an\text{-}nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}\bar{u}na\ (\ 2:136),$$
$$an\text{-}nabiyy\widetilde{\imath}na/an\text{-}nab\widetilde{\imath}\,{}^{'}\bar{\imath}na\ (\ 2:61).$$

— broken plural :

$$(l-)'an^mbiy\tilde{a}\,'a/(l-)an^mbi'\tilde{a}\,'a \ (\ 2\!:\!91;\ 3\!:\!112)^{21}$$

(and yet *al-anbiyā'* in the Warš copy in the *du'ā' χatm al-qur'ān*).

Apart from these, what is more, it is not at all the case that the Warš copy always elides what in the Ḥafs copy is *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, and the following rules can be drawn.

§ 7.1 Initial.

§ 7.1.1 When the preceding word ends in a vowelled consonant other than *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, initial *hamza* in both copies is *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, e.g.

— *a'a.* *'alayhinna 'arba'ah^tan* (*4: 15*), *fa'amsikūhunna* (*4: 15*), *wa'aslaḥā* (*4: 16*).

— *a'u.* *wa'unabbi'ukum* (*3: 49*) in both.

— *ī'u.* A variant of this is where the preceding vowel is *ī* and the *hamza* (in this case *hamzat al-waṣl*) is vowelled *u*, as in *illadī u'tumina/ẘtumina*[22] (*2:283*). In the Ḳadırğalı text revised by al-Dabbā' and the Cairo Ḳadırğalı text as in the 1402 Qatari text. The Maġribī Ḥafs copy shows *hamzat al-waṣl* to be *u* by a blue dot in the centre.

— *ī'ī.* *li'īlāfi* (*106: 1*); *bi'īmānikum* (*4: 25*).

When the final consonant of the preceding word is *hamzat al-qaṭ'* however, the following occurs.

— *'a'a.* With interrogative *hamza* a following initial *hamza* with *fatha* in the Ḥafs copy, is elided in the Warš copy, and the two *fathas* are a *madda*, i.e. the sound *'ā*. For instance, what in the Ḥafs copy (*2: 6*) is

$$saw\tilde{a}'un\ 'alayhim\ 'a'andartahum,$$

is

$$saw\tilde{a}'un\ 'alayhim\tilde{u}\ '\tilde{a}ndartahum$$

in the Warš copy; similarly, what in the Ḥafs copy (*2:140*) is

$$qul\ 'a'antum\ 'a'lamu,$$

is

$$qul\ \tilde{a}ntum\tilde{u}\ 'a'lamu$$

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in the Warš copy; and what in the Ḥafṣ copy (*3: 81*) is

$$q\bar{a}la \ {}^{\prime}a{}^{\prime}aqrartum,$$

is

$$q\bar{a}la \ {}^{\prime}\tilde{\bar{a}}qrartum$$

in the Warš copy. The same applies when the preceding *hamzat al-qat‘* with *fatha* is not interrogative, but simply the end of a word, e.g. what in the Ḥafṣ copy (*4: 5*) is

$$us\text{-}sufah\tilde{\bar{a}}{}^{\prime}a \ {}^{\prime}amw\tilde{\bar{a}}lakumu,$$

is

$$us\text{-}sufah\tilde{\bar{a}}{}^{\prime}\ \bar{a}mw\tilde{a}lakumu$$

in the Warš copy. And the same also applies when the word preceding is the *hā'* of exclamation, that is, an unvoiced glottal stop. Again the Warš copy has *madda* where the Ḥafṣ copy has *hamzat al-qat‘*, e.g.

$$h\tilde{\bar{a}}{}^{\prime}antum/h\tilde{\bar{a}}ntum\tilde{u} \ (\ \textit{3:119}).$$

In *41: 44* when '*a'a* is immediately followed by *‘ayn*, a large [black] dot is printed over the *alif-hamza* in the Ḥafṣ copy – '*aȧ‘jamiyyun*, to indicate an intermediate sound between *hamzat al-qat‘* and *alif* (*hamza bayn-bayn*). Before the days of printing the *alif* in this particular occurrence was often given a large red dot in place of the *hamza*, as in the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy. In the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā‘, however, it is still regular, '*a'a‘jamiyyun*, as also in the Warš copy, '*ã‘jamiyyun*, although according to the explanatory notes at the back of the Kadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā‘, the word "*tashīl*" is written below the *alif-hamza*. Similarly, although the explanatory notes at the back of the Cairo Kadır-ġalı text are as those of the Ḥafṣ copy, in the actual text of the Cairo Kadırġalı text a circle is used, '*aå̊‘jamiyyun*. The same is found in the abridgement of al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr, al-Mufassar al-Muyassar*.

— '*a'u*. But when interrogative *hamza* is followed by a *hamzat al-qat‘* with *damma*, i.e. the sound '*a'u*, the Warš copy does not fully elide it as a diphthong '*aw*, but only partially as a sound between '*a'u* and '*aw*, as in '*a'unabbi'ukum/aẇnabbi'ukum* (*3: 15*).[23]

— '*a'i*. What is '*a'i* in the Ḥafṣ copy is '*ȧ'i* in the Warš copy, e.g. *wal-baġdã̃'a ȧil$\frac{\tilde{a}}{y}$ / wal-baġdã̃'a ȧil$\frac{\tilde{a}}{y}$* (*5: 14, 64*), '*aṧyã̃'a ȧin/aṧyã̃'a ȧin* (*5:101*).

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— '*u*'*a*. What is '*u*'*a* in the Ḥafṣ copy is '*u*ᵒ*a* in the Warš copy, e.g. *as-sufahā̃ʾ̃u* '*alā̃/*ᵒ*alā̃* (2: 13).

— '*u*'*i*. What is '*u*'*i* in the Ḥafṣ copy is '*u*ᵒ*i* in the Warš copy, e.g. *yašā̃ʾ̃u* ᵒ*il*$^{a}_{y}$ (2:142, 213, 3: 13, 47), *aš-šuhadā̃ʾ̃u* ᵒ*iḏā̃/*ᵒ*iḏā̃* (2:282b).

— '*i*'*a*. What is '*i*'*a* in the Ḥafṣ copy is '*i*ᵒ*a* in the Warš copy, e.g. *aš-šuhadā̃ʾ̃i* ᵒ*an* (2:282a), *hā̃*'$_{w}$*ulā̃ʾ̃i* '*ahd*$^{a}_{y}$/ᵒ*ahd*$^{a}_{y}$ (4: 51).

— '*i*'*i*. When the preceding word ends in *hamzat al-qaṭ*ʿ with *kasra* and the initial *hamza* has *kasra*, i.e. the sound '*i*'*i*, the original initial one in the Warš copy is not lengthened as with '*a*'*a*, but simply elided, e.g.

$$h\tilde{a}\text{'}ul\tilde{a}\text{'}\tilde{\ }i \text{ '}in/h\tilde{a}\text{'}ul\tilde{a}\text{'}\tilde{\ }i \text{ } n \text{ } (\text{ } 2\text{: }31),$$
$$an\text{-}nis\tilde{a}\text{'}\tilde{\ }i \text{ '}illa/an\text{-}nis\tilde{a}\text{'}\tilde{\ }i \text{ } lla \text{ } (\text{ } 4\text{: }24).$$

§ 7.1.2 But when the preceding word ends in a vowelless consonant, including *tanwīn*, what is initial *hamzat al-qaṭ*ʿ in the Ḥafṣ copy is invariably *hamzat al-waṣl* in the Warš copy.

— in nouns —

al-'*asmā̃*'*a/al-asmā̃*'*a* (2: 31),

but *bi*'*asmā̃*'*i* (2: 31);

aw '*iṯman/iṯman* (2:182),

but *falā̃* '*iṯma* (2:182);

al-'*unṯ*$^{a}_{y}$/*al-unṯ*$^{a}_{y}$ (2:178),

but *wa*'*unṯ*$^{\tilde{a}}_{y}$ (49: 13).

— in verbs —

qul '*attaχaḏtum/attaχaḏ*ᵗ*tum* (2: 80),

but *qāla* '*aslamtu* (2:131);

qarībun '*ujību/ujību* (2:186),

but '*ana*ₒ '*uḥyī* (2:258);

— in particles —

hūdan '*aw/aw* (2:140) and
χalaw '*il*$^{\tilde{a}}_{y}$/*il*$^{\tilde{a}}_{y}$ (2: 14),

but *tara* '*il*$^{a}_{y}$ (2:243).

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The same applies to initial $\bar{a}$, $\tilde{a}$ and $\bar{\imath}$, for instance,

$$min \ '\bar{a}li/\bar{a}li \ fir'awna \ (2\colon 49),$$
$$\text{but } wa'a\bar{g}raqn\widetilde{\bar{a}} \ '\bar{a}la \ fir'awna \ (2\colon 49);$$
$$man \ '\bar{a}mana/\widetilde{\bar{a}}mana \ (2\colon 62),$$
$$\text{but } allad\underset{\cdot}{\bar{\imath}}na \ '\widetilde{\bar{a}}man\bar{u}_o \ (2\colon 62);$$
$$q\bar{a}l\bar{u}_o \ l\text{-}'\widetilde{\bar{a}}na/l\text{-}\widetilde{\bar{a}}na \ (2\colon 71);$$
$$bil\text{-}'\bar{\imath}m\widetilde{\bar{a}}ni/bil\text{-}\bar{\imath}m\widetilde{\bar{a}}ni \ (2\colon 108),$$
$$\text{but } ba'di \ '\bar{\imath}m\widetilde{\bar{a}}nikum \ (2\colon 109).$$

§ 7.2 Medial.

§ 7.2.1 vowelless.

In the Warš copy this is nearly always a prolongation of the preceding vowel, e. g. *2: 93* of the Ḥafṣ copy,

$$bi'sam\bar{a} \ ya'murukum. \ . \ . \ mu'min\bar{\imath}na,$$

is

$$b\bar{\imath}sam\bar{a} \ y\bar{a}murukum. \ . \ . \ m\bar{u}min\bar{\imath}na$$

in the Warš copy. However both have *hamzat al-qaṭ'* throughout in nouns with first syllable ending in *a'*, e.g. always with $ma'w_y^a$, (e.g. *3:151, 162*), and the following : *il-ba'sā̃'i* (*2:177*), *ba'sa* (*4: 84a*), *ba'san* (*4: 84b*), *al-ba'si* (*2:177*), *ra'sihī̃* (*2:196*), *kada'bi* (*3: 11*), *ra'ya* (*3: 13*), but verbs of similar form do not have *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, e.g. *tāsa* (*5: 26*), nor verbal nouns like *tāwīl* (e.g. *3: 7*). In all these cases it is seated on an *alif*. Verbs third radical *hamza*[24] retain it in both also, e. g. '*aχṭa'nā* /*aχṭa'nā* (*2:286*), *tasu'hum/tasu'hum* (*3:120*), *tasū'kum* /*tasū'kum* (*5:101*), *ji'tahum*/ *ji'tahum* (*5:110*), *aṭma'nantum/aṭma'nantum* (*4:103*), *tabū̃'a/tabū̃'a* (*5: 29*).

§ 7.2.2 vowelled.

Occurrences of this can be grouped into two, those with a large dot in the Warš copy, and those without. Rules can be drawn for those with a large dot, so they are not listed individually, but rules cannot be drawn to cover all occurrences of vowelled medial *hamzat al-qaṭ'* here, so a number of inconsistent differences in this area between the two copies are listed. For instance, as with vowelless medial *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, what is vowelled medial *hamzat al-qaṭ'* in the Ḥafṣ copy can sometimes tend towards *wāw* or *yā'* in the Warš copy. Since, however, the reverse can occur,[25] such occurrences are listed individually, and only a few examples are given here by way of illustration.

§ 7.2.2.1. Occurrences with a large dot in the Warš copy.

The second usage of the large dot

Neither usage of the large dot in the Warš copy is explained, however from noting all its occurrences the second one is found to indicate places where the graphic form is to be vocalised slightly differently. This is similar to the symbol for *qerī-ketīv*, a small circle, and indeed in the Cairo Kadırġalı text the symbol for *hamza bayn-bayn* was noted above as precisely that.[26] Being a dot it appears to be an ancient vocal symbol. If so, since its frequency differs in the two transmissions it could well indicate divergence in the oral Tradition from before the time of Warš and Ḥafṣ. It is found above and below *alif*, above *wāw* and *yā'* in certain positions where the Ḥafṣ transmission has *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, and with *nūn*.

— *alif* Only with initial *hamzat al-qaṭ'* when preceded by *hamzat al-qaṭ'* bearing a different vowel, e.g. *'u'i* or *'i'a* or *'a'i*, as cited above in § 7.1.1.

— *wāw*. Mainly in imperfect verbs initial radical *hamza* stems *ii* and *iii*, i.e. the sounds *u'a* and *u'ā*, e.g. *yuᵥᵥāχidukumu/yuw̃āχidukumu* (e.g. *2:225a, b, 286, 5: 89a, b*), *falyuᵥᵥaddi/falyuw̃addi* (*2:283, 3: 75a, b, 4: 58*), *yuᵥᵥayyidu/yuw̃ayyidu* (*3: 13*), *muᵥᵥajjalan/muw̃ajjalan* (*3:145*).[27]

See the similar partial elision with initial *u* when preceded by interrogative *hamza*, *aw̃nabbiᵧukum* (*3: 15*) in § 7.1.1 above.

— *yā'*. It occurs here only when preceded or followed by an *i* or *y* sound, as in *liᵧallā/liỹallā* (*2:150, 4:165*), *wallãᵧi/wallãỹ ya-*[28] (*65: 4a*), *wallãᵧi/wallãỹ la-* (*65: 4b*).

— *nūn*. *ta'mannā/tāman̐•nnā* (*12: 11*). According to ibn al-Jazarī,[29] this is a case of *rawm*.[30] It is not indicated in the text of the Beirut copy or the Cairo Kadırġalı text, but only in the explanatory notes at the back. The Kadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā' has "*išmām*" in tiny letters below the *nūn* and modifies the explanatory notes at the back. The Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy, however, is more like the Warš copy's *ta'man̐•nnā* in having the extra *nūn*, albeit in red to signify that it is vocal. It also has a black dot within a red one and "*išmām warawm*" in red below. Modern published copies do not reproduce the original colours, but a closer look at the word in the Warš copy shows that the seat of the first *nūn* is not as substantial as such ligatures usually are, e.g. as in *nunajjī* (*10:103*) or *yabχalu* (*47: 38*). Rather than the curved shape of the normal ligature as in these two examples, in *12: 11* it forms a right-angle with the base-line. It was probably therefore red in the original. The same applies to *nun̐jī* of *21: 88*

in the Warš copy, which again in the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy has a red *nūn* of connected medial form, and in the Warš copy has the same insubstantial seat for the *nūn*. In both these instances, the Algerian copy harmonises the two transmissions by writing them as in the Ḥafṣ copy, and in the case of the former, including also a rhombus. In the Beirut copy, the Cairo Ḳaḍırġalı text, the Ḳaḍırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā', and the Indian copies, it is written in its unconnected form above the *jīm*. In the Isfahani text it is fully graphic. These two examples, by the way, illustrate how the graphic forms of two different transmissions can resemble each other while others from their own transmission can differ.

§ 7.2.2.2. Those without a large dot.

On one occasion, vowelled medial *hamzat al-qat'* in the Ḥafṣ copy is totally elided in the Warš copy — *waṣ-sābi'īna/waṣ-sābīna* (2: 62). It must be repeated, however, that on other occasions medial vowelled *hamzat al-qat'* is the same in both copies, e.g. *ya'ūduhũ* (2:255), *su$_y$ila* (2:108), *su$_y$ilat* (81: 8), *su$_y$ilũₒ* (33: 14), and all the exceptions noted in the paragraphs above.

§ 7.3 Final.

§ 7.3.1 vowelless. Both copies have *hamzat al-qat'* here throughout, e.g. *yaša'* (e.g. 4:133, 6: 39b).

§ 7.3.2 vowelled.

Again, apart from *zakariyyā/zakariyyã'u*,[31] and singular forms of root nb'[32] both copies are usually the same, e.g. after a short vowel *tabarra'a* (2:166) both, *fanatabarra'a* (2:167) both, and nouns, e.g. *naba'a* (5: 27), *wa'ubri'u* (3:49) both. *yaša$_a$i* (6: 39a, 42: 24), *χaṭa'an* (4: 92), *wayustahza'u* (4:140) both. After *sukūn, mil'u* (3:91) both. And after *madda ud-du'ã'i* (3:38) both, and *yasã'u* often (e.g. 3:40). *sã'a* (e.g. 4: 22, 38), *sũ'a* (e.g. 2:49, 6:157) and *tabũ'a* (5: 29) both, *sũ'u* (e.g. 9: 37, 13:18), (s-)*sũ'i* (e.g. 7:165, 16: 59), and *sĩ'a* (11: 77, 29: 33).[33]

Chapter 10

THE OTHER DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE TWO TRANSMISSIONS

THE OTHER DIFFERENCES between the transmissions of Ḥafṣ and Warš, as enshrined in the two copies used for comparison, are given below in two lists.

§ 1   Differences in the vocal forms (pp.124–130)

§ 2   Differences in the graphic forms[1]   (pp.131–133)

Such a division is clearly made from a graphic standpoint, and on its own is unbalanced. It would be a mistake to infer from it, for instance, that because *hamza* was at first mostly outwith the graphic form, it was therefore at first also outwith the oral form.[2]   The division is therefore mainly just for ease of classification and reference. Although, as a bonus, it also facilitates consideration of the question whether there was any dislocation between the graphic and vocal transmissions, and, more importantly, between the written and oral Traditions. The following two chapters (11 and 12) redress the balance by considering the differences from other standpoints. It is worth briefly summarising their conclusions in advance here, for the two lists in this chapter are long, and might create a first impression of the textual transmission of the Qur'ān being anything but unitary.

The length of the lists is deceptive for the following reasons.

On the graphic side, not only are correspondences between the two transmissions abundantly more numerous than differences, often even with oddities like

'ayna mā and *'aynamā* in both (e.g. *2:148, 3:112* and *4: 78, 16: 76*); *la'nata l–lahi* and *la'nah'a l–lahi* in both (*3: 61,* and *3: 87*); *fa'illam yaṣtajībū₀* and *fa'in' lam yastajībū₀* in both (*11: 14* and *28: 50*); and the odd *'afa'i₀n* in both (*3:144*),[3]

but also not one of the graphic differences caused the Muslims any doubts about the faultlessly faithful transmission of the Qur'ān. This is shown in chapter 11.

And on the vocal side, not only again do correspondences between the two transmissions far outnumber differences between the two transmissions, and even with fine points such as long vowels before *hamzat al–qat'* having *madda*. But also, not one of the differences substantially affects the meaning beyond its own context. This is shown in chapter 12.

All this points instead to a remarkably unitary textual transmission, graphic as well as oral.[4]

But in order to substantiate these statements, all the differences have to be catalogued. Because only then can those with an arguably substantial effect on the meaning be highlighted, and yet kept in their proper perspective against the overall landscape of the two texts. The lists have been arranged according to the differences, not according to *sūra* and *āya*. In each instance the word is given, first as it appears in the Hafṣ copy, and then, following the oblique, as it appears in the Warš copy. When the same difference occurs in a word in more than one context, irrespective of its exact form, only the first occurrence is listed, and the references to the other occurrences are given in an endnote. Where a word is different in the two transmissions in more than one way, but the ways are dependent on each other, it is only listed the once, under what is the operative or primary difference.

> *yaχda'ūna/yuχãdi'ūna* (*2: 9*), for instance, is not listed under the difference *a/u* (§ 1.4), nor under the difference *a/i* (§ 1.5), but under the difference no vowel/ã (§ 1.18).
>
> Similarly, *miskīnin/masãkīna* (*2:184*) is not listed under the difference *i/a* (§ 1.13), nor under the difference *tanwīn/*no *tanwīn* (§ 1.19), but under the difference no vowel/ã (§ 1.18).

But where a word is different in the two transmissions in more than one way, and the differences are independent of each other, the word is listed under each difference.

> For example, *an–nabiyyīna/an–nabĩ'īna* (e.g. *2: 61, 3: 80*) is listed both in chapter 9, § 7, and in this chapter, § 2.5, that is, under the differences *yā'/hamza* and vocal *yā'/*graphic *yā'*. This is because neither the double *yā'/hamza* difference, nor its converse, demands the vocal *yā'/*graphic *yā'* difference.

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Complete consistency may not have been achieved, and a word may be listed twice where once might be thought sufficient.

naǧfir/yuǧfar, for instance, is listed in both § 1.4 and § 1.27, that is, under the differences *a/u* and *nūn/yā'*.

Cases where a construct in one transmission is an apposition in the other are also listed more than once, since more than one word is involved.

fidyatun ṭaʿāmu miskīnin/fidyatu ṭaʿāmi masākīna (*2:184*), for instance, is listed under the difference *tanwīn/*no *tanwīn* (§ 1.19), the difference *u/i* (§ 1.2) and the difference no vowel/*ã* (§ 1.18).

Further, since diacritical points are not to be found in the graphic form of the earliest extant Qur'ān manuscripts, they are not here considered part of the graphic form. Differences therefore in diacritical points come under § 1, the differences in the vocal forms. The same applies to *hamza* when it has no seat.

§ 1 *Differences in the vocal forms*

§ 1.1 *u/a*

1	*tus̃ʾalu/tas̃ʾal*	*2:119*
2	*ǧurfatan^m/ǧarfatan^m*	*2:249*
3	*waʾuḥilla/waʾaḥalla*	*4:24*
4	*mudχalan⁻/madχalan⁻*[5]	*4:31*
5	*tusaww$\overset{\sim{a}}{y}$/tassaww$\overset{\sim{a}}{y}$*	*4:42*
6	*ǧayru/ǧayra*	*4:95*
7	*yawmu/yawma*	*5:119*

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§ 1.2 *u/i*

     1   *ṭaʿāmu/ṭaʿāmi*[6]   *2:184*

     2   *muttum/mittum*[7]   *3:157*

     3   *miṯlu/miṯli*[8]   *5: 95*

§ 1.3 *u/*no vowel

     1   *χuṭuwãti/χuṭwãti*[9]   *2:168*

     2   *ʾukulahā/uklahā*   *2:265*

     3   *wayukaffiru/wanukaffir*   *2:271*

     4   *fayaḡfiru/fayaḡfir*   *2:284*

     5   *wayuʿaḏḏibu/wayuʿaḏḏib*   *2:284*

     6   *wal-ʾuḏuna/wal-uḏna*[10]   *5: 45a*

§ 1.4 *a/u*

     1   *naḡfir/yuḡfar*[11]   *2: 58*

     2   *al-birra/al-birru*[12]   *2:177a*

     3   *yaqūla/yaqūlu*   *2:214*

     4   *waṣiyyahᵗanⁱ/waṣiyyahᵗunⁱ*   *2:240*

     5   *fayuḍãʿifahũ/fayuḍãʿifuhũ*[13]   *2:245*

6       $birabwah^tin/birubwah^tin$[14]   2:265

7       $maysarah^tin^\rightarrow/maysurah^tin^\rightarrow$ 2:280

8       $tij\tilde{a}rah^tan/tij\tilde{a}rah^tun$[15]   2:282

9       $\d{h}\bar{a}\d{d}irah^tan^\rightarrow/\d{h}\bar{a}\d{d}irah^tun^\rightarrow$ 2:282

10      $ya\text{'}murakum/y\bar{a}muruk\tilde{u}m$ 3:80

11      $ya\bar{g}ulla/yu\bar{g}alla$ 3:161

12      $ya\d{h}zun^\rightarrow ka/yu\d{h}zin^\rightarrow ka$[16]   3:176

13      $w\tilde{a}\d{h}idah^tan^\rightarrow/w\tilde{a}\d{h}idah^tun^\rightarrow$ 4:11

14      $\d{h}asanah^tan^\rightarrow/\d{h}asanah^tun^\rightarrow$ 4:40

15      $nazzala/nuzzila$ 4:140

16      $asta\d{h}aqqa/astu\d{h}iqqa$ 5:107

§ 1.5 a/i[17]

     1    $\text{'}asaytum/\text{'}as\bar{\imath}tum\tilde{\tilde{u}}$[18]   2:246

     2    $\text{'}ann\tilde{\imath}/\text{'}inniya$ 3:49

§ 1.6 a/no vowel

     1    $qadaruh\tilde{u}/qadruh\tilde{u}$[19]   2:236a

§ 1.7 $a/\tilde{a}$

     1    $\chi a\d{t}\tilde{\imath}^{\tilde{\ }}atuh\tilde{u}/\chi a\d{t}\tilde{\imath}^{\tilde{\ }}\tilde{a}tuh\tilde{u}$ 2:81

     2    $\text{'}aqadat/\text{'}\tilde{a}qadat$ 4:33

     3    $ris\bar{a}latuh\tilde{u}/ris\bar{a}l\tilde{a}tih\tilde{\imath}$ 5:67

§ 1.8 $\tilde{a}/u$

  1 $q\tilde{a}tala$ /$qutila$ 3:146

§ 1.9 $\tilde{a}/a$

  1 $m\tilde{a}liki$/$maliki$[20]   1:4

  2 $qiy\tilde{a}man^{\rightarrow}$/$qiyaman^{\rightarrow}$ 4:5

  3 $us\text{-}sal\tilde{a}ma$/$us\text{-}salama$ 4:94

§ 1.10 $\tilde{a}_y$/$\approx{a}'_y i$[21]

  1 $wam\bar{\imath}k\,\tilde{a}_y\,la$/$wam\bar{\imath}k\approx{a}'_y ila$[22]   2:98

§ 1.11 $\tilde{a}_y$/$\bar{\imath}$

  1 $y\bar{u}s\,\tilde{a}_y$/$y\bar{u}s\bar{\imath}$[23] 4:12

§ 1.12 ay/$\approx{a}'_y i$[24]

  1 $tayran^m$/$t\approx{a}'_y iran^m$[25]   3:49

§ 1.13 i/a

  1 $watta\chi i\underline{d}\bar{u}_o$/$watta\chi a\underline{d}\bar{u}_o$ 2:125

  2 $fi\ s\text{-}silmi$/$s\text{-}salmi$ 2:208

  3 $hijju$/$hajju$ 3:97

  4 $musawwim\bar{\imath}na$/$musawwam\bar{\imath}na$ 3:125

§ 1.14 i/ $\tilde{\imath}$ or $\approx{\imath}$[26]

  1 $`alayhi$/$`alayh\tilde{\imath}$ $`innah\tilde{u}$ 2:37

  2 $ad\text{-}d\bar{a}`i$/$ad\text{-}d\bar{a}`\tilde{\imath}$ $`i\underline{d}\bar{a}$ 2:186

  3 $da`\bar{a}ni$/$da`\bar{a}n\tilde{\imath}$ $fa\text{-}$ 2:186

  4 $ittaba`ani$/$ittaba`an\acute{\imath}$ $wa\text{-}$ 3:20

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§ 1.15 i_o/iya[27]

  1 'ahdi$_o$/'ahdiya z- z̃ālimīna   2:124

§ 1.16 $\bar{\imath}$ /iya[28]

  1 bī/biya la—   2:186

§ 1.17 no vowel/a

  1 fī d–darki/fī d–daraki   4:145

§ 1.18 no vowel/ã

  1 yaχda'ūna/yuχãdi'ūna   2: 9b

  2 miskīnin⁻/masãkīna   2:184

  3 daf'u/difã'u   2:251

§ 1.19 tanwīn/no tanwīn

  1 fidyatun⁻/fidyatu   2:184

  2 fajazã'un^m/fajazã'u   5:95

  3 kaffãratun⁻/kaffãratu   5:95

§ 1.20 šadda/no šadda[29]

  1 walãkinna/walãkin[30]   2:177

  2 wakaffalahā/wakafalahā   3: 37

  3 tu'allimūna/ta'lamūna   3: 79

  4 yaḍurrukum/yaḍirkum   3:120

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§ 1.21 no šadda/šadda

1	*yakḏibūna/yukaḏḏibūna*	2: 10
2	*taẓ̃āharūna/taẓẓ̃āharūna*[31]	2: 85
3	*taṣaddaqū₀/taṣṣaddaqū₀*	2:280
4	*tasã̃'alūna/tassã̃'alūna*[32]	4: 1
5	*tusaww$\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$/tassaww$\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$*	4: 42
6	*yuṣlihā/yaṣṣ̃ālahā*	4:128
7	*ta'dū₀/ta'addū₀*	4:154

§ 1.22 vocal *hamza*/no *hamza*[33]

1	*waṣ-ṣ̃ābi'̃īna/waṣ-ṣ̃ābīna*[34]	2: 62

§ 1.23 no *hamza*/vocal *hamza*[35]

1	*zakariyyā/zakariyyã̃'u*[36]	3: 37

§ 1.24 *tā'/nūn*

1	*'ātaytukum^m/'ātaynãkum^m*	3: 81

§ 1.25 *tā'/yā'*

1	*ta'malūna/ya'malūna*	2: 85
2	*taqūlūna/yaqūlūna*	2:140
3	*taḥsabanna/yaḥsibanna*	3:188
4	*takun^m/yakun^m*	4: 73

§ 1.26 *zāy/rā'*

1	*nunšizuhā/nunširuhā*	2:259

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§ 1.27 $n\bar{u}n/y\bar{a}$'

$\qquad$ 1 $na\bar{g}fir/yu\bar{g}far$ *2: 58*

§ 1.28 $w\bar{a}w/hamza$[87]

$\qquad$ 1 $huzuwan^{\rightarrow}/huzu_{w}'an^{\rightarrow}$[38] *2: 67*

§ 1.29 $y\bar{a}'/t\bar{a}$'

1	yar^a_y/tar^a_y	*2:165*
2	$yarawnahum^m/tarawnahum^m$	*3: 13*
3	$yab\bar{g}\bar{u}na/tab\bar{g}\bar{u}na$	*3: 83*
4	$yurja'\bar{u}na/turja'\bar{u}na$	*3: 83*
5	$yaf'al\bar{u}_o/taf'al\bar{u}_o$[39]	*3:115*
6	$yukfar\bar{u}hu/tukfar\bar{u}hu$	*3:115*
7	$yajma'\bar{u}na/tajma'\bar{u}na$	*3:157*

§ 1.30 $y\bar{a}'/n\bar{u}n$

1	$wayukaffiru/wanukaffir$	*2:271*
2	$fayuwaff\bar{\imath}him/fanuwaff\bar{\imath}him^{\approx}_{u}$	*3: 57*
3	$yud\chi ilhu/nud\chi ilhu$[40]	*4: 13*
4	$yu't\bar{\imath}him/n\bar{u}t\bar{\imath}him^{\approx}_{u}$	*4:152*

§ 2 *Differences in the graphic forms*

§ 2.1 no *hamza*/graphic *hamza*

$$1 \qquad wawass\,{}^{\widetilde{a}}_{y}\,/wa\text{'}aws\,{}^{\widetilde{a}}_{y} \qquad 2:132$$

§ 2.2 unattached graphic *alif*/vocal *alif*[41]

1	*al-wā̃lidāni/al-wā̃lidā̃ni*[42]	*4: 7a*
2	*'abawāhu/'abawā̃hu*	*4: 11*
3	*walladāni/walladā̃ni*	*4: 16*
4	*ul-'adāwah^{t}a/ul-'adā̃wah^{t}a*[43]	*5: 14*
5	*yadāhu/yadā̃hu*	*5: 64*
6	*'ā̃xarāni/āxarā̃ni*[44]	*5:106*

§ 2.3 attached graphic *alif*/vocal *alif*

1	*ul-ǧamāma/ul-ǧamā̃ma*[45]	*2: 57*
2	*'iḥsānan⁻'/'iḥsā̃nan⁻'*	*2: 83*

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3	*yuʻallimāni/yuʻallim̃āni*	2:102
4	*tilāwatihᵢ̃/tilãwatihᵢ̃*	2:121
5	*šaʻãᵧʼiri/šaʻãᵧʼiri*	2:158
6	*ul-ʼasbābu/ul-asbãbu*	2:166
7	*ʼiṣlāḥunˡ/iṣlãḥunˡ*[46]	2:220
8	*marratāni/marratãni*	2:229
9	*ar-raḍāʻahᵗa/ar-raḍã̃ʻahᵗa*[47]	2:233
10	*al-ʻiẓāmi/al-ʻiẓãmi*	2:259
11	*waʼaʻnābin→/waʼaʻnãbin→*	2:266
12	*waʻalāniyahᵗan→/waʻalãniyahᵗan→*	2:274
13	*wamraʼatāni/wamraʼatãni*	2:282
14	*mubārakan→/mubãrakan→*	3: 96
15	*ul-ʼadbāra/ul-adbãra*[48]	3:111
16	*ṭãᵧʼifatāni/ṭãᵧʼifatãni*	3:122
17	*al-jamʻāni/al-jamʻãni*[49]	3:155
18	*biẓallāminˡ/biẓallãminˡ*	3:182
19	*waṣ-ṣāḥibi/waṣ-ṣãḥibi*	4: 36
20	*aṯ-ṯuluṯāni/aṯ-ṯuluṯãni*	4:176
21	*rajulāni/rajulãni*	5: 23
22	*lãᵧʼimin→/lãᵧʼimin→*	5: 54

23	*mabsūṭatāni/mabsūṭatãni*	*5:64*
24	*ya'kulāni/yākulãni*	*5:75*
25	*iṯnāni/iṯnãni*	*5:106*
26	*fayuqsimāni/fayuqsimãni*[50]	*5:106*
27	*yaqūmāni/yaqūmãni*	*5:107*

§ 2.4 vocal *alif*/attached graphic *alif*

1	*fa'aḥyãkum/fa'aḥyākum*[51]	*2:28*
2	*hãrūta/hārūta*	*2:102*
3	*wamãrūta/wamārūta*	*2:102*

§ 2.5 vocal *yā'*/graphic *yā'*[52]

1	*an-nabiyyĩna/an-nabĩ''ĩna*[53]	*2:61*
2	*wal-'ummiyyĩna/wal-ummiyyĩna*[54]	*3:20*
3	*rabbãniyyĩna/rabbãniyyĩna*	*3:79*
4	*al-ḥawāriyyĩna/al-ḥawāriyyĩna*	*5:111*

§ 2.6 other

1	*wasāri'ũₒ/sāri'ũₒ*	*3:133*
2	*wayaqūlu/yaqūlu*	*5:53*
3	*yartadda/yartadid*	*5:54*

Chapter 11

MUSLIM ATTITUDES TO THE GRAPHIC DIFFERENCES

ONE'S ATTITUDE TO GRAPHIC DIFFERENCES such as those found in the previous section, is indicative of one's attitude to the whole Qur'ān. Many a Western scholar, who sees the Qur'ān as only a written document, might think that here can be found significant clues about the early history of the Qur'ān text – if 'Uṯmān issued a definitive written text, how can such graphic differences be explained ? For Muslims, however, who see the Qur'ān as an oral as well as a written text, they are simply readings, certainly important, but no more so than readings involving, for instance, nice differences in assimilation or in vigour of pronouncing *hamza*. This can adequately be shown by illustrating some Muslim comment on three of the graphic differences listed in chapter 10, § 2.6 above.

1. $wawass^{\tilde{a}}_y / wa'aws^{\tilde{a}}_y$ (2:132, § 2.1)

Whereas ibn al–Jazarī could spend several pages on the precise pronunciation of the word *bāri'ikum* (2: 54),[1] he notes this graphic difference in a few lines without further comment :

> "Nāfi', ibn al–Jazarī and ibn 'Āmir read $wa'aws^{\tilde{a}}_y$, which was how it was in the texts of the Medinese and the Syrians. The rest of the "ten" read $wawass^{\tilde{a}}_y$ which was how it was in their texts."[2]

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al-Farrā' could hardly have showed more succinctly that where the meaning was maintained, the reading was more an oral than a graphic matter:

"$wawass\overset{\widetilde{a}}{y}$ ... In the texts of the Medinese $wa'aws\overset{\widetilde{a}}{y}$. Both are correct and commonly heard."[3]

abū 'Ubayda did not consider the reading worth a comment, and as a cursory, final remark to his discussion of $wawass\overset{\widetilde{a}}{y}$, al-Ṭabarī mentions that many Readers read $wa'aws\overset{\widetilde{a}}{y}$. Since it alters the meaning virtually not at all, he does not even mention the fact that there is a graphic difference here.[4] This, and the following example, for al-Dānī are two items in a long list,[5] adding for this one that abū 'Ubayd saw $wa'aws\overset{\widetilde{a}}{y}$ in the *Imām*, *mushaf 'Uṯmān*.[6] His concluding rationalisations hinge on the fact that the written text has never been separate from the oral one, whether in terms of authorities or actual recitation.[7]

2. $wasāri'\overset{\widetilde{u}}{}_o/sāri'\overset{\widetilde{u}}{}_o$ (*3:133*, § 2.6.1)

Again ibn al-Jazarī describes this difference in exactly the same terms as the previous example.[8] al-Zamaxšarī also dealt with this difference no differently from many a difference in vocalisation.[9] al-Farrā', in whose exegetical style readings are more prominent than most other exegetes, did not even think this one worth a mention, nor again did abū 'Ubayda, or even al-Ṭabarī.

3. *yartadda/yartadid* (*5:54*, § 2.6.3)

This difference drew more comment from both ibn al-Jazarī and al-Zamaxšarī, although still without concern about apparent textual inconsistency.

al-Zamaxšarī :

"Both *yartadda* and *yartadid* are read. The latter was in the *imām*.[10]

For ibn al-Jazarī it was more a matter of assimilation than textual divergence :

ibn al-Jazarī, Nāfi' and ibn 'Āmir read *yartadid*, which was as
it was in the texts of the Medinese and Syrians. The rest of the
"ten" read *yartadda*, which was as it was in their texts. All,
however, read *yartadid* in [the same phrase in] *2:217* because of
the unanimity of the texts and because of the length of *Sūrat
al-Baqara*, which calls for the drawing out [of words] and the
extra consonant in this case. Take, for instance, *8: 13*, where all
of the "ten" are unanimous in not assimilating *waman yušāqiq
il-lāha warasūlahu*, and *59: 4*, where all of them are unanimous
in assimilating *waman yušāqq il-lāha*, which could be because
of the two contexts relative affinity for length and brevity."[11]

Whether or not the other occurrence – *waman yušāqiq ir-rasūla (4:115)* –,
omitted by ibn al-Jazarī in *Našr*, casts doubt on his suggestion is neither
here nor there, what is most noticeable is that the graphic difference does
not unduly trouble him, and that his rationalisation is fanciful.

al-Ṭabarī used the reading for a short grammatical digression, concluding
that both forms are chaste and common,[12] but al-Farrā' and abū 'Ubayda
again thought it not worth mentioning.

Sībawayhi also indicated that it figured in the discussions on assimilation,
when he alluded to it in a chapter on assimilation :

> "[With geminate verbs] in the jussive, the people of the Ḥijāz
> keep the consonants separate, and say '*urdud*' and '*lā tardud*'.
> This is the good old classical language. Banū Tamīm, however,
> amalgamate [and so would say, '*rudda*' and '*lā tarudda*']."[13]

Here also, al-Dānī cites abū 'Ubayd as having seen *yartadid* in the *Imām*.[14]

On occasion, graphic differences without effect on the meaning can
figure more prominently in studies on *qirā'āt*, not however for textual
reasons, but for questions of authority. For example ibn al-Jazarī discussed
the reading *yā'ibādi/yā'ibādī (43:68)* at more length than usual,[15] but he
made nothing of the graphic difference, arguing simply about authorities.
al-Ṭabarī did not even mention the reading. The same applies with ibn
al-Jazarī for his discussion of *3:184* where there is a Syrian axe to grind.[16]

The definitive limit of permissible graphic variation was firstly not too
major a consonantal disturbance, then unalterability in meaning,[17] and
then also reliable authority.[18]

Chapter 12

THE EXTENT
TO WHICH THE DIFFERENCES
AFFECT THE SENSE

THE SIMPLE FACT is that none of the differences listed in chapters 9 and 10 has any great effect on the meaning. Many are differences with no effect on the meaning at all, and the rest are differences with an effect on the meaning of the immediate context, but without any significant, wider effect on Muslim thought. Only one (*2:184*) has an effect on the meaning that might be argued to have wider effect. The need to detail how each and every difference, apart from this one, has no wider implication may be satisfied by the following examples.

— The difference '*ātaytukum/'ātaynākum* (*3: 81*, chapter 10, § 1.2.4), for instance, has no effect on the meaning at all. The subject is the same in both and it is merely a matter of God speaking in the singular or plural of majesty,[1] both of which are often attested.

— The difference *nunšizuhā/nunširuhā* (*2:259*, chapter 10, § 1.26) is of root, but alters the meaning in no way since both roots can mean the same, "to raise".[2]

— Similarly, the difference *taqūlūna/yaqūlūna* (*2:140*, chapter 10, § 1.25.2) is merely a matter of direct or indirect address.

— The difference *wattaχid̲ū̲ₒ/wattaχad̲ū̲ₒ* (*2:125*, chapter 10, § 1.13.1) is of mood and time, but it also has no effect beyond its own immediate context, being merely a matter of direct address or reported action.

— And the difference $ya\chi da'\bar{u}na/yu\chi\tilde{a}di'\bar{u}na$ (2: 9b, chapter 10, § 1.18.1) is of stem, but has no effect beyond its own context, being merely a theological nicety as to pseudo-believers actually deceiving themselves or only trying to.[3]

— The difference $yaq\bar{u}la/yaq\bar{u}lu$ (2:214, chapter 10, § 1.4.3) is a grammatical nicety concerning the government of $hatt\bar{a}$.[4]

— Finally, the difference $wakaffalah\bar{a}/wakafalah\bar{a}$ (3: 37, chapter 10, § 1.20.2) is of stem and subject. The stem ii reading signifies that God appointed Zakariyyā to look after the wife of 'Imrān, whereas the stem i reading signifies simply that Zakariyyā looked after her.[5] Again, however, this is of no wider import.

It has been said above that no differences between these two transmissions have any great effect on the meaning, so with regard to the one that follows, which might be argued to have an effect beyond its context, it is necessary to set up a criterion as to how to gauge the extent of the effect. And the one set up is the extent to which the difference figures in Islamic thought outwith the works of actual exegesis pure and simple.

While these wider branches of Islamic science were at root also Qur'ān exegesis, the task of exegesis pure and simple, was to extract as much information as possible, in whatever branch of science, from each and every Qur'ān utterance. But in more specialised works, of grammar or theology for instance, only that Qur'ān material which provided a source for discussion in the particular specialist area was naturally dwelt upon. So to look in these specialist works for evidence as to how wide the implications of a given Qur'ān reading might have been, is safer than limiting the evidence to the exegetical works pure and simple. The latter's demand for comprehensiveness might easily lead to the extent of the effect of a given difference being overestimated.

By means of this criterion a difference that might be thought to have a substantial effect on the meaning turns out to have been an exegete's collector's item, rather than a living legal issue. In 2:184 (chapter 10, § 1.18.2) — "...$wa'ala\ llad\bar{i}na\ yut\bar{i}q\bar{u}nah\bar{u}\ fidyah^tun\ ta'\bar{a}mu$ miskīnin.../ $fidyah^tu\ ta'\bar{a}mi$ masākīna..." abū Ja'far, Nāfi' and ibn 'Āmir read the plural, the rest of the "ten" read the singular.[6] At first sight, whether

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part of the expiation (*fidya*) for not fasting was to feed one pauper or several might be thought to have been just the kind of problem likely to exercise the minds of casuistic legal scholars. In the similar phrase of *5: 95*, (...*fajazā'un mitḷu mā qatala* ... *'aw kaffārah᾽un ṭa'āmu masākīna...*) where the atonement is for deliberate killing of game while in *iḥrām*, none of the ten is said to have read the singular.[7] Interestingly, ibn al-Jazarī gave a reason for a plural reading not being read here. In short, it was that in *5: 95* the making good of lost life is involved, where the value of a bird, for instance, is clearly less than that of a sheep, rather than the making good of lost days, where one day is no different from another.

The *fidya*, the expiation for breaking the fast, was divided by the scholars into *qaḍā'* and *kaffāra*. The former involved refasting, that is, making up lost days, and the latter involved a penalty, whether manumission, or else (for some) an extra sixty-day fast, or else feeding paupers. *Qaḍā'* was only ever one further day for each day missed. And the feeding-*kaffāra* also (for most) was on a one-to-one basis.[8] It was taken for granted that the singular reading of *2:184*, *miskīnin*, meant "[those able must make up by feeding] one pauper [for each day they missed]", and the plural reading meant "[the same number of] paupers [as the days they missed]". Both readings, in other words, meant the same. If, further, the fast was broken in such a way as to require a complete month's penalty, this, if it could be replaced by feeding paupers, would obviously require the feeding of thirty.[9]

In the legal literature the question scarcely figures. In his *Umm*, al-Šāfi'ī does not discuss the issue. His only apparent reference to the question is the problem of what expiation should be made for someone who had been remiss in fasting after recovering from an illness, or who had been remiss and then had died before making up for his remission. His answer, that those who had recovered before dying had to have fed on their behalf one pauper one maund for each day missed,[10] implies a plural understanding. For him, "*miskīnin*" certainly did not mean a total of only one pauper for however many days' fasts broken.

A similar plural understanding, without any other even being entertained, is found in Mālikī law, where, however, the feeding-penalty is a maund for sixty paupers.[11] In Zaydī legal works significant discussions are not evident. ibn al-Murtaḍā (d.310) quotes the verse with the plural

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reading and refers to the *hadīt* of abū Hurayra specifying one pauper for each day missed, and does not record any disagreement in the matter.[12]

In *Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, al-Šāfiʿī's understanding of the verse is given as, "Those who were able to fast but then became unable, are obliged to make an expiation of feeding *one pauper* for each day".[13]

For al-Buxārī also the question concerned *yutīqūnahu* alone.[14]

It becomes clear that for the jurisprudents the *miskīnin/masākīna* difference was insignificant, and that the exegetical tasks were rather to clarify the *alladīna* and the *hu* in *yutīqūnahu*.

Did this *hu* refer to the fast or to the *fidya* ? And depending on this, who did *"alladīna"* refer to ? Those who were unable to fast, or those unable to pay the penalty ?

Even in the exegetical literature pure and simple the *miskīnin/masākīna* question hardly figured.

While citing readings for six other words in this one verse, al-Zamaxšarī, for instance, did not even mention this one.[15] Nor was the plural reading mentioned by al-Farrā' in his explanation of the verse — "Those able to fast who do not, must feed *one pauper* for every day not fasted".[16] And al-Tabarī, while producing a lengthy discussion about the verse as a whole, simply tagged the *miskīn/masākīn* reading on at the end for the sake of completeness.[17] By the time of the encyclopaedic exegesis of *al-Rāzī*, the question still hardly figured. *yutīqūnahu* receives two and a half pages of comment,[18] the plural reading *masākīna* one line.[19]

It is of relevance to compare al-Tabarī's ease of acceptance of this double reading with his sharp rejection of another reading earlier on in the verse.

For al-Tabarī the *miskīnin/masākīna* difference was of no wider implication. It had no effect on the rules and regulations of making good a broken fast. He certainly indicated a preference for the singular reading, but more for reasons of logic than for any connected with the point at issue, — "It is easy to extrapolate from a single case to many of the same case, but not to deduce from many regarding one".[20] But he neither rejected the plural reading, nor made any judgment as to which of the two was earlier. His criterion was not, 'what was original ?', but 'what is the clearest reading?'

The reading earlier on in the verse was *yutawwaqūnahu* for *yutīqūnahu*, and al-Tabarī's rejection of it is a vivid illustration of the unassailably

unitary nature of the text of the Qur'ān. This reading was support for those scholars who would have "*alladīna*" refer to the elderly, who could not fast.

> "As for the reading *yutawwaqūnahu*, it goes against the Qur'ān copies of the Muslims, and no Muslim is allowed to set his own opinion over against what they all have as a hereditary transmission from their Prophet, an indisputable transmission removing all excuses. For what has behind it the authority of the religion, is truth and without doubt Divine. And what is confirmed and executed by Divine authority is not to be opposed by opinions, hypotheses or independent theories."[21]

It was not the graphic difference of *wāw* for *yā'* that troubled *al-Ṭaba-rī*. He accepted such graphically different readings *elsewhere*.[22] *It was the* wider implication that the *meaning* of the reading would have, not just on the rules regarding the fast, as it turns out, but on the science of *nasχ*.[23] Nor did the array of Companions and Followers as authorities for the reading impress al-Ṭabarī – ibn 'Abbās; 'Ikrima; Sa'īd ibn Jubayr; 'A'iša; 'Aṭā'; and Mujāhid; and for the meaning – 'Alī; Ṭāwūs and al-Daḥḥāk.[24]

It is not necessary to wander down the ins and outs of the, predictably, ramified dispute, but suffice it to cite two of al-Ṭabarī's traditions about this reading as tips of icebergs.

> 'Ikrima said, "*alladīna yuṭīqūnahu* means those who fast, but *alladīna yutawwaqūnahu* means those who cannot fast."[25]

> 'Ikrima read this verse *wa'ala lladīna yutawwaqūnahu*, and held that it was not abrogated. Old men were required not to fast but to feed one pauper per day."[26]

Conclusion

MUSLIMS AS WELL AS WESTERNERS know that some Qur'ān "readings" are of exegetical origin.[1] But how can it be known which ? Actual copies of the Qur'ān are the obvious place to start from, and only two transmissions are found. This thesis has illustrated the quality of the differences within and between them. None was found of any substantial exegetical effect.[2]

The fidelity of oral tradition in the Near East in general is well known,[3] and that of the Arabs in particular.[4] Illiteracy strengthens memory. However, looked at negatively, oral Tradition is characterised by variants resulting from words heard wrongly, from words confused with similar sounding words, and from whole episodes being forgotten, misplaced,[5] or reinterpreted.[6] Leaving aside the art of calligraphy, written Tradition is characterised by variants resulting from copyists' errors, words read wrongly, revised or left out by a careless eye, and by random passages getting lost, and being added to from other sources.[7] Thus, if the Qur'ān had been transmitted only orally for the first century, sizeable variations between texts such as in the *hadīt* and pre-Islamic poetry would be found,[8] and if it had been transmitted only in writing, sizeable variations such as those in different transmissions of the original document of the Constitution of Medina would be found.[9] But neither is the case with the Qur'ān. There must have been a parallel written transmission limiting variation in the oral transmission to the graphic form, side by side with a parallel oral transmission preserving the written transmission from corruption.[10] The oral transmission of the Qur'ān was essentially static, rather than organic. There was a single text, and nothing, not even allegedly abrogated material, could be taken out, nor anything be put in.[11] This applied even to 'Utmān, the great gatherer of the text.

Even in commentaries on the text, the reported "readings" of substantial exegetical effect form only a tiny minority of the whole. They naturally tend to attract most attention, but for the history of the Qur'ān text, it is those readings without apparent motivation (the vast majority of readings) which are most significant, for their only possible domain is oral Tradition,

dating quite likely right back to the days when it was organic, in the lifetime of the Prophet. The efforts of those scholars who attempt to reconstruct any other hypothetical "original" versions of the [written] text are therefore shown to be disregarding half the essence of Muslim Scripture.

The innovation of vocalisation did not occur simply because foreigners did not know how to recite correctly, vocalisation was not a replacement for oral transmission,[12] nor was it a case of "stabilisation of the text".[13] These are literary points of view, Muslim and Western, and at the back of all Muslim discussion of the written form is the question of dating individual parts of the text, at the back of which is the science of nasχ. But the Qur'ān was not a literary document. Graphic differences like those illustrated in chapter 10 were not worried about. Indeed, they show that the spirit is more important than the letter, and this is borne out by tafsīr.[14] The problem of foreigners' pronunciation may have contributed to the birth of vocalisation, as also the increased use of paper over parchment at this time.[15] There is also some indication that the move for vocalisation came from the wider culture of Iraq,[16] from the Nestorian Christians and their system of dot-vocalisation.[17] Vocalisation would here be coming from foreigners, not for them. But an equally, perhaps more, strong motivation would have come out of the respect for the Qur'ān as the Divine Word, out of the need for beautification rather than for clarification. There was a desire continually to bring the written form of the Revelation up along side the perfection of the oral form. The writing became aesthetically more and more reverent.

There can be no denying that some formal characteristics of the Qur'ān point to the oral side and others to the written side, but neither was as a whole primary. There is therefore no need to make different categories for vocal and graphic differences. The Muslims do not. The letter is not a dead skeleton to be refleshed, but is a manifestation of the spirit, alive from the beginning. The transmission of the Qur'ān has always been oral, just as it has always been written.

ENDNOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1]   The Muslims usually make a distinction in terminology between texts of transmitters like these, each of which they call a "*riwāya*", "a transmission", and between the texts of their teachers, each of which they call a "*qirā'a*", "a reading-system". These masters are not considered as the authors of these individual systems, but as authorities for them (see ibn Xaldūn's opinion cited above, p.93). They usually make a further distinction between the texts of these transmitters and the texts of subsequent pupils, each of which they call a "*ṭarīq*", "a line". All these are **oral** terms.

The lines of descent of the transmissions of Ḥafṣ and Warš are listed and discussed in Part Two. Lists of some of the lines of descent of the ten recognised reading-systems can be found in Western works, in GdQIII, p.186ff., Watt, p.49, for instance, and more recently, in al–Saʿīd, p.127f.

[2]   The first five *sūras* have been considered a representative sample of the whole Qur'ān. Lest it be thought that this sample, or indeed a complete comparison of the two transmissions through all the *sūras*, will not fully support the thesis being put forward, an examination of the Qur'ān readings of one particular passage from a much wider base is to be found in the Appendices.

[3]   With respect to copies of the Qur'ān, "printing" in this thesis means lithographic printing. For Muslim copies printed by letter-press, coming from outwith the Near East, see pp.17, 24 below.

Outwith North and North-West Africa, the Medinan reading-system has been maintained by the Zaydiyya of the Yemen. They refer to it as the reading-system of Nāfiʿ (Serjeant and Lewcock, p.316b). Whether or not the Yemeni transmission from Nāfiʿ was through Qālūn (see p.120) rather than Warš, may become apparent from the findings of the German team at present working on the Geniza of the Great Mosque of Sanʿā'. Books on the Qur'ān have been printed in the Yemen, but no actual copies of the Qur'ān (Ṣābāt, p.308.5). For a Warš copy printed in Cairo, see chapter 5, § 4, and for a Ḥafṣ copy printed in Tunis, chapter 2, § 18.

[4]   Eighteen instances were found where Sībawayhi's Qur'ān proof-texts differed from both the Ḥafṣ and Warš transmissions. This was taking

full account of both misprints in the two printed editions, and scribal peculiarities of orthography in the various manuscripts behind them.

For Sībawayhi suffice *ğadabu l-lāhi* (*24: 9b*) as an example (Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.480.9; Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.429.2). The Ḥafṣ and Warš transmissions here are *ğadaba l-lāhi* and *ğadiba l-lāhu* respectively. Sībawayhi's reading is accredited to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Bergstrāßer 'Die Koranlesung des Hasan', p.42.9), and, by ibn Jinnī (Bergstrāßer 'ibn Ginnī, p 5 ɔ 90), to al-A'raj (with some disagreement), abu Rajā' (al-Baṣrī, d.105 (. dQm, p.165)), Qatāda, 'Īsā (al-Baṣrī), Sallām, and 'Amr ibn Maymūn (al-Kūfī, d.74/5 (GdQm, p.163)). In passing, it is noteworthy that for Sībawayhi, what is the Ḥafṣ and Warš reading here was hypothetical, introduced by *law* – "Had they not wished [to understand *'an* as a lightened form of *'annahu*] they would have made [the next word] accusative" (which Ḥafṣ and Warš in fact do. *"falaw lam yurīdū dalik lanasabū"*). Neither al-Ṭabarī nor abū 'Ubayda commented. Sībawayhi cited twenty-six hypothetical Qur'ān readings (for another see Appendix I, p 229), ten introduced by *law*. They make up almost a third of his anonymous Qur'ān readings, and almost a quarter of his Qur'ān readings as a whole.

As for al-Xalīl, if it is not certain that Sībawayhi had *ba'ūdatun* as his text in *2: 26*, he certainly did. Both times Sībawayhi cited it it was referential. The first (Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.283.1; Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.243.17) was as one explanation of the syntax of a verse, and as a point of view, or catch-phrase, in the discussion, and as such implies knowledge of another reading. The second (Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.350.3; Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.305.22) was again as one explanation, this time, of a spoken phrase. It was here that he cited al-Xalīl's point of view, that *mā* (in *walā siyyamā*) was *not* superfluous. That it was was the argument for the accusative reading *ba'ūdatan*, as in the transmissions of Ḥafṣ and Warš (see al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.1, p.404.7f., and al-Farrā', vol.1, p 91 10ff.), which shows that al-Xalīl had *ba'ūdatun* as his text.

> It is of relev , ce here tc make a digression concerning the differences between the text of the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān proof-texts in the Būlāq and Derenbourg editions of *Kitāb Sībawayhi*. Only then can Sībawayhi's citations be safely used as witnesses to his text of the Qur'ān.

> 1. Mere orthography — Since *Kitāb Sībawayhi* is obviously in no way a copy of the Qur'ān, certain orthographical oddities and archaisms of the Qur'ān are normalised and modernised when cited in *Kitāb Sībawayhi*. None of these can therefore be used

as witnesses to Sībawayhi's copy of the Qur'ān, but they have to be mentioned in order to distinguish them from those differences which *can* be used as witnesses to his copy of the Qur'ān.

Many of them concern *hamza*. For *20:119*, for example, the Būlāq edition has $tatma_a{}'u$ and Derenbourg's $tatma_w{}'u$ for the Qur'ān's $tatma_w{}'u_o$, and for *42: 51* both have $warā\,'\tilde{\imath}$ for the Ḥafṣ transmission's $warā_y{}'i$ and the Warš's $warā\,'\tilde{\imath}_o$.

Many others concern vocal *alif*s, *wāw–alif*s and *yā'–alif*s. Both editions nearly always realise these as graphic *alif*s except in the word *ar-raḥmā̃n* and words like *ḍā̃lik* and *lā̃kin* (where it sometimes is not even present vocally), and a few times with $as\text{-}ṣal_w^{\tilde{a}}h^t$ and $al\text{-}hay_w^{\tilde{a}}h^t$, which are mostly $as\text{-}ṣalāh^t$ and $al\text{-}hayāh^t$ like $az\text{-}zakāh^t$. For example, both write $lim\bar{\imath}qātinā$ (*7:155*) for $lim\tilde{\imath}qātinā$, and $i\check{s}tarāhu$ (*2:102*) for $i\check{s}tar_y^{\tilde{a}}hu$ and $y\bar{a}waylatā$ for $y\tilde{a}waylat_y^{\tilde{a}}$ (*11: 72*).

Similarly, vocal *yā'* and *hamza* are nearly always normalised into graphic ones in the editions, for example $taran\check{\imath}$ (*18: 39*) in the Būlāq edition for *tarani* (where Derenbourg's has *tarani* also), and $was\text{-}ṣābi_y{}'\bar{u}na$ (*5: 69*) for the Ḥafṣ transmission's $was\text{-}ṣ\tilde{a}bi{}'\tilde{u}na$ and the Warš's $was\text{-}ṣ\bar{a}b\bar{u}na$.

al–layl is always written with a double *lā̃m*, in *34: 33* for instance.

The Qur'ān's *alif al-wiqāya* in active participles is omitted in the editions in *54: 27* and *32:12*.

Both editions sometimes separate certain particles. For instance the Būlāq edition has *'an lā* (*20: 89*) where Derenbourg's has *allā* as in the Qur'ān, and Derenbourg's has *li'an lā* (*57: 29*) where the Būlāq edition has *li'allā* as in the Qur'ān. These are cases of simplification for reasons of the subject under discussion (e.g. *'an* in *20: 89*) rather than genuine textual variants. Both editions also have *'anna mā* (*31: 27*) for the Qur'ān's *'annamā*.

Nūn at the end of particles and energetics is sometimes found in the editions for the Qur'ān's *tanwīn*, as in *'iḍan* (*17: 76* and *4: 53*) for $'i\underline{d}^{an}$.

The two Qur'ān spellings $'afa_o{}'_y in$ (*21: 34*) and $li\check{s}a_o{}'_y in$ (*18: 23*) are normalised in both editions to $'afa_a{}'in$ and $li\check{s}ay_y{}'in$.

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2. Errors — Having outlined the orthographical differences, it is possible to be certain that in the following cases one or other edition has made a mistake.

a) the Būlāq edition

— *faḏuqūhu* for *faḏūqūhu* (*8: 14*).

— *'amtālahā* for *'amtālihā* (*6:160*). (The *fatha* should be over the *hā'* as in Derenbourg's edition). Strangely, Derenbourg's omits the *kasra* from the *lām*.

— *un* as the eliding vowel after *'aḏābin* and before *rkuḏ* (*38: 41,42*). Derenbourg's edition has the obviously correct *u*.

b) Derenbourg's edition

— *yubašširuka* for *yubašširuki* (*3: 45*).

— *ba'ūdatan* for *ba'ūdatun* (*2: 26*).

— *wal–fulka/i* (dually vocalised) for *wal–fulki* (*2:164*).

c) Manuscript mistakes in Derenbourg's footnotes :
ms. A — *2: 54; 6:160; 28: 81; 78: 11.*
ms. B — *11: 60; 23: 52.*
ms. C — *23: 52.*
ms. H — *23: 52.*
ms. L — *2:237; 11: 60; 38: 22.*

3. Misquotations — Having clarified these editorial errors, it is possible to isolate two occasions when the Qur'ān was misquoted by early copyists or perhaps by Sībawayhi himself, such was the slavishly literal transmission of his book.

In the first, two of the component parts of the long list in *33: 35* are round the wrong way, and in the second, *46: 35* has been confounded with the similar *10: 45*. Here, the point at issue, a nominative verbal noun, clearly comes in *46: 35* rather than *10: 45*.

46: 35 ka'annahum yawma yarawna mā yu'adūna lam yalbatū 'illā sā'atan min nahārin balāḡun.

10: 45 ka'an lam yalbatū 'illā sā'atan min an–nahāri yata'āraf-ūna ...

Kitāb Sībawayhi — ka'an lam yalbatū 'illā sā'atan min nahārin balāḡun.

To suggest that Sībawayhi was here quoting from a variant Qur'ān would be mistaken. He, or a copyist, merely misquoted the Qur'ān.

[5] Jeffery heard of one in Omdurman in the 1930's ('Progress', p. 6 n.6).

A copy was sent from the Sudan in the early 1960's to Egypt for guidance in the recording of this transmission of the Qur'ān for the "al-Muṣḥaf al-Murattal" project. The copy was handwritten (al-Saʿīd, p.143 n.16). The Egyptian Ministry of Awqāf had agreed in principle to al-Saʿīd's wish to record all the Seven Transmissions on tape (p.86.37), but in practice blocked its implementation (p.95.11).

These texts are to be seen as antiquarian. The Egyptian Ministry of Awqāf of the 1960's considered them so (al-Saʿīd p.95.27), and the transmission of abū ʿAmr was apparently no longer in practical use in the Sudan earlier this century, if not before (Jeffery, 'Progress', p.6 n.6).

According to al-Saʿīd (p.84.9), however, this transmission through al-Dūrī "prevails in the Sudan, Nigeria and Central Africa", but this is probably wishful thinking.

Copies of the Qur'ān have never actually been printed in the Sudan. Those for sale there, at least in the 1960's, were almost always copies, or reprints, of the 1342 Cairo text.

For a possible reading of ibn ʿĀmir, Hamza or ibn Katīr in a manuscript, see Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.63.16.

[6] Not all editions of al-Zamaxšarī's *al-Kaššāf* have the text according to the reading-system of abū ʿAmr. The two-volumed edition printed in Cairo in 1307 (1890) by *al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿĀmira al-Šarfiyya* (British Museum 'Printed Arabic Books', *no.14509.c.13 p.876*), for instance, has the Qur'ān text according to the reading-system of Ḥafs. It is unvowelled (and type-set), and so although it has abū ʿAmr's "*haḍāni*" (vol.2, p.28.12 margin) in *20:63* for the "*haḍāni*" of the Ḥafs and Warš copies, this is only because it prints all vocal *alif*s graphic (apart from *dalik* and the like). By printing *māliki yawmi d-dīni* (vol.1, p.8.1 margin) the reading-system of Ḥafs is shown to have been used. That of abū ʿAmr has *maliki* (Beirut edition, vol.1, p.56). The same is clear also from the graphic form *nnšā* in *2:106* (vol.1, p.70.18 margin) for abū ʿAmr's *nns'hā* (Beirut edition, vol.1, p.303.2).

[7] Commentaries on the other hand like *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* or that of al-Bayḍāwī, which are contained in a single volume, with the Qur'ān lithographed as the text and commentary in the margins, are considered copies proper, and, in those that I have seen, are called "*Muṣḥaf*" or "*Qur'ān*" on their title-pages.

Similar considerations apply to translations that are accompanied by an Arabic text. Those spanning more than one volume tend to fall outside the class of "*Muṣḥaf*". Witness the modern printing of A. Yusuf Ali's

parallel translation in one thick volume rather than in the earlier more conveniently sized two volumes.

[8] Misprints in the four-volumed Beirut Dār al-Maʿrifa edition of *al-Zamaχšarī*'s *al-Kaššāf* are common and range from fairly frequent omission and misplacement of vowels (e.g. vol.1 p.46.1, and p.203.1) and other diacritical marks (e.g. vol.1 p.368.1), to omission and misplacement of consonants (e.g. vol.1 p.528.3 and p.597.2 *jā* for *jā'a*; vol.1 p.303.6 *yarūddunakum* for *yaruddūnakum* (*2:109*) and vol.1 p.592.2 *wal-ʿudāwani* for *wal-ʿudwāni* (*5:2*)).

The three-volumed Cairo *al-Halabī* edition is more accurate, but, for instance, omits the *kāf* in *lil-kadibi* (*5:42*, vol.1 p.461).

The two-volumed Cairo 1307 edition is also not free of errors, e.g. *fskyfykhm* for *fsykfykhm* (vol.1, p.78.18) and *nsχ* for *nnsχ* (vol.1, p.70. 18).

[9] Data on the text of abū ʿAmr given by ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr* is sometimes different from that given in these Beirut and Cairo editions of al-Zamaxšarī's *al-Kaššāf*, for example,

"*χutwāt* throughout" (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr* vol.2 p.216.2), but *χutuwāt* in *2:168* (the Beirut edition vol.1 p.327.3, the Cairo edition vol.1 p.249), and *2:208* (the Beirut edition vol.1 p.353.1), but *χutwāt* in the Cairo edition here (vol.1 p.268);

'*uklahā* in *2:265* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr* vol.2 p.216.8 and the Cairo edition vol.1 p.298) but '*ukulahā* (the Beirut edition vol.1 p.395.1);

wayaqūla in *5:53* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr* vol.2 p.254.23), but *wayaqūlu* (the Beirut edition vol.1 p.620.2 and the Cairo edition vol.1 p.465);

yaqūlūna in *2:140* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr* vol.2 p.223.3), but *taqūlūna* (the Beirut edition vol.1 p.316.2 and the Cairo edition vol.1 p.242).

Compare also how *106:2* is spelt '*īlāfihim* in the Beirut edition, whereas in the manuscript (dated to 600 A.H.) whose subject is the graphic form of abū ʿAmr's Tradition, the form is expressly described as '*īlāfihim* (Pretzl, *Orthographie*, p.30.1).

[10] Evidence for the text of the Qur'ān from other than actual copies of the Qur'ān is slender, suffice it to mention three examples.

The conflationary misquotation in the *Risāla* of al-Hasan al-Basrī (Ritter, p.73.8) is similar to the one just considered in *Kitāb Sībawayhi* and should be treated with caution, especially considering the numerous other frequent misquotations from the Qur'ān in the rest of the *Risāla*, at least in Ritter's edition. To suggest that it was part of an original variant codex (Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p.211 n.23) is not based on sufficient evidence. Conflationary misquotations of this kind are even not unusual in

manuscripts of the Qur'ān. For those of St.Andrews ms.16 and Edinburgh New College ms.1* see plate I, recto line 10, and Brockett, endnotes 77, 80.

Another suggestion of the existence of significantly variant texts also does not bear scrutiny. Morony suggested (p.123 n.2) that if the joint Gaonic decree of c.670 A.D., that flew in the face of Talmudic law by enabling a Jewess to sue for divorce without suffering any loss of what was due to her (Graetz, p.93f.; Baron, vol.6, p.132f.) was related to the point of Muslim law based on a reading of ibn Mas'ūd, then the reading could be dated, *i.e.* its presence in a copy of the Qur'ān could be substantiated. 'Anan ben David had also permitted wives the same (Baron, vol.5, p.394 n.15; Nemoy, p.19). However, for one thing, the Muslim discussions of this reading (*65: 6*) were not about whether wives could sue for divorce, but about the more financial question of whether or not a divorced wife was due maintenace and lodging during her waiting-period. And for another, the reading looks to date from the late 8[th.] century at the earliest, or else abū Ḥanīfa (d.150/767), who was also the alleged cell-mate of 'Anan, would surely have used it. His citation of *65: 6* (al-Sāfi'ī, *Umm*, vol.7, p.158.15f.) was by no means arbitrary interpretation because the reading of ibn Mas'ūd had been forgotten (Schacht, *Origins*, p.225.19), but well in context with the Qur'ān passage. abū Ḥanīfa did not need a reading like that of ibn Mas'ūd. That it was part of later Ḥanafī argumentation that the divorced wife was due maintenance *and* lodging during her waiting-period (e.g. al-Saraxsī (d.483), p.201f.) may have arisen as secondary (post abū Ḥanīfa) defence in the face of Sāfi'ī opposition, similarly to its being secondary to al-Saraxsī's argument.

The Qur'ān citations on the Dome of the Rock, however, present better evidence of different texts. The reading *tamtarūna* (*19: 34*), as opposed to *yamtarūna* of the Ḥafs and Warš transmissions, is an example, but it cannot be used as evidence that the text was substantially different then to what it is now (Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, p.18.12f.). Not only do differences like this have no real effect on the meaning (compare §§ 1.25 and 1.29 of chapter 10), but the extent of the *agreement* of the inscriptions with the text of the Qur'ān is far more impressive, and, as van Berchem thought (p.232), strongly suggests that the text must in fact have already been fixed. But important as they are the inscriptions cannot really be used as testimonies to the early text of the Qur'ān. However public their location, they were not actual copies of the Qur'ān, and so the strict rules of transmission could be waived. Jumps could be made from context to context – even in mid-sentence – other parts could be paraphrased, and even extraneous material like information on the building of the *qubba* could be incorporated. If, as van Berchem suggested (p.251.16) the inscriptions were a sort of litany for pilgrims, or some sort of creed, then such things are often

not strictly Scriptural, paraphrase and juxtaposition serving the cause of brevity. The details of nos.215–217 cannot be used as evidence (Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, p.167 n.18) until they have been verified. Kessler (p.6) pointed out a number of earlier misreadings in no.215.

[11] Since Bergsträßer's death, his and Jeffery's plan for a critical edition of the Qur'ān (see Bergsträßer, 'Plan', and Jeffery, *Materials*, p.vii) has lain dormant. The need and desirability for it, however, is still considered to be there (Rippin, 'Tafsīr Studies', p.224.17). A.Welch of Michigan State University, who called for the use of computers for such an exercise (EI^2, art. 'Qur'ān', vol.5, p.409b.41), is now making a new start on a critical edition. See also in this connection D.Brady's review of Loebenstein's *Koranfragmente*, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 28, p.376.37.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1] Completion dates of printed copies of the Qur'ān are often not given. Many have a dated permit from a religious body, but this often applies to a particular, or to *that* particular, reprint, and may be long after the first printing. In the case of some copies, like some Pakistani ones, the reason for the lack of any dates may be because the Qur'ān is considered timeless. There is only one version of it whenever and wherever it is printed.

The names of the scribes of the original manuscripts are also often not mentioned. Again, with some copies, like some Pakistani ones, this may be to remove any suggestion of human participation in the formation of the text. With others it may be that the scribe did not want his art to be an expression of his own individuality, but to be an act of piety.

With some later reprints, especially when done in countries other than that of the original printing, the name and other details have been deliberately removed by the printer (as with the Qatari centennial edition, originally an Iraqi lithograph, see chapter 2 § 14). This is presumably to take credit for the whole production.

So the safest way to identify particular copies is by details of titles, printers, publishers, number of pages, size of frames within the pages, and the like.

Printers of the Qur'ān are at liberty to construct their own frames around the text. The frames of facsimiles of the same manuscript can thus vary. In addition, lithographic printing permits of different sized facsimiles of the same manuscript. Details about the size of these frames are therefore

of its innermost border. They are given to the nearest centimetre, and in all cases height precedes breadth. The measurements do not refer to the 'unwān, the two decorative first pages of the text.

[2] Born 1281/1864-5 (Bergsträßer 'Koranlesung', pp.13ff.) and still apparently alive in the early 1960's (al–Sa'īd, p.101.10). That the 1342 Cairo text is in his hand is noted in parentheses on, p.842 of the 1402 Qatari text and in the χātima of the 1371 Maṭba'a Amīriyya copy.

His continuing influence is seen from the fact that as late as 1970 his name was invoked by the Saudi Dār al–Iftā' to support their decision to permit the circulation of a Qur'ān copy with an unusual spelling, see chapter 2, § 6. Bergsträßer lists his writings ('Koranlesung in Kairo', p.15f.) and al–Sa'īd refers to three of these (pp.101.13, 150.27).

It appears that al–Haddād's copy was not the first draft. According to Muhammad 'Abd al–Qādir 'Abdal–lāh (see endnote 33 below), in 1921 when King Fu'ād was thinking about his text, he asked Muḥammad 'Abd al–'Azīz al–Rifā'ī, a Turk by birth, to write it. This he did in six months, and the next year, the King prevailed on him to set up a school to improve Egyptian calligraphy, Madarasat Taḥsīn al–Xuṭūṭ (al–Šarq al–Awsaṭ, 2/ 12/1983, col.1).

[3] It is not always the case that the 1342 Cairo text is more archaic. Some archaic features in Indian copies, for instance, are normalised in the 1342 Cairo text. For example, the unpronounced graphic alif in "la'a$_o$ntum" (59: 13) of most Indian copies is omitted in the 1342 Cairo text, which has "la'antum", see p.56.

In a similar way, what is yā'-hamza or wāw-hamza in many manuscripts, is vocal or graphic hamza in the Ḥafṣ copy. For example, the 2$^{nd\cdot}$ century A.H. Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A6961 has is–sayyi$_y$āti in 42: 25 (Abbott, The Rise of the North Arabic Script, p.67.5), for the Ḥafṣ copy's is–sayyi'āti ; and the 3$^{rd\cdot}$ century A.H. Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A6975a has fayunabbi$_y$ukum in 6:164 (Abbott, The Rise of the North Arabic Script, p.68.23), for the Ḥafṣ copy's fayunabbi'ukum. Here in fact it is the Warš copy that is as the manuscript. In many cases the Warš copy preserves manuscript-orthography in this way, where the Ḥafṣ copy preserves Traditional orthography.

Again, what is yā'-alif in manuscripts can be vocal alif in the Ḥafṣ copy. For example, the 2$^{nd\cdot}$ century A.H. Chicago Qur'ān manuscript A6962 has bi'āy$_y^a$tin for the Ḥafṣ copy's bi'āyātin in 3: 4 (Abbott, The Rise of the North Arabic Script, p.66.9).

[4] At least, the oldest surviving systematic and thoroughgoing preservation, that of ibn abī Dāwūd (d.316), dates probably from the early 4$^{th.}$ century. But that the writing down was still unsystematised the generation before could be deduced from the compilation of ibn abī Dāwūd's father (d.275) in his *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf wal-Qirā'āt* (vol.2, pp.355–62). It is a sketchy, and comparatively random selection of about 32 readings. None of the readings are of legal import, and while the first half of the chapter progresses systematically through the Qur'ān, the second half is of haphazard order. For this reason, ibn al-Nadīm, or perhaps later copyists, seem to have been mistaken (or thinking wishfully) in attributing a "*Kitāb Iχtilāf al-Maṣāḥif*" to abū Dāwūd (p.54.15; Flügel, p.36.11), rather than to his son. Similarly, the compilation of abū Dāwūd's pupil, al-Tirmiḏī (d.279), entitled "*Kitāb al-Qirā'āt 'an Rasūl al-lãh*", is an insignificant chapter of ten pages out of the 760 odd of the last volume (*Sunan*, vol.5, pp.185–195). In the collections of ibn Māja (d.209), al-Nisā'ī (d.215), and even al-Bayhaqī (d.458), there is no chapter on *qirā'āt* at all. Considering the brevity of the *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buxārī and of Muslim, the possibility that such matters were being left to the specialists, rather than being in an embryonic state, should not be excluded.

The collection of 121 traditions about readings in the *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* of abū 'Ubayd (d.224), published by Spitaler, is less random in the sense that most of the readings are of legal import, but it is not at all a systematic collection of readings for readings' sake. This could be the third "*Kitāb al-Qirā'āt*" listed by ibn al-Nadīm (p.53.9; Flügel, p.35.15), indicating that the "books written about Qur'ān readings" belonging to the 2$^{nd.}$ century were not yet thoroughgoing compilations, and that the "Science of Qur'ān readings" had not by then emerged as a fully-fledged, independent discipline. Indeed, al-Suyūtī says abū 'Ubayd was the first to compile a book of *qirā'āt* (*Itqãn*, pt.1, p.73.23). The two authors of a *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt* preceding abū 'Ubayd in ibn al-Nadīm's list, Xalaf ibn Hišām and ibn Sa'dān died 229 and 231 respectively. That of Xalaf (al-Xatīb, vol.8, p.32.2; Sezgin, p.12, § 9) only apparently survives in a 5$^{th.}$/11$^{th.}$ century work of al-Ta'labī (d.427; see Brockelmann, *S II*, p.592, § 2.3). That of ibn Sa'dān (Yāqūt, vol.VI (pt.7), p.12.11) is not mentioned by Brockelmann or Sezgin. The three succeeding authors, abū Hātim al-Sijistānī, Ta'lab, and ibn Qutayba, died c.249, 291 and 270 respectively. No manuscripts of these works apparently survive. The next is ibn Mujāhid (d.324), and he was more or less ibn abī Dāwūd's contemporary. The works listed in ibn al-Nadīm stretching back to the 2$^{nd.}$ century (e.g. those attributed to Xalaf and al-Kisā'ī, p.54.14) should probably be seen as examples of the common Near-Eastern practice of respectful back-projection to revered earlier fathers. To call them forgeries

is to misunderstand, as is the conspiracy-view (cf. Hawting's 'Review', p.110.2ff.) displayed by Kahle (*Cairo Geniza*, 2nd edition, p.148f.) in seeing them as names of works deliberately destroyed because of heretical contents. On the other hand, given the embryonic state of the Science in the time of abū Dāwūd and al–Tirmidī, it seems anachronistic to consider that a "*Kitāb fil-Qirā'āt*" of Yaḥyā ibn Ya'mar (d.89) was a standard reference work till the 4th century (Sezgin, p.5.16).

A manuscript owned by P.George of St.Andrews is of interest here, as it is an example of an actual copy of the Qur'ān preserving in [red] writing instructions about orthography. For example, *bi'ay$_o$din* (*51: 47*, as in the 1342 Cairo text), which has two *yā'* "teeth", has "*bil-yā'ayn*" written below, and *qur'ānan* (*43: 3*) has "*biǧayr alif*" below the independent *hamza*. Obviously uninfluenced by the 20th century's emphasis on the "recension of 'Uṯmān", this manuscript suggests that the 1342 Cairo text was not as big a break with manuscript-Tradition as was claimed. According to the colophon, written in halting Arabic, the copy was written by Ḥusayn Ḥūtūnī, the preacher in [the] new mosque in al–Zayrak, in the 8th month 1214 (Dec./1799 – Jan. 1800). Although other references to this place have not been traced, the script is clearly Turkish. Indeed the number and size of the pages, the lines per page, and even the words per line, show it to belong to the same orthographical Tradition as the Ḳadırġalı text discussed in chapter 2, § 16.

[5] *EI*^{2}, art. 'Khaṭṭ' (J.Sourdel-Thomine), vol.4, p.1114b.16,42.

[6] For Bergsträßer's contrasting estimation of their value, see chapter 6, endnote 4. This view was echoed by Paret in *EI*^{2}, art. 'Ḳirā'a', vol.5, p.128a.57.

Pretzl's five instances of the 1342 Cairo text not tallying with information on orthography in al–Dānī's *al-Muqni'* (*Orthographie*, Anmerkungen, pp.16.16, 18.16, 19.21, 21.8, 26.9) have been used (for instance, in Jeffery, *Materials*, p.4 n.3) as criticism against the "editors" of the 1342 Cairo text. Had they used "older, and better, sources" (al–Dānī died only in 444 A.H.!) these corruptions would have not crept into the text (Jeffery, *Materials*, p.4.17).

Four of Pretzl's five instances concern vocal *alif*, which as shown below, in some printed copies of the Qur'ān is always graphic (barring a few regular exceptions like demonstratives). The fifth concerns the 1342 Cairo text's *ayna mā* for al–Dānī's *aynamā*, but al–Dānī added that there was disagreement here (*Muqni'*, p.77.13ff.)

Kahle's, at first sight sensible, criticism that Bergsträßer and Pretzl should have used far earlier sources ('The Qur'ān and the 'Arabīya', pp.163. 20, 164.10; 'The Arabic Readers', pp.66b.30f., 67b.7f.) was a result of

his scepticism towards the reliability of oral Tradition. And his whole motivation in studying reports about Qur'ān readings was to have an analogy for his theory about the Karaite establishment of the Hebrew text of the *Tanaχ*, and the lack of a long-established, authoritative oral Tradition. In the earlier edition of his *Cairo Geniza* the digression about al-Farrā' was not a separate appendix, but part of the argument about the activities of Ben Asher (p.79ff.)

[7]   *EI*², art. 'Fu'ād al-awwal', (J.Jomier), vol.2, p.934.

[8]   *EI*², art. 'al-Azhar', (J.Jomier), vol.1, p.818a. To what extent work had been done is not clear. As late as 1921 Fu'ād is said to have commissioned the writing of the text, see endnote 2 above.

[9]   Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', p.4.18f.

[10]   During Muḥammad 'Abduh's exile in Beirut (1882 – 1888) 'Abd alḤamīd had requested the setting up of a committee under the *Šayχ al-Islām* (in Istanbul) to reform religious education in the schools (Amīn, p.335.5). And the Istanbul Kadırġalı text was completed in *1890* (*see* chapter 2, § 15).

[11]   On Muslim memorisation of the Qur'ān, see al-Sa'īd, p.57ff., and for its decline in our times, *ibid.*, p.66ff.

[12]   Adams, pp.212,235.

[13]   *EI*², art. 'Bāb-i Mašīxat' (B.Lewis), vol.1, p.837b.

[14]   *EI*², art. 'Kādjār' (A.K.S.Lambton), vol.4, p.398, and art. 'Iran' (J.T.P.De Bruijn), p.52a.

[15]   The famous Calcutta Madrasa, for instance, was founded by Warren Hastings in 1781 (*EI*², art. 'Calcutta' (S.Ray), vol.2, p.6).

[16]   *EI*², art. 'Būlāk' (J.Jomier), vol.1, p.1299b.
        British Museum 'Printed Arabic Books', no.14509.d.13, p.871 (2 vols.)

[17]   Amīn, p.363.20; Adams, p.85.

[18]   Amīn, p.328.17.

[19]   *EI*², art. 'al-Azhar' (J.Jomier), vol.1, p.817b – 819b.

[20]   Muir, vol.1, pp.xiii-xix (1878 edition, pp.556–559); Nöldeke, GdQ, pp.234-61, with Schwally, GdQⅡ, pp.47-69, and with Bergsträßer and Pretzl, GdQⅢ throughout. For recent arguments against the emphasis (but from diametrically opposite standpoints), see Burton, *Collection*, and Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, e.g. p.43f. Since then, Hawting (p.463.14ff.) has attempted to reinstate 'Uṯmān's role.

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[21] The lithographic copy printed in 1878 in Lucknow, for instance, (British Museum 'Printed Arabic Books', no.14507.b.16, p.874) says in its colophon "*haḏā l-Qur'ān muwāfiq fir-rasm liMuṣḥaf Sayyidinā 'Utmān*".

On the other hand, the only Turkish copy (manuscript or printed) found mentioning '*Utmānī* was Edinburgh New College ms.5, dated 1165/ 1750. Here it clearly is in the sense of "Ottoman" – "*waqad waqa'a l-farāg min kitābat hāḏih il-muṣḥaf il-'Utmāniyya* (sic.) ..." The Egyptian emphasis is seen from the fact that Kadırgalı copies printed in Turkey are not designated "*bir-rasm il-'Utmānī*", whereas most of those printed in Egypt are. It can also be seen from the fact that in Iran, prior to Rāmyār, the designation '*Utmānī* with reference to copies of the Qur'ān, usually meant Ottoman. The explanatory notes to the Teheran Kadırgalı text (see chapter 2, § 13) clearly refer to the orthography of "Ottoman" copies, in the way the Egyptians refer to the orthography of the copy of 'Utmān.

For a good discussion of "*al-rasm al-'Utmānī*" from the Sunnī Muslim point of view, see al-Sa'īd, pp.45–50. And for one from the Iranian Šī'ī point of view, free from obligations to the 20[th.] century's emphasis on the "recension of 'Utmān", see Rāmyār, p.142.penult.ff. Here the author classifies the Muslim attitudes towards it into three. Firstly those who say the "recension of 'Utmān" was sent from God, and can therefore not be gone against or altered in any way, orthographical or otherwise. Secondly, those who say that the spirit is more important than the letter, and that the archaic orthography should be modernised. Among these are ibn Xaldūn and the Qāḍī abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. And thirdly, those who say that if it is to be preserved as it was in the days of 'Utmān (without dots and all) only the educated could read it, and so it should be kept in a museum and copies with modernised orthography be used by the people. Among these are al-Tūsī and 'Izz al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Salām.

[22] Muir (1819 – 1905) had a long and distinguished career in the Indian Administration from 1837 – 1876, becoming Foreign Secretary to the Government of India in 1865, and Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Province in 1868. He also rendered important services to education, instituting the Central College and University in Allahabad (approximately midway between Delhi and Calcutta) (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. 'Muir, Sir William', vol.15 p.977).

[23] abū 'Ubayd appears to be the first author recorded using the term. He refers, in *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, to "the *Imām* which 'Utmān caused to be written out with the approval of the Muhājirs and the Ansār" (Jeffery, 'Abū 'Ubaid', p.65.15f.), and elsewhere in the same work refers to "*muṣḥaf*

'U*ṯmān*".‾ Sībawayhi, on the other hand, referred only to "*al-Muṣhaf*" (the Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.28.16 = Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.22.14. Beck unjustifiably took this to mean *Muṣhaf 'Uṯmān, Orientalia*, vol.14 (1945), p.360.6), as opposed to "*muṣhaf Ubayy*" for example (the Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.481.10 = Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.430.4); "*al-Qirā'a*" (the Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.74.7 = Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.62.22. Pretzl unjustifiably took *al-sunna* here to mean traditions with reliable *isnād*s (GdQⅢ, p.128.5). If not anachronistic, this interprtetation is incompatible with Sībawayhi's lack of *isnād*-sophistication), as opposed to "*qirā'at ibn Mas'ūd*" for example (the Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.258.22 = Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.220.20); "*al-Qur'ān*" (e.g. the Būlāq edition, vol.1, pp.125.17, 285.12, vol.2, p.422.8 = Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, pp.104.19, 245.22, vol.2, p.472. 22); or "*Kitāb al-lãh*" (the Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.491.17, vol.2, p.149.22 = Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.440.11, vol.2, p.152.20).

[24] Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', p.1.6*f*.

[25] Jeffery, *Materials* Introduction, p.4.14.

Welch followed Jeffery in using this term (*EI*[2], art. 'Qur'ān', vol.5, p.409b.1-9 and, p.426a (The Bibliography)). Earlier, in 1935 Jeffery had called it "a Standard Edition" ('Progress', p.6.31). Pretzl was better advised in 1932 in calling it simply "der Kairiner Mushaf" (*Orthographie*, p.16.16), but reverted in 1937 to Bergsträßer's term "der amtliche Kairiner *mushaf*" (GdQⅢ, p.273.28). Bell called it "the official Egyptian printed edition" that tends to be adopted everywhere (p.50.7*ff*.) Birkeland called it "the official Cairo edition" (p.104.13) Paret termed it "the official Egyptian edition", die offizielle ägyptische Koranausgabe (*Der Koran, Übersetzung*, p.5.21). In the 1973 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* it is called "the official Cairo edition" (art. 'Koran' (W.C.Smith), vol.13, p.455.1), and in the 1974 edition "the official Egyptian edition" (art. 'Qur'ān' (H.Ringgren), vol.15, p.345a.29). More recently, Jones (p.245.8) has called it "the standard Egyptian text first published in 1342/1923", and Rippin "the standard Egyptian edition" ('A ban', p.43 n.1). Haywood recently revived another name for it, the "Royal Egyptian" edition (*Journal of Semitic Studies*, 28, p.375.28).

[26] See chapter 2, § 18.

[27] The numbering of the verses of A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation (1934 A.D.), for instance, was mainly brought into line with it, see § 6 to chapter 2.

But the substitution of the original Arabic text for a text in the Egyptian Tradition was only found to have been done in (undated) reprints from Libya, Qatar and Riyad, see p.30 above.

The verse-numbering, and a number of orthographical details, of the earlier Tāj text (see p.26) tallied with the 1342 Cairo text, but later copies in the Indian Tradition have reverted to its own numbering and orthography.

[28]   p.3.14,18 (his inverted commas).

[29]   p.1.15.

[30]   On the second page of the author's foreword, lines 8 and 12, again his inverted commas.

[31]   As, for instance, in the colophon to the second Cairo Kadırgalı text in endnote 111 to chapter 2, dated 1383.

[32]   al-Šarq al-Awsat, 2/12/1983, col.1. See endnote 2 above. In no actual reprint, however, have I yet seen reference to Fu'ād [d.1355/1936].

[33]   Jackson, p.118.

[34]   See p.31 above.

[35]   For these publishers, see the 1398 Saudi reprint of the 1370 Iraqi text, chapter 2, § 14. In both these copies the permit is dated to "Rabī' al-Anwār" which appears to be a mistake for "Rabī' al-Awwal".

[36]   See chapter 2, § 14.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[1]   The first printed copy is in fact said to have been in the 15th century in Venice, by the father of Alessandro de Paganini of Brescia, who printed between 1483 and 1499 (Carter, 'Barrier', p.214 n.2 (information from Grohmann, corrected in Carter, *The Invention*, p.153 n.2); see also de Schnurrer, p.403, § 367). It was destroyed at the command of the Pope.

The first book printed in Europe had only been in 1457. Italy had soon become the prime area of expansion for adventurous printers. The first printing-press in Venice was opened in 1467, and by the last quarter of the 15th century there were 150 there (Jackson, pp.104, 107, 108).

For other, non-Muslim copies of the Qur'ān printed during the 17th and 18th centuries, see de Schnurrer, pp.401ff.

The single paper page (c.4 x 4 in.) of an Egyptian copy of the Qur'ān printed by wood-block five centuries before Paganini's [early 10th century]

copy illustrated by Karabacek (*Führer*, p.248, Plate 946; and Grohmann, *Arabische Palaeographie*, vol.1, Plate XVI.1; and Carter, *The Invention*, Plate facing p.169) appears to be anomalous (Carter, *The Invention*, p. 179*f*.). Grohmann dated it to the 8th. centuryA.D., Moritz "earlier than 900 rather than later" and Carter c.900 (Carter, *The Invention*, pp.181.16, 180.17). See also Cohen, notes to p.330.

Blachère (pp.133*f*.) also gives a brief summary of the history of printing the Qur'ān. See also Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol.10, p.30 (nos.81*ff*.) and p.62 (nos.129*ff*.) For a bibliography of the history Arabic printing in general, see Safadi, 'Arabic Printing'.

[2] Recorded by the Imperial Ambassador, Busbecq (B.Lewis, p.41.122*f*.)

[3] Chauvin, 'Notes', pp.256,57, citing Stochove for 1650 and Salomon Negri for 1764 (and, incorrectly, Busbecq for 1620).

For simple statements about the Muslims' adhering to transmitting the Qur'ān in writing rather than in print, see *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol.1 p.363; Karabacek, *Führer*, p.248.13*f*.; and Carter, 'Barrier', p.214.24, and *The Invention*, p.150.20 (where a marked absence of understanding of the situation is displayed).

[4] By Federigo, Duke of Urbino (ruled 1444–82), for instance, (Jackson, p.107).

[5] See B.Lewis, p.419.8*f*.

[6] See Jackson, p.107.

[7] Weil, p.51.24*ff*. And for details on the establishment of the printing-press in Istanbul, see especially p.52*f*. Weil dated it 1728. He also listed the seventeen works printed there from 1728–1742 (p.54*ff*.)
See also B.Lewis, p.51.23*f*., and Kurat and Bromley, p.216.5*ff*.

[8] The translation of the permit given by Omont (pp.190*ff*.) only has a summary of the *fatwa*. But according to Weil (p.53.6*ff*.,36*ff*.) one of the conditions of the Sultan's permit was that copies of the Qur'ān, and works of *tafsīr*, *fiqh* and *hadīt* were not to be printed by the printing-press.
See also B.Lewis, p.51.8*f*.

[9] "die Schrift" (Weil, p.52.1*ff*.)

[10] Chauvin, 'Notes', p.257.17*ff*., citing Marsigli for 1730.

[11] De Schnurrer, p.420.8. For copies of 1790, see Silvestre de Sacy, p.320, no.1464, and the British Museum copy, 'Printed Arabic Books', 1st. Supplement, no.14507.d.2.

[12] Pfanmüller, p.208.4; Hughes, p.522b.

[13] ̦"... Neque loci temporisve, quo editio facta sit, mentio ulla deprehenditur: ejusmodi omnia omissa, certo ut videtur consilio, ne abstinerent ab usu libri Mohammedani, si Christianorum opera illum compositum esse cognoscerent. Constat vero, editionem primam hanc factam esse Petropoli 1787. auspiciis et impensis Catharinae Imperatricis, ut libro uti possent qui ipsius imperio subessent Mohammedani ..." p.418.4ff.; followed in part by Karabacek (*Führer*, p.249.2) and Carter (p.214).

This printing of the Qur'ān may be compared to Catherine's ordering the establishment of a printing-press in the Mogilev Government for printing Jewish religious books (Papmehl, pp.56,57).

By the mid-eighteenth century there were only about six presses in Russia, two of which were in St.Petersburg. The following decade saw six more, and in the one after that the output of books trebled. This in turn had trebled by 1799 (Papmehl, pp.6ff., 16 n.8, 45 n.96, 139).

Catherine also set up the "Muslim Spiritual Administration" in 1788. Its head was a Mufti who resided (till 1841) in Orenburg on the Ural, southeast of Kazan' and some thousand miles north of Mashhad (Seton-Watson, p.216).

These, to all appearances, liberal moves may have been to appease her aggrieved Muslim subjects. Between 1738 and 1755, for instance, 418 of the 536 mosques in Kazan' had been closed (Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, p.12.14). Then in 1782 Russian forces had taken complete possession of the Crimean peninsula. In a manifesto of the following year, Catherine had promised the predominantly Muslim inhabitants retention of property, freedom of religion and equal status. But as it turned out, the Crimean Tatars were subjected to a century or more of oppression, inequality and migration (Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, p.8).

[14] "Utraque extremo loco notationem refert, turcice, qua dicitur impressio absoluta esse in urbe Kazan anno 1803 Christiano. Typi utrinque iidem, quibus Petropolitanae antea editiones factae, sed nunc repetitis usibus magis triti et hebetes. Destituta est haec utraque nova editio scholiis omnibus ... Etiam haec editio Kasanensis fertur repetita esse haud una in forma.", de Schnurrer pp.420.14ff., 421.1,2. See also Karabacek, *Führer*, p.249.3f.; Hughes, p.522b.

Kazan' city on the Volga is the home of an ancient and splendid Islamic civilisation and was the capital of the Tatar Khanate (Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, p.5.35).

The university there, famous above all for its Oriental Department was founded in 1804 (EI^2, art. 'Kāzān', (W.Barthold [A.Bennigsen]), vol.4 p.850). This was the year following the Toqtamiš copy.

In the 19th. and early 20th. century, at least, Kazan' city was the virtual capital of Russian Islam (Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, p.81.10). The Oriental Institute there was dissolved by the Government in 1930 (Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, p.159.7).

Nowadays a type-set is good for twenty to twenty-five thousand copies. In those days it would have been good for much less. Nonetheless a large number of copies must have been printed for the type to become so worn and blunted. Two of the seventeen works printed half a century earlier during the first fourteen years of the printing-press in Istanbul (1728 – 42) had 4,000 copies each, the rest had 500 each (Weil, p.57.6ff.)

[15] Petropoli 1787, 89, 90, 93, 96, 98, Kasan 1803 and often (Pfanmüller, p.208.5; Hughes, p.522b).

[16] Karabacek, *Führer*, p.249.3. Followed by Carter ('Barrier', p.214.14, *The Invention*, p.151.12).

[17] It was first practised in England, for instance, only in 1813 (Bankes, 2nd. edition, p.14, note). For the use of the transfer-process in Tunisia, see Demeerseman, p.372.30.

[18] But its potential for characters for which types were scarcely adequate was noted by Bankes in 1816 (2nd. edition, pp.14, 15), "The writer of [oriental] languages may, with the chemical ink, on a paper varnished with size or strong gum, complete his manuscript, which he may then transfer to the stone, and proceed with the printing of it, as if done at first on the stone, avoiding by this process all the difficulties of writing backwards, &c". And Twyman noted (*ibid.*, p.xxxv) "the earliest example known to me of the application of lithography to ... oriental languages is a single print dated 1/6/1807" of a Babylonian Inscription, by T.Fisher. Then in 1818 "a book was lithographically printed by C.Marcuard containing examples of Arabic, Bengalee, Chinese, Cufic, Hebrew, Persian, Sanscrit, Syriac, and other scripts. In the same year publication began of T.Young's much more ambitious, and influential folio work on Hieroglyphics. It must have done much to encourage the use of lithography for the reproduction of texts in non-Latin scripts".

[19] Binns, pp.265,6. See also Jackson, pp.148–9; *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, London 1959, vol.8, p.600a, art. 'Lithography' (A.Haigh) (see also pp.601a, 603a (J.S.Smith)); and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973, vol.14, p.113, art. 'Lithography' (J.Ka).

[20] 'Printed Arabic Books', 1st. Supplement, no.14507.d.2.

[21] "perelegans" (de Schnurrer, p.418.14); "Beaux caractères" (Silvestre de Sacy, p.320.24). Kasimirski presumably also saw a copy of it, since he described it as beautiful, but very rare (p.xxiii.11). De Schnurrer (pp.418.14, 168.1) states that the characters were not dissimilar from the Medician type-face employed in the 1592 edition of Idrīsī's Geography, printed in Rome. They are bold and upright, crisply printed with elegant variations in thickness of stroke. *sūra*-headings are in an equally elegant, smaller type-face. The paper is of strong quality, gilded at the edges. There are 17 lines to the page, in a frame measuring 23 x 11cm. A 6cm. wide outer margin contains *qirā'āt* information. There are 476 pages of text.

The earliest works from the Muslim printing-press in Istanbul used excellent paper and handsome, clear and tall type-face (Weil, p.55.8*ff.*)

[22] The three copies in the British Museum, for instance, ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14507d.1, d.2 and e.5) date from 1832, 1835 (?) and 1857 respectively.

[23] Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, p.173.16. The 1947 copy, at least, had marginal notes, but also a number of printing errors.

[24] Jeffery, *Materials*, Introduction p.4.8, 'Progress', p.7. *qirā'āt* are also seen in the margins of the 9th. centuryA.H. manuscripts of the Qur'ān A.12032a, 12068 of the Chicago collection (Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, pp.82, 84, Plates 28, 31).

[25] This Hugly copy was from the Ahmadi Press, owned by Munshi Abdullah, in operation till the end of the 19th. century. The Arabic text of this first copy was accompanied by the Urdu translation of Shah Abdul Qadir, "*Mazhi al-Qur'ān*" (Khan, p.132.1*f.*) Calcutta was the official capital of British India from 1773, and it remained India's capital until 1911. It was an important Muslim centre. The sons of Tīpū Sultān, for instance, lived there (*EI*², art. 'Calcutta' (S.Ray), vol.2 p.7). The Calcutta copy of 1831 ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14507b.11), finished 1/1/1247, a 2nd. reprint by Muhammad 'Alī with the help of Hāfiz Ahmad Kabīr and Hāfiz Muhammad Husayn, has 723 pages of text, with 13 lines to the page, and a frame measuring 16 x 10cm.

[26] 'Printed Arabic Books', no.14507c.21. The original page containing the title-page and *Fātiha* are missing, as is the final page, from *sūra* 110. They have been substituted with later (poorly) handwritten pages. There are 210 pages of text, with 17 lines to the page. There is no frame, but the text measures 22 x 12cm. Marginal divisions and *sūra*-headings have been added in red by hand.

[27] Blachère, p.134. The 1258/1842 copy from Tabriz is furnished with handwritten red pause-marks, marginal divisions and *sūra*-headings. This along with a red and blue margin, and an excellent quality of lithograph, give the copy a distinct first impression of being a manuscript. It has 355 pages of text, with 19 lines to the page, and a frame measuring 15 x 8cm. The scribe was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Tabrīzī.

[28] The copies of the Qur'ān from Būlāq in the British Museum dated 1864 and 1890 ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14509d.13, c.13) have al-Zamaxšarī's commentary. The one from 1867 ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14509b. 11) has ibn 'Arabī's commentary. The earliest copy there from Cairo without a commentary dates from 1889 ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14507cc. 4, Fulton and Ellis, p.524b).

[29] Blachère (p.134) gave 1877 as the date of the first copy printed in Istanbul, but Belin (p.133, entry 48) recorded the first (in the hand of Chekir-Zādé) as from around 1874, after which a considerable number were printed each year. For copies from 1877–82, in the hands of Hasan Riza Efendı (c.1877), Ḳadırgalı (c.1878), Hāfiz Osman Efendı (1880), and Chékèr-Zādeh (1882), see Cluart. The earliest copies in the British Museum from Istanbul date from 1881 and 1884 ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14507.b.24, b.27).

[30] Belin, p.133, entry 48, note.

[31] See the copy from Fez, ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14507b.12) dated 1309 (1892), which has 21 lines to the page, and a frame measuring 18 x 12cm., and the similar, two-volumed, undated one ('Printed Arabic Books', no.14507a.28), which has 19–20 lines to the page, and a frame measuring 17 x 12cm. These lithographs are not nearly as clearly executed as the earlier Iranian ones mentioned in endnotes 26 and 27 above.

[32] See the copy from Lagos, chapter 5, § 4.

[33] Muhaydi, p.9.8; Demeerseman, p.365.16.

[34] At least, the reprint of the copy from al-Maṭba'a al-Ṭa'ālibiyya, owned by Rūdūsī Qadūr ibn Murād al-Turkī, was done in 1937.

[35] Muhaydi, p.8.8. The first lithographic production there was in 1849 (Demeerseman, pp.365.17, 369ff.)

[36] Muhaydi would surely have mentioned printing of copies of the Qur'ān. Demeerseman (p.384.17) says that copies of the Qur'ān were produced in Tunisia but gives no details. Two letters (in Arabic) to each of the Tunisian firms have not received any reply.

[37] See chapter 2, § 18.

[38] This is said to have been one of the three most frequent quotations on early written copies of the Qur'ān (Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.55.34f.). The other two, *26:192–96* and *56:77–80*, have not been found so far on printed copies.

[39] Printing the Qur'ān in Iran began in Qājār times, and Qājār manuscripts often depict this disciplined upright *nasχī*. See, for instance, Sotheby's Catalogue for 27/4/82, p.90 (1089/1678 Isfahan); Sotheby's Catalogue for 27/4/82, p.94 (lot 244, 2[nd.] half of the 19[th.] century); Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, illustration 53, p.64 (early 19[th.] century); al–Sa'īd, p.18 (1260/1894); Sotheby's Catalogue for 27/4/82, p.103 (Teheran 1277/ 1860); Sotheby's Catalogue for 19/4/83, p.61 (2[nd.] half of the 19[th.] century); Sotheby's Catalogue for 17/10/83, p.93 (1216/1801), p.95 (1230/1814).

In preceding centuries it had not been so upright, as, for instance, the copy from about 1480 A.D. (Sotheby's Catalogue for 19/4/83, p.57), and the one from the 14[th.] century A.D. (Sotheby's Catalogue for 17/10/83, p.73), but it is found in the famous Tabriz copy written by Zayn al–'Ābidīn ibn Muḥammad in about 888/1483 (Sotheby's Catalogue for 19/4/83, p.63; James, *Qurans and Bindings*, p.73).

[40] *Az rūye Qur'ān mashūr Sultānī biχaṭṭ nevisande ma'rūf Ḥasan Harīsī.* al–Qur'ān al–Sultānī was a fine copy first printed during the reign of the Qājarī Shah Muẓaffar al–Dīn who ruled from 1313 to 1324 (1896 – 1907). During his reign also a famous copy was written partly in Kufic by Zayn al–'Ābidīn Šarīf in 1323/1905. It represented a harking-back to ancient calligraphy (*EI*[2], art. 'Khaṭṭ' (A.Alparslan), *vol.4*, p.1123a.41).

The printing-press of Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Alī 'Ilmī is one of the foremost for printing copies of the Qur'ān in Iran today. It has been established a long time. Another copy printed by this press was checked and corrected by a committee of seven leading Šī'ī scholars from Qom. The Kitābfurūšī 'Ilmiyyeh, publishers of the Harīsī text, most likely also belongs to this family, and the Mu'assasaye Amīr Kabīr, publishers of the Teheran Kadırgalı text, belongs to a close relative.

[41] The following one has alternate pages in Farsi, therefore the *istiχāreh* is in fact at the top of every *other* recto page there.

[42] See, for instance, Edinburgh University Oriental manuscript no.442; Sotheby's Catalogue for 26/4/82, p.48, lot 56 (1099/1687); Sotheby's Catalogue for 27/4/82, p.93, lot 222 (1152/ 1739); Sotheby's Catalogue for 27/4/82, p.107 (1300/1882); Arnold, pp.99.1, 100.17; James, *Qurans and Bindings*, p.126.

[43] *Az rūye Qur'ān ma'rūf Sulṭānī.*

[44] "*Xūšnawīs*" means "good handwriter", and although a family name, is found with other Persian Qur'ān copyists, like Ṭāhirī Xūšnawīs Tabrīzī and Mirzā 'Alī Reza Xūšnawīs of the 11th· century A.H.

[45] Wüstenfeld-Mahler p.47. The *Šamsī*, or *Jalālī*, calendar was reintroduced in Iran in 1925 A.D. by the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty Riḍā Šāh (*EI²*, art. 'Iran' (J.T.P.De Bruijn), vol.4 p.52a, and art. 'Djalālī' (S.H.Taqizadeh), vol.2 p.399a).

[46] For a recent copy dated according to the *Qamarī* and *Šamsī* reckonings (in that order), see the previous section. The Teheran Ḳadırgalı text has a simple date on its title-page, which only in the colophon is specified as *Šamsī*, see p.36.

[47] If it is a reliable guide, of the forty-two printed Muslim copies of the Qur'ān before 1900 in the British Museum, twenty-nine are from India. This is aside from the numerous texts accompanied by translations into Indian languages.

[48] For instance, in addition to differences in the orthography of *hamza*, all of the following manuscripts have graphic *alif* for the Ḥafṣ copy's vocal *alif*, barring demonstratives, at least in the illustrations. A 15th.century A.D. copy in Bihari Script (Sotheby's Catalogue for 19/4/83, p.53); a Mughal copy dated around 1700 A.D. (*ibid.*, p.58); a 15th.century A.D. copy (Sotheby's Catalogue for 26/4/82, p.23, lot 27); a 17th.century A.D. Bihari copy (*ibid.*, p.27, lot 32); and an 18th.century A.D. copy (*ibid.*, p.28).

[49] See also Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, p.29.19.

[50] For instance, in the one from the Khedivial Library dated 140/1824–25 (Moritz, Plate 96) and in the one illustrated in Sotheby's Catalogue for 26/4/82, p.28. It is also discernible in the less upright script of the Mughal copy, dated around 1700 A.D. (Sotheby's Catalogue for 19/4/83, p.58).

[51] A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation, p.xx. According also to Forbes' *Hindustani Dictionary*, p.344a, *sīpāra* means one of the thirty sections of the Qur'ān.

[52] This 1289 Delhi copy is in the Edinburgh University Library. It is a reprint of the 1868 copy in the British Museum, 'Printed Arabic Books', no.14507d.13, d.14.

[53] *EI²*, art.'al-Dihlawī' (A.S.Bazmee Ansari), vol. 2 pp.254 ff.; A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation, p.xiii.10; Ahmad, p.2.

[54] A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation, p.xiv.23,27.

[55] Headed by the *Qāḍī* Ikrām al-lāh. The error on p.30.12 (2:*177*) (*qabila* for *qibala*) escaped notice.

[56] Edinburgh University Library, Stevenson Bequest, no.2972.

[57] 'Printed Arabic Books', no.14507b.11. See endnote 25 above.

[58] Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script* p.40.33; Wright i 13C.

[59] See endnote 56 above.

[60] The "*Darūd Šarīf*" in the right-hand panel of the '*unwān* of the Tāj interlinear Urdu translation is an exhortation in Urdu based on *25: 30*.

According to the South African revision of the earlier Tāj text (explanatory notes p.7) "durood shareef" should be said before and after each Qur'ān recital. For this copy, see p.26 above.

[61] *qad haṣal al-farāg̱ min ṭibā'at hāḏā l-Mushaf il-majīd bi'awn il-lāh il-waḥīd min mutābaqatah fir-rasm limushaf Sayyidinā Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Uṯmān radiya al-lāh 'anh. hāḏih asmā' ul-musaḥḥihīn al-kirām ma'a mahūrihim ...*

For the reference to 'Uṯmān, see chapter 1, p.12.

[62] See below, p.27, and chapter 3, § 2.2.3 and endnote 38..

[63] The same Arabic text is reproduced, in the same size, in "The Holy Qur'ān" translated, 1941 Daryābād, India, by '*Abdul Majīd*, 2 volumes, and published by Tāj Company Ltd. 1957.

A copy similar to the earlier Tāj text, with the same title-page and designation "*Šayχ*", but with a differently framed '*unwān*; 488 pages of text, with 17 lines to each, and lines ruled between these; and a frame of 10 x 6 cm. was also collated. In all places where the earlier Tāj text differs from the later Tāj text, it corresponded with the earlier Tāj text.

[64] See chapter 3, § 2.2.4.

[65] Compare chapter 3, § 1.2.3.

[66] See endnote 38 to chapter 3.

[67] See endnote 38 to chapter 3.

[68] *nuḥītukum annah bil-muqārana bayn ṭab'at hāḏa l-mushaf wataba'āt il-masāḥif il-uχra zahar an ziyādat al-alif tanfarid bihā l-ṭab'a al-maḏkūra wamin al-jā'iz an takūn min qabīl il-kalimāt illatī zīdat fīhā l-alif rasman lā nuṭqan miṯl la'awda'ū₀, aw la'aḏbahannahu wagayrihā ... 'ala l-kataba il-ūlā.* See al-Dānī, *al-Muqni'*, pp.47.8ff., 100.3f., 148.14ff.; *al-Muḥkam*, pp.174.5f., 176.11ff.

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[69] See also Pearson, p.512 (under "*Ahmadi Versions*").

[70] *ibid.*, pp.509 (under 1917), and 510 (under 1928).

[71] *ibid.*, p.511 (under 1971). It was reprinted again in 1981.

[72] *wasaḥḥaḥat [il-lajna] ba'd al-aḡlāt il-basīṭa is-ṣādira 'an in-nā-siχ bitarīq is-sahw.*

[73] It was first published in America in 1946 by the Hafner Publishing Co., New York (*The National Union Catalogue*, vol. 8, p.594b).
See also Pearson, p.510 (under 1938).

[74] p.iv.

[75] p.iv.52 (of the Beirut and Qatar editions, not of the 1975 Ashraf edition). This preface was written less than a decade after the 1342 Cairo text, and within the king's lifetime. Fu'ād did not die till 1936. Indeed, Egypt was still a kingdom until 1952.

Professor Ẓafar Iqbāl was closely involved with the printing of that copy, which I have not seen.

[76] EI^2, art. 'Anjuman' (F.Rahman), vol. 1 p.506a. Although Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khan advocated the acceptance of British education (how else could Muslims progress under British rule ?) his movement was basically a reaction against British influence (EI^2, art. 'Hind' (K.A.Nizami), vol.3, p.431b). At the same time his thought was the most forceful challenge to Indian Islamic Traditionalism in the wake of the 'Mutiny' in 1857-8 (Ahmad, p.ix), and his Urdu commentary on the Qur'ān has not met with the approval of the '*Ulamā*' (A. Yusuf Ali's parallel translation, Beirut edition, p.xiii). This is probably because he held certain unorthodox views, like not acknowledging the existence of angels.

EI^2, art. 'Aḥmadiyya' (W.C.Smith), vol. 1 p.301*f.*; *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2 pp.183,401.

[77] See Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.43.13 for references to this characteristic, and the illustrations in Sotheby's Catalogue for 27/4/82, 94 (lot 230, 19[th.] century A.D., by Ḥāfiẓ 'Utmān) and 99 (1246/1830 and 1247/1831); and Sotheby's Catalogue for 17/10/83, 79 (923/1517) and 85 (lot 289, 1055/1645) and 89 (lot 295, 18[th.] century A.D.) and 100 (18[th.] century A.D.).

The Turkish slope can be seen in copies of the Qur'ān from Ḥāfiẓ 'Uṯmān (e.g. in the one in the Khedivial Library, dated 1083/1671-2 (Moritz, Pl.97) and in another dated 1094 (Edinburgh University Library, Stevenson Bequest 29721)), through Ismā'īl Yasārı Zādeh in the one in the Khedivial Library, dated 1166/1752-3 (Moritz, Pl.98) and Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥı in the one in the Khedivial Library, dated 1203/1788-89 (ibid., Pl.98), through Muḥammad Wafa in the one in the Khedivial Library, dated 1234/1818-19 (ibid., Pl.99), to Kadırgalı.

[78]   *tubi' hāḍa l-Mushaf uš-Šarīf istinsāχan 'an in-nusχa il-maktūba biχaṭṭ il-ḥājj Ḥasan Riḍā il-marḥūm "Ayat Barkanār".*

In Alparslan's article on Turkish schools of calligraphy, where most prominent calligraphers are mentioned, this man is not.

A smaller version of this text, with a frame of 8 x 4 cm., and the *'unwān* being treated as two pages, was also seen. It had no details of scribe, date, publisher or printer. It was given to the Edinburgh Oriental Department Library in about 1978.

[79]   See Pearson, p.514 (under 1959).

[80]   No mention by Ṣābāt.

[81]   See chapter 3, § 2.2.4.

[82]   From the script and the conventions, he was presumably a Turkish scribe, but again, Alparslan does not mention him. Al-Rušdī is, however, an Iraqi name.

[83]   *wattaba'at hadihi l-lajna fī tanqīh wadabṭ il-qirā'a mā yuwāfiq riwāyat Ḥafṣ 'an 'Aṣim ...*

[84]   *hijā'uh.*

[85]   Called abū 'Abdal-lāh Muḥammad by ibn al-Jazarī (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.157.12). He flourished in the mid 6th century A.H.

[86]   *... bi'iḍn ... idārāt il-Buḥūṯ il-'Ilmiyya wal-Iftā' wad-Da'wa wal-Iršād ... 14 Rabī' ul-Anwār, 1398.* Another was authorised by them on 12/7/1402.

[87]   No mention by Ṣābāt.

[88]   *faqad tamm ṭab' haḍā l-Mushaf aš-Šarīf ... biǧāyat ad-diqqa wal-itqān mutadārikan bih mā faraṭ bih fiṭ-ṭaba'āt is-sābiqa min al-ǧalaṭ fil-Qur'ān ... fī awāχir šahr Ramaḍān al-mukarram min sana 1343 hijriyya.*

[89]   § 9 above.

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[90] *lammā ussisat fī χayr awān faχr salātīn āl 'Utmān. as-Sultān ibn us-Sultān il-Gāzī • 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Xān • χallad al-l̃ah mulkah wa'abbad saltanatah ilā yawm il-qiyāma • il-Matba'a ul-'Utmāniyya. wuffiq fīhā bimatbū'āt musaḥḥaha • lā siyyamā hāḏa l-Mushaf aṣṢarīf illaḏī tubi' bil-marra il-ūlā wajuhid fī χidmatih tashīhih 'alā qadr tāqat il-başariyya • bimajlis taftīš il-Masāhif iš-Šarīfa • al-mun-'aqid bil-irāda is-saniyya • fī Bāb il-Mašīχa il-Islāmiyya • katabah ul-faqīr us-sayyid Mustafā Nazīf aš-šahīr biKadırgalı • min talāmīd Ḥusayn Efendi • fī awāχir šahr Ramaḏān al-mubārak • lisannat tisa' watalāt mi'a wa'alf •*

That "*katabah*" here does not, as is sometimes the case, refer simply to this colophon, but to the whole of this particular text, is clear for a number of reasons. Firstly, the handwriting is exactly the same. Secondly, it is the same basic text as the Cairo Kadırgalı text, which is described on the title-page as being in Kadırgalı's hand, and which was the source for the cancels in this second Cairo reprint of this text. And thirdly, Kadırgalı had had copies in his hand printed since about 1878 (see below in this endnote).

Similar considerations apply to the copy written by (*katabah*) Ḥāfiz 'Utmān in 1094 (see endnote 56 above).

As for this being the first printing, this certainly means of this particular facsimile. Copies had been printed in Istanbul for fifteen or more years, one at least being at the Ottoman printing-press, in 1299 (188.) (Cluart, 1885, p.246), and another in the hand of Kadırgalı himself (c.1878 (Cluart, 1880, p.420).

There was, in 1916, an office in the Bāb al-Mašīxa which superintended the printing of Qur'ān copies and legal works – *tedqīq-i Masāhif we-mü'ellefāt-i šer'īye mejlisi* (EI^1, art.'Šayx al-Islām', (J.H.Kramers), vol.4 p.278b). It was presumably similar to the majlis mentioned in the colophon.

[91] B.Lewis, p.184.25

[92] Shaw and Shaw, pp.251,252. In Egypt also.

 Pears, pp.195,198.

[93] Blunt, *Secret History*, pp.81–82.

 It was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, for instance, who built the Hijaz railway. He was also particularly fond of calligraphy (*al-Šarq al-Awsat*, 2/12/1983, col.5).

[94] See p.18.

[95] Cluart.

[96] See Alparslan, p.271.14; *EI²*, art. 'Khaṭṭ' (A.Alparslan), vol.4, p. 1125a.61.

[97] Alparslan, figure 3.

 For an illustration of his signature, see Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, no.105e, p.93.

[98] See § 15.

[99] See § 14.

[100] *ḥudūd haftād sāl pīš ... nevešteh šudd*. (It was written about seventy years ago).

[101] *rasm ul-χatt asīl qadīm*. (The orthography is of ancient stock).

[102] P.George's manuscript (an Ottoman copy) has *talwūₒ* (no 2$^{nd.}$ *wāw*, just a red *madda*).

 In this and the following five examples, the Kitābfurūšī Xāwur and Beirut reprints have the instructions in black.

[103] P.George's manuscript has *dāwudu* (again, no 2$^{nd.}$, red, *wāw*).

[104] P.George's manuscript has *wuriya* (again, no 2$^{nd.}$, red, *wāw*).

[105] P.George's manuscript is, however, as the Teheran Ḳādırǧalı text, with no comment.

[106] P.George's manuscript does indeed have a 2$^{nd.}$, red, *yā'* here. See also endnote 4 to chapter 1.

[107] P.George's manuscript has *nabaₒ'ahum* with "*qiṣr*" referring to the (still present) otiose *alif* before an independent *hamza*.

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[108] For instance in the handsome, careful copy from the early 9th. century A.H., Chicago Qur'ān manuscript no.A12029a (Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, plate XXII), three short lines contain many differences of detail. For instance, the symbol for *sukūn* is circular; it has *malā'ᵧikahᵗu* for the Ḥafṣ copy's *malā'ᵧikahᵗu*; *yā'-hamza* is dotted; *alif al-wiqāya* has no circular symbol; it has *'utuwwan* for the Ḥafṣ copy's *'utuwwan⁻*.

Similar differences between Egyptian manuscripts of the Qur'ān and the Ḥafṣ copy can be found in Chicago Qur'ān manuscripts nos. A12066, 12030a (Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, plates XXIII, XXV). The Būlāq printed copies of 1864, 67 in the British Museum have graphic *alif* always except in demonstratives, etc.

[109] For instance, in the first manuscript cited in the previous endnote; and those illustrated in Sotheby's Catalogue for 27/4/82, pp.77 (lot 210, c.1400 A.D.) and 81 (second half of the 14ᵗʰ· century A.D.); Sotheby's Catalogue for 17/10/83, p.99 (1291/1874); and Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, no.50, p.64 (copied 1469 A.D. in Cairo).

[110] This last statement is not found in Ḳadırġalı copies printed in Turkey. See endnote 21 to chapter 1.

[111] A second copy consulted, for instance, is entitled "*Muṣḥaf al-Ḥaramayn al-šarīfayn*" on the upper cover, and, on the title-page, "*Qur'ān karīm, lā yamassuhu 'illa l-mutahharūna, tanzīlun min rabb il-'ālamīna, biχaṭṭ is-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Nazīf iš-šahīr biKadırġalı*". It was printed by Matba'at al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya in Cairo under permit 254, of 9/6/1974, from the professoriate of the Azhar, and at the expense of the publisher, 'Alī Mursī abū al-'Izz. It makes no claim to the authority of 'Uṯmān, and has no explanatory notes at the back, but was checked by an Azhar committee against the *Amīrī* text printed in 1383 (1963-4) by Matba'at al-Misāḥa. Apart from a slightly different *'unwān* and the different frame-size (22 x 14 cm.), this copy is exactly the same as the one termed the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text.

"*al-Muṣḥaf al-Amīrī*" appears to be the name given to the 1342 Cairo text, presumably after its original printers, al-Matba'a al-Amīriyya (see Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo' p.3.32). It is referred to again in the χātima to a third copy of the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text, in an expanded lead-up to the *isnād – tamm hadā l-Muṣḥaf aš-Sarīf tashīhan wamurāja'atan 'alā l-Muṣḥaf al-Amīrī al-miṣrī illadī kutib bir-rasm il-'Uṯmānī wadubiṭ 'alā mā yuwāfiq riwāyat Ḥafṣ* ...

This third copy is entitled "*Qur'ān karīm*" with the same Qur'ān verse as with the second copy, but in between, and in place of Ḳadırġalı's

name, "bir-rasm il-'Uṯmānī". It has a frame of 15 x 10 cm., and was printed by a permit from both the Ministry of the Interior (no. 11 - 1 - 20 - 1) and the Professoriate of the Azhar (no. 127 - 49). It was published by Šarikat Maktabat waMatba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa'awlādih, Cairo. Its explanatory notes are in the same order as those of the 1342 Cairo text, but much more briefly described, and they are followed by the stamp of al-Dabbā', dated 1360 (1941). It is a revision in that the error in *18: 38* of the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text (see p.49 ult.) has been corrected to *lākinna₀*, but it still does not have the rhombuses in *11: 41* or *12: 11*.

A **fourth copy** is entitled as the second one, with "*fī kitābin maknū-nin*" after "*Qur'ān karīm*", and with a frame as the first. It was printed and published by Dār al-Kutub al-Dīniyya lil-Ṭibā'a wal-Naṣr in Cairo, at the expense of Muḥammad al-Mu'tī Aḥmad Naṣr and sons, under permit 144 (4/12/1968) of an Azhar committee.

A **fifth copy** is entitled exactly as the second, but with the *'unwān* and (expanded) explanatory notes in a different hand, and a frame of 16 x 10 cm. It was printed and published by Šarikat al-Šamarlī lil-Ṭab' wal-Naṣr wal-Adawāt al-Kitābiyya in Cairo, at the expense of the owners Awlād Ḥusayn Muḥammad 'Abdal-lāh, under a permit from the Azhar professoriate of 7/8/1381. And the same again by Azhar permit 138 of 9/6/1388, sized 7 x 5 cm.

A **sixth copy** is entitled, sized and noted as the fourth, but printed at the expense of Maktabat al-Ma'ārif in Beirut, under permit 77 (10/4/1385 / 7/8/1965).

A **seventh copy** is entitled, "*Qur'ān karīm*" on the title-page, with *lā yamassuhu 'illa l-muṭahharūna* beneath, and at the bottom the name and address of the printers, al-Maṭābi' al-Ahliyya lil-Offset, P.O.Box 2957, Riyad. Not being Egyptian, it mentions neither Ḳadırġalı nor 'Uṯmān. Its *sūra*-heads, *basmalas* and *āya*-roundels have been replaced throughout for slightly different ones. The border of the *'unwān* is also different, as are the marginal cartouches indicating textual division. In *18: 38* it has the oval symbol on *lākinna₀*. At the back there is no date nor claim to the revisers of the 1342 Cairo text. It is probably a reprint of a later version of the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text, because the names of the Egyptian revisers are slightly different. The colophon reads

rāja' haḏā l-Muṣḥaf aš-Šarīf ala r-rasm il-'Uṯmānī lagnat murā-ja'at il-masāhif bimašyaχat il-Azhar biri'āsat faḏīlat iš-Šayχ 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Qāḏī, wanā'ibuh faḏīlat iš-Šayχ Maḥmūd al-Ḥuṣarī wa-'uḏwiyyat kull min al-asātiḏa aš-Šayχ Aḥmad 'Alī Mur'ī, waš-Šayχ Rizq Xalīl Ḥiba, waš-Šayχ Muḥammad 'Atā Rizq, waš-Šayχ Ša'bān

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Muhammad Ismā'īl was-Šayχ Muhammad as-Sādiq Qamhāwī under the supervision of the Azhar committee for Islamic Research and Culture.

Below this the Saudi publishers state that this printing was paid for by the Ministry of Education, in agreement with the Department of Religious Affairs no.278/5 of 1/3/1401 A.H. (*bimūjab ta'mīd Wizārat al-Ma'ārif wamuwāfaqat ri'āsat idārāt il-Buhūt il-'Ilmiyya wal-Iftā' wad-Da'wa wal-Iršād biraqm 278/5 ...*)

[112]   Muhammad Ahmad Xalaf al-Husaynī, Hifnī Nāsif, Mustafā 'Anānī, and Ahmad al-Iskandarī.

[113]   This date cannot be that of the manuscript, since Kadırgalı died in 1331/1913. According to Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', p.3 the date of the 1342 Cairo text was 10/4/1337. The fifth signatory to the 1342 Cairo text, the chief editor of al-Matba'a al-Amīriyya, is omitted in the Cairo Kadırgalı text.

[114]   See p.54 re *41: 44*, for a discrepancy between the explanatory notes and the text. This applies to all copies of the Cairo Kadırgalı text consulted.

[115]   *waqad utbit hāda n-nass birummatih hunā liyakūn ta'rīfan bihāda l-mushaf ka'aslih il-madkūr.*

[116]   The 1342 Cairo text has a fifth fewer lines to the page, and more than half as many pages again.

[117]   The third copy of endnote 111 above.

[118]   The use of the adjective *'Utmānī* with *"masāhif"* in the explanatory notes to the Teheran Kadırgalı text lends support to this (see p.38). It was seen there to refer to copies written in Ottoman times. This is not to say that the theological concept of the "recension of 'Utmān" was a new one. It is, however, to say that the implication in this context was a new one.

[119]   See § 10.

[120]   al-Dabbā' was born 1304/1886 (Bergsträßer 'Koranlesung' p.23ff. In this article he is mistakenly called al-Dabbāg. The mistake is rectified in GdQIII, p.221.) For his work on revising copies of the Qur'ān, including some in Kadırgalı's hand, see Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', p.31.

I have been unable to find any other reference to al-Dabbā' (e.g. he is not mentioned in Kahhāla, al-Ziriklī, al-Munajjid, *EI*, Sarkis, Sezgin) but he lived well into the 1950's, since he was still *Šayχ al-maqārī* when he checked the Matba'a Amīriyya copy of 1/8/1371 (26/4/1952) (see p.171)

[121]   Not mentioned by Muhaydi or Ṣābāt.

[122]   This collection is housed in La Marsa, Tunisia (Demeerseman, p.358a n.16).

[123]   Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts' p.63.4,30f.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1]   P.George's manuscript has *allayl* throughout except, curiously, here where it has in red below "*bilāmayn hunā faqaṭ*".

[2]   As also in the Warš copy.

[3]   As also in the Warš copy. See also § 1.1.5.

[4]   *Našr*, vol.2, p.176.7, vol.1, p.284.19. The form *wallāy* in the Warš copy is allegedly *Qurašī* – ibid., vol.1, p.285.18. *cf.* endnote 49 below.

[5]   GdQIII, pp.17 n.1, 98. Bergsträßer maintained here that the defective spelling represented an original '*ibrāhām*, giving *ibn ʿAmir* as his witness. But, given the oral Tradition, it is just as likely simply the graphic omission of a second long vowel in two successive syllables, as was generally the case in *Tanaχ* Hebrew orthography (Gesenius–Kautsch § 8l(a)).
   The other examples of the same difference are all second longs, § x. [?]
   Moreover ibn ʿAmir is reported to have read '*ibrāhām* throughout the Qurʾān, not just in the defective places (ibn al–Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, p.222.3), which casts doubt on Bergsträßer's "original".

[6]   See § 2.2.1.

[7]   From now on in this chapter when an *āya*-number is preceded by an equals sign, it signifies the equivalent number in the Isfahani text or the Karachi copy, depending on the context.

[8]   See § 2.3.2.

[9]   See § 2.2.3.

[10]   Except the Calcutta copy which has a caret, and the Bombay copy which is as the Egyptian Tradition.

[11]   See chapter 9, § 1, p.114.

[12] p.54.

[13] ibn al-Jazarī, *Naśr*, vol.1, p.275*ff*.

[14] Except, for example, in *27: 22* where the Istanbul Kadırǧalı text, inconsistently, has $ahat^{\rightarrow}tu$; in *110: 2, 3, 111: 1, 3* (*'afwājan, tawwāban, nāran, lahabin*) where the Istanbul Kadırǧalı text does not indicate any assimilation, and where the Kadırǧalı text revised by al-Dabbā' has partial assimilation; and in *111: 5* where the Istanbul Kadırǧalı text has $hablun^{\rightarrow}$ *min masadin* for the Kadırǧalı text revised by al-Dabbā''s $-n^m$ min^m $m-$.

[15] See Preface § 1.4.

[16] See endnote 25 below.

[17] See chapter 9, § 7.1.1, pp.116,118, and for some other, less regular examples, § 2.3.3, p.61.

[18] Spitaler, 'Verszählung', p.36.

[19] *ibid.*, p.36.

[20] It is not to be found in Spitaler, 'Verszählung'. The numbering-systems given by Spitaler seem to be largely academic. Manuscripts described by Abbott, for instance, on a number of occasions do not tally with any of Spitaler's lists, e.g. Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, pp.63 n.7; 68 n.22; 72 n.36; 91 n.92.

[21] Spitaler, 'Verszählung', pp.24,25.

[22] In passing it may be noted that the Warš copy differs from the Hafs copy in two divisions – *2: 42* for *2: 44*, and *2: 76* for *2: 75*.

[23] And the Egyptian 9th century A.H. manuscript, Chicago A12030a (Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, Plate XXV).

[24] See the information in chapter 2 §§ 2,8, pp.22,31.

[25] In some of these printed copies of the Qur'ān inaccuracies occur, but they are rare, surprisingly so with such a mass of detail as is contained in the text. They are not properly to be included in the variations, but should be noted in passing. They do not not occur in the Hafs copy, nor in the Kadırǧalı text revised by al-Dabbā', but they can be found, for example, in the Beirut copy, the Cairo Kadırǧalı text, the Damascus copy, the Calcutta copy and the Harīsī text.

The inaccuracies, in the Beirut copy are mainly lack of indication of incomplete assimilation of *tanwīn* to a following consonant. In other words the *tanwīn* is indicated by a rectangular shape rather than that of a parallelogram, e.g. in *3:191* where the Kadırǧalı text revised by al-Dabbā',

the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text and the Warš copy have $qiy\widetilde{a}man^{\rightarrow}$ wa-, the Beirut copy has $qiy\widetilde{a}man$ wa-, despite having $qiy\widetilde{a}man^{\rightarrow}$ wa- in 4:5. (The earlier printing does in fact have $\rightarrow$!)

Similarly in 5:6 where the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text and the Warš copy have $m\widetilde{a}{}'an^{\rightarrow}$ fa-, the Beirut copy has $m\widetilde{a}{}'an$ fa-, despite having $tayyiban^{\rightarrow}$ fa- like all the others two words later.

Such omissions are not rare in the Beirut copy with the accusative case, where the necessary displacement of the parallel lines of tanwīn is obscured by the alif, however it also happens with the genitive, e.g. in 5:48 where the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text and the Warš copy have $likullin^{\rightarrow}$ ja'alnā, the Beirut copy has $likullin$ ja'alnā. Similarly also with $\check{s}a_y{}'in^{\rightarrow}$ in 4:33. (Again, the earlier printing does in fact have $\rightarrow$!)

A similar omission in the Beirut copy, this time of a šadda over the initial letter of a following word to indicate complete assimilation, occurs, for example, in 5:72,73, where the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text and the Warš copy have $'ans\bar{a}rin^l$ laqad, the Beirut copy has only $'ans\bar{a}rin^{\rightarrow}$; (Again, the earlier printing does in fact have n^l !) Again in 2:178 where the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text and the Warš copy have $ta\chi f\bar{\imath}fun^m$ min, the Beirut copy has only $ta\chi f\bar{\imath}fun^{\rightarrow}$ min, despite having $fa'iddah^tun^m$ min like the others in 2:184, 185.

The Ḥafṣ copy, the Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Ḍabbā', the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text, and the Maġribī Ḥafṣ copy all have vocal hamza, i.e. $\check{s}ay'an$ in 3:10,64 and all other occurrences, as does the Warš copy. But the Beirut copy has graphic hamza in these two, i.e. $\check{s}ay_yan$, as do, of course, the Teheran copies, which have graphic yā'-hamza throughout.

Other examples of omissions in the Beirut copy are the lack of šadda in 'aduwwin (4:92); the lack of vocal alif in $wal\widetilde{a}kinna$ (2:251); and the lack of madda in $bih\widetilde{\imath}/bih\widetilde{\imath}$ 'illa (2:26c), $y\widetilde{a}{}'\widetilde{a}damu/y\widetilde{a}{}'\widetilde{a}damu$ (2:35), $bih\widetilde{\imath}/bih\widetilde{\imath}$ 'īm$\widetilde{a}$nukum (2:93). These are simply careless omissions. The madda is nearly always present elsewhere in it when followed by hamza, cf. $yastahy\widetilde{\imath}$ 'an in the same verse, $bih\widetilde{\imath}$ 'an (2:27,102), $bih\widetilde{\imath}$ 'ad^{an}_y (2:196), $astaw^a_y$ 'il^a_y (2:29), $lah\widetilde{u}$ 'ad'āfan (2:245) and $y\widetilde{a}{}'\widetilde{a}damu$ (2:33).

Inaccuracies are also to be found, although much more rarely, in the Cairo Ḳadırġalı text. al-Ḍabbā' in fact corrected texts written by Ḳadırġalı. In 18:38, for instance, lākinnā should be lākinna$_o$ as in the Ḥafṣ copy, and as stated in the explanatory notes at the back of the Cairo Ḳadırġalı

text. (See also Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', p.7.3.) Indication of section-division is also sometimes omitted, although these are printers' rather than scribal errors, e.g. completely at *5:1* (as in the margin, but not in the text, of the Beirut copy), at *5:11*, and the same with the larger one at *21:82*.

For an inaccuracy in the Damascus copy, see § 2.2.3 re *9:47*, and for one in the Calcutta copy, see endnote 55 to chapter 2. An example of inaccuracy in the Harīsī text is the omission of an *alif al-wiqāya* in *'ūlū* in *27:33*.

[26] The Warš copy does.

[27] The Warš copy does.

[28] Edinburgh New College ms.1* is as the Warš copy.

[29] Its explanatory notes did not originally belong with it, but with the 1342 Cairo text.

[30] e.g. Edinburgh University Qur'ān mss.148,149,150.

[31] § 1.1.4.

[32] The situation is seen clearly in P.George's manuscript, where the *alif* following the *dāl* and the *hamza* following the *rā'* are in red.

[33] Indian copies tend, in fact, to put the vocal *alif* above the *wāw*, thus, in this case, $fasaww\overset{\sim}{_{w}}{_{o}}^{a}hunna$.

[34] Except in *2:98*, see next entry.

[35] As in chapter 9, § 7.1.1.

[36] See p.61.

[37] P.George's manuscript preserves the archaic orthography with a note in red below – "*bil-yā'*", and two black dots.

[38] These two are among the eighteen instances of otiose *alif* in the Qur'ān listed at the back of the Bombay copy (chapter 2 § 5) — *al-lāh* (*3:1*); *'afao'in* (*3:144*); *lao'ila* (*3:158*); *tabū'ao* (*5:29*); *wamalaoihī* (*7:103*) (and its other occurrences – *10:75, 11:97, 23:46, 28:32* and *43:46*); (*9:47*); *tamūdao* (*11:68*); *litatluwao* (*13:30*); *nad'uwao* (*18:14*); *lišaoy'in* (*18:23*); *lākinnao* (*18:38*); (*27:21*); $lao'il\overset{a}{_{y}}$ (*37:68*); *nabluwao* (*47:31*); *al-iosmu* (*49:11*); *watamūdao* (*53:51*); *salāsilao* (*76:4*); *qawārīrao 76:16,17* (see § 2.3.4).

[39] The 18[th.] century Bengali copy (Edinburgh University Qur'ān ms.149) and the 1135/1722 Kashmiri copy (Edinburgh University Qur'ān ms.150), however, have *la'antum*.

[40] See p.64.

[41] ibn al-Jazarī, *Naśr*, vol.2, p.19.3 lines up.

[42] *ibid.*, vol.2, p.13.20.

[43] *ibid.*, vol.2, p.15.2.

[44] GdQIII, p.188; p.97 above.

[45] *ibid.*, p.188; ibn al-Jazarī, *Naśr*, vol.2, p.11.6 lines up; p.99 above.

[46] See re *4:176–5:1* etc., earlier on in § 2.3.1.

[47] Bar the Calcutta copy which has no superior *sīn* in either. See also § 1.1.6.

[48] See § 1.2.2 and endnote 15 above.

[49] According to ibn al-Jazarī, al-Dānī said, "Deflection of the sound of *a* and *ā* towards *i* and *ī*, and non-deflection are two well-known and widespread linguistic features of well-spoken Arab tribesmen, in whose language the Qur'ān came down. Non-deflection is a feature of the Ḥijāzīs, and deflection is a feature of most Nejdīs of Tamīm, Asad and Qays. There is no doubt that deflection is one of the seven *aḥruf*" (*Naśr*, vol.2, p.30.16,23). See also Wright i.10C.

[50] As also the Indian copies, Edinburgh New College ms.3, Edinburgh University Qur'ān mss.149, 148, 150, the last two in red vocalisation over black *mujrayhā* and *mujr* ^a_y *hā* respectively.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Not mentioned by Muhaydi, or Ṣābāt.

[2] That these divisions were fascicles is shown in the Cairo Warš copy, where pagination starts afresh with each, see chapter 5, § 4. Twelfths are not treated in this way in the Ḥasan II text. In the Algerian copy, the relevant fifth *ḥizbs* do begin fresh pages, but without gaps at the bottom of the preceding ones.

[3] *bi'awn il-lah ta'ālā aṣdarat iš-Šarika ut-Tūnisiyya lit-Tawzī' haḏa l-muṣḥaf al-'atīq fī ḥulla jadīda min al-iχrāj il-fannī. waqad istalzam injāzuh arba' sanawāt min al-jahd il-mutawāṣil fil-murāja'a war-rasm wat-tazwīq wat-ṭab'.*

Enquiries in Arabic to the publishers have not met with any response.

[4]   chapter 5, § ..

[5]   As, for instance, in the Edinburgh New College ms.1*, dated 1143 (1730) In this manuscript, *šadda* and *sukūn* also, along with vocal *alif*, *madda*, the "large dot" (see *11: 41* and *12: 11*) and the vowels, is in red; *hamzat al-waṣl* is large and greenish blue and *hamzat al-qat'* is yellow. In the St.Andrews University Oriental manuscript no.16, dated 9th·/15th· century (henceforward "St.Andrews ms.16"), *šadda* and *sukūn* are in blue.

In the 14th· century A.D. copy from Tlemcen vowel-signs are in red, while *šadda* and *sukūn* appear in blue (Lévi-Provençal, p.85.36). See also Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.44.14.

In the 17th·/18th· century A.D. "Sūdānī" copy from Nigeria (Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts' p.63.26f.) vowels are red, *hamzat al-qat'* yellow and *hamzat al-waṣl* initially green. See also Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.44.11, and the 13th· century A.D. "Fāsī" copy, ibid., p.90.28.

[6]   See the preceding endnote.

[7]   As in line 2, *yatawaff•$\overset{\tilde{a}}{_y}$kum.* For the "large dot" see pp.112ff., 120f.

[8]   As, for instance, in St.Andrews ms.16 and Edinburgh New College ms.1*.

[9]   The 17th·/18th· century Nigerian manuscript described in Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts' employed it (see endnote 4 above). So did the 1142/1729 Moroccan one illustrated in Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Pl.112. In the 1113/1701-2 Moroccan one, British Library Or.13382 (see Lings and Safadi, *Catalogue*, p.41, and Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Pl.111), however, it appears to be red.

[10]   'Printed Arabic Books', no.14507b.12. As also in the undated one from Fez (ibid., 14507a.28).

[11]   Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts' p.63.4,20f.; Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.90.26.

[12]   That the words per line do diverge here and there, especially at the end of twelfths, show that the lithograph was not made from exactly the same original.

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[13] For this manuscript and a description of it, see Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, plate XXXIII and pp.89–91. And for a discussion of the history of the body of the *ṭā'* and its like, see Grohmann, 'Dating Early Qur'āns', p.225.22ff.

In the page from the 1568 A.D. Moroccan copy illustrated in Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, no.79, p.79, the hemispherical body is more usual but the quadrilateral one is also used (line 5), probably to help fill out the line. In the 17ᵗʰ· and 18ᵗʰ· centuries, segments of a circle, as in the Warš copy and the Ḥasan II text, are found in Fāsī-Maġribī (Sotheby's Catalogue for 20/6/83, p.95; Sotheby's Catalogue for 17/10/83, p.82).

[14] Compare the Tunisian manuscript of 706/1306 (Lings and Safadi, *Catalogue*, plate 49).

[15] It is exactly the same as in the Cairo Warš copy.

[16] There is no mention of him in ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* or GdQIII. The indications of pause in the Algerian copy are also his (explanatory notes, p.2.15). There is no mention of him in ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* or GdQIII.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1] The Bodleian, Edinburgh University, and St.Andrews University libraries, for instance, have no copies of the Qur'ān printed in North-West Africa. The British Museum has only two.

[2] *ṭubi' haḏā l-Mushaf aš-Šarīf bi'amr Mawlānā Amīr il-Mu'minīn wahāmī ḥima d-dīn Jalālat Malik il-Maġrib il-Ḥasan it-ṯānī, naṣarah ul-lah, 'ām 1387.*

The date, as all numerals throughout the copy, including even those for the *āyāt*, are in European characters.

[3] *biχaṭṭ Maġribī aṣil 'alā riwāyat Warš.*

[4] ... *lil-'ināya bimushaf "il-Ḥasan it-ṯānī" 'ināyatan taḥfū kāmil al-āmānī* (their inverted commas).

[5] ... *wa'uyyin al-fuqahā' wal-asātiḏa ... litashīh rasm il-mushaf waḏabt mustalaḥātih.*

"Sūsī" here does not mean of Sousse in Tunisia, east of Qayrawan, but

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of the southern Moroccan Sous tribe, whose territory stretches eastward from Agadir (*Times Atlas*, Plate 88, J6). The Aït Bahā' is a clan.

[6]   See chapter 9, § 4.

[7]   Ellis and Fulton, no.14507.cc.11.

[8]   Compare Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts', p.63.32.

[9]   p.no.191 was mistakenly omitted from the Arabic pagination, so from then on the European numbering is one less than the Arabic. References have been given to the European numbering.

[10]   "*bilisān ʻAbd al-lah*". The Arabic in this title-page is not good.

[11]   There is confusion over the exact date. *1323* in Arabic figures is written above *šskb* and translated into 1905 A.D. 14/12/1323, however, was 10/2/1906 and should be *ǧškj*, which has only two letters corresponding. 14/12/1322 was 20/2/1905 and might seem a more likely date. It would be *ǧškb*, which has three letters corresponding.

[12]   Presumably from inside knowledge, the note in Ellis and Fulton says that the copy was lithographed for the use of West African Muslims.

[13]   See a similar one in the red marginal comment, Plate III.

[14]   As in Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts', Plate I; and James, *Qurans and Bindings* no.95 (misplaced on p.116, for 117).

[15]   Edinburgh University Qur'ān ms.DC.4.88, dated 1325/1907 (Index to manuscripts, vol.2, p.62a), although basically in the Warš transmission (witness *maliki* (*1: 4*)) shows many instances of influence from the Ḥafṣ transmission. Suffice it to mention two. In *31: 18* an erroneous *tʻsr* is left unpointed and corrected above in red with "*tusaʻir*". This is a reading of Ḥafṣ' for Warš' *tusāʻir*. In *31: 23* the Ḥafṣ reading *yahzunka* is found for Warš' *yuhzinka*. Not too much should be made of this, however, because the manuscript is rife with mistakes. Again, suffice it to mention two – *fanubiᵧuhum* in *31: 23*, and *fin-nahāra* in *31: 29*. The manuscript is written on a school exercise-book made in Rotterdam, and if anything more than a practice copy would only have been for private use. It is written in Fāsī-Maǧribī style, but lacks many of the usual characteristics of North-West African copies. It is written only in black and red, for instance, and indicates neither pause, assimilation, nor *hizb*-divisions.

[16]   See chapter 9, § 4.

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[17]   Where it diverges regarding the authority for the system of pause, it seems to follow the explanatory notes of the Warš copy. Its *isnād*, however, is much expanded on that of the Warš copy; see chapter 8.

[18]   See endnote 7 to chapter 4.

[19]   *al-Qawl al-Asdaq*, see the Bibliography, and Bergsträßer, 'Koran-lesung in Kairo', p.25, no.30.

[20]   Where it does in contexts cited, its verse-numbering is given after an equals-sign in brackets.

[21]   Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', pp.31 no.2, 34.1*ff*.

[22]   *ibid.*, p.31 no.2 says only *"biχaṭṭ kātib Maḡribī"*.

[23]   See chapter 6, § 1.4.

[24]   As in the Warš copy. See endnote 6 above.

[25]   See Plates I and II.

[26]   For a detailed study of this manuscript, see Brockett.

[27]   See Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Plate 106.

[28]   *vol*.1, p.229a.

[29]   Piccard, *Ochsenkopf*, vol.2, p.395 and vol.1, p.101.

[30]   *ibid.*, nos. VI 12,115,152,153,183,184.

[31]   Mošin–Traljić, no.1348, vol.1, p.77a, and Tafel 145.

[32]   Piccard, *Ochsenkopf*, vol.2, p.375, and vol.1, p.96.

[33]   The other two places are again up in central Europe, Berne (1390) and Magdeburg (1392).

[34]   For a good account, see Gaskell, pp.60–66, 76.3.

[35]   See Plates III and IV.

[36]   See *"bihā"*, Plate III, line 14.

[37]   For a similar watermark in a southern Sudanese, or Nigerian, manuscript of the Qur'ān from the 17[th.] or 18[th.] century, see Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts', p.62.

[38]   *vol*.1 (text), p.315a.

[39]   no.870 (Plate 137), p.84.

[40]   See Heawood's nos.863–876, Plates 136–138.

[41] no.866.

[42] no.866 being the one dated (1696).

[43] A slight curve to the left with verticals is more usual (Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, p.78.11).

[44] See Plate III, line 13.

[45] See chapter 6.

[46] Folio 77a, which contains *26:210 – 27: 4* ('*Facsimiles*', Plate LIX). A description of the manuscript is given opposite the Plate.

Further description of the forms of the letters, was given by Karabacek ('Sinaïtische Inschriften', p.324.18*f.*) It was here also (p.324.15) that it was first pointed out that this manuscript was in the script listed by ibn al-Nadīm as "*al-mā'il*".

The problem of exactly interpreting ibn al-Nadīm's description of this script can be seen from the various interpretations given by Karabacek ('Sinaïtische Inschriften', p.323.29*f.*); Abbott (*Studies*, p.18.22*f.*); and Jeffery ('Review' p.194.5*ff.* and 197.16*ff.*) The discussion was reviewed by Grohmann, p.219*f.* See also *EI*^{2}, art. 'Khatt' (J.Sourdel-Thomine), vol.4, p.1119a.3.

In a later article ('Arabic Palaeography', p.137.16*ff.*) Karabacek also drew a likeness between it and Moritz's specimen from the Khedivial Library in Cairo (*Arabic Palaeography*, Plate 44). Rather than the 3rd. century A.H., this specimen therefore should be dated 2nd./early 8th. It appears to have a closer similarity in style to the Chester Beatty Library manuscript no.1615, dated 2nd.-3rd.century A.D. (James, *The Art of the Quran*, p.13).

[47] The Medinan (and Syrian) reading "*fatawakkal*" for the Kufan "*watawakkal*" on line 7 of the facsimile (*26:217*, folio 77 verso of the manuscript) was pointed out by Karabacek ('Sinaïtische Inschriften', p.324 n.1).

This was overlooked by Jeffery in his claim against Abbott that we have no criteria for deciding the provenance of early manuscripts ('Review', p.194.44*f.*), where he said, "the Kūfan type of text ... is found in all the [early] MSS." (*ibid.*, p.195.5. See also p.191.43*ff.*)

[48] "It is believed to be one of the two oldest extant Qur'ān manuscripts" (Lings and Safadi, *Catalogue*, p.20, 1a); "one of the oldest extant Qur'āns" (Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, p.8 margin); "One of the earliest [Qur'āns] ... There are at least two other manuscripts which have many of [its] characteristics, one of which can be seen in this exhibition (Chester Beatty Library ms.1615). It is somewhat later in date ..." (James, *The Art of the Quran*, p.2.16). See also James, *Qurans and Bindings*, p.14.

[49] Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.24.20, and Plate VI.

[50] *ibid.*, Plates VIII – IX.

[51] *ibid.*, p.24.19.

[52] *ibid.*, p.18.17.

[53] pp.8.15, 9.3 (= Flügel, p.6.1,7).

For Abbott's use of this, and acknowledgement of its meagreness, see *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, pp.17.4, 18.9,16,23, 23.36.

Compare Jeffery's opinion that ibn al-Nadīm's late 4th. century account should not be trusted implicitly for the 1st. century situation ('Review', p.193.13ff.,28ff.), and Moritz's criticism that it is surprising that, according to ibn al-Nadīm, "two cities [Mekka and Medina] which were situated at a comparatively short distance from each other, should have possessed two distinct types of script, while Syria ... and Egypt ... are passed over in silence" (*EI*[1], art. 'Arabia', p.387b.51ff., 65).

[54] Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.18.29ff.

[55] Jeffery ('Review', p.196.35) used the elegant and regular writing of the Chicago fragments to cast serious doubt on the accuracy of Abbott's "guess at the dating".

[56] Blachère, p.87.14. Blachère likened it to the inscriptions of Zebed [512 A.D.] and Ḥarrān [568 A.D.] (*ibid.*, p.87.13). (For a photograph of the Zebed inscription, see Grohmann, 'Arabische Paläographie', *vol.2*, Plate II.)

[57] James, *Qurans and Bindings*, pp.13a.6f., b.3ff., 25a.8,24.

[58] Notably ibn al-Nadīm. Oddly, however, he listed it under the Kufan-Basran scripts (p.9.4 = Flügel, p.6.8). al-Jubūrī, however, does not mention the *mā'il* script.

[59] For instance, parchment no.1700, National Egyptian Library, Cairo (Grohmann, 'Arabische Paläographie', Pl.IIIa and p.222.8); parts of the palimpsest which Mingana thought might be "pre-'Othmanic" (see A.S. Lewis, Pls. IV,V, and Mingana, Pls. facing pp.40,68. On pp.xxxii.25 and xxxiii.2 he noted the similarity to B.L. Or. 2165); Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris *ms.* nos.326-336 (Blachère, p.87.8. On Fig.1, facing p.88, no.326 is dated to "perhaps the beginning of the 2nd./8th. century").

Where the 'Lewis' palimpsest is now has not been discovered. It is not in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, nor in the Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham. Nor is it apparently in the library of Westminster College, Cambridge, to whom passed Agnes Smith Lewis' academic inheritance. Her husband was a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but the manuscript is not in their library either.

[60] Much more expensive than leather (EI^1, art. 'Arabia' (B.Moritz), pp.384b.37, 385a.36). The vellum is of uniform thickness, scraped to a fine and regular smoothness. The buckling of the vellum does not explain the tendency of the lines in the lower half of some pages to slant away from the parallel, e.g. of the verso of folios 77 (downwards to the right), 71 and 72 (upwards to the right). Score-marks for lines are evident, sometimes faintly gone over.

[61] *Facsimiles*, Plate LIX ll.4,13a.

[62] As pointed out by Safadi (*Islamic Calligraphy*, p.14.36).

[63] As, for instance, in the official letter dated to the second half of the 1st. century A.H. (Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri*, Plate IX); and the two $1^{st.}$ century papyri in EI^1, art. 'Arabia' (B.Moritz), vol.1, Plates II and III.
    See EI^2, art. 'Khatt' (J.Sourdel-Thomine), vol.4, p.1121a.2.

[64] *Facsimiles*, Plate LIX l.4;

[65] "Es gehört sicher in den Anfang des zweiten oder in das Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts" ('Sinaïtische Inschriften', p.324.8). See also Grohmann, 'Arabische Paläographie', p.214 n.8.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

[1] For instance, with *yunazzil* in *31: 34* Edinburgh New College ms.1* does have *šadda* below the *zāy*.

[2] The same applies to the 703/1303 Andalusian Maġribī copy from Granada, from now on called "the 703/1303 Granadan copy". See Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Plate 104; Cohen, Plate 52.

[3] The same applies again to the 703/1303 Granadan copy, e.g. Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Plate 104, recto line 14.

[4] The same applies again to the 703/1303 Granadan copy, e.g. Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Plate 104, recto line 16.

[5] Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, p.24 margin; Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts', plate facing p.61.

[6] e.g. in *31: 25 (= 24)* and *72: 18*.

[7]   e.g. in *31: 5*.

[8]   So also in the 703/1303 Granadan copy, *e.g.* with *bihi* in *72: 2, 13, 17* where the Warš copy has *bih ī*.

[9]   *31: 15–33: 16* in the Cairo Warš copy.

[10]   *32: 13*. ·

[11]   This is the only instance where Edinburgh New College ms.1* (and B.L. Or. 2165) tallies with St.Andrews ms.16 rather than with the printed Warš copies.

[12]   This is another example of St.Andrews ms.16 belonging to a different Tradition to the other North-West African copies, best explained by its coming from Spain. Edinburgh New College ms.1* is as the printed Warš copies here, and has a marginal comment illustrating how strict the North-West African orthographic Tradition was – "the [sign for] elision of *hamza* is below the *yā'* itself, as in the master-copy, not below its curl" (*at–tashīl taht il–yā' bin–nafs, lā taht 'uqsat il–yā', kamā fil–asl*).

   B.L. Or. 2165 has a dot here (in the same ink as the graphic form, folio 94, verso, line 19), indicating the early date of this convention. This was verified by magnifying-glass. On the other hand, it does not have a dot in *32: 10* (folio 93, verso, line 20, where the printed Warš copies have '*a•dā*), suggesting that the use of the convention had not been standardised.

[13]   Folio 89, verso, line 15 ff.

[14]   As in the Ḥafṣ copy.

[15]   For similar cases, see endnote 38 to chapter 3 (re *18: 3*); endnote 11 above; chapter 3 § 2.2.2; and *ni'mata* (*33: 9*) in the column above.

[16]   Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Plates 97, 98. The only North-West African copy it has not been found in is the Moroccan copy written in 975/1568 for the Šarīfī Sultan 'Abdal–lāh ibn Muḥammad, British Library ms.Or.1405 (see ibid., Plates 108-10).

[17]   Its omission in Edinburgh New College ms.1* from *ad–dunyā* in *31: 33* is an oversight.

[18]   Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, p.24 margin; Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts', plate facing p.61.

[19]   Nor again in the 703/1303 Granadan copy. In Moroccan manuscripts, however, pause is indicated, e.g. B.L.ms.Or.1405 (Lings and Safadi, *Catalogue*, Plate VII; Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Plate 108), and Escorial *no.*1340 (dated 1008/1599 from Marrakesh. Lings, *The Quranic Art*, Plates 106, 107).

[20] In Edinburgh New College ms.1* and Edinburgh University Qur'ān ms.DC.4.88 there are no verse-divisions.

[21] Plate II, recto line 10.

[22] Plate I, verso line 5.

[23] Plate II, verso line 3.

[24] As in Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts', p.64.8ƒ.

[25] Plate I, recto line 10.

[26] Plate II, recto line 4.

[27] As in the Nigerian manuscript illustrated in Plate 1, Abbott, 'Maghribī manuscripts', facing p.61.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] The *isnād* goes back two more links, – Jibrīl – the Creator, but our concern is the transmission from the Prophet and these earlier links may be taken as understood.

[2] I have not met with a manuscript or an earlier printed copy of the Qur'ān with such an *isnād*. See also chapter 1 endnote 21.

The immediate *isnād* of the scribe's teacher is found, for instance, in Edinburgh University Oriental manuscript no.DC.4.88 (dated 1325 (1907)), but that is a different matter.

[3] See p.165 above.

[4] In the second paragraph of the explanatory notes of the Warš copy, the word "*iχrāj*" connotes (re)production, not manuscript – *waba'd faqad kamal bi'awn il–lāh wahusn tawfīqih ixrāj hada l–Mushaf iš–Sarīf biriwāyat il–Imām Warš 'an Nāfi'* ...

[5] Bar ibn Mas'ūd, perhaps considered covered by 'Alī.

[6] *Našr*, vol.1, pp.112.1ƒ., 155.7ƒƒ.

[7] *Taysīr*, pp.8.1ƒƒ., 9.7ƒƒ.

[8] *kutib hadā l–mushaf wadubit 'alā mā yuwāfiq riwāyat Hafs* ... *liqirā'at 'Asim* ... *'an* ... *is–Sulamī 'an* ...

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[9] *wa'uχid hijā'uh mimmā rawāh 'ulamā' ur-rasm 'an il-masāhif illatī ba'at bihā 'Utmān ibn 'Affān ila l-Basra wal-Kūfa waš-Šām waMakka wal-mushaf illadi χtass bih nafsah wa'an il-masāhif il-muntasaχa minhā.*

[10] Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', p.5.17 – "The graphic form [of the 'official Koran'] is not of course drawn from written copies, but from the literature about them; it is therefore a reconstruction, the result of a rewriting of the usual graphic form in what the literature says was the old orthography" – Quelle für diesen Konsonantentext sind natürlich nicht Koranhandschriften, sondern die Literatur über ihn; er ist also eine Rekonstruktion, das Ergebnis einer Úmschreibung des üblichen Konsonantentextes in die alte Orthographie nach den Angaben der Literatur.

[11] *walam yazal al-qurrā' yatadāwalūn hadih il-qirā'āt wariwāyatahā ilā an kutibat il-'ulūm waduwwinat fakutibat fīmā kutib min al-'ulūm* ... (*Muqaddima*, p.783.4 = Rosenthal, vol.2, p.440.29).

[12] ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb*, vol.2, p.400.6. "al-Fāxirī" according to Yāqūt, *Iršād*, vol.4, p.118.4.

[13] *EI²*, art. 'Hafs ibn Sulaymān' (Editors), vol.3, p.63.

[14] ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb*, vol.2, p.400.7; Yāqūt, *Iršād*, vol.4, p.118.5.

[15] *EI²*, art. 'Hafs ibn Sulaymān' (Editors), vol.3, p.63. There is no mention of him in ibn Xallikān. A booklet "*Mufrad* (?) *'Asim ibn abī al-Najjūd*" is attributed to him by Sezgin (p.10, § 3). See endnote 71 below.

[16] Yāqūt, *Iršād*, vol.4, p.118.9,10.

[17] Yahya ibn Ma'īn said that Hafs's was the correct reading from 'Āsim, and that Hafs was most knowledgeable about the reading of 'Āsim (ibid., p.118.10).

[18] In a similar report from ibn Ma'īn (ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb*, vol.2, p.401.12), Hafs and abū Bakr ibn 'Ayyāš were said to be the most knowledgeable about the reading of 'Āsim, but Hafs more so than abū Bakr. Hafs, however, was *kaddāb*, whereas abū Bakr was *sadūq*. Ibn Xurāš also dubbed Hafs "*kaddāb*" (ibid., p.401.8). Elsewhere in Hafs's *tarjama* in ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb*, opinions on his transmission of traditions range from unreliable

(e.g. *"lays biṯiqa"*, p.401.2 (al-Nisā'ī)) to unacceptable (e.g. *"matrūk al-hadīṯ"*, p.400. 14 (ibn abī Ḥātim), p.401.2 (al-Buxārī (cf. al-Buxārī, *Ta'rīχ*, vol.1, pt.2, p.363.16) and Muslim), p.401.3 (al-Nisā'ī)), unknown (*"ahādītuh kulluhā manākīr"*, p.401.4 (Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad) and fanciful (*"ahādīṯ bawātīl"*, p.401.4 (al-Sājī), *"yaḍa' al-hadīṯ"*, p.401.17 (ibn Ḥibbān)). The solitary report in his favour is cited on the authority of al-Dānī, from Wakī' (p.401.15). Ulterior motives are not hard to find.

[19] 'Āsim is said to have said to Ḥafṣ, "the reading I teach you was taught me by al-Sulamī from 'Alī, and Ḍirr (sic.) ibn Ḥubayš from ibn Mas'ūd" (Yāqūt, *Iršād*, vol.4, p.118.8f.)

[20] *EI²*, art. "Āsim' (A.Jeffery), vol.1, p.706b; al-Buxārī, *Ta'rīχ*, vol.3, pt.2, p.487.2f.; GdQ III, p.167; ibn al-Nadīm, Cairo edition, p.43.8f. (= Flügel, p.29.1f.). ibn Ḥajar, *Tahḏīb*, vol.5, pp.38.13f., 39.18. "The people of Kufa espoused his reading" – *wa'ahl ul-Kūfa yaχtārūn qirā'atah* (ibid., p.39.2). ibn Xallikān, vol.3, p.9.4 mentioned only the first two teachers, but added that he taught abū Bakr ibn 'Ayyāš, abū 'Umar al-Bazzār (Dīnār ibn 'Umar al-Asadī) and Sallām ibn Sulaymān al-Ṭawīl, who taught Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the "Twelve" (ibid., vol.6, p.390.13). A book dubiously attributed to him by Sezgin (p.7, § 3), *Jam' 'Āsim* (Chester Beatty Catalogue, vol.6, p.59, no.4693), is found in an apparently unique (undated) 10/16th· century manuscript.

[21] Compare ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.413.1ff.

[22] See above, p.

[23] cf. the opening tradition in Hibatallah (d.410) – *waqad ruwiya 'an Amīr il-Mu'minīn 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib, karram al-lāh wajhah, annah daχal yawman masjid al-jāmi' bil-Kūfa fa ... waruwiya fī ma'nā haḏā l-hadīṯ 'an 'Abd al-lah ibn 'Umar, wa'Abd al-lah ibn 'Abbās ...* (p.4.5-12).

[24] ibn Sa'd, vol.6, p.121.19,21. Bišr was appointed governor in 71, and died between 73 and 75 (*EI²*, art. 'Bišr ibn Marwān' (L.V.Vaglieri), vol.1, p.1242).

[25] ibn Ḥajar, *Tahḏīb*, vol.5, p.184.10.

[26] A Kufan.

[27] ibn Ḥajar, *Tahḏīb*, vol.2, p.400.9.

[28] vol.6, p.119.10 – 120.12.

[29] *Tahḏīb*, vol.5, p.119.11.

[30] *ibid.*, vol.5, p.184.8–9.

[31] *ibid.*, vol.5, p.184.14.

[32] Citing Buxārī's *Ta'rīχ al-Kabīr*.

[33] From al-Wāqidī.

[34] *Tahḏīb*, vol.5, p.184.1*f*. al–Sulamī's father is not mentioned by ibn Saʻd as among the Companions who settled in Kufa (vol.6, p.1*ff*.), but his Companionship is briefly mentioned in the context of his son's pedigree (*waliʻabīh ṣuḥba*) in ibn Ḥajar, *Tahḏīb*, vol.5, p.184.1 and ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, vol.1, p.306.20 (no.1580). ibn Xallikān makes no separate mention of al–Sulamī. For a Western criticism of al–Sulamī's authorities, see Beck, *Orientalia* 20, 1951, pp.316–328, and for a reading of al–Sulamī's which none of the "ten" read, see chapter 10, endnote 8 (re *5:95*).

[35] ibn al–Nadīm, p.49.14 (= Flügel, p.32.29).

[36] Burton, *The Collection*, p.197.11.

[37] Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p.59.1*f*.

[38] Burton, *The Collection*, pp.151.29.

[39] al–Suyūṭī, *al–Itqān* pt.1, p.70.26*ff*. Burton, *The Collection*, pp.124.20, 196.5, 205.10.

[40] al–Suyūṭī, *al–Itqān* pt.1, p.50.12.

[41] Burton, *The Collection*, pp.118.3, 159.3*ff*., 192.11*f*.

[42] al–Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al–Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.485.5*f*. Flügel cites Tāschköprizāda at length on him (Notes, p.18.13*f*.). ibn Xallikān (vol.7, p.250.1) mentioned him only as Yūnus ʻAbd al–Aʻlā al–Ṣadafī's teacher of *qirā'a*.

[43] Neither Lane (pt.8, p.2937b), Hava nor Wehr give meanings of "whiteness" for forms of the root wrš, and verbs from it are almost always derogatory, e.g. coveting, inciting, disturbing. The bird "*waraśān*" is given as a kind of dove (Lane, Hava).

[44] ibn Xallikān, vol.5, pp.368.12 – 369.1 (no.757). GdQIII, p.168; Sezgin, p.9; ibn al–Nadīm ascribes a number of books to him on Qur'ān subjects, e.g. pp.54.21, 55.5, 56.2 (= Flügel, pp.36.16, 20, 37.9). He is also said to have been able to speak Turkish, to his student Qālūn (Flügel, Notes, p.18.6). No EI.

[45] ibn al-Nadīm, p.46.1f. (= Flügel, p.30.21f., and Notes, p.21 § 9). It would have been an easy transition in writing, from his *mawlā* to "'Abd-al-lāh ibn 'Abbās". Indeed, in one of the manuscripts used by Flügel (the old Paris one, see Vorwort, p.xvii) ibn 'Abbās is found here (Flügel, Notes, p.21 § 9). Compare also how ibn 'Abbās is listed as the author of a book on the number of verses in the Qur'ān, in Flügel's edition (p.37.10) and in the Cairo edition (p.56.3), but in Dodge (vol.1, p.81.10) more feasibly it is ibn 'Ayyāš, *i.e.* abū Bakr Šu'ba ibn 'Ayyāš, one of 'Āsim's transmitters (see p.101). Even more obvious a confusion is "abū Bakr ibn 'Abbās" as the author of a book on the division of the Qur'ān (ibn al-Nadīm, pp.45.19, 55.14 = Flügel, pp.30.17, 37.29). Dodge has "ibn 'Ayyāš" in both places (pp.68.4, 80.22). See also endnote 62 below.

[46] ibn Xallikān, vol.6, pp.274–276. See also GdQIII, p.166. No EI.

[47] Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp.65–81.

[48] al-Suyūtī, *al-Itqān* pt.1, p.65.26–30.

[49] See chapter 12, p. 140. cf. also 2:158, where ibn 'Abbās' reading making *tawāf* optional is rejected (al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.3, pp.242.1–243.6, 245.4–9).

[50] *yatabayyan* for *yay'as* (vol.20, p.184).

[51] ibn Xallikān, vol.3, p.64.4, 8 (although the *EI*[2], art. "Abdal-lāh ibn 'Abbās' (L.V.Vaglieri), vol.1, p.41a, gives his death-date as 68).

[52] See chapter 5, § 4.

[53] al-BuŒārī, *al-Sahīh*, pt.6, p.23 ult.

[54] Burton, *The Collection*, p.179.11–23.

[55] Juynboll, *Authenticity*, pp.192–206, and, for a reassessment, Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp.62–99.

[56] See § 2.3, above.

[57] ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb*, vol.6, pp.290.6ff.; al-Suyūtī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, vol.1, p.485.4.

[58] ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb*, vol.4, p.377.3.

[59] *ibid.*, vol.4, p.378.4. See also al-Suyūtī, *al-Itqān*, pt.1, p.73.9 (here called "Šayba ibn Nisā'" erroneously).

[60] ibn Hajar, *Tahdīb*, vol.10, p.124.7ff.

[61] *ibid.*, vol.11, p.325.1f.

[62] ibid., vol.11, p.325.9.

[63] See above, endnote 6.

[64] See above endnote 7.

[65] *Našr*, vol.1, p.106.17. See below, chapter 8, § 1.1.

[66] *watunūqil dalik wastahar ilā an istaqarrat minhā sab' turuq mu-'ayyana tawātar naqluhā aydan bi'adā'ihā waχtussat bil-intisāb ila man ištahar biriwāyatihā min al-jamm al-ğafīr fasārat hadih il-qirā'āt us-sab' usūlan lil-qirā'a (*Muqaddima*, p.782.12 (= Rosenthal vol.2, p. 440.4)).*

[67] al-Sa'īd, p.91.13.

[68] ibid., p.92.

[69] ibid., p.92.38.

[70] ibid., p.33.19.

[71] ibn al-Nadīm, p.43.13*f*. (= Flügel, p.29.6, see also notes, p.18 § 3). A couple of books on Qur'ān subjects are said to have been written by abū Bakr Šu'ba (see endnote 44 above), and a manuscript (the same as that for Ḥafṣ, see endnote 15 above) is listed under his name by Sezgin (p.10.penult.) For the lines of transmission from him, see ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, pp.146–152, and for a reading of his, see Appendix I, p.238, no.28.

[72] ibn al-Nadīm, p.42.18 (= Flügel, p.28.21, see also notes, p.17 § 7); Sezgin, p.12, § 8. For the lines of transmission from him, see ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, pp.99–106.

[73] Flügel, Notes, p.18.10.

[1] ibn al-Jazarī often mentioned east/west polarisation over a given reading by the time of the 4[th.] century written compilations, and these would not be recording recent events, e.g. *Našr*, vol.2, pp.40.12, 165.11–15 and 253.10 (where the Easterners are the Iraqis), 166.16 (where the Egyptians are with the Easterners), 43.11 (where the Egyptians and Maġribīs are over against the Iraqis), 217.3, 221.20, 235.22 – 236.1, 243.11.

[2] 'Abdal-lāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal asked his father which *qirā'a* he preferred, and he said, "the *qirā'a* of the Medinans", and after that "the *qirā'a* of 'Āṣim" (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.112.15).

[3] al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.486.10f.

[4] I am indebted to Muḥammad al-Mannūnī of Rabat for generous assistance by letter in this question.

[5] 'Iyāḍ, vol.4, p.44; ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.275.12.

[6] He was the first to bring to al-Andalus the reading of Nāfi' and the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, pp.2.4ff., 275.13). See also al-Dānī, *al-Muḥkam*, pp.8.14ff., 9.15.

[7] ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.275.10.

[8] *ibid.*, vol.1, p.23.19ff.

[9] *ibid..* vol.2, p.217.13f.

[10] *ibid.*, vol.1, p.456.15f.

[11] Cook, 'Monotheist Sages'.

[12] Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p.32.6.

[13] *ibid.*, p.22.9.

[14] *EI*[2], art. Ḥanafiyya (W.Heffening [J.Schacht]), vol.3, p.163a.20ff.

[15] *ibid.*, line 42.

[16] al-Sa'īd, p.85.7; Jones, p.245.

[17] *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.424.22ff.

[18] al-Saʻīd, p.66.8.

[19] For the reduction of oral Tradition to writing being linked to a general crisis in confdence, see Nielsen, p.33.15.

[20] *EI²*, art. Khaṭṭ (J.Sourdel-Thomine), vol.4, p.1114b.17.

[21] The book of Ṭāhir, for instance, (endnote 27 below) is an often cited reference by ibn al-Jazarī.

[22] See chapter 1, endnote 4.

[23] ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, pp.152ff.

[24] GdQIII p.188.

[25] al-Saʻīd has "al-Ṣabāḥ".

[26] This link was omitted by al-Saʻīd (p.128) and in ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.152.3, but not p.153.9. He taught the Qurʼān in Baghdad in the early 10ᵗʰ· century A.D. (Dodge, vol.2, p.949); ibn al-Nadīm, p.49.1 (= Flügel, p.32.17).

[27] al-Baṣrī *al-ḍarīr* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.568.5ff.)

[28] al-Miṣrī. Author of *al-Taḏkira*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's earliest sources (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.73; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.491.6), extant in manuscript; lived and died in Egypt (Sezgin, p.16, § 23). See also Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.30, § 16.

[29] Moved to Egypt (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.75.6ff.)

[30] *ibid.*, vol.1, p.385.8ff.

[31] al-Baġdādī. Author of *al-Jāmiʻ fī al-Qirāʼāt*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Našr*, vol.1, p.84); lived until 450 (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.573.16ff.)

[32] Author of *al-Mustanīr*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.82), extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.36, § 3). Pretzl calls him "ibn Siwār".

[33] al-Iṣbahānī (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.110.21ff.) No mention of him in al-Suyūṭī, *Buġya*.

[34] b.419 Isfahan (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.206.2ff.) The line from him to ibn al-Jazarī is given in *ibid.*, p.568.13ff.

[35] Author of *al-Kāmil*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's most frequent sources (*Našr*, vol.1, p.91). See also ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, pp.397–401.

[36] From Jurjān, moved to Nīsābūr (*ibid.*, vol.1, p.577.17*ff.*)

[37] Moved to Ġazna; his father's name could have been Muḥammad (*ibid.*, vol.2, pp.312.6*ff.*, 313.21*ff.*) Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.35, § 21 (?). No mention of him in al-Suyūṭī, *Buġya*.

[38] al-Fārisī; still living in 440 (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.133.4).

[39] *ibid.*, vol.1, p.399.5*ff.*

[40] 'Abdal-lāh "Sibṭ al-Xayyāṭ" al-Baġdādī, grandson of Muḥammad al-Xayyāṭ, and author of several of ibn al-Jazarī's sources, most notably *al-Mubhij* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, pp.83–85). See also Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.37, § 24.

[41] al-Baġdādī. Author of many books on *qirā'āt* (ibn al-Nadīm, p.48.21*f.* (= Flügel, p.32.15*f.*)); GdQIII, p.180.

[42] Not apparently in ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, or al-Suyūṭī, *Buġya*.

[43] Author of *al-Jāmi' fī al-Qirā'āt*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Našr*, vol.1, p.75), extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.35, § 22); moved to Egypt (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.336.13*ff.*)

[44] Died in Alexandria. Author of *al-Tajrīd*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.75; *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.374.13*ff.*), extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.30, § 15. See also *ibid.*, p.46, § 35.

[45] ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.10.8*ff.*

[46] Author of *al-Rawda fī al-Qirā'āt al-Ihdā 'Ašara* one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Našr*, vol.1, p.74). See also ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.230.1*ff.*)

[47] *al-Imām* 'Abd Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.107.penult.). See also ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.361.21*ff.*

[48] *ibid.*, p.357.13*ff.* He was the fourth link in the *isnād* from abū 'Ubayd to the writer of his *Kitāb al-Nāsiχ wal-Mansūχ*.

[49] *ibid.*, p.284.6*ff.*

[50] Author of *al-Misbāh al-Zāhir fī al-'Ašr al-Bawāhir*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Našr*, vol.1, p.90; see also ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.39.8), extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.38, § 26).

[51] al-Baṣrī/al-Baġdādī. d. after 490 (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.88. 19*ff.*)

[52] al–Wāsiṭī, "Ġulām al–Harrās" (ibid., p.228.6ff.)

[53] ibid., p.467.21ff.

[54] Author of al–Iršād and al–Kifāya, two of ibn al–Jazarī's sources (Našr, vol.1, pp.86, 87; see also ibn al–Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.2, p.128.6ff.), both extant in manuscript (Pretzl, Wissenschaft, p.39, 40, §§ 27, 28).

[55] ibn al–Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.1, p.577.6ff.

[56] Author of al–Tiḏkār, one of ibn al–Jazarī's sources (ibn al–Jazarī, Našr, vol.1, p.84).

[57] al–Baġdādī (ibn al–Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.1, p.490.11ff.)

[58] ibid., vol.2, p.208.19ff.

[59] al–Saʿīd again has "al–Sabāḥ". He was blind.

[60] From near Damascus; according to ibn al–Jazarī, it was through him that the reading of Ḥafṣ spread (Ṭabaqāt, vol.1, p.112.10).

[61] al–Marwāzī/al–Baġdādī (ibid., p.66.20ff.)

[62] ibid., p.227.5ff.

[63] al–Baġdādī (ibid., p.224.12ff.)

[64] ibid., p.70.20f.

[65] ibid., p.5.7ff.

[66] Author of al–Muntahā, one of ibn al–Jazarī's sources (ibn al–Jazarī, Našr, vol.1, p.93), still extant in manuscript (Sezgin, p.17, § 26.2).

[67] al–Iṣbahānī (ibn al–Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.1, p.422.13ff.)

[68] ibid., p.220.15ff. Author of al–Wajīz, one of ibn al–Jazarī's sources (Našr, vol.1, p.80). See also Pretzl, Wissenschaft, pp.29,32, §§ 12,18, and GdQIII, p.185 n.7.

[69] ibn al–Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.2, p.62.12ff.

[70] al–Ḥudaynī al–Kūfī/al–Wāsiṭī (ibid., vol.1, p.397.15ff.)

[71] al–Saʿīd has "Zarʿān". ibn al–Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.1, p.294.11ff.

[72] Omitted from the list on ibn al–Jazarī, Našr, vol.1, p.154.8, but not on p.155.2. See also ibn al–Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.1, p.566.17ff.

[73] ibid., p.73.2ff.

[74] abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Manṣūr ibn al–Farrā' al–Baġdādī (ibid., vol.2, p.210.17ff.)

[75] Born-in Damascus (ibid., vol.1, p.356.10), died in Egypt after 380 (ibid., p.357.8). Referred to as "ibn al-Saqā" (the name of his great-great-grandfather) in al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.492.15.

[76] "*al-ḍarīr*"; the father of 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Fāris; died in Egypt (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.5.16ff.) Author of *al-Mansa' fī al-Qirā'āt al-Ṯamān*.

[77] ibid., vol.1, p.178.12ff.

[78] *Našr*, vol.1, p.154.ult.

[79] ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.204.7ff. Author of al-Ḡāya *fī al-Qirā'āt al-'asar*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Našr*, vol.1, p.86).

[80] ibid., pp.58–98.

[81] e.g. in the transmissions of abū 'Amr, ibn 'Āmir, ibn Kaṯīr, abū Ja'far and that of Warš through Qālūn.

[82] For instance, abū al-'Alā' al-Hamaḍānī, abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār, abū 'Alī al-Mālikī, abū al-'Izz, abū al-Karam, ibn Šīṭā, ibn Suwār, al-Karzīnī, al-Nahrawānī, Rizqallah, al-Šarīf abū al-Faḍl, al-Sibṭ, abū al-Ḥasan al-Xayyāṭ.

[83] For instance, abū al-Faḍl al-Rāzī, abū al-Fatḥ Fāris, abū al-Muẓaffar, Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad al-Harawī, Ṭāhir, al-Xabbāzī.

[84] ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.106ff.; al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, p.10.17f. (much more briefly); GdQIII, p.186f.

[85] ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, pp.168.9 and 173.16.

[86] ibid., p.12.16.

[87] al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.486.10f.; al-Dabbā', p.26.16.

[88] al-Dabbā', p.22.11. See also endnotes 10,13 to chapter 9, and for post Ḥafṣ divergences, endnotes 44,45 to chapter 3. See also endnotes 10, 13 to chapter 9, and for post Ḥafṣ divergences, endnotes 44, 45 to chapter 3.

[89] Originally from Medina (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.486. 8; GdQIII, p.176.2). He also learnt from Nāfi' through Saqlāb ibn Šayba al-Miṣrī (d.191) (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.485.11; ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.308.24). See also GdQIII, pp.175.5, 176.1, 187. (No ibn Xallikān, ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdīb*, ibn Sa'd, or EI.)

[90] A teacher of ibn Šanabūḏ (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.487.4).

This line from al-Azraq is probably first because it was the only one given by al-Dānī (*al-Taysīr*, p.11.3ff.). It is the line given in the Algerian copy.

[91] al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.488.10.

[92] *ibid.*, p.492.1.

[93] ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.38.21.

[94] He learnt *qirā'āt* directly from al-Azraq and 'Abd al-Samad (al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.487.17f., where his father is called Sa'īd).

[95] ibn Najjāḥ (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.316.15ff.)

[96] *ibid.*, vol.2, p.121.16ff.

[97] al-Nafazī ? (*ibid.*, p.121.22).

[98] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, index, vol.2, p.579). Author of *al-Sāṭibiyya*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Nasr*, vol.1, p.61).

[99] ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.115.6ff.

[100] *ibid.*, p.74.20ff.

[101] al-Miṣrī. Author of a book on the differences between the Seven (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.301.5ff.)

[102] al-Miṣrī. Qur'ān reader, grammarian and exegete (he wrote a 120 volumed *tafsīr*, *al-Istignā' fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*). The greatest exponent of his time of the reading-system of Nāfi', according to al-Dānī (al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.490.8f.) He transmitted the books of abū Ja'far al-Naḥḥās (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.198.18), such as *al-Nāsiχ wal-Mansūχ* (see, for instance, the title-page, pp.3 n.1, 5.13).

[103] *al-ḍarīr* al-Miṣrī, died after 398 (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.127. 2ff.)

[104] Lived and died in Mecca (*ibid.*, vol.1 p.136.11ff.)

[105] Died after 430. Author of *al-Hidāya* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Nasr*, vol.2, p.69), ibn al-Jazarī's source for this line (*ibid.*, p.107.3). See also Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.24, § 6.

[106] ibn Aḥmad al-Miṣrī (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.357.19ff.) Author of *al-Mujtabā* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Nasr*, vol.1, p.71; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.492), one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources here. There is some confusion, perhaps a lacuna, in ibn al-Jazarī's account here (*Nasr*, vol.1, p.108.12ff.)

[107] The son of *al–Imām* abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al–Uḏfuwī (ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.124.5ff.)

[108] "*Tāj al–A'imma*" al–Miṣrī (ibn al–Jazarī, *Naŝr*, vol.1, p.108.21; *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.89.12ff.)

[109] al–Ḥaddād al–Miṣrī (al–Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al–Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.493.1). He taught al–Huḏalī the line *2.1.6* below in al–Qayrawān (ibn al–Jazarī, *Naŝr*, vol.1, p.108.20).

[110] ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.597.6ff.

[111] al–Dīnawārī/al–Ṣūfī (*ibid.*, p.132.21ff.)

[112] al–Kūfī (*ibid.*, p.298.8ff.) Not Zayd ibn ‘Alī ibn Zayn al–‘Ābidīn, studied by Jeffery (*The Qur'ān Readings of Zaid b. ‘Alī*).

[113] ibn al–Jazarī only has "abū Naṣr" here (*Naŝr*, vol.1, p.107.12), as also in *1.7.1.1* below (*ibid.*, p.108.1). In *1.8.1* below he calls him "al–‘Irāqī". From *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.400.11, and from *1.1.5* of § 2.2.2 below, he must be Aḥmad ibn Masrūr. Aḥmad does not have a separate mention in ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*.

[114] ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.260.6ff.

[115] al–Ḥasan ibn Xalaf. From Qayrawan, moved to Alexandria, where he died; author of *Talxīs al–‘Ibārāt* (*ibid.*, p.211.8ff.) His *al–Jāmi'* is extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.45, § 32).

[116] Died in Damascus (ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.309.12ff.)

[117] ibn Yaḥya ibn al–Faḥḥām al–Bagdādī (*ibid.*, p.232.18ff.)

[118] Died in Mecca. Author of several works on *qirā'āt*, including *al–Talxīs fī al–Qirā'āt al–Ṯamān*, one of ibn al–Jazarī's sources (*Naŝr*, vol.1, p.77; see also ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.401.20).

[119] *ibid.*, vol.2, p.48.21ff.

[120] Died in Basra (*ibid.*, vol.1, p.144.7ff.)

[121] ibn al–Nadīm, p.47.16f. (= Flügel, p.31.22f.); ibn al–Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.52.10ff. This is the famous, supposed rival of ibn Mujāhid, who is said to have had to recant before the vizir. In ibn al–Jazarī's eyes, however, there is nothing heretical about his transmission (*Naŝr*, vol.1, p.123.3). Indeed ibn Šanabūḏ figures in all ten transmissions as given by ibn al–Jazarī, and not significantly less often than ibn Mujāhid. ibn al–Jazarī called him "*al–ustāḏ al–kabīr*" (*ibid.*, p.120.3), whereas ibn Mujāhid he called "*al–ustāḏ*" (*ibid.*, p.118.ult.)

The apparently unique manuscript of ibn Mujāhid in the Chester Beatty Library (Catalogue, vol.6, p.146, no.4930, entitled *Iχtilāf Qurrā' al-Amsār*) was found in fact to be another copy (with many minor variations) of his *al-Sab'a fī al-Qirā'āt*, as edited from the Istanbul and Tunis manuscripts (see Sezgin, p.14, § 16.1) by Šawqī Dayf.

[122] al-Māzinī al-Misrī. He also learnt from ibn Mujāhid (al-Suyūtī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, vol.1, p.489.16). The birth-date given there (382) must be 282, as in ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, vol.2, p.3.13.

[123] Died in Egypt (*ibid.*, vol.1, p.445.12ff.)

[124] *ibid.*, p.394.15ff.

[125] al-Andalusī/al-Misrī. Author of *al-'Unwān* (one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Nasr*, vol.1, p.64) and *al-Iktifā'* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, vol.1, p.164.4ff.), both extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, pp.26, 27, §§ 8, 9).

[126] al-Tarābulusī/al-Misrī (ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, vol.1, p.56.19ff.)

[127] al-Išbīlī (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.153.20ff.) Author of *al-Kāfī*, one of ibn al-Jazarī's sources (*Nasr*, vol.1, p.67), extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.29, § 13).

[128] al-Qayrawānī/al-Qurtubī. Wrote 80 works (ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, vol.2, p.309.ult.), of which *al-Tabsira* was one of ibn al-Jazarī's main sources (*Nasr*, vol.1, p.70), extant in manuscript (Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.21, § 3). See also *ibid.*, pp.230,242, §§ 38,54. Pretzl calls him "Makī", here as in GdQIII (e.g. p.315b.3).

[129] al-Hūfī (ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, vol.1, p.428.18ff.)

[130] al-Misrī. Grandson of 'Abdal-lāh ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.27.9ff.)

[131] *ibid.*, vol.1, p.26.4ff. Originally from Syria (*Nasr*, vol.1, p.109.5).

[132] Born in Aleppo, lived and died in Egypt. Author of *al-Istikmāl*, a book on aspects of the Oral Tradition of the Qur'ān – *tafχīm* and *imāla*, extant in manuscript (Sezgin, p.15, § 20.1).

[133] *Našr*, vol.1, p.109ff.

[134] Traditionist, Mālikī lawyer and Qur'ān reader (al-Suyūtī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, vol.1, p.292.15f., and *ibid.*, p.448.1).

[135] On ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.111.9 he is called abū Yaḥya Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd al-Mālikī. Yazīd was the great-grandfather of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, but al-Mālikī is a scribal error. On *ibid.*, p.111.18 he is called Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-lāh al-Makkī. 'Abdal-lāh was in fact his grandfather. He died in Mecca (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.163.1ff.)

[136] Lived in Egypt (*ibid.*, vol.1, p.349.18ff.) No mention of him in al-Suyūṭī, *Buġya*.

[137] al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.485.14; ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.326.4ff.

[138] A Šāfi'ī *faqīh* (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.309.14).

[139] ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.316.9ff.

[140] al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.486.2; ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.279.16ff.

[141] al-Miṣrī. *ibid.*, p.368.4ff.

[142] *ibid.*, p.389.20. Mistakenly called al-'Ataqī in al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.1, p.486 (see index entry, *ibid.*, vol.2, p.524, and GdQIII, p.176 n.) 'Iyāḍ, vol.4, p.44.

[143] al-Miṣrī. For a minimal reading of his re *6:162*, see ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.12.5ff.

[144] ibn al-Jazarī is quoting al-Dānī here (*ibid.*, vol.1, p.239.17). al-Hudalī named two (*ibid.*, line 18) – 'Abd al-Ṣamad (i.e. no.7) and al-Jīzī (not Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (*ibid.*, p.126.8ff.))

[145] al-Miṣrī (*ibid.*, p.239.16ff.)

[146] Still alive in 350 (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.351.6). No mention of him in al-Suyūṭī, *Buġya*.

[147] al-Baġdādī *al-ḍarīr* (*ibid.*, vol.1, p.387.12ff.)

[148] al-Baġdādī. Author of *al-Miftāḥ fī al-'Aṣr* (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.192.1ff.)

[149] *ibid.*, p.51.22ff.

[150] al-Baġdādī (*ibid.*, vol.1, p.469.20ff.)

[151] al-Baġdādī (*ibid.*, p.99.9ff.)

[152] al-Baġdādī. Died in Damascus (*ibid.*, p.297.5ff.)

[153] al-Kamāl ibn Aḥmad al-Iskandarī/al-Dimašqī (*ibid.*, p.6.5ff.)

[154] Taqī al-Dīn ibn Aḥmad al-Miṣrī (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, vol.2, p.508.3; ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.65.6ff.)

[155] al-Ḥanafī. Born in Cairo (*ibid.*, p.163.12ff.)

[156] *ibid.*, p.199.8ff.

[157] *ibid.*, vol.1, p.595.7ff. Still alive in the second half of the 4th century. Author of '*Adad Āy al-Qur'ān*, extant in manuscript (Sezgin, p.16, § 25; GdQIII, p.238 n.).

[158] Called *al-Ṣaydalānī* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.252.10).

[159] Author of several works on *qirā'āt* (*ibid.*, p.49.12ff.), three of which are extant in manuscript (Sezgin, p.15, § 19). See also Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.29, § 14.

[160] ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.213.16ff.

[161] GdQIII, p.175.5ff.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

[1] See § 7.1.1. It must be noted that 'Āṣim deflected only one word in the whole Qur'ān – *majr$\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$hā* (*11: 41*, ibn al-Jazarī, *Naṣr*, vol.2, p.41.16), and the convention adopted for it in the 1342 Cairo text, and copies of the Qur'ān of its ilk, is a rhombus. See chapter 3, § 2.3.4.

[2] In the explanatory notes to the Algerian copy it is called "*nuqta mustadīra kabīra*" (p.5.3, 5, 8), and explained as a substitute for the old red dot (*dā'ira ḥamrā'*) difficult to print (p.5.11).

[3] This $\overset{\sim}{\underset{y}{a}}$ or $\overset{\approx}{\underset{y}{a}}$ rule is not mentioned by ibn al-Jazarī in *Naṣr*.

[4] So also al-Kisā'ī (ibn al-Jazarī, *Naṣr*, vol.2, p.37.15).

[5] Again, so also al-Kisā'ī (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.37.13).

[6] *ibid.*, vol.2, p.35.20, p.37.1.

[7] *ibid.*, vol.2, p.50.18.

[8] *ibid.*, vol.2, pp.48.5 – 50.18.

[9] *sawā^ʿ kānat il-alif aṣliyya am zā'ida* (ibid., vol.2, p.54.21).

[10] In *wal-jārī* (*4: 36a, b*) and *jabbārīina* (*5: 22*) ibn al-Jazarī reports abū 'Abd al-lah ibn Šurayḥ, 'Alī ibn Xāqān and 'Alī abū al-Fatḥ Fāris ibn Aḥmad only (from al-Azraq) as reading it with intermediate deflection (*Našr*, vol.2, p.56.1, p.58.12).

[11] ibn al-Jazarī does not mention these last two forms (ibid., vol.2 pp.60.19 – 66.12).

[12] ibid., p.41.19.

[13] ibid., p.42.13.

[14] ibid., p.46.13.

[15] *wahiyya binūnayn fī jamī' il-maṣāḥif* (ibid., vol.1, p.303.18).

[16] ibid., vol.2, p.170.9.

[17] ibid., vol.2, p.166.1.

[18] ibid., vol.2, p.168.3.

[19] Wright i 55A.

[20] Since this difference occurs in no other words, theological scruples can perhaps account for it.

[21] The Ḥasan II text and the Lagos copy (p.16.2) have $(l\text{-})an^{m}bi'_{y}\tilde{a}\,{}^{?}a$ here.

[22] ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, *bāb al-hamz al-mufrad*. See al-Zamaxšarī, vol.1, p.406.4.

[23] The large dot in this and the following cases is in its second usage.

[24] GdQm, p.33.3ff.

[25] See chapter 10, § 1.29 (*wāw/hamza*) and the forms of the root *nb'* cited in this chapter, § 7 (*hamzat al-qaṭ'*).

[26] endnote 29 to chapter 2.

[27] Note its absence in similar situations with verbs first radical *wāw*, e.g. *tuwā'idūhunna* (*2:235*) and in the sound *ā'u*, e.g. $\tilde{ab}\tilde{a}'_{w}ukum$ (*4: 11*).

[28] See endnote 4 to chapter 3.

[29] *Našr*, vol.1, p.304.7; see also p.65 above.

[30] See also al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, p.28.16ff.; Pretzl, *Wissenschaft*, p.295.9ff.

[31] chapter 10, § 1.23.

[32] See § 7 above.

[33] Here the Warš copy is slightly different, having a large dot in both occurrences and no *kasra*.

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[1]   The usual term for graphic form is *rasm* and for vocal form is *ḍabṭ*, but χ*aṭṭ*, *kitāb*, *kitāba*, *kataba*, and *lafẓ* and *nuṭq* are also used respectively, e.g. by al-Farrā' ..., and ibn al-Jazarī, *Naṣr* (vol.2 p.22.7).

With a view to trying to explain the differences between the two transmissions, it can be noted here that the transmissions of Ḥafṣ and Warš, as also of their teachers 'Āṣim and Nāfi', have the following readings which they alone of the "ten" read

— Ḥafṣ (ibn al-Jazarī, *Naṣr*, vol.2, pp.256.1, 215.17, 253.17, 243.4) :

astahaqqa (*5:107*); *huzuwan* (*2:67*, and so in all other occurrences of this word) and *kufuwan* (*112:4*); *yajma'ūna* (*3:157*).

— Warš (ibn al-Jazarī, *Naṣr*, vol.2, pp.237.15, 172.9, 216.13, 253.9) :

biya (*2:186*); *liya* (*44:21*); *qurubah^{t}un* (*9:99*); *ta'addū$_o$* (*4:154*, along with the Western transmissions from Qālūn).

— 'Āṣim (ibn al-Jazarī, *Naṣr*, vol.2, pp.237.1, 236.18) :

tijārah^{t}un (*2:282, 4:29*); *taṣaddaqū$_o$* (*2:280*, but see *4:92*).

— Nāfi' (ibn al-Jazarī, *Naṣr*, vol.2, pp.256.14, 216.12, 227.12;, p.236.17, 244.16, 230.13) :

yawma (*5:119*); *wal-udna* (*5:45a*, and so in all other occurrences of this word); *yaqūlu* (*2:214*); *maysurah^{t}in* (*2:280*); *yuḥzinka* (*3:176*, and so in all other occurrences of this form); *'asītumū̃* (*2:246, 47:22*).

That Ḥafṣ and Warš did not always adopt the readings of 'Āṣim and Nāfi' suggests again that the transmissions, although called for convenience by the names "*Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim*" and "*Warš 'an Nāfi'*", are really transmissions of the Muslims in general. The particular readings of Ḥafṣ or Warš should not, in other words, be isolated and considered the same as variant readings of a tradition, ascribed to this or that authority. There is no question that Ḥafṣ or Warš themselves selected these readings which

they alone read. Rather it is simply a question of them alone preserving particular eddies within the overall stream of the oral Tradition. While a variant reading of a tradition would be verified by the credibility of its chain of authorities, there was no call for such verification for these particular readings of the Qur'ān. Their authority was the entire Muslim community.

These readings, by the way, at least those of Ḥafṣ and Warš, are useful in ascertaining the transmission of a given Qur'ān text.

On occasion the reading of the Ḥafṣ transmission perhaps fits the context more easily, or is more consistent with other occurrences, than that of the Warš transmission, e.g. *takun* (*4: 73*). The reverse, however, could also be said to occur, as in *us–salama* (*4: 94*, see *4: 90, 91*); *yūṣī* (*4: 12*, see *4: 11*); *'ātanākum* (*3: 81*, see *2: 93, 121, 146, 211*); and *nūtīhimū* (*4:152*). So no overall judgment from these about the precedence of the two transmissions can be made.

[2]   As Vollers, for instance, did, e.g. pp.9.6, 83ff. For an attack on Voller's thesis, see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, pp.1–5. Its orthographic sign was simply a later invention (Šāhīn, p.18.8).

[3]   This last example, where the vocal form apparently goes against an archaic graphic form, shows a firm oral Tradition. al–Sa'īd (p.107.15) makes a similar point regarding the spelling of $\tilde{a}_w'u$ in *5:18* and *33*.

[4]   al–Sa'īd (p.106.18) makes this point on the oral side, but it applies just as much on the written side too.

[5]   So also in *22:59*.

[6]   So also in *5: 95*.

[7]   So also in *3:158*.

[8]   Perhaps a rare example of inaccuracy by ibn al–Jazarī here. He said that the Kufans and Ya'qūb read *mitlu* and the rest *mitli*, but al–Zamaxšarī reported al–Sulamī as reading *mitla* (vol.1, p.645.3). al–Sulamī is not one of the "ten", he is, however, 'Āṣim's authority.

[9]   And so in all other occurrences of this form (*2:208, 6:142, 24: 21a, b*).

[10]   So also in *5: 45b*.

[11]   So also in *7:161*.

[12]   So also in in *2:177b, 189b*. Both have *al–birru* in *2:189a*, for which ibn al–Jazarī suggests a reason (*Naṣr*, vol.2, p.226.4).

[13]   So also in *57: 11*.

[14] So also in *23: 50*.

[15] So also in *4: 29*.

[16] So also in *5: 41, 6: 33, 10: 65, 12: 13, 31: 23, 36: 76, 58: 10*.

[17] Excluding imperfect forms of root *ḥsb*, see chapter 9, § 2.

[18] So also in *47: 22*. al-Zamaxšarī calls *ī* a weak reading –"*waquri'a 'asītum wahiyya ḍa'īfa*" (vol.1, p.378.24).

[19] So also in *2:236b*.

[20] al-Zamaxšarī (vol.1, p.57) chooses *malik* for the dual reason that it is the reading of the people of Mecca and Medina, and because it appears elsewhere referring to God (e.g. *114: 2*).

[21] Cf. §§ 1.12 and 1.23.

[22] al-Dānī, *al-Muqni'*, p.16.4; GdQIII, p.17 n.2.

[23] cf. Powers, p.66ff.

[24] Cf. § 1.10.

[25] So also in *5:110*.

[26] These are not due to carelessness as are those in endnote 25 to chapter 3.

[27] This example, and those like it (*20: 41, 43, 25: 30, 61: 6*) are all before *hamzat al-waṣl* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2 pp.170.19, 171.8).

[28] Apart from the consistent differences noted in chapter 9, § 4.

[29] Apart from the consistent differences noted in chapter 9, § 4.

[30] So also in *2:189*, but note *2:102* both *walākinna*.

[31] So also in *66: 4*.

[32] abū 'Amr is as the Ḳadırgalı text revised by al-Dabbā' here, although ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr* (vol.2, p.247.15) said only Kufans read a single *sīn*.

[33] See chapter 9, § 7 for consistent differences in this group.

[34] So also in in the other two occurrences of this word, *5: 69* and *22: 17*.

[35] See § 1.12 and chapter 9, § 7.

[36] And so in all other occurrences of this word (*3: 37b, 38, 6:85, 19: 2, 7, 21:89*).

[37] In addition to *nubuwwa/nubū'a*, chapter 9, § 7.

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[38] And so in all other occurrences of this form (*2:231, 5: 57, 58, 18: 56, 106,* *21: 36, 25: 41, 31: 6, 45: 9, 35*), and of $kufuwan/kufu_w an$ (*112: 4*).

[39] abū 'Amr is said to have said, "tā' or yā' here, I don't mind" — *mā ubālī abit-tā' am bil-yā', qara'tuhumā* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Naśr*, vol.2, p.241.20).

[40] So also in all other occurrences of this form (*4: 14, 48: 17, 64: 9, 65: 11*).

[41] Variation might be more expected here, but it is in fact less prevalent than in § 2.3. This illustrates well the precision of the written Tradition. This, and the following two sections are kept here despite the Turkish and Iranian Traditions of Ḥafs copies which render many or most vocal *alifs* graphic, for the reason that the 1342 Cairo text claims ancient orthography, and the Warś copy also belongs to a distinct Tradition in this and most other respects.

[42] So also in *4: 7b, 33*.

[43] But oddly, both vocal in this word in all other occurrences (*5: 64, 82,* *91, 41:34, 60: 4*).

[44] So also in *5:107*.

[45] So also in the word in *2:210*.

[46] Vocal *alif* in all other occurrences of this word (*2:228, 4: 35, 114, 7:56,* *85, 11: 88*).

[47] Both vocal in *4: 23*.

[48] So also in in the word in *4: 47, 5: 21*.

[49] So also in *3:166*.

[50] So also in in *5:107*.

[51] So also in in the word in *2:243*.

[52] This always involves the second long vowel in the word, as the explanatory notes at the back of Ḳadırġalı text revised by al-Dabbā' (p.525.5) says, "*mahdūfa χaṭṭan likarāhat ijtimā' il-maṭalayn*", and always sound plurals in oblique cases. cf. GdQⅢ, p.33.16ff. These examples do not include the occurrences of *'ibrāhīm/'ibrāhīm* cited in chapter 3, § 1.1.4.

[53] So also in all occurrences of this word (*2:177, 213, 3: 21, 80, 81, 4: 69, 163,* *17: 55, 19: 58, 33: 7, 40, 39: 69*). This difference also includes one between *yā'* and *hamza*, which has been dealt with in chapter 9, § 7.

[54] So also in the word in *3: 75*.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN

[1] *Našr*, vol.2, p.212ff.

[2] *waχtalifū fī "wawaṣṣ$\overset{\sim a}{y}$ bihā 'ibrāhīm" faqara'a l-Madaniyyān wabn 'Āmir "wa'aws$\overset{\sim a}{y}$" bihamza maftūha ṣūratuhā alif bayn al-wāwayn ma'a taχfīf iṣ-ṣād wakadā̲lik huwa fī masāhif ahl il-Madīna waš-Šām waqara'a l-bāqūn bitašdīd iṣ-ṣād min ḡayr hamza bayn al-wāwayn wakadā̲lik huwa fī masāhifihim* (ibid., p.222.23).

[3] *waqawluh "wawaṣṣ$\overset{\sim a}{y}$ ..." fī masāhif ahl il-Madīna "wa'aws$\overset{\sim a}{y}$", wakilāhumā ṣawāb katī̲r fil-kalām* (vol.1, p.80.1). See also GdQIII, p.11 n. 6.

[4] *Jāmi' al-Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.3, p.96.1–3. For a vigorous rejection of a reading by al-Ṭabarī, because of its effect on the meaning, see chapter 12, p.140f. and endnote 76 to Appendix I, and for a general observation on al-Ṭabarī's attitude towards readings, see Dahabī, vol.1, p.214.1ff. cf. also GdQIII, p.109 n. 3.

[5] *al-Muqni'*, pp.109.3ff., 116.11ff., 118.13.

[6] ibid., p.109.4.

[7] ibid., pp.123–131, especially 124.17ff.

[8] *waχtalifū fī "wasāri'ū$_{o}$" faqara'a l-Madaniyyān wabn 'Āmir "sāri'ū$_{o}$" biḡayr wāw qabl as-sīn wakadā̲lik hiyya fī masāhif il-Madīna wašŠām waqara'a l-bāqūn bil-wāw wakadā̲lik hiyya fī masāhifihim* (*Našr*, vol.2, p.242.6). With the similar cases of *wāw* before a verb being absent in certain readings in 2:116 and 5:53, ibn al-Jazarī again passes them over with less comment than he gives many a fine difference in vocalisation (ibid., pp.220.4, 254.21).

[9] Beirut edition, vol.1, p.463.18.

[10] *waquri'a "man yartadda" wa "man yartadid" wahuwa fil-imām bidālayn* (ibid., p.620.21).

[11] waχtalifū fī "man yartadda" faqara'a l–Madaniyyān wabn 'Āmir bidālayn il–ūlā maksūra wat̲–t̲āniya majzūma wakad̲ā huwa fī masāḥif ahl il–Madīna waš–šām waqara'a l–bāqūn bidāl wāḥida maftūha mušaddada wakad̲ā huwa fī masāḥifihim. Wattafaqū 'alā ḥarf il–Baqara wahuwa "waman yartadid minkum" annahu bidālayn li'ijmā' il–masāḥif 'alayhi kad̲ālik wali'an t̲ūl Sūrat il–Baqara yaqtadī l–itnāb waziyādat il–ḥarf min d̲ālik. Alā tarā ilā qawlihi ta'ālā "waman yušāqiq il–laha warasūlahu" fil–Anfāl kayf ajma' 'alā fakk idḡāmihi, waqawlihi "waman yušāqq il–laha" fil–ḥašr kayf ajma' 'alā idḡāmihi wad̲ālik litaqārub il–maqāmayn min al–itnāb wal–ījāz wal–lãhu a'lam (Našr, vol.2. p. 255.1).

[12] wakilta l–luḡatayn fasīḥa mašhūra fil–'Arab (al–Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al–Bayān (Šākir edition), vol.10, p.421.1f.)

[13] bayyana ahl ul–Hijāzi fil–jazmi fayaqūlū 'urdud' wa 'lā tardud' wahiyya l–luḡa l–'arabiyya l–qadīma l–jayyida walākin Benī Tamīm adḡamū (Būlāq edition, vol.2 p.424.7).

[14] al–Muqni', pp.110.8. See also ibid., pp.116.15, 118.17.

[15] Našr, vol.2, pp.176.7 – 179.17. See also al–Muqni', p.36.11; al–Taysīr, pp.70.17f., 197.16f.

[16] Našr, vol.2, pp.245.5 – 246.8. cf. the brief remark in al–Zamaxšarī, (Beirut edition), vol.1, p.485.14, and the absence of comment by al–Farrā' and abū 'Ubayda.

[17] *al-χilāf fi[r-rasm] yugtafar id huwa qarīb, yarju' ilā ma'nā wā-hid* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Nasr*, vol.1, p.13.1*f*.) See also Burton, *The Collection*, pp.149.7*f*., 206.11*ff*.

[18] *kayfiyyat dalik fī masāhif ahl il-amsār ... gayr jā'iz illā biriwāya sahīha 'an masāhifihim (al-Muqni', p.121.12).*

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE

[1] ibn al-Jazarī, *Nasr*, vol.2 p.241.3.

[2] Lane pp.2794a, 2795c. ibn al-Jazarī noted this reading without com-
ment (*Nasr*, vol.2, p.231.21), as did abū 'Ubayda (pt.1, p.80.4). See also
al-Tūsī, vol.1, p.8.12, and after him, al-Tabarsī, vol.1, p.12.30. For other,
similar differences, see GdQIII, p.140 n.4. See also chapter 10, § 1.20.4 for
a reading with two different roots, *dyr* and *drr*, both meaning the same.

[3] ibn al-Jazarī made a comment regarding this reading that shows that
he was fully aware that readings could come into being for the purpose of
conveying an additional meaning. He suggested that a certain reading did
not come about because of the derogatory meaning it would have had.

He suggested ('*Nasr*', vol.2 p.207.21) that no one read stem *i* for the
other two occurrences of *yuχādi'ūna* (*2: 9a* and *4:142a*, both of which have
God as object) because they were averse to imputing to God the ability
to be deceived — *wattafaqū 'alā qirā'a ... "yuχādi'ūna" ... karāhiyyat
at-tasrīh bihada l-fi'l il-qabīh an yutawajjah ila l-lāh ta'ālā fa'uχraj
maχraj al-mufā'ala lidalik.*

In other words, had the reading had less of a disturbing effect on
meaning, someone might well have been reported to have read it.

He gives reasons like this for there not being a reading relatively
frequently , e.g. '*Nasr*', vol.2 pp.212.4, 218.20, 250.16, 252.1, 255.21.

Similarly, his explanation of some readings that do exist are undis-
guisedly exegetical, as in, the readings '*anna* and '*inna* in *2:165* which,
according to ibn al-Jazarī, are both "the results of understanding" (*'alā
taqdīr*) such and such a phrase ('*Nasr*', vol.2 p.224.9). Similar cases can
often be found, e.g. '*Nasr*', vol.2 pp.243.18, 249.3.

[4] Sībawayhi, Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.417.4, 12; Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, pp.371.18, 372.4; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.4, p.290.7ff.

[5] al-Zamaxšarī, (Beirut edition), vol.1 p.427.10.

[6] *waχtalafū fī "masākīna" faqara' al-Madaniyyān wabn ʿĀmir ʿala l-jamʿ waqara' al-bāqūn "miskīnin" ʿala l-ifrād* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2 p.226.12).

[7] ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2 p.255.21.

al-Aʿraj is reported as having read the singular, for the reason that, since it was by way of clarification, only one [pauper] needed to be mentioned as standing for the whole category — *wa'innamā wuḥḥid li'annah wāqiʿ mawqiʿ it-tabyīn faktafā bil-wāḥid id-dāll ʿala l-jins* (*al-Zamaxšarī* (Beirut edition), vol.1 p.645.16).

al-Aʿraj was a Meccan *mawlā* who died in 130 (GdQIII, p.166). He was a teacher of the Basran Qur'ān reader abū ʿAmr, and on the borders of being one of the 'fourteen' Qur'ān readers (GdQIII, p.189.2).

[8] *EI*[1], art. 'ṣawm' (C.C.Berg), vol.4, p.195a.19 – every fast-day was considered an independent ritual act, and so, if broken, had its penalty.

For the Mālikī two-to-one penalty, see endnote 11 below.

[9] This is the jist of al-Ṭabarī's exegesis (*Jāmiʿ*, 1373, vol.3, pp.439.19 – 440.8). There is no mention of anyone ever having suggested that only one pauper need be fed for however many days missed.

[10] *qāl aš-Šāfiʿī "waman marid falam yaṣiḥḥ ḥattā māt falā qaḍā' ʿalayh innamā l-qaḍā' idā ṣaḥḥ ṯumm farat waman māt waqad farat fil-qaḍā' uṭʿam ʿanh makān kull yawm miskīn madd min ṭaʿām"* – pt.2, p.104.14.

[11] *qult "fahal yujzi'uh fī qawl Mālik an yuṭʿim maddayn maddayn likull miskīn fayuṭʿim ṯalāṯīn miskīn" faqāl "lā yujzi'uh walākin yuṭʿim sittīn miskīn madd madd likull miskīn"* (*al-Mudawwana*, vol.1, p.218.13).

Here there seems to be a deliberate rejection of the source of the penalty being the thirty days of the month of the fast. A few lines later the source is shown rather to be in the supposedly analogous situation of someone going back on the *ẓihār* divorce – ... *rajul afṭar fī Ramaḍān fa'amarah Rasūl ul-lah, ṣlʿm, an yukaffir biʿatq raqaba aw bisiyām šahrayn mutatābiʿayn aw iṭʿām sittīn miskīn* (*al-Mudawwana*, vol.1, p.219.12). See also Mālik, vol.1, pp.296. penult. (*itāb al-qiyām, bāb* 9), 307.ult. (*ibid., bāb* 19), and in al-Šaybānī's recension p.123.4 (*abwāb al-ṣiyām* 3) where the analogy is explicit.

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The penalty in the Qur'ān for someone going back on *zihār* is precisely manumission, or, if that is not possible, a two-month fast, or, if that is not possible, the feeding of sixty paupers (*58: 3–4*).

[12] ibn al–Murtaḍā, vol.2, p.257. For the *ḥadīt*, see ibn Ḥanbal, vol.2, pp.208.15ff., 241.21ff., 273.11ff., 281.17ff.

[13] *kānū yutīqūnah tumm 'ajazū fa'alayhim fī kull yawm ta'ām miskīn* (pt.1, p.108.7ff.)

[14] ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, vol.9, p.246f.; al–Buxārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, pt.6, p.30.7ff.

[15] Beirut edition, vol.1, p.355.

[16] *wa'ala lladīna yutīqūna s-sawm walā yasūmūn an yut'im miskīnan makān kull yawm yuftirah* (vol.1, p.112.11).

[17] *Jāmi' al–Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.3, pp.439.19 – 440.15, out of thirty pages for the verse.

[18] pt.5, pp.78.penult. – 81.9.

[19] ibid., p.81.19.

[20] *qāl abū Ja'far 'wa'a'jab ul–qirā'atayn ilayya fī dalik qirā'at man qara' "ta'āmu miskīnin" 'alā l–wāhid bima'nā 'wa'ala lladīna yutīqūna-hu 'an kull yawm aftarūh fidyat ta'ām miskīn' li'an fī ibānat hukm il–muftir yawm wāhid wusūl ilā ma'rifat hukm il–muftir jamī' aš–ša-hr walays fī ibānat hukm il–muftir jamī' aš–šahr wusūl ilā ibānat hukm il–muftir yawm wāhid ... wa'an kull wāhid yutarjam 'an il–jamī' wa'an il–jamī' lā yutarjam bih 'an il–wāhid falidalik axtarnā qirā'at tilk bit–tawhīd* (*Jāmi' al–Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.3, p.440.9).

[21]   wa'ammā qirā'at man qara' dalik "wa'alā lladīna yutawwaqūnahu" faqirā'a limasāhif ahl il-Islām χilāf wagayr jā'iz li'ahad min ahl il-Islām al-i'tirād bir-ra'y 'alā mā naqalah ul-Muslimūn wirāta 'an nabiyyihim, sl'm, naql zāhir qāti' lil-'udr li'an mā jā'at bih il-hujja min ad-dīn huw al-haqq ulladī lā šakk fīh annah min 'ind il-lah walā yu'tarad 'alā mā qad tabat waqāmat bih hujja annah min 'ind al-lah bil-ārā' waz-zunūn wal-aqwāl iš-šadda (ibid., p.438.7).

[22]   See above, chapter 11.

[23]   See also al-Zamaxšarī, (Beirut edition), vol.1, p.335; and note how in Muslim (vol.2, p.802.1ff.) the question of the verse comes under abrogation – bāb bayān nasχ qawlihi ...

[24]   In traditions 2784, 2786, 2790, 2791, of Jāmi' al-Bayān (Šākir edition).

[25]   Hunād — Wakī' — 'Imrān ibn Hudayr — 'Ikrima, qāl "alladīna yutīqūnahu" yasūmūnahu walakin "alladīna yutawwaqūnahu" ya'jizūn 'anh (ibid., vol.3, p.430.17).
          cf. .Lane's entry, "tawwwaqtuhu š-šay'a means 'I made the thing to be [as though it were] his tawq [or neck-ring]', and thereby is expressed the imposing [upon one] a thing that is difficult, troublesome, or inconvenient ... And [in the Qur'ān] some read, wa'ala lladīna yutawwaqūnahu meaning, '... and upon those who shall have it imposed upon them as a thing that is difficult ...' " (p.1894a).

[26]   Muhammad ibn Baššār — 'Abd al-Wahhāb — Ayyūb — 'Ikrima, qāl fī hadih il-āya "wa'ala lladīna yutawwaqūnahu", wakadalik kān yaqra'uhā, innahā laysat mansūχa kullif aš-šayχ ul-kabīr an yuftir wayut'im makān kull yawm miskīn (al-Tabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān (Šākir edition), vol.3, p.430.11).

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ENDNOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

[1] al-Suyūtī cites abū 'Ubayd (d.224) as saying (in *Fadā'il al-Qur'ān*) "*al-maqṣad min al-qirā'a aš-šādda tafsīr ul-qirā'a il-mashūra*" (*al-Itqān*, p.82.22).

[2] Muir stated this over a century ago – "The recension of 'Utmān has been handed down to us unaltered. So carefully, indeed, has it been preserved, that there are no variations of importance, — we might almost say no variations at all, — amongst the innumerable copies of the Qur'ān scattered throughout the vast bounds of the empire of Islam. Contending and embittered factions, taking their rise in the murder of 'Utmān himself within a quarter of a century from the death of Muhammad have ever since rent the Muslim world. Yet but ONE QUR'ĀN has always been current amongst them ... There is probably in the world no other work which has remained twelve centuries with so pure a text." (Muir, vol.1, pp.xiv,xv (= pp.557,558 of the 1878 abridged London edition)). It has to be restated because other, entirely contrasting, views are current.

[3] See, for instance, Gunkel, p.98*f*.

[4] Pedersen, p.127; Gibb, p.5.

[5] Nielsen, p.37.4*ff*.

[6] Crone, *Slaves*, p.7.22.

[7] Nielsen, p.36.penult.; Crone, *Slaves*, p.7.12 (endnotes 23–25, *ibid.*, p.203).

[8] In an organic living Tradition, that is a non-written one, a Prophet's original message is not regainable. It is inextricable from the additions of the disciples and the disciples' disciples, and so on up until literary fixation. Its historicity cannot therefore be taken at face value, indeed delving into it can result in its history being turned upside down. Wansbrough's methodology falls into this category. But no Qur'ān reading can be explainable only by oral considerations.

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[9] As in the text in ibn Hišām (1375 edition, vol.1, p.501ff.), abū ʻUbayd (*Amwāl,* pp.125, 202ff. (nos.328–30, 517)), and ibn Sayyid al-Nās (pt.1, p.197f.) That the Constitution of Medina is an authentic written document from the time of the Prophet has been agreed from Wellhausen (e.g. p.83.13ff.; see also Wensinck, pp.51, 135.1ff.) through to Crone (*Slaves,* p.7.6ff.). For differing theories as to its original form, see Serjeant, 'The "Constitution of Medina" ', 'The *Sunnah Jāmiʻah*' (with a list of variants, pp.40–42), and 'Haram and Hawtah' p.48ff.; and Gil, 'The Constitution of Medina'.

[10] For parallel interplay between written and oral tradition, see ibid., p.34ff. See also Jeffery, 'The Qur'ān as Scripture', p.17. The written and oral transmissions are "two independent repositories of the Divine Word, corroborating and confirming each other" (al-Saʻīd, p.60.31). Goldziher never discusses the oral Tradition of the Qur'ān. Compare the effectively complete absence of acknowledgement of an oral Tradition of the Qur'ān in Mingana's article (mis-)entitled 'The Transmission of the Qur'ān'.

[11] Burton, *The Collection,* pp.239, 162, 188.

[12] al-Saʻīd, p.55.39f.

[13] cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen,* p.1.1ff.; Wansbrough, chapter 1 *passim,* p.101.4. Diacritical dots seem in fact to have been employed in Arabic writing in pre-Islamic times (*EI*[1], art. 'Arabia' (B.Moritz), vol.1, p.383b.5).

[14] al-Ṭabarī frequently willingly accepts two, or more, readings as equally valid when the meaning remains unaltered, suffice three examples, for *6: 96* see *Jāmiʻ al-Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.11, p.556.12; for *56: 22* see *Jāmiʻ,* 1373, pt.27, p.176.23; and for *112: 4* see *Jāmiʻ,* 1373, pt.30, p.348.19f. Note also how even *šadd* readings, like synonyms, can thus be used to interpret the [spirit of] the letter (Šāhīn, p.7.ult.; al-Saʻīd, p.33.15f.)

[15] Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script,* p.56.16.

[16] ibid., p.59.19.

[17] Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy,* p.13.45. See the Vowel Diagram in Segal, pp.152–53; and Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik,* pp.6–13.

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Appendix I

AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE USE
OF QUR'ĀN READINGS

§ 1 Background

IN HIS STUDY OF Qur'ān *106:1, 2*, Birkeland was of the opinion that the Muslims were not at all clear about either the meaning or the sound of its first part —

> "The exegesis found in traditions shows great confusion".[1]
>
> "The textual situation of *106:1, 2* is extremely complex".[2]

And regarding the graphic form, which he gave as ليلف , Bergsträßer had said that it was quite unclear how it was to be pronounced.[3]

These views and the reasons for them will be returned to in § 5, but an important possible consequence of them must first be considered. That is that from a particular instance where it is alleged that Muslim Tradition had lost contact with Muslim Scripture, it could be further alleged that it had done so in general. It could then be maintained that the oral form of the Qur'ān could be later than the written form, or the reverse. The dearth of documentary evidence from the first century of the Muslim era could support this view, and depending on the degree of scepticism, there could either have been a missing link,[4] or no link at all.[5]

A more natural course of events would be that Muslim Tradition was never in anything but the most intimate contact with its Scripture. And leaving aside the impossibility of such a wide-ranging literature evolving from the Qur'ān if it had not *always* been the central concern of Muslims, for those who do posit a dislocation, the alleged uncertainty over the text of the Qur'ān could be seen as analogous to a situation posited for the

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Hebrew Scriptures.[6] That is that a more or less dead consonantal skeleton was refleshed according to the language and thought of a later time and place. Such a negation of any authoritative oral Tradition for the Hebrew Scriptures, however, has been convincingly disproved.[7] And it is the aim of this Appendix to show that *106:1, 2*, at least, cannot be used to show that Muslim Tradition in general had either forgotten or never even known, the original meaning or sound of Qur'ān utterances.

Before examining the orthography, meaning and sound of *106:1, 2* (§§ 2,3,4 below) it is pertinent to outline firstly one characteristic of Muslim Scripture, and then three characteristics of its exegesis, as a background.

§ 1.1 The inseparability of the written and oral texts

Highly literate Western scholars have tended to be too much under the spell of the written word, and to treat the "collected" Qur'ān as a literary document. But in the largely illiterate culture that prevailed in the Near East when Muslim Scripture and Tradition were formed, and, indeed, up until earlier this century, the heard word was as important as the seen word. Not just recitation but also reading, was done aloud. The seen word was indeed accorded great reverence, especially when it was known to contain Divine utterances,[8] but *so also was the heard word. The tangible Scripture* was handled with special care and the verbal Scripture was intoned in a special way.

The balance, however, must be kept, and to argue that the most usual name for the fully collected Muslim Scripture, "Qur'ān", shows it to have been at root oral and only secondarily written would be incorrect.[9] The connotations of the term *qur'ān* within the Qur'ān itself, although arguably predominantly oral, are also in places unarguably written,[10] but the connotations of the name "Qur'ān" in the history of the Muslim community are unquestionably both. Moreover, the use of other forms of the root qr' in Muslim scholarship,[11] indicates also the same inseparablity of oral and written elements. Even when the connotations tend towards "reading into" rather than "reading out", what is at issue is Scripture.

Furthermore, the way Scripture was learnt in the culture of the time must be kept in mind. The Muslim child learning the Qur'ān certainly would have repeated orally after a teacher, but, with the obvious exception of the blind, he would also have had the written text open in front of him. And since this inseparable duality of written text and oral text is one of the things that makes Scripture Scripture,[12] this method of learning the

Qur'ān must have obtained from the start, for the Qur'ān is both self-avowedly Scripture in this dual sense, and has always been considered so by Muslims.

But, conversely, the lack of a vocalisation-system for the early graphic form of the text shows that it could not have been at root written and only secondarily orally realised. Diacritical marks and vowel-signs in the Qur'ān were systematised only around the time when the proponents of the writing down of Tradition were triumphing over their oralist opponents.[13] It was probably a result of a crisis in a well-established oral Tradition, not of a creation of a new one. Aside from fulfilling a numinous function as the tangible record of the Divine word, such an imprecise written text could not have been more than an aid to memory. It was only copyists who had to refer to the spelling of every word in the written text, and to treat the Qur'ān as a literary document was a much later, and academic, phenomenon. For a book to become an independent form of expression rather than merely an aid to memory was a long process.

> In passing, it might be said that one of the earliest functions, and therefore origins, of readings was as a hedge around the oral text, before the days when the written text was considered an arbiter. Indeed many readings may have originated from this earlier method for conserving the text than orthographical systematisation. By being a reading, a particular *pronunciation was prevented* from being *the* reading. Or, put another way, there was no need to alter the text itself since it could be understood in accordance with Tradition and read unaltered.

So, on the one hand, to treat the Qur'ān as merely a written text is one-sided, and on the other, to treat the root qr' as having merely oral or recitative connotations is equally one-sided.

That Western studies on the history of the completed Qur'ān text have therefore concentrated on its written form and taken little account of its oral form might be expected to have led to misinterpretation. This has indeed occurred, at least in that field of the history of the text involving Qur'ān readings.

The Muslim scholar can, however, separate the Qur'ān as a source, in its written form, from the Qur'ān as a text, in its oral form, because however much he may speculate on it as a source, his daily use of it in prayer as a text, is a safeguard, if need be, from the speculation. But when a Western scholar reproduces or manipulates Muslim speculation on the Qur'ān, if its oral Tradition is not borne in mind, there is no such safeguard against misinterpretation.

For example, the analytic approach of nineteenth and twentieth century Western scholarship might seem at first sight no different to the atomistic approach of Muslim scholarship towards Qur'ān utterances. But whereas the Muslim scholar can happily dissect the Qur'ān into a million fragments as a source, without in any way affecting its unity as a text, the Westerner, after analysing the written text and its reported "variant" readings as literary phenomena, is left with a multiplicity of possible texts. The Muslim can entertain a whole series of readings, and, indeed, even meanings, as genuine at one and the same time,[14] whereas the Westerner in general strives to uncover the "original".[15] A choice between the possibilities often therefore has to be made by the Westerner, and it will usually either be arbitrary or governed by ulterior motives.

However the speculation did have its limits, and by the time of ibn al-Jazarī (d.833 A.H.) they were narrow. It was said that in pause Nāfi' read *quran⁻* [*zāhiratan*] (*34:18*) as *quray*, but whereas there were traditions that al-Kisā'ī similarly read *hudan'* [*lil-muttaqīna*] (*2:2*) as *huday* in pause, there were no traditions to support Nāfi''s reading. And so, while making no comment on al-Kisā'ī's reading, ibn al-Jazarī denounces that of Nāfi' in stronger than usual terms –

> "I know of no expert in Qur'ān readings who ever subscribed to this claim in any way, nor have I found it in any of the *qirā'at* literature. It is no more than a theoretical grammatical idea, not an actual and transmitted fact. Analogy, not transmission has brought it about.[16]

To put it slightly differently, because the **vocal** form of the text of the Qur'ān can be separated from, and was certainly later than the **graphic** form, it does not mean that the **oral** form of the text can be separated in the same way, nor be considered later than, the **written** form. The oral and written forms of the text are no more than mirror-images of each other, whereas the vocal and graphic forms of the text are two distinct phenomena, the one superimposed upon the other. So, while it is certainly so that most Qur'ān readings are variations in the vocalisation of the graphic form, and even that some have exegetical or polemical origins, this does not disprove the existence of a long-standing oral Tradition.[17] If anything, they illustrate how the graphic form of the text was used as a source.[18]

Conversely, an authoritative oral Tradition is proved by cases where the reading goes against grammatical rules. This is often the context in

which the phrase "*al-qirā'a sunna*" appears, translateable as "the Qur'ān is read according to Tradition", with the deliberate implication, "not according to logic".[19]

Similarly, rather than suggesting that the oral Tradition simply arose from the written texts, the following view of al-Dānī, cited by ibn al-Jazarī,[20] shows that the oral Tradition was inextricable from the written, and also that in cases where oral factors seem secondary to written ones, they probably were secondary in time. The question under discussion, whether when *nūn* is assimilated to *lām* there should remain a nasalisation, is hardly one that would have been asked in the time of the Prophet, or even 'Utmān.

> "al-Dānī went along with those who nasalised an assimilation of *nūn* to *lām*, in not doing so when the *nūn* was not in the graphic form [e.g. with *fa'illam* of *11:14*, as opposed to *fa'in^l lam* of *28:50*], since [if he had] it would have led to contradiction of the vocal form by realising a *nūn* absent from the written text."

Lack of regard, until recently,[21] by Western scholarship for the authoritative oral Tradition underlying the Qur'ān has been the cause and effect of an over-emphasis on accounts of written texts. Cause, because starting from an oral standpoint cannot produce reliable and precise dating. And effect because of the *search for the "original" text, hence to a view of Qur'ān readings* as literary variants rather than as ongoing reinterpretation. It is true that the Muslim accounts also stress the written aspect, but whereas the starting point for the Westerners was in the view of the Qur'ān as a literary text, for the Muslims it was in the view of the Qur'ān as a legal source. The inextricable connection between the accounts of the collection and the jurisprudential theories of *nasχ* has been convincingly shown.[22] Thus for a believing Muslim there are no real anomalies between the accounts of the collection of the written texts and his own oral comprehension of the Qur'ān. His knowledge of Qur'ān readings is certainly of scholarly importance, but has no bearing on his prayer.

Paradoxically, the accounts of the collection of the written texts were concerned with the Qur'ān as a source, whereas his knowledge of the oral text was of the Qur'ān as a text. And the text and the source were in the final analysis easily separated, thanks to *nasχ*.

Bookish Western scholars up till recently, however, have seldom appreciated this dual nature of the Qur'ān, and have seen it, not only just as a text, but as merely a written one at that. The Qur'an was never a literary text but a source.

The notion that an official version of a sacred text emerges from a multiplicity of earlier ones is inherently plausible, and this indeed forms the core of the Muslim reports. Exactly which one this was, however, only becomes clear from the fully harmonised later Muslim reports. Nineteenth century Western scholars notably Muir and Nöldeke, took over this harmonisation as historical fact and further emphasised this role of the "recension of 'Utmān" over others, and most subsequent Western scholars have accepted their theories. Perhaps the greatest Western monument to this Western emphasis on the "recension of 'Utmān" is Jeffery's *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*.

To rectify the emphasis not only in fact makes more sense of the Muslim view that the Qur'ān has not changed significantly from the outset, but it also introduces the possibility that the history of the Qur'ān text, rather than being a movement from many texts to one, may have been more a case of the opposite. On the face of it this suggestion is at variance with the actual data of the Muslim reports about the collection, but it is not at variance with what could well be the underlying implications of the data, nor, more especially, does it involve picking and choosing. A thorough study of the nature and origin of Qur'ān readings might better establish their relation to the "recension of 'Utmān", and so test the implications of the Muslim reports.

During the time of Muir and Nöldeke, and indeed up until the middle of our century, Cairo was the centre of the Muslim scholarly world, and that it remained ignorant of the works of the major Western scholars of the Qur'ān is not possible. Perhaps under Bergsträßer's influence, for instance, one of the foremost Egyptian Qur'ān scholars began producing a Qur'ān copy with a critical apparatus of readings.[23] A major feature of these Western works, with respect to the origins of the Qur'ān, was the emphasis placed on the "recension of 'Utmān". Moreover, their analytic approach and documentary bias resulted in a yet stronger emphasis on it than had hitherto been given it by Muslims.[24] Part of the impetus, therefore, behind the stress on the 1342 Cairo text being based on the 'Utmānic graphic form may well have come from Western influence. "The text of 'Utmān" is not a common term in Muslim Tradition. When ibn al-Jazarī, for instance, referred to the written text in *al-Nasr*, it was never to "*al-mushaf al-'Utmānī*", but always simply "*al-mushaf*", or "*mushaf/masāhif ahl il-Madīna/iš-Šām*" etc.,[25] and he died only four centuries ago.

One consequence of the theory of the victory of the "recension of 'Uṭmān" over the others has been that Western scholars have claimed the right to amend,[26] or even reconstruct[27] the Qur'ān text as we have it. Conversely now that it has been suggested that the significance of the "recension of 'Uṭmān" was more in the realm of legal theory than of textual practice, the text has to be accepted as it has come down, vocally as well as graphically, and reconstruction of a hypothetical proto-text has no justification.

§ 1.2   The dynamic interpretation of a static text

A corollary of the fundamentally oral transmission of the Qur'ān is that sound came before meaning. In the days before the spread of printing, long before any Muslim child entered into the world of Qur'ān interpretation, he had learnt the text by heart. And a consequence of this learning first and then understanding was that the preservation of the meaning of the text was never as strict as the preservation of the wording.

Textual variations in the Jewish *Tanaχ*, especially in often recited portions, are also surprisingly few and seldom with far-reaching consequences, yet there are even less in the Qur'ān. *qerī-ketīv* marginalia in copies of the *Tanaχ* would have involved the Jewish child in a certain amount of interpretation, but Qur'ān copies had none.

Another consequence was that anomalies could not be removed from the text, but only from its meaning. Thus a static oral text acquired a dynamic exegesis. An analogy on the physical plane can be seen in the evolution of Qur'ān calligraphy.

Traditional interpretations therefore can indeed be shown to have diverged from original meanings, and even to contradict themselves.[28] But, for one thing, scientific concern over certain details of the Qur'ān would not have begun until well after Muhammad's death, when he would no longer have been around to advise, and therefore the exact reference of some Qur'ān utterances could have been more or less forgotten.[29] And, for another, being the word of God for the guidance of man, Scripture had to contain guidance where guidance was sought. And, as ever greater precision was sought on particular and sometimes new topics, ever more precise and sometimes new interpretations were needed from the Scripture. Different interpretations naturally at times led to conflicting guidance, but only if the matter was of wider import did a choice have to be made. More often both, or even several, conflicting views were accommodated. This multiform use of the text was one of the causes of the Muslim scholars' atomistic approach

to interpretation, which itself further enabled interpretation to develop along new lines.

Indeed it was the scholars' duty to extract as much as possible from Scripture and every single word was carefully considered for potential extrapolation. Statements not totally specific carried much potential, and the less specific they were the more varied the extrapolation could be. And on the other hand the more some areas were specified, the more others had to be also.

In this way interpretation was continually being fashioned and refashioned, and ever finer shades of meaning were being drawn. Thus the wealth of different interpretations to many a Qur'ān passage, instead of simply indicating that the Muslims had forgotten, or never known, what it was about, points rather to this duty to read as much into the text as possible. It is one of the contributors to the Western notion of a gap in Muslim transmission.

A lack of appreciation of this trait of Muslim exegesis led Birkeland to refer to the "embarrassing initial *li*" of *106:1*,[30] and to say, "The signification of the preposition *li* and the verb *alifa* have caused severe difficulties to Muslim exegesis".[31] Muslim exegesis, on the contrary, thrived on and in many cases thought up such problems. How many a Qur'ān utterance presents no problem until the commentaries are consulted !

Such views, however, in the main arise from an insufficient distinction between Scripture and Tradition. The transmission of the sound of the Qur'ān, the system of reading out the Scripture, is sharply distinct from the transmission of the meaning of the Qur'ān, the system of reading into the Scripture. The first is in the realm of Scripture, the second in the realm of Tradition. Being the words of men, the second, over a long period of discussion, might well appear to have lost all contact with the Scriptural starting-point, but the first, being the word of God, was not open to change. Scripture and Tradition are clearly distinct from each other in Muslim thought.

Linguistic studies probably began as an offshoot from legal discussions,[32] certain ritual refinements being dependent on the interpretation of certain Qur'ān utterances, but they soon became an independent science with its own roots and ramifications. And in those areas not entangled by legal or dogmatic considerations there was plenty of room for dynamic interpretation of Qur'ān utterances. Indeed, such speculation and specification were main formative influences on Arabic grammar and philology.

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A similar dynamism pertained in historical studies, also probably orig-
inally an offshoot from legal discussion. Details, minor or major, could vary
considerably when not directly connected to legal matters. They would not
be crucial. And *106:1, 2* provides a good illustration of this dynamic exegesis
operating primarily in linguistic matters, and to a lesser extent in historical
ones. Since the *sūra* had no bearing on law or dogma, there was ample
opportunity for varied specification, mainly linguistically as a result of an
apparently vague use of a preposition, but also historically as a result of
apparently vague references.

Since sound preceded meaning when learning the Qur'ān, the reading
of the actual text was basically static. But meaning is closely bound up
with sound, especially in triliteral systems where small sound-changes can
have large effects on meaning, and so, since the reading of the Qur'ān
was basically static so also was the basic interpretation.[33] A static text,
however, requires a dynamic exegesis — it has also to be a source, and
as such the interpretation was not static. But the dynamism of the inter-
pretation could only have free play within the limits of the basic meaning.
In other words, the meaning was static where it mattered.

But the sound differed from interpretation in that it was not academic.
It had to be realised in ritual prayer, and ritual mattered. Granted, cer-
tain passages were not in themselves conducive to being recited at prayer,
but the Qur'ān is recited from start to finish during evening prayers in
Ramadan.[34] Muslim Scripture has always played a more central role in the
Muslim faith than has the Jewish *Tanaχ* in the Jewish faith. So the read-
ing had free play within even more exiguous limits. This is immediately
seen in the lack of any important effect the differences between the Ḥafs
and Warš transmissions have on the meaning. These minor variations can
be explained as belonging to different centres, but they pale into complete
insignificance before the overwhelming uniformity of the text as a whole,
often even in minor orthographical details.

Outside of ritual prayer though, where the Qur'ān was a source to be
interpreted rather than a text to be recited, meaning came to the fore,
and where matters of importance were not flouted, academic speculation
even on the sound had free play within remarkably wide limits. Indeed
the dynamic interpretation of the sound of the Qur'ān became one of the
richest sources for eliciting new meanings from a static text, which was
used as though it had a whole series, not just of meanings, but also of
readings.[35] Many commentaries are composed largely of records of these
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speculations.

Obscure words and inconsistencies, whether dogmatic or linguistic, were rich sources for such speculation, but just as the meaning in areas of importance could never be superseded, so *the* reading, was never lost sight of. Those few places where it cannot be said with certainty what the original sound must have been (if there ever was just one) are never of any wider significance, but wherever significant matters occur, there is never any doubt what the reading is, and always was.

The sound however was still more conservative than the meaning. Whereas theological or legal scruples could substantially alter the meaning,[36] the scope for altering the sound was narrow.[37] Similarly, the possibility of an original meaning being more or less forgotten or variable was far greater than the same happening to an original reading. The arguments of scholars like Bergsträßer, and Pretzl, and especially Vollers,[38] in uncovering the "original form" of the text, are therefore based on false premises.

§ 1.3 Cross-reference

A second characteristic of the exegesis is the elucidation of the Scripture by itself, cross-references often being quoted to try to illuminate obscurities in the text. Indeed in a discussion of variant readings a modern Muslim scholar has said that this was the origin of many variant readings.[39] But aside from the specific area of variant readings, much *tafsīr* in general arose from this result of knowing the Scripture by heart. In addition to the frequent cross-quotation, implicit cross-reference can often be found to underlie at first sight strange exegeses.

One explanation of the meaning of the word '*īlāf* is a case in point, and even whole legal ordinances can be shown to have originated in this way. The stoning penalty for adultery, for instance, instead of indicating a dislocation of Tradition (stoning) from Scripture (flogging), could well have rather been a result of the *tafsīr* of *5.42-49*.[40] The source of strange exegeses therefore, rather than being in the Muslims' forgetting or never even knowing the original meaning, can often be found in another Qur'ān passage. This cross-referential use of the text was another contributory factor to the Muslims' atomistic approach to interpretation. It was also one of the main characteristics of Rabbinic Midrash.[41]

§ 1.4 "History"

The third pertinent exegetical characteristic is the absence in those days of the modern concept of history. It is largely accepted by critical Western scholars that the "history" of early Islam as recorded by Muslims,[42] at least up to the accession of Mu'āwiya and probably beyond, is inextricable from the development of legal and theological ideas. The same applies to the "historical" books of the Old Testament. The books of Kings for instance were more Deuteronomic theology than history in the modern sense.

So, to the religiously orientated minds of Qur'ān exegetes looking for details of law or belief, it was simply not important precisely when or where Qurays were meant to have done their trading, just as it was not of any crucial importance what syntactical function the *li* in *li'īlāfi* was meant to have. Once the areas providing material bearing on law and belief had been delineated, the remainder could have wide interpretative leeway. Even the name of the dog in the story of the seven sleepers, and whether it was spotted or not, was an acceptable consideration. So since *sūra 106* had no connection with money nor with anything else of practical, or even theoretical, religious significance, there was no danger in accommodating a wide variety of suggestions. To Qur'ān exegetes details about the Jāhiliyya, especially religiously neutral ones like the one under consideration, were not of the highest priority. A modern-day historian like Shahid can consider *105* and *106* as "perhaps the most important of all *sūras* of the Meccan period for the historian of pre-Islamic Arabia",[43] however he also acknowledges that medieval Muslims did not think that way.[44] The discussions in ibn Ḥabīb (d.245),[45] al-Balādurī (d.279),[46] the History of al-Ṭabarī (d.310),[47] and al-Ṭa'ālibī (d.429),[48] for instance, can all easily be traced to discussions in works of *tafsīr* proper.

Furthermore, instead of a quest for historical "facts" about Meccan trade, the various suggestions were rather specifications demanded by the, in their view, vague word *riḥla*. Being unspecified and inconsequential it was well suited to multiform interpretation. So, here also, to accuse the Muslims of ignorance of the wider historical context of the Qur'ān, rather than proving any dislocation between Scripture and Tradition, merely highlights what little importance the Muslim exegetes attached to what Westerners consider historical "facts".

Before embarking on a discussion of the variant readings of *106:1, 2* it is necessary to describe some general characteristics of Qur'ān orthography.

Vocal *alif* in printed and manuscript copies of the Qur'ān is common,[49] especially before the last letter of a quadriliteral word, like اسحق , and of stem *iv* verbal nouns, like اسلم , which has vocal *alif* in all its occurrences, two of which are with pronominal suffixes. All occurrences of إيمن with pronominal suffixes[50] have vocal *alif*, as do its even more closely analogous occurences to لا يليكم , بايمن in *3:86, 90*.

So on graphic grounds alone the pronunciation *li'īlāfi* for لايلف in *106:1* is hardly in doubt. The graphic omission of *yā'* also in the second occurrence of *'īlāf* also presents no reasonable doubt as to its pronunciation. Granted the similar *'īmān*[51] always has the graphic *yā'*, even in *48:4* where it occurs twice in close succession,[52] but this may have been to distinguish it from the Qur'ān utterances *'amnan*[53] and *'āminan*. Since there is no occurrence in the Qur'ān of الف with the same root-meaning as *'īlāf*, the most obvious explanation of its defective second spelling is precisely that it does follow on so closely to the first. Besides, the graphic *yā'* in *'īmān* may have been fixed through frequent occurrence.[54] It has been shown how in the early years of copying the text it was not as a literary document but an aid to memory. And this not only helps to explain why there was a small amount of leeway in the earliest orthography, but also why there was no need for another *yā'* in *106:2*. The mind's ear needed no second reminder, it was obvious.[55]

The orthography of *hamza* in the Qur'ān is certainly unsystematic.[56] Bergsträßer and Pretzl thought that a graphic *hamza*-carrying *alif* had been omitted after the *yā'* in *106:1*, ie ليلف for ليالف ,[57] and they cited a number of cases of similar graphic omissions from old Qur'ān manuscripts.[58] But none of these is with words sufficiently similar in form to justify the likelihood of a *hamza*-omission in *106:1*, and if the 1342 Cairo text's spelling of a word more closely akin formally, لتأخذوها of *48:15*, is considered, the likelihood becomes even less.

As will be seen in § 4 below, various readings did posit the omission of *hamza* in this position. But they were more a result of the discussions on the meaning of *li*, than preservations of the Meccan text. They doubtless also contributed to the general discussions on *hamza*, which may ultimately not have arisen from unsystematic orthography but from unsystematic theology.[59] Had anything important been at stake with this alleged *hamza*-omission, objections would surely have been raised as they were for the reading *lā ya'litkum* for *49:14 yalitkum*, which involved a different root ('It

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for lyt) and which, according to al-Farrā',was not a position *hamza* could be omitted from.[60]

§ 3 The meaning of 'il̃af

The concern in this appendix is primarily with the readings in *sūra 106* and they concern the word *'il̃af*. The whole question of Meccan trade belongs rather to discussions of the word *riḥla* in *106:3*, and is therefore mentioned here only in passing.

Apart from the separate meanings concerning "thousand" and the first letter of the alphabet, irrelevant here, the root 'lf carries the basic connotation of nearness. Stem *i* signifies being or becoming near, whether physically or figuratively, and stem *iv*, overlapping with *i* to a certain extent, signifies some sort of becoming or making near, ranging from the more tangible ideas of gathering in, or getting used to, a place, to the more abstract ones of familiarisation, domesticating, affiliation, association, arranging alliances or safe-conducts, etc. The root is not at all rare, and if stem *iv* is perhaps uncommon, it would nevertheless immediately signify something to an Arabic speaker. In fact it is rather the difficulty of translating the word into a single European equivalent that is responsible for a large part of the allegation that the Muslims did not know what *'il̃af* meant.

The lack of any inherent problem with stem *iv* is shown by ibn Durayd's (d.321) brief, uncomplicated entry,[61] valuable because not ostensibly contaminated by Qur'ān reference. The pastoral meanings indicate independence, as does his discussion of other stems of the root. —

> you say *"'ālafat il-ḡanamu"* and *"'ālaftuhā 'ilāfan"* ("The livestock gathered together", "I made them gather"),[62] and *"alaftu l-makāna 'ilfan"* and *"'ālaftuhu 'ilāfan"* ("I settled down and got used to the place"),[63] as in the line of poetry ...

Ibn Durayd had no difficulty with stem *iv*, nor did the linguist abū 'Ubayda (d.209),[64] but it can be safely assumed that, as generally in Arabic, stem *iv* is rarer than stem *i*. The frequent explanation of stem *iv* of 'lf by stem *i*[65] would indicate this, but not to the extent that the meaning of stem *iv* was no longer known. A word after all can best be explained by synonyms, and what better synonym than a cognate one ? Qur'ān readings are frequently synonyms.

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The other glosses given by commentators for 'īlāf are of two kinds, non-cognate synonyms (like *luzūm*, *ḥubb* and *'āda*) and the notion of Divine favour (*ni'ma/ni'am*). The former are straightforward explanations and the latter is an example of *tafsīr al-Qur'ān bil-Qur'ān*. The root 'lf in the sense under discussion comes in the Qur'ān some eight other times. It is in *3:103*, however, that it occurs in conjunction with the root n'm — *fa'allafa bayna qulūbikum fa'aṣbaḥtum bini'matihi iχwānan*, "So [God] united your hearts and you became brothers through His grace." Most Muslims, especially exegetes, turning the root 'lf over in their minds with regard to *106*, would soon make the connection with *3:103*. al-Rāzī (d.606) explicitly quoted this very 'āya.[66]

If it cannot be said therefore that the Muslims did not know the meaning of the word, could it not be said that their explanations of its meaning in this context show that they did not know that ? Some said it referred to the beginning of trade, others to the end and others that it did not even concern trade. Some said the journeys were to Yemen and Syria and others just to al-Ṭā'if. To the secular eye of the modern historian looking for facts and figures *such apparent ignorance can at first* sight indicate only discontinuity in the Tradition. Trade was surely the lifeblood of Mecca, and were not Qurayš the ruling class ? How could such information become so contradictory and uncertain ?

Firstly it has been pointed out how the modern concept of history was simply absent from the outlook of Muslim exegetes in those days. But more importantly, the exegetical task here was neither philological nor historical, it was grammatical. It was not primarily a question of the etymology of 'īlāf, nor of Meccan trade, but of the function of *li* in relation to the following *fā'*. It can be seen from the table of readings below (p232) that, with four exceptions, *li* is the common element of all the readings, and that the four exceptions are simply interpretations of *li*. The following outline of Muslim comment further displays that *li* was the central element of all the various discussions.

One of the earliest exegeses to be written down, the *Sīra*, interestingly records no reading here at all.[67] This, plus the fact that ibn Hišām (d.213 – 218) gave no fewer than five meanings of the word 'īlāf removes any

question as-to what his text, at least, was. Ibn Isḥāq (d.151) also would have had 'īlāf as his text, since he passed over it as a word, presumably thinking it too obvious to need glossing. His expansion of the text served rather to gloss li, and therefore fā'. The li introduced the first half of a condition, "for the sake of [preserving the 'īlāf of Qurayš]", and the fā' introduced the second half, "let ... "

That the text of another of the earliest exegetes to be written down, Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d.150) was as we have it today is also clear. He cited no readings, although brought in two other forms of root 'lf ('ilfuhum and falya'līfū) in his short exegesis.[68]

Sībawayhi (d.170 – 180) discussed 106:1,2 as an adjunct to his discussion of 23:52.[69] Nevertheless his discussion has a number of notable features.

> He said he asked al-Xalīl about the anna in 23:52 "wa'anna hādihi ummatukum ummatan wāḥidatan wa'anā rabbukum fa-ttaqūnī".

al-Xalīl replied that it was to be interpreted on the basis of a hidden li, as though God had said "wali'anna hādihi ummatukum ... fattaqūnī",[70] and that it was like 106:1,3 "li'īlāfi Qurayšin ... falya'budū" where li is construed with a following fā'. al-Xalīl then said that if you removed li from the word li'an, an would be in the accusative in the same way that, were you to remove it from li'īlāfi, that would also be in the accusative.[71]

al-Xalīl (d.170) therefore understood li to mean "because of", lām lil-ta'līl, and suggested the hypothetical reading 'īlāfa (no.38 in the table of readings). It is notable that he did not express any awareness of any difficulty over the meaning of 'īlāf. The issue was the meaning of li. As al-Qurṭubī (d.671) pointed out,[72] this interpretation took the two suras as separate from each other.

Although Sībawayhi was primarily concerned with 23:52 here, he did not just cite 106:1,2 as a passing analogy. This can be seen from the second of his two preceding examples of the omission of li, namely in the verse of poetry,

> wa'aḡfiru 'awrā'a l-karīmi ddiχārahu,

where a verbal noun is in the accusative but according to Sībawayhi means "on account of his storing up", liddiχārihi. Also that this reading was hypothetical, and not again cited as a reading by later writers, does not at all exclude eligibility from this table of readings.[73]

al–Tabarī (d.310) began with textual details,[74] as though first establishing his text. It soon becomes clear, however, that it was an exegetical task,[75] not a textual one. Having said that the majority read *106:1,2* as vocalised in the 1342 Cairo text, he cited four readings, which provided a setting for the reading, apparently placing it in wider linguistic perspective. The meaning of '*īlāf* or of any of its variants was not the point, and was only brought up in connection with the third interpretation of *li*. All four readings (nos.8,9,23 and 29 of the table of readings) are cognate verbal nouns. The first, second and fourth are stem *i* (the second, in al–Tabarī's characteristic precision, a variant of a variant), and the third stem *v*. The third and fourth show that, by being furnished with *isnāds*, they are clearly no different from any other exegesis. This is underlined in the case of the third by the fact that the reading is contrary to the graphic form of the text as it has come down. If it had posed any threat to the meaning it would have led to the type of strong rejection al–Tabarī meted out to ibn Mas'ūd's reading *lan* for *lā* in *3:79,80*.[76] And in the case of the fourth by the fact that although the *isnād* goes back to the Prophet himself, rare among al–Tabarī's traditions, there is no suggestion whatsoever that it replace *the* reading.[77]

The text established, al–Tabarī stated the central topic for debate, "linguists are divided over what gives rise to the *lām* in *li'īlāfī*",[78] and proceeded to present three views.

> First, a/some Basran grammarian/s claimed that it followed straight on from the last sentence of the previous *sūra*.[79]

This suggestion made good sense of the *fā'* in the following *falya'budū*, so the Basran/s did not need to grapple with that problem, nevertheless its main purpose seems to have been to give *li* the meaning '*ilā*. As for the basic meaning of '*īlāf*, it was not relevant to the problem in hand. Perhaps it was too obvious. Since it was construed with the preceding *sūra* though, the secondary connotations of Divine favour and blessing (*ni'ma/ni'am*), imparted to '*īlāf* by implicit cross-reference, could be brought into prominence. al–Tabarī rejected this interpretation on textual grounds.[80] It would mean that *106* was part of *105*. All Muslims were unanimous that the two *sūras* were separate and independent. Put a little differently,[81] this Basran view is a clear case of a later meaning being imposed on an earlier text.

> Second, a/some Kufan grammarian/s noted that it had been explained as the *lām* of amazement.[82]

This suggestion also involved connotations of Divine favours, but whereas it did not need to emend the text, the *fā'* was felt to be awkward and hidden implications had to be found.[83] "*falya'budū* ... " meant, and this

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was the interpretation favoured by al-Ṭabarī[84] — It is amazing that the Lord of this House has blessed Qurayš in so many ways, and yet they have abandoned His worship. Now let them worship..."

It is debatable whether these two views are as antithetical as Birkeland claimed,[85] but even if they were, the most it would indicate would be that the context was innocuous enough to be open to several avenues of interpretation.

> Third, some commentators suggested that 'īlāf carried connotations of unification.[86] God did these things to the People of the Elephant for the sake of unifying Qurayš.

This suggestion differed from the first only in attempting to overcome the textual objection, and presumably dates from a time when source-discussion was more strictly limited by the text. It claimed that although the sūras were separate, the sense carried over. But this required a somewhat cumbersome explanatory reconstruction. "hāḏa" [the deliverance from the People of the Elephant] had to be understood before li'īlāfi, with the meaning, "I did this to them for the unification of Qurayš, lest I divide their community togetherness".

In this and the first two views however, the point of debate and departure was not the word īlāf, but the particle li.

Before al-Zamaxšarī (d.539) even mentioned any readings in his comment on this verse,[87] he came to conclusions about the grammar and meaning. The readings neither added nor subtracted from these conclusions but figured only in peripheral philological comment on the root 'lf. The three he cited are stem i cognates (nos.11,13,21 in the table of readings). Whereas al-Ṭabarī had not even discussed al-Xalīl's interpretation, al-Zamaxšarī favoured it, although without acknowledging al-Xalīl. This may have been because, rather than understanding li'an for li, he understood a condition inseparably bound up with the Divine favouritism in the īlāf of Qurayš.

> "God's favours towards Qurayš are innumerable, so if they do not worship Him for His other favours, then let them at least worship Him for this one, obvious favour".[88]

For al-Rāzī (d.606) also, discussion of the readings was secondary to determining the meaning. His discussion of the first three words of 106 occupies four printed pages.[89] The first two and a half of these are taken up with a discussion of li. The other three halves deal with the root 'lf, the question why īlāf is repeated and Qurayš respectively.

The exegetical task in 106 was the particle li.

TABLE OF READINGS

	VOCAL FORM			GRAPHIC FORM			AUTHORITIES		
	A	B	C	C	B	A		ð.A.H.	
1a	li'īlāfi	qurayšin	'īlāfihim	العلم	مرس	لایلف	Ḥafṣ	150	Kufa
1b	— " —	— " —	'īlāfihim	اللعهم	— " —	— " —	Warš	197	Medina
1c	— " —	— " —	— " —	اللع م	— " —	لایلاف	Ḥafṣ		
2			'ilfihim	العلم			abū ʿAmr	c150	Basra
3			— " —	— " —			ibn ʿAbbās		
4			— " —	— " —			Mujāhid	c100	
5			— " —	— " —			Ḥumayd b Ṭawr		
6	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —	لایلف	abū Jaʿfar	c130	Medina
7	— " —		'ilafihim	— " —		— " —	— " —		
8	līlāfi					لیلف	— " —		
9	li'ilfi	— " —			— " —	لالف	— " —		
10			'ilāfihim	— " —			— " —		
11	li'īlāfi		'ilfihim	— " —		لیلف	Ubayy	29	
12	— " —		'ilāfihim	— " —		— " —	ibn ʿĀmir	118	Damascus
13	līlāfi					— " —	ʿAlī	40	
14	— " —					— " —	Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq	148	
15	liyaʾlafa	qurayšun	'ilfahum	— " —	— " —	لالف	ibn Masʿūd	33	Kufa
16	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —	ʿIkrima	c105	Mecca
17	lita'lafa	— " —			— " —	— " —	— " —		
18	lita'allufi	qurayšin	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —		
19			'ilāfihim	— " —			— " —		
20			'ilafihim	— " —			— " —		
21	līlāfi					لیلف	— " —		
22	laya'laf					لالف	— " —		
23	liyaʾlāf	qurayšun	'ilfahum	— " —	— " —	لالف	al-Rabiʿ b Xutaym	64	Kufa
24			— " —	— " —			the Prophet		
25	wayuʾminkum	qurayšin	'īlāfihim	العلم	— " —	ویل امکم	— " —		
26	"	"	'ilfihim	العلم	— " —	— " —	— " —		
27	li'ilfi	— " —	— " —	— " —	— " —	لالف	— " —		
28	li'i'lāfihim		'i'lāfihim	اللعهم		لایلف	abū Bakr b ʿAyyāš	193	
29			'i'lāfihim	اللعهم			al-Naqqāš		Kufa
30	'ilāfa					الایلف	al-Xalīl		Basra

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A cursory glance at the table of readings might make one think that there was no authoritative Qur'ān textual Tradition, written or oral, such is the profusion of readings. On closer inspection, though, it can be seen that the profusion was in the realm of source-discussion, and that the textual Tradition was always unitary.

The numbers at the start of paragraphs in this section refer to the numbers of the readings in the table of readings. The sources are first given, but in the case of Jeffery's *Materials* only when an Arabic source has not been found. Then follow relevant comments. The table does not claim to be final, but sufficient for the aim of this appendix. Sometimes further authorities are given in the notes rather than making one reading on the table into several. The placename given after some of the authorities is that of the Tradition the authority is said to have represented and not necessarily his place of origin. Firm conclusions about the provenance of readings are obstructed though by irresponsible attribution. 'Ikrima is credited with seven different readings, abū Ja'far with five, the Prophet himself with four, 'Asim with three, and abū 'Amr and ibn Katīr with two each. Except in nos.1a, b, c the graphic form is hypothetical. Had they ever been written in a copy of the Qur'ān, they might well have had the form given here. For this reason, and so to enable a proper comparison with no.1, the vocal *alif* between *lām* and *fā*' has been omitted, although most sources *printed it. They no doubt did so to remove doubt about the pronunciation, which in the table of readings is done by the transliterated vocal form.

<1a>   The graphic form of the 1342 Cairo text (and hence of all printed Hafs texts bar the Turkish and the Iranian ones, and of the Egyptian and Algerian Wars texts), and the vocal form, according to all commentators, of the consensus. The absence of the *yā*' in the 1342 Cairo text as opposed to its presence in almost all manuscripts (see the note to no.1c) is probably due to al-Dānī's statement that all metropolitan codices were unanimous in writing this word without *yā*' (*al-Muqni'*, pp.96.4, 146.17). See the notes to nos.28 and 29 below for other transmissions from 'Asim, and abū Hayyān's revealing comment. According to ibn Mujāhid, this reading was read by six out of "the Seven" — ibn Katīr, Nāfi', abū 'Amr, Hamza, al-Kisā'ī, and Hafs 'an 'Asim (*Dayf*, p.698.9). ibn 'Amir was the exception, see note to no.12 below.

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<1b> The graphic form of the Tunisian and Moroccan Warš texts. Element C is perhaps a secondary normalisation, given the Spaniard al-Dā-nī's statement just cited. He was, however, (ultimately) quoting Nuṣayr ibn Yūsuf [al-Rāzī, d.c.240 (ibn al-Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.2, p.341.7)] (alMuqni‘, pp.88.10; see also GdQIII, pp.22 n.2, 239.16). In any case, it is a further witness to the oral text.

<1c> This is the graphic form in almost all Ḥafṣ manuscripts consulted, as also indeed in printed Ḥafṣ copies of the Qur'ān prior to the 1342 Cairo text, and in Turkish and Iranian ones to the present day. Its graphic form is probably secondary in that it spells out the vocal form in full.

<2> Bergsträßer, 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', p.180.6. This is given as the reading of abū 'Amr according to abū Ja'far, and so could be amalgamated to no.6. Such a transmission would be odd, but Bergsträßer's suggested insertion of a wāw before the 'an in "'ilfihim abū Ja'far 'an abī 'Amr" makes unlikely Arabic. The Scriptural text in al-Zamaxšarī, (Beirut edition), given as the transmission of abū 'Amr according to al-Dūrī, is in fact as no.1c. ibn Katīr (d.120) is also recorded as reading ilfihim (al-Qurtubī, pt.20, p.203.17). However ibn Mujāhid said ibn Katīr read as in no.1 (Ḍayf, p.698.9).

<3> al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p.203.18.

<4> ibid., p.203.17.

<5> ibid., p.203.17. Ḥumayd was a first century poet and considered to have been a Companion (EI², art. 'Ḥumayd', vol.2, p.573). It is an odd ascription.

<6> al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi‘, 1373, pt.30, p.305.8; Bergsträßer, Ibn Ḥālawaih, p.180.6 (= no.2); ibn al-Jazarī, Našr, vol.2, p.404.1; abū Hayyān vol.8, p.514.22 quoting ibn 'Utba. ibn al-Jazarī said that [al-Zubayr ibn Muhammad] al-'Umarī (the Imām of the mosque in Medina, d. after 270 (ibn al-Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt, vol.1, p.294.3)) was the only one to transmit this from abū Ja'far, implying that it is isolate if not erroneous. This might also explain the [mistaken] disagreement of the editor of al-Ṭabarī here, who said in a footnote that the only reading from abū Ja'far was 'ilāfihim (or, as it should be, 'ilāfihim).

<7> ibn al-Jazarī, Našr, vol.2, p.404.4; abū Hayyān vol.8, p.514.25. ibn al-Jazarī said this reading ('ilafihim) was šādd and, he thought, an error of al-Ahwāzī (d.446. See chapter 8, endnote 67).

<8> al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p.201.21; al-Rāzī, vol.32, p.105.25; ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, p.403.17; abū Ḥayyān, vol.8, p.514.25. That the graphic form of A here, as in nos.13,14,21 is not based on an original textual graphic form, but rather on speculative discussions about *hamza*, is shown by the fact that this reading (*līlāfi*) is described as omitting *hamza*. It is presumably an instance of the strange elisions of *hamza* in al-'Umarī's otherwise excellent transmission from abū Ja'far (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.293.ult.)

<9> al-Zamaxšarī, (Beirut edition), vol.4, p.287.19; al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p. 201.24; al-Rāzī, vol.32, p.105.17. Birkeland (p.118.12) considered this reading a mistake. It and no.27 are the only readings to omit the *yā'* in the graphic form, and can plausibly be seen as a back-formation from the version *'ilfihim* of C. Little store is to be set on it for the further reasons that abū Ja'far is also credited with two other versions, and no.27 is from a late source.

<10> al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p.204.1; Bergsträßer, 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', p.180.7; abū Ḥayyān, vol.8, p.514.24; ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, p.403.22. The Medinan follower, Šayba ibn Niṣāḥ (d.130/8) and ibn Katīr are also recorded as reading *'ilāfihim* (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, p.403.22; *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.329.21ff.; *Fihrist*, p.45.21; GdQIII, p.166. However, ibn Mujāhid said ibn Katīr read as in no.1 (*Ḍayf*, p.698.9)).

<11> Jeffery, *Materials*, p.179. al-Zamaxšarī (Beirut edition, vol.4, p. 287.19) and al-Rāzī (vol.32, p.105.17) gave this reading without attribution. For the graphic form, see the note to no.12.

<12> al-Baydāwī, p.315 (three lines from the bottom); al-Qurṭubī, vol.20, p.201.15; ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, p.403.16; abū Ḥayyān, vol.8, p.514.19, 24. Illustrating some of the confusion of attribution, Ibn Mujāhid makes a point of saying that ibn 'Āmir read *li'īlāfi Qurayšin 'īlāfihim* (*Ḍayf*, p.698.7). Element C here is from abū Ḥayyān only, who also spelt A � (vol.8, p.514.13). This spelling shows that, similarly to no.8 etc., the graphic form of A here in nos.11,12 is not to be explained as an original textual form, but rather the result of linguistic discussions. In this case, A can be seen as a back-formation from the interpretation of C without a *yā'*. It might have been connected to discussions around *fī'āl* being the original stem *iii* infinitive (Wright i.116A, 117A). Indeed all the readings without either the *yā'* or *alif* can be seen as originating from discussions over the graphic form. This form of C is also ascribed to two other Syrians, al-Walīd [ibn Muslim ? d.195, ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.360.20] (al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p.204.1) and abū Ḥaywa (d.203. ibid., p.204.1. See GdQIII, p.173.7, and ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.325.9ff.)

<13> Jeffery, *Materials*, p.192. So also al-Ḍaḥḥāk (ibid., pp.192, 237).

<14> ibid., p.237.

<15> al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p.202.2. al-Bayḍāwī, p.315 (five lines from the bottom) gave this reading without attribution. If the hypothesis of an omission of graphic *hamza* between the *yā'* and the *lām* is accepted, the graphic form would be ليلفه . Birkeland (p.104.13) considered this the most divergent pre-canonical reading, and explained it as presupposing the consonants of the original 'Uṯmānic text. This will be discussed more fully in § 5 below, but at this stage suffice it to compare the reading *liya'lafa* to *walā ya'talī* of *24:22*. Like *liya'lafa*, it has a vowelless *hamza* after the $3^{rd.}$ person masculine singular imperfect prefix. Its graphic form in the text isولابال , but according to al-Farrā' (d.207) vol.2, p.248.8 there was a Medinan reading *walā yata'alla*, with graphic form ولا يال. ibn al-Jazarī (*Našr*, vol.2, p.331.12) ascribed it to abū Ja'far. It may be compared to reading no.18 of the table of readings. Readings such as these can be seen as elucidations by means of other stems of the same root, in these cases of *i* by *v*, and as effects, rather than illustrations, of the lack of a systematic orthography for *hamza*. Indeed, al-Farrā' discredited *yata'alla* as being contrary to the graphic form, "*wahiyya muχālafatan lil-kitāb*". It was perhaps only in later times, when the theories about the collection of the Qur'ān had greatly proliferated, that abū Muḥammad Isma'īl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qurrāb (d.410. ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.160.20), and Beck for that matter (*Orientalia*, 14, 1945, p.369.27), could harmonise the reports by saying that there was a graphic form كتب "*kutib fil-masāh-if*" (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, p.233.20). Nevertheless al-Qurrāb did not say, "*kutib fil-musḥaf*". Similarly, the graphic form ليلفه rather than being the original was more probably a later attempt to bring readings such as ibn Mas'ūd's and some of 'Ikrima's closer to the text, dating to the time when source-discussion was being limited more and more by the text.

<16> al-Zamaxšarī, (Beirut edition), vol.4, p.288.5; al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p. 202.1; Bergsträßer, 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', p.180.6,7; abū Hayyān, vol.8, p.514.26. He was included in the lists of Meccan readers (ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.1, p.8.11).

<17> abū Hayyān, vol.8, p.514.27, as an imperative (لتألف).

<18> al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*, 1373, pt.30, p.305.13 with the *isnād* abū Kurayb (Kufan, d.243) - Wakī' [ibn al-Jarrāḥ] - abū Makīn (Basran, d.153 (Ibn Xallikān, vol.10, p.484f.)) - 'Ikrima.

<19> ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr*, vol.2, p.403.22.

<20>　abū Ḥayyān, vol.8, p.514.25.

<21>　al-Rāzī, vol.32, p.105.18. cf no.8. Birkeland (p.117.26) strongly objected to this attribution, but probably only because he set so much store by one of 'Ikrima's other readings, no.16.

<22>　In abū Ḥayyān, vol.8, p.514.27 (perhaps *lata'laf*) it is as an imperative (cf. 17), also from Hilāl ibn Fityān; Bergsträßer, 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', p.180.8, also as an imperative, quotes ibn Mujāhid (d.324) that the Benu Sulaym and the Benu 'Ukl make the *lām* of command *la*. Ibn Mujāhid also deduced that this reading demanded *'ilfahum* in C (Bergsträßer, 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', p.180.12). Bergsträßer notes that in both manuscripts the *fā'* has *fatha* but perhaps should have *sukūn*. This and nos.25, 26, 30 are the only readings which altered the *li*, and each appears to have had a specific purpose — *waylummikum* to fix *li* as *lām lil-ta'ajjub*; *'ilāfa* to fix *li* as *lām lil-ta'līl*; and this one, *laya'laf*, to fix *li* as *lām al-amr*.

<23>　Jeffery, *Materials*, p.313. The unmentioned source for this extraordinary vocalisation needs confirmation, as both ibn Manzūr, vol.10, p.352.7 and al-Zabīdī, vol.6, p.44.30 spelled the regular *li''ilāfi* لكيلاف . If it is not a mistake, it could be seen as an improvement on the metathesis of nos.15–18, since al-Rabī' was connected with the school of ibn Mas'ūd (ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.283.5ff.)

<24>　al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*, 1373, pt.30, p.305.16 with the (Kufan) *isnād* ibn Ḥumayd (d.248 (Ibn Xallikān, vol.9, p.27)) — Mihran (Ibn Xallikān, vol.10, p.327f.) — Sufyān [al-Ṭawrī] — Layṯ [ibn Abī Sulaym] (Ibn Xallikān, vol.8, p.465f.) — Šahr ibn Ḥawšab (Ibn Xallikān, vol.4, p.369f.) — [his freed slave] Asmā' bint Yazīd, who said, "I heard the Prophet recite *'ilfahum*". According to ibn Ḥajar (*Tahdīb*, vol.4, p.369.8) Šahr ibn Ḥawšab was a Syrian, but both his masters and pupils were Iraqi. So he could be considered Iraqi. Juynboll (*Muslim Tradition*, p.45.7) considers him solely Syrian. ibn Ḥajar also reports how Šahr's *qirā'āt* from the Prophet were ill-regarded.

<25>　Sprenger 'Abū 'Ubayd', p.15.10, with the *isnād* Qabīsa [ibn 'Uqba] (Kufan, d.c.215 (ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdīb*, vol.8, p.347.10ff.)) — Sufyān — Layṯ ibn abī Sulaym — Šahr ibn Ḥawšab — Asmā' bint Yazīd, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God recite *waylummikum Qurayšin 'ilāfihim*". For the Arabic grammarians "woe !" came under *ta'ajjub*, see Sībawayhi, vol.1, p.299.10 (Būlāq edition). This reading therefore was an explanation of the *lām*, which also kept the *sūra* separate. Whether or not the explanation goes back to the Prophet, there was never any question of it having been in the text. Being exegetical it could stem from the earliest layers of discussion over *106:1ff*.

<26> - From Asmā' who heard the Prophet say *'ilfihim* (Bergsträßer, 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', p.180.5; al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p.203.18). This reading is perhaps not to be distinguished from no.24 above.

<27> Al-Zabīdī (d.1205), vol.6, p.43.ult. Element A appears to be a back-formation from the similar reading of C. See the note on no.9.

<28> al-Qurṭubī, pt.20, p.204.2 and abū Ḥayyān, vol.8, p.514.20 (cf. the note on no.29) both give this reading as 'Āsim's according to abū Bakr, and state that the first *hamza* had *kasra* and the second *sukūn*. They both also said that the juxtaposition of two *hamzas* is *šadd*. As such it is found in Bergsträßer, 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', p.180.7, however both manuscripts used for the edition had *kasra* on the second *hamza* as well – *'i'ilāfihim*. In his introduction to Bergsträßer's 'Ibn Ḥālawaih', Jeffery said (p.8), "Both manuscripts used in establishing the text were written by careless scribes". This might be a case in point, but even if not, this reading and no.29 are clearly speculations on the phonology and orthography of *hamza*.

According to ibn Mujāhid (*Ḍayf*, p.698.4) abū Bakr read A and C with a quiescent second *hamza*, but then withdrew from this position to *Ḥamza*'s (as 1a, b or c). 'Words with two *hamzas*' was probably a section of the Science by this time.

<29> abū Ḥayyān (vol.8, p.514.20) said this was the reading of 'Āsim according to Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd al-Naqqār, but added, letting the cat out of the bag, and referring also to no.28, that in reality 'Āsim read the word like everyone else ! There is some disagreement about al-Naqqār's name, ibn al-Jazarī preferring al-Ḥasan (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol.1, p.212.3). According to al-Dānī he died before 350 (ibid., line 16).

<30> Sībawayhi, vol.1, p.464.10 (Būlāq edition) (= vol.1, p.413.5 in Derenbourg's edition). The effect of this reading in establishing that *li* means *li'an* has been discussed in § 3 above.

The soundest principle in dealing with an ancient text is to start from the text as it has been handed down. If it is obviously corrupt then hypothetical reconstructions can be considered if necessary. In the portion of the text under consideration, there is complete unanimity in the oral transmission but to remove any doubt, the written transmission should also be examined. In the case of element A, the transmitted orthography permits of one pronunciation only, *li'īlāfi*, and as for element C, the balance of probability is that it is a repetition of the form of A.

But it has been seen that all the variations of root 'lf were basically
to throw light on the initial *lām*. All those readings with stem *i* or *iii*,
while also interpreting the *lām* had added philological value. That this was
the only widely transmitted case of a graphic *yā'* being omitted in such a
position provided good cause for such philological speculation. Many of
these readings can therefore be seen as interpretations from the written
text, which however in no way excludes the existence of a fixed oral text.
It could be that these interpretations stem from written exegetes, and
therefore postdate some of the more graphically surprising ones. The
presence of a *hamza* also provided possibilities for employing the word in
some of the finer points of the far-ranging discussions on the orthography
of *hamza*, and a few readings were seen to have this secondary function.
Arguments from this area of discussion may explain why no one ever read
liyu'lifa.[23]

As for the meaning of the readings, variation only really occurs in
element A, and there only in the *li*. The variations in root 'lf are merely
adjuncts to these various interpretations of *li*. It was explained as amaze-
ment, cause, result and command, none of which in this particular context
caused any great effect on the interpretation of the passage, and certainly
none beyond its immediate context. The more shades of meaning extrac-
table from any one word, without violation of the basic meaning, the better.

§ 5   Western scholarly discussion of *106:1,2*

The spelling of لايلف and الهيم in Muslim discussion of their readings
is at times complicated and both copyists' and editors' errors occur.[24] Quite
apart therefore from the no longer tenable theory of the "recension of
'Utmān" ousting earlier codices, the spelling as it has come down in the
text should be the starting point of any discussion. Pretzl's positing of
an original graphic form ليلف is therefore immediately suspect. He never
apparently gave his grounds for so doing,[25] and his opinion might not be
thought worth further consideration, but it has been accepted by others.
Without justification it was assumed to have been the original "'Utmānic"
graphic form at each of its three mentions in GdQIII.[26]

At its first mention, Bergsträßer said that ليلف in 'Ikrima's reading ليألف
was to be added to ten examples of the graphic omission of a vowelless

hamza preceded by *a*. This implied that 'Ikrima's reading was the correct one. That ليلف should be included in the ten examples has been shown however to be unlikely. At its second mention, ليلف was cited as an example of the orthography of *hamza* between two different vowels, although which two, Bergsträßer claimed was not at all clear. *Li'īlāfi* however does not even get a mention further up the page among examples of the orthography of *hamza* between the vowels *'i"ī* ! And at its third occurrence, where Bergsträßer was discussing the divergence of abū 'Amr's text from the 'Utmānic one, he said that along with the majority of readers, abū 'Amr made a very forced interpretation of the extremely unclear ليلف ١٠٠ الفهم as *li'īlāfi ... 'īlāfihim*. Bergsträßer thus not only discredited the written Tradition but dismissed the oral Tradition as well.

More is the pity when Birkeland took this mistakenly assumed original form as the starting point for his whole study of this *sūra*.[27] He was understandably under the influence of the prevailing theories of the 'Utmānic and pre-canonical Codices,[28] but that he should so readily have accepted Pretzl's ليلف was either an uncharacteristic oversight or ulteriorly motivated. As his thesis develops, the latter alternative becomes more likely, for it is this "original" reading that enables him to uncover the "original" meaning, which fits into his picture of the early theology of Muhammad. Involved as they are, it is necessary to enter into some of the details of Birkeland's theory, lest others take his conclusions as proven.

> The official Cairo edition with the Kufan reading of Hafs 'an 'Āsim only allegedly represents the 'Utmānic text.[29] Therefore[30] the graphic *alif* after the *lām* is secondary. It was a result of the reading *li'īlāfi*, which was merely one of several realisations of the written text.

For Birkeland therefore also neither the graphic nor vocal forms as they have come down in the text were original, and the way was wide open for emendation.

> The only way ليلف can be read is in fact *liyālafa*,[31] and this is quite certain.[32] It was the normal Hijāzī form of the classical and original *liya'lafa*,[33] which was in the codex of ibn Mas'ūd[34] and that of 'Ikrima.[35] *liyālafa* therefore without doubt represents a Meccan and pre-'Utmānic Kufan Tradition[36] but for exegetical reasons the original text could not be preserved.[37] This was because Muhammad's attitude towards the Qurayš altered after the Hijra,[38] and when the *sūra* was recited in Medina, even in his lifetime, it was reinterpreted (falsely[39]) either as joined to *sūra 105* or as starting with a *lām* of surprise.[40] This demanded

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a change in the first words.[41] The *lām* of surprise demanded an infinitive,[42] but although the two *sūras* together could well have had *liya'lafa*, in the Codex of Ubayy, where they were so joined, the infinitive is attested. This must have been because the Medinan Tradition already required it.[43] The infinitive was that of stem *iii* (*li'ilāfi*), but grave orthographic objections could be raised against this reading,[44] so the consensus gradually settled on the infinitive of stem *iv* (*li'īlāfi*), at least before 200 A.H.[45] The objection was that after prefixes, initial *hamza* was usually written with *alif*. Gradually therefore, an *alif* crept into the manuscripts.

In other words, original لِيَٰلَفَ (*liyālafa*), having been reinterpreted as لِإِلَٰفِ (*li'ilāfi*), gradually became لِإِيٰلَفِ (*li'īlāfi*).

These hypothetical reconstructions are unacceptable for a number of reasons. First and foremost, Birkeland's basic understanding of the Qur'ān is seen to have been as a written document, whose oral form was subsidiary and open to change. This is surprising considering his approach to the Old Testament,[46] and is diametrically opposed to the view expressed above that the written text was, at least in the time under consideration, simply an aid in the recitation of a fixed oral text. Birkeland's first alleged change took place in Medina while the Prophet was still alive as a reinterpretation of the written text (لِإِلَٰفِ قُرَيْشٍ ← لِيَٰلَفِ قُرَيْشٍ).

Such a procedure might rather be expected from scholars with an ancient graphic text and no oral Tradition, and what is more, this alleged revised reading, sanctioned by the Prophet, was anarchically not accepted by Kufans and Meccans even up to the time of 'Ikrima (d.c. 105). For this to begin to be explainable and for the possibility of the oral text being altered in this way, there would have had to have been compelling motives. That these were not sufficiently compelling but rather the ulterior motives of Birkeland himself will be suggested below.

With the second change mooted by Birkeland the oral text is again seen in a subordinate position to the written, and the picture is conjured up of second century grammarians arguing about the seat of *hamza* and then ordering all Muslims to change the recitation they and their forefathers had cherished since childhood. For, because of anonymous academic qualms over the orthography of *hamza*, *li'ilāfi* allegedly had had to be changed to *li'īlāfi*, and before 200 A.H. this graphic-vocal alteration had become

consensus. The original reason for this alleged alteration was orthographical, since the semantic difference between stems *iii* and *iv* is insignificant. It was the need for an *alif* to carry the *hamza*, and yet Birkeland maintained that this *alif* only allegedly represents the 'Uṯmānic text. In other words, the consensus as to the graphic form of the text is not in this case 'Uṯmānic. This is paradoxical to say the least. It also places the discussion so far from tangible textual evidence that further hypotheses are beyond constraint.

The starting point for discussion of any ancient text, especially a recited one, must be as it has been transmitted.

> Proceeding to the meaning of *'īlāf*, Birkeland claimed that in this context it could only originally have meant "protection" or the like. He uncovered this "true meaning", not from any commentators (apart from *al-Ālūsī*[47]), but from the lexicographers.[48]

Birkeland assumed that lexicographers were not so hidebound by exegetical consensus, and so did not need to conceal the word's true meaning. However the explanation he cited from them is explicitly exegetical from beginning to end. Moreover ibn Manẓūr (d.711) in his entry[49] was explicit that he was giving a whole series of exegeses of *106:1, 2*. Ibn Durayd[50] who at least made no explicit reference to the Qur'ān might have been a better witness.

But Birkeland again was on a different plane to the Muslims. Whereas the Muslims, whether lexicographer or Qur'ān commentator, proliferated explanations to achieve the widest possible reference for a Qur'ān utterance, Birkeland was trying to narrow the word down to a one and only meaning. According to him this was an alliance or covenant granting Qurayš protection and security in their trade. But is it so surprising that only the relatively modern al-Ālūsī (d.1854 A.D.) and some lexicographers hit upon this particular specification ? Was it not the product of an outlook more akin to that of a modern historian, one seen to be rare in those days ? But besides, is this precise definition so very different after all from some of the other Muslim commentators' suggestions ? To take one example, al-Zamaxšarī said that God granted them all these favours "such that security prevailed over their two journeys".[51]

But supposing it was insisted that such a suggestion is markedly different from Birkeland's, why then the conspiracy to hush up the true meaning?

The motive, according to Birkeland, was that this meaning was unacceptable in Medina after the *hijra* because a "certain connexion between the protection of (Qurašī) caravans and the Lord of the House must be implied",[119] and Muḥammad was at that time plundering those very caravans.

The connection, however, is an imperative, *falya'budū*, and as such refers to the future, not the present. So even if the original had been *liya'lafa*, there would have been no impediment to its recitation in Medina. If the original meaning in Mecca had been, "Qurayš, with a view to protecting their caravans, shall worship the Lord of this House",[120] it would already have been referring to the future as it still would have been in Medina. And this is how ibn Isḥāq interpreted *falya'budū* — "let them worship .... lest He alter their situation".[121]

But stepping out of the argument momentarily, it should be pointed out that the whole phenomenon of a chronology of the revelation of Qur'ān utterances has plausibly been shown to be a product of later doctrine. *Asbāb al-nuzūl* were required to prove *nasχ*.[122] The very premisses of Birkeland's theories are once again questionable.

To return though, as evidence that the word was changed from an imperfect subjunctive to a verbal noun, a compelling difference in meaning would need to be provided.

Birkeland provided it in the claim that the *li* in *liya'lafa* must mean in "order that".[123] This, he considered, revealed a significant feature of Muḥammad's early theology. For, on the basis that the meaning was "to gain the result that they might keep to their caravans, Qurayš must worship the Lord",[124] Birkeland elaborated extensively on the newness of Muḥammad's message.[125] Indeed, he found *sūra 106* religiously revolutionary.[126] It introduced a new concept of the merciful Lord acting in history.[127]

These ideas are plausible, but imaginative. *Sūra 106* was only one of five *sūras* Birkeland analysed in this study, which was theologically orientated as is clear from his introduction and conclusion. It is probable therefore that his discoveries about *106:1ff.* were imposed on the evidence by the overall thesis rather than emerging naturally, and he accepted certain hypotheses too readily because they fitted well into his own.

This same *li* however, termed *lām kay* with verbs, is called *lām lil-ta'līl* with nouns.[128] In Arabic it can connote cause or effect, and

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that al–Xalīl said that this *li* was *lām lil–taʿlīl* has already been mentioned. Since the variant reading *liyaʾlafa* therefore presents no substantial difference in meaning, its origin is easier found in syntactical qualms over a verbal noun following an initial *lām*.

The meaning of Birkeland's reading *liyālafa* was based on distinctions drawn from another language and another time. The motives for his alleged change simply never existed, nor indeed did the change.

§ 6 Conclusions

It has been shown that for *106:1, 2* the discussion centred, not on the meaning of *'īlāf*, nor even on its sound, but on the particle *li*. The discussion affected neither pockets, ritual nor belief but was primarily and predominantly linguistic. Some subsidiary "historical" discussion also arose. It has also been shown that there was never any doubt about how the text was to be read. On that there was unanimity. The absence of any marked difference in meaning between so many readings shows on the one hand, that there were few constraints, and on the other that they cannot be explained as the efforts of men confronted with a plain consonantal text, who rang the changes in trying to make sense of it.

Many of the readings in this case were indeed speculations based on the graphic form, and most were indeed to draw senses from the particle *li*, but in the Muslims' minds' ears and in their actual texts, *the* reading was never in dispute. The dispute, or rather, discussion, pertained only to the source. In the realm of source-discussion however the potential for speculation was large. As for philology, the word was a *hapax legomenon*, and as for orthography, it had two vowel-consonants, one of which was written defectively. But in the main, the readings were straightforwardly exegetical, interpreting the function and meaning of *li*. None of these readings superseded *the* reading, but were simply to complement it. None but that still found in the texts was ever in them, vocally or graphically.

Finally, bearing in mind certain characteristics of Islamic exegesis, the alleged ignorance of the wider historical context of the *sūra* cannot be used to show that there was dislocation between Muslim Scripture and Tradition. These characteristics are the atomistic and sometimes cross-referential approach to interpretation, the desire to extract as many meanings as possible, and the lack of the modern concept of history.

[1] *The Lord Guideth*, p.134.34.

[2] *ibid.*, p.103.23.

[3] GdQ III, p.45.

[4] e.g. Paret, "Die Lücke", p.150.4 — "A gap stretches over the beginnings of Tradition about earliest Islam", and p.150.19 "Scientific concern with the text of the Qur'ān only began many decades after Muhammad's death, in a time when there was no longer direct access to his conceptual world".

A disjuncture between Scripture and Tradition is implied in Rippin's explanation of *some* of the readings of *21:95*, e.g. 'A Ban', pp.44.3f., 53.12,23. He does, however, allude *to other readings not explainable by disjuncture*, e.g. *ibid.*, pp.44.5, 53.25, and 'Qur'ān 7:40' (*Arabica*, 27), p.113.14. It is these, more numerous, readings that are probably more significant for the textual history of the Qur'ān.

[5] e.g. Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, p.3.

[6] e.g. by Kahle in *The Cairo Geniza*, e.g. p.152, and Sperber in *A Historical Grammar*.

[7] As shown for instance by Wernberg-Møller in 'Aspects of Masoretic Vocalization'.

[8] The reverence for the written word in Near Eastern cultures is well illustrated by the semantic progression of the Akkadian *ot* "a character imprinted in clay", to the Aramaic *ātā* and Hebrew *ōt*, which took on additional meanings of "a sign" and "a miracle". The Arabic cognate, *āya*, also ranges in meaning from "a Qur'ān utterance", written or oral, to "a miracle".

[9] See Graham, n.20, p.31 (quoting van der Leeuw and Widengren), and p.9f. and n.27, 28 and 38. al-Sa'īd tends at times to overstress the oral side.

[10] For a recent gathering of the evidence, see Graham, pp.12 – 21.

[11] The twin connotations of "Qur'ān" as source (oral) and text (written) have been well demonstrated by Burton in the *Collection* (see Wansbrough's review, p.370a(3) and b last paragraph. The same connotations apply to the root *qr'* in general (note how *Mu'ād's* exegesis of a Qur'ān utterance is introduced by "*hākadā qara' Mu'ād*" (al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān* (Šākir edition), vol.2, p.187)), although the specific development of the meaning of the word "*Qur'ān*" within the Qur'ān itself is another matter. These two connotations are also clear from the Jewish term for Scripture, Miqrā, which certainly cannot be used to prove that the Hebrew Scriptures were primarily oral. The term does not imply an antithesis between oral and written, but between Scripture and Tradition (Mišna). Many of the Jewish Karaite sectarians may well have had the *Tanaχ* by heart, but it was not for this that they were called "Karaites", but because they returned from Tradition to Scripture. Nor can the fact that the tenth century A.D. Karaite al-Fāsī referred to the Hebrew Scriptures in his *Jāmi' al-Alfāẓ*, as "*al-Qur'ān*" 76 times (vol.2, p.cxx), "*al-Kitāb*" 33 times (vol.2, p.cxxi), "*al-Torah*" only 6 times (vol.2, p. cxxxiii) and "*al-Miqrā*" only 4 times (vol.2, p.cxxx) be used as evidence in an oral versus written debate about the Hebrew Scriptures. al-Fāsī was a highly literary scholar – his book, after all, is a lexicon of Scriptural words.

[12] At least, Near Eastern Scripture, see Graham, p.8.

[13] This is not to say that abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī (d.69) did not begin the process (cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p.21 n.39).

[14] For a description of similar Rabbinic and Qumranic attitudes towards a static Scriptural text, see Gerhardsson, pp.33f.

[15] e.g. Shahid, p.433.27.

[16] "*walam a'lam ahadan min a'immat il-qirā'a dahab ilā hāda l-qawl walā qāl bih walā asār ilayh fī kalāmih walā a'lamah fī kitāb min kutub il-qirā'āt wa'innamā huwa madhab nahawī lā adā'ī da'ā ilayh il-qiyās la r-riwāya*" – ibn al-Jazarī, *Našr* vol.2 p.75.10. For Nāfi''s reading *quray* see the top line of the same page.

[17] The reasons for this are given below, the main one being that the difference in meaning is never very great.

[18] That the reading *taqiyyah[t]an* for *tuq$_y^a$h[t]an* (*3:28*) was a result of speculation on the graphic form is all but said so by ibn al-Jazarī (*Našr*, vol.2 p.239.2) – "Ya'qūb read *taqiyyah[t]an*, which tallies with the shape of its graphic form in all the written texts. The other nine read *tuqāh[t]an* in

accordance with the oral text." — *faqara'a Ya'qūb 'tqyh^t' bifath it–tā' wakasr il–qāf watasdīd il–yā' maftūha ba'dahā wa'alā hādih is–sūra rusimat fī jamī' il–masāhif. waqara'a l–bāqūn bidamm it–tā' wa'alif ba'd al–qāf fil–lafz.*

[19] ibn al–Jazarī (*Nasr*, vol.2 p.233.13) gives a good example of this — "And this example, even though regarded as correct spoken usage by the linguists, is not regarded as correct Qur'ān usage by the Qur'ān readers. The Qur'ān is read according to Tradition, the last transmits it from the first. So read as you have learnt, as it is authorised by the Prophet". — *wahāda wa'in jāz 'ind ahl il–'arabiyya fil–kalām fa'innah ḡayr jā'iz 'ind al–qurrā' fī kalām il–malik il–'allām id al–qirā'a sunna ya'χuduhā l–āχir 'an il–awwal wa'aqra'ū kamā 'alimtum kamā tubit 'an in–nabī .*

[20] *waχtār [abū 'Amr ad–Dānī] fī madhab man yubqi l–ḡunna ma'a l–idḡām 'ind al–lām allā yubqīhā idā 'adim rasm in–nūn fil–χatt li'an dālik yu'addī ilā muχālifatih lilafzih binūn laysat fil–kitāb* – ibn al–Jazarī, *Nasr*, vol.2, p.28.21.

[21] For recent moves against this trend, see Burton, Graham, al–Sa'īd.

[22] Burton, *The Collection*.

[23] Bergsträßer, 'Koranlesung in Kairo', p.31.24. al–Dabbā' could, however, have simply been following the Kazan' Tradition in this respect, as did many Indian copies. But it is difficult not to see some influence from Bergsträßer here.

[24] On the one hand, in the more synthetic Muslim approach, other recensions were not excluded by the "recension of 'Utmān", and on the other, the "recension of 'Utmān" in Muslim thought is firmly in the realm of the written text. Other texts were said to have been *burnt*, and "'Utmān ordered everyone to read from a single *copy*" (*wa'amar an–nās an yaqra'ū 'alā nusxa wāhida* – Ya'qūbī, pt.2, p.119.18). Divorced in this way from the oral aspect of the Qur'ān text, such reports were readily acceptable to Western scholars with their view of the Qur'ān as a literary document.

[25] e.g. vol.2, p.162.1.

[26] e.g. Beck, *Orientalia*, 1945, p.373.19; Birkeland; Pretzl.

[27] e.g. Lüling (*Über den Ur–Qur'ān; Die Wiederentdeckung*), Powers, and especially Vollers. Compare also Shahid's removal of the *basmala* between *105* and *106*, and consequent choice of allegedly pre–'Utmānic readings.

[28] Goldziher, *Richtungen* pp.84f., for examples from Qur'ān exegesis. And Muqaddasī, p.187.14. Also for divergence, see Burton ' "Ihsan" ' and *The Collection*, p.49 (nsχ).

[29] "*kalāla*" (see Powers, pp.61 ff.), for instance, and perhaps "'īlāf".

[30] *The Lord Guideth*, p.102.17.

[31] *ibid.*, p.106.22.

[32] Consider the story of al-Du'alī and 'Alī in the mosque, and see James, *Qurans and Bindings*, p.13a.21.

[33] Among the Tannaitic Rabbis the most usual designation of the simple meaning of Scripture was the text "as heard" – כמשמע (Gerhardsson, p.66).

[34] *ṣalāt al-tarāwīḥ*.

[35] For the similar Rabbinic and Qumranic attitudes, see endnote 15 above.

[36] For far-fetched meanings of the word *iḥsān*, see Burton, ' "Ihsan" ', and for manipulation of the root nsx, Burton, *The Collection*, e.g. p.49.

[37] *cf.* also how little al-Šāfi'ī is concerned with readings as opposed to interpretation.

[38] And more recently, Lüling, Shahid and Powers.

[39] "*tafsīr ul-Qur'ān bil-Qur'ān*". See al-Dahabī, vol.1, p.40.1f., and p.36.4 where the Qur'ān itself is given as the Companions' first source for interpreting the Qur'ān. Wansbrough considers that textual analogy was perhaps one of the earliest forms of exegesis (p.142.24).

[40] Burton, *The Collection*, pp.68, 69, 185.

[41] תורה מתוך תורה. See R.Bloch, col.1266.

[42] For the *Sīra* see, for example, Schacht — "A considerable part of the standard biography of the Prophet in Medina, as it appeared in the second half of the second century, was of very recent origin, and is therefore without independent historical value" ('A Revaluation', p.151.25). And for history up to the second half of the Umayyad period, see Crone, *Slaves*, pp.7.29f., 8.6, and the references given there.

[43] 'Two Qur'ānic Sūras', p.429.2f.

[44] *ibid.*, p.434 § 3. He disagees (p.432.8ff.) with Hamidullah ('al-Īlāf', p.298ff.) that *īlāf* was a technical term before the Prophet.

[45] *al-Munammaq*, p.262.7ff.; *al-Muhabbar*, p.162.9ff.

[46] *Ansāb*, vol.1, p.58*f*.

[47] *Annales*, vol.3, p.1089.4*ff*.

[48] *Ṭimār*, p.115*ff*.

[49] For another study of Qur'ān readings with vocal *alif* as a central feature, see Rippin, "A Ban", especially p.49.3.

[50] As also ايمن.

[51] And *'aymãn*.

[52] *liyazdādū 'īmãnan ma'a 'īmãnihim.*

[53] See especially *6:82*, where both *'amn* and *'īmãn* occur in the same *āya*.

[54] Note how in the Lewis palimpsest the verbal noun of root 'ty stem *iv* (preceded by *wāw*) is وايتا, in *16:90* (Mingana, *Leaves*, p.42.5).* وايتا occurs in the Qur'ān elsewhere only in *21:73* and *24:37*, neither of which are in the palimpsest. The general avoidance of full spelling in two successive syllables (cf. Gesenius/Kautsch § 44la) might explain this spelling in the Lewis palimpsest, but it is evidence that *yā'* in such a position could be omitted when there was no ambiguity.

[55] According to Birkeland (p.105.35) this was al-Ālūsī's explanation also, but he did not pursue the matter.

[56] See GdQIII, p.42*f*.

[57] ibid., pp.33 n.2, 45. See also § 5 below.

[58] GdQIII, p.33.

[59] cf. nsy/ns' in *2:106*.

[60] *walaysa haḏā bimawḍi' yajūz fīh suqūṭ l-hamz*, as cited by Beck, *Orientalia*, 1945, p.369.28. ("*yalitkum*" is given as a Banū 'Abs word in *Masā'il Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq*, p.468 (Rippin, *Al-luḡāt*, p.22 n.39)).

[61] vol.3, p.274 col.2.16.

[62] Stem *iii* or *iv*, and *iv* respectively.

[63] Stem *i* and *iv* respectively.

[64] In his comment on *106:1* (vol.2, p.311.9), he cited no readings, merely noting that the Arabs use both stem *i* and *iv*.

[65] Comments like that of al-Farrā', as quoted by al-Zabīdī (d.1205/1790-1), vol.6, p.44. 33, that stem *i* of 'lf is better here than stem *iv*, could be such an explanation, although the transmission could be corrupt. Ibn Manzūr (d.711), (pt.10, p.353.3) quoted al-Farrā' as saying, "the reading *ilfihim* could be taken as from stem *ii* (*yu'allifūna*) but it is better to take it as from stem *i* (*ya'lifūna*)". The reference to stem *ii* might be under the influence of the archaic stem *ii masdar* (i.e. *'illāf*, like *kiddāb*, etc., see Wright i 115C, and Rabin, p.37, item 'w') and a speculative, reduced form, *'ilāf*.

[66] pt.32, p.105.

[67] vol.1, p.55.2 (= Guillaume's English translation, p.27). ibn Ishāq, however, is not prone to giving readings. Nor is there e reading in the parallel transmission of Yūnus ibn Bukayr in al-Ṭabarī.

[68] See Appendix II.

[69] Būlāq edition, vol.1, p.464.7-14, Derenbourg's edition, vol.1, p.413. 3-11.

[70] "because ... therefore.."

[71] *law hadaft al-lām min "li'īlāfi" kān nasban.*

[72] pt.20, p.201.11.

[73] See endnote 4 to the Introduction, 2nd paragraph.

[74] *Jāmi'*, 1373, pt.30, p.305.6f.

[75] cf. Shahid, p.431.5.

[76] *Jāmi'*, 1373, pt.3, p.328 n. = *Šākir* edition, vol.6, p.547 n.

[77] *Jāmi'*, 1373, pt.30, p.305.19.

[78] "*al-ma'na l-jālib*".

[79] ibid., pt.30, p.305.14f.

[80] ibid., pt.30, pp.306.25 – 307.2.

[81] Wansbrough, p.225.6. (Already imposed by the time of ibn Ishāq). For a recent argument for the conflation of the two *sūras*, see Shahid.

[82] *Jāmiʿ*, 1373, pt.30, p.306.9*f*.

[83] *fāʾ* occurs apparently redundantly elsewhere in the Qurʾān, *e.g. 3:47* (*idā ... fāʾ*) and *3:61* (with an imperative after a preceding *fāʾ*). al-Zamax-šarī gives no comment on either. It could be an oral feature, probably an emphatic use not accommodated by later literary rules (see also Rippin, 'A Ban', pp.44.18 and n.4, 46.27).

[84] *Jāmiʿ*, 1373, pt.30, p.306.17*f*. Perhaps because this was the view of al-Farrāʾ (abū Ḥayyān, vol.8, p.514.4).

[85] *The Lord Guideth*, p.111.42.

[86] *Jāmiʿ*, 1373, pt.30, p.306.12*f*.

[87] Beirut edition, vol.4, p.287.9*f*.

[88] *ibid.*, vol.4, p.287.10.

[89] pt.32, p.105*f*.

[90] An explanation of *liʾīlāfi* given by Shahid (p.432.8).

[91] See for example with nos.7, 23 and 28 of the table of readings. Vollers (p.154), quoting Sprenger (p.xliv), considered *ʾīlāf* a replacement for *ʾālāf*, a broken plural meaning bands [of men]. Sprenger had certainly cited الٱف as a reading of الٱلف , but had left it unvowelled. A glance at the table of readings, however, will show that Sprenger must have meant *ʾīlāf*.

[92] His reasons are not given in GdQⅢ. In 'Orthographie', p.29.30 (German) his original appears to be based on his own reconstruction of an alleged scribal error in a work on *qirāʾāt*. It turns on the point that "*liʾīlāfi Qurayšin*" was apparently al-Dānī's name (according to a manuscript of his *al-Marsūm* dated 600 A.H. ('Orthographie', p.13.11)) for the *sūra*, and a careless scribe misunderstood it as a quotation of the text under comment. In the text of *al-Muqniʿ*, however, (p.96.4) al-Dānī's name for it is simply "*Qurayš*".

[93] GdQⅢ, pp.33 n.; 45.22; 113.

[94] *The Lord Guideth*, p.104.6*f*.

[95] *ibid.*, p.104.13*f*.

[96] *ibid.*, p.103.24. The graphic *alif* after the *lām* is the consensus and not just the 1342 Cairo text of Ḥafṣ. Birkeland thus chose to ignore the testimony of Muslim Tradition as a whole.

[97] *sic* (*ibid.*, p.104.9). This is the linchpin in the theory, and without it it falls to the ground.

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[98] ibid., p.104.21. That no Muslim is reported to have read it so suggests that none ever in fact had لیلف as the written text.

[99] ibid., p.104.26.

[100] ibid., p.104.27.

[101] ibid., p.104.15.

[102] ibid., p.104.18.

[103] ibid., p.104.19.

[104] ibid., p.104.30.

[105] ibid., p.135.13.

[106] ibid., p.134.31.

[107] ibid., p.104.30f.

[108] ibid., p.105.11.

[109] ibid., p.104.37.

[110] ibid., p.105.4f.

[111] ibid., p.105.17f.

[112] ibid., pp.105.20 and 106.3.

[113] See Nielsen, *Oral Tradition*, p.13.15ff.

[114] *The Lord Guideth*, p.107.27f.

[115] ibid., p.106.24.

[116] *Lisān*, pt.10, p.352.7f.

[117] See n.62 above.

[118] Beirut edition, vol.4, p.287.15.

[119] *The Lord Guideth*, p.108.2.

[120] ibid., p.109.3.

[121] *al-Sīra*, vol.1, p.55.2.

[122] Burton, *The Collection*, p.147; Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, e.g. pp.38, 127, 177f.

[123] *The Lord Guideth*, p.108.11.

[124] ibid., p.124f.

[125] ibid., p.120.37.

[126] ibid., p.130, p.34.

[127] ibid., p.128f.

[128] Wright i 291C; ii 28A; i 279B.

Appendix II

A rendering of the tafsīr of Qur'ān *106*
of Muqātil al-Balxī

IN THE NAME OF GOD, the merciful, the compassionate.

1. For the getting together of Qurayš.[1] Now the background[2] to this is that Qurayš were traders who used to travel to different places, which was why they were called

2. Qurayš. In winter they would get their supplies from Jordan and Palestine as far as[3] the coast, and when

3. summer came they left the winter-route and the sea, because of the heat and took to the Yemen for supplies. Now it was extremely inconvenient

4. for them to come and go to them, and to have to habitually.[4] So We put an end to them for them. This then was their habit during the journey

5. in winter and in summer. God then put it into the minds of the Ethiopians to ship food

6. to Mecca, so Qurayš would buy some of it at a place two days distant from Mecca. They carried on in this way

7. for years, God having taken the trouble of their sustenance[5] during the winter and the summer on Himself. Then He said, let them worship the Lord

8. of this House. Since the Lord of (this) House had taken the trouble of fear and hunger from them on Himself, let them make a habit of going to worship,

9. just as they had made a habit of going to the Abyssinians despite not always expecting to meet them. And He saved them from fear, that is killing and capture,

10. the background to which is that the pre-Islamic Arabs used to kill and raid each other, so

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11. God would defend the inhabitants of the sanctuary and not let any enemy gain power over them. This then is His statement, and He saved them from

12. fear. Further, in the statement, for the getting together of Qurays, God is saying that Qurays no longer have to travel far and wide for supplies. And the background to this is that Qurays,

13. since traders did not come or find their way to them, used to get food-stocks for their families from Syria

14. in the winter. Because when it was winter they set off for Syria to get food-stocks for their families,

15. then when winter had passed, they set off for the Yemen. Thus they had two journeys, one in winter and one in summer,

16. so God had mercy on them and put it into the minds of the Abyssinians to ship food to them. And they used

17. to go to Jedda for a night and buy the food. In this way God took the trouble of their sustenance during the winter and summer on Himself.

18. So He reminded them of these favours in a revelation, saying, for the getting together of Qurays, their getting together during the journey in winter

19. and summer. Getting together, that is, as opposed to having the trouble of providing and of travelling to and fro. He then said, let them worship the Lord of this House.

20. In other words, perform genuine worship to Him who supplied them with food and dispelled hunger, when He put it into the minds of the Abyssinians

21. to ship food to them. He then said, and He saved them from fear,

22. that is, from killing and capture and punishment, for men used to kill and take each other prisoner.

23. Qurays meanwhile were safe in the sanctuary.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. It seems that for Muqātil, God was the subject of 'īlāf. line 1 thus meant for him, "Because of God's getting Qurays together ..." This can

be seen from the interpretation as a whole, but in particular from line 7 where *kafāhum ul-lahu 'azza wajalla mūnat aš-šitā'i was-sayfi* is a paraphrase of *'īlāfihim riḥlata š-šitā'i was-sayfi*. God had saved them (*kafāhum/'īlāfihim*) the trouble (*mūna/riḥla*) of winter and summer. These substitutions, not to call them strict glosses, can be seen reappearing in Muslim *tafsīr* time and time again.

2. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p.124, (in a discussion of Muqātil's method) "*waḏālika an/anna* generally indicates the 'occasion' of revelation". See also lines 10,12.

3. Although in line 3 Muqātil refers to a sea-route, or at least a coastal one, the *ilā* in line 2 cannot also be considered to refer to it. A more literal translation would be to treat it as the third of a trio of northerly trading areas, listed east to west.

4. *'wd* stem *iv* is transitive and often auxiliary, cf. Wehr and Lane p.2189, the latter especially under stem *viii*. It cannot therefore mean "return" in the sense of "return-journey" (*'awda* and stem *iii*) here, but should have some transitive or auxiliary meaning. Since Muqātil seems to have used the word here to prepare the way for singling out the connotation of "habit" (*'ilf, 'āda*) in the word *'īlāf*, the translation "to have to habitually" would seem to fit the form and sense best. Prolepsis, anticipatory use of a word or idea, is a characteristic of Muqātil's style (see General Point 4.2 below and Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p.123.27). This connotation would also seem to be demanded in line 9, otherwise the qualification "despite not always expecting to meet them" would not carry much sense.

However there is a danger in limiting the many connotations of root 'lf to one English translation, since, whether consciously or not, Muqātil passed easily between what in English are connotations a good deal more separate. Thus *'ilfuhum* in line 4, although best translated "their habit", must not be divorced from the idea of "their getting together", or, to use the American colloquial phrase, "their getting it together". In line 8 again these connotations should not be lost, "let them make a habit of going to worship" could be translated "let them get their worship together just as they got it together to go to the Abyssinians". Conversely, in line 19 *al-īlāf*, whereas it is best rendered by "Getting together", could perhaps be translated "Making more stable habits". Both have the exhortative flavour of Muqātil's whole treatment of the *sūra*.

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What is at issue is the dangers of translation, especially with originally oral texts, where meanings not only are often brought out in other ways like stress and gesture, but can also be left deliberately impressionistic and inexact. Translating the Qur'ān itself often falls prey to these dangers.

5. *mu'na/mūna* can mean (among other things) "trouble" or "sustenance" (Lane, p.3016; *Lisān*, vol.17, p.283.7 — 284.13 *"at-ta'b, aš-šidda, al-qūt"*). The two meanings in Arabic, however, are not so separate as in English, the meaning of sustenance necessarily containing within it implications of the trouble in providing it. Muqātil moved between these two connotations (e.g. lines 8 and 19), in a similar way to that in which he moved between different connotations of root 'If, see n.4 above.

GENERAL POINTS

1. The text and translation are from folio 253a of ms. Saray Ahmet III,74/II. For the Arabic see p.259 below. The manuscript is dated 886 A.H., see Sezgin, p.37. My photocopy was sent to me by Dr.P.Crone, who was given it by Dr.U.Rubin, Tell Aviv Universty. Abu l-Ḥasan Muqātil ibn Sulaymān ibn Bašīr al-Azdī al-Balxī was born in Balkh, lived in Basra and then in Baghdad, and died in Basra 150/767.

2. Since Muqātil can intersperse Qur'ān utterances in his narrative without formal indication (like *qawluhu* or *ṯumma qāl*), e.g. line 20, it may not be possible to determine what his Qur'ān text was in every place of his *tafsīr*, as can be done with later commentators, nevertheless here with *sūra 106* it is. There is no doubt that Muqātil's Qur'ān text ran *li'īlāfi Qurayšin 'īlāfihim...* (see lines 1,18). In line 4 he is clearly not quoting the text when he says *faḏalik 'ilfuhum riḥlata š-šitā'i was-sayfi*, but binding together the narrative framework. Compare *faḏalik qawluhu ...* in line 11, where Muqātil is clearly specifically quoting the Qur'ān. On line 1 he began with verse 1 and proceeded to give the background, which is what Qurayš had been in the habit of doing. Then on line 4 the description is bound up etymologically by the word *'ilf*. There is no implication that this was his Qur'ān text (such would anyway be belied by its nominative case), nor is it even a straight gloss, but more of a paraphrase and a part of the overall narrative, *'ilf* being to *'īlāf* as *mūna/mu'na*

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is to *riḥla* (1.8 and 17). Further, there is no mention of a reading here. According to Wansbrough (*Quranic Studies*, pp.132.24, 138.4), readings are virtually absent from Muqātil, but occur in quantity in the *tafsīrs* of his contemporaries, Muḥammad al-Kalbī (born before 66/68, d.146/763, see Sezgin, p.34) and Sufyān al-Tawrī (d.161/778). Wansbrough, however, regards them, for al-Kalbī at least, and probably also for Sufyān (*Quranic Studies*, p.144.5f.), as editorial reformulation during the period before, or while, they were first written down (about 200/815). He claimed (*ibid.*, p.141.17) that they were, like lines of poetry, clearly intrusive, having a disruptive effect on the narrative. If this is correct, it would point, by the way, to a more or less standard text.

3. Muqātil did not ascribe to, nor even allude to, the theory that *sūras* *105* and *106* were originally not separate. The Ethiopians were not enemies of Qurayš for him, but agents of God's mercy (line 16).

4. Indications of oral delivery of Muqātil's *tafsīr* :

4.1 The *tafsīr* to this *sūra* is a flowing story with no bibliographical references, that is, it is a narrative. Muqātil's method is impressionistic. He created a colourful overall picture, using all sorts of associations of ideas, but sometimes left individual words not precisely defined, notably *'īlāf*. He presented only one story-line, a coherent picture with little or no accommodation of alternative ideas, or glosses, as apparently al-Kalbī and Sufyān tended to do (Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, pp.132.24, 138.3). *falya'lifū l-'ibāda* (line 8) and *uχlusū l-'ibāda* (line 20) for *falya'budū* are hardly alternatives.

4.2 There is much repetition of various elements, large and small. Line 17b to the end, for instance, form a recap of his whole interpretation, including more or less exact repetitions of individual glosses (e.g. lines 9 and 22). Under this heading also comes Muqātil's use of prolepsis, hinting at ideas to come. In line 8, for instance, Muqātil used the same phrase as in the previous line but with fear and hunger (*kafāhum mūnat al-χawfi wal-jū'i*), rather than winter and summer (*kafāhum ... mūnat aš-šitā'i waš-ṣayfi*). He also repeated the root 'lf in a new context. This technique not only aided delivery but also understanding. By linking formulae (*kafāhum mūnat...*) it achieves continuity (Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p.128.32), and by linking ideas (*li'īlāfi...* line 1; *falya'budū ...* line 7; *falya'lifū l-'ibāda ...* line 8) it achieved unity. All the essential ideas in the *sūra* were thus brought together in a new way providing a different perspective on their meaning. So whereas some of his repetition of larger
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elements (although not with this *sūra*) might be considered unnecessary in a text designed to be read (see *ibid.*, p.145.31), smaller repetitions such as these were by no means mere oral structural technique.

4.3 *'īlāf* is always spelt in full.

4.4 Abruptness for effect (line 4).

5. Reflecting on this *sūra*, one did not have to be a grammarian to have to wonder about the *li* and the *fā'*. As a result, it was natural, especially given the association of roots 'lf and n'm, that some favour bestowed on Qurayš by God had to underlie the command "worship". It was also natural that it be found in *'īlāf*, the most obvious antecedent to *falya'budū*. Muqātil found it in God's relieving them, both of the trouble of having to travel to and fro to get supplies (line 7, although this is only proleptically suggested), and of the trouble of fear and hunger (line 8). Looked at from a non-exegetical standpoint, this could be taken as an account of the end of Meccan trade. Other Muslims preferred to find the favour in the original establishment of Meccan trade by Hāšim and his family. Looked at once again from a non-exegetical standpoint, there is here a straight contradiction. But it simply cannot be looked at from a non-exegetical standpoint. Meccan trade obviously neither began nor ended in this way, and both these views are merely different lines of the exegesis of a couple of unspecific Quranic references. The early Muslims were not trying to document details about the Jāhiliyya, but to expound and expand upon every syllable of the Qur'ān. It seems that "the end of Meccan trade", as in Muqātil, was the development of an interpretation of *'īlāf* as getting together literally, that is, stopping travelling (see *n.1* above), whereas "the beginning of Meccan trade" was the development of an interpretation of *'īlāf* as getting it together metaphorically (see *n.4* above), that is, organising the travelling, whether as regards route or treaty.

6. *asbāb al-nuzūl* — line 18 *fa'anzala*; line 20 *ḥīn*.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

١   لايلاف قريش   وذلك ان قريشا كانوا تجارا يختلفون الى الارض فمن ثم سميت

٢   قريشا   وكانوا يمتارون في الشتا من الاردن وفلسطين الى ساحل البحر فاذا كان

٣   الصيف تركوا طريق الشتا والبحر من اجل الحر واخذوا الى اليمن للميرة   فشق

٤   عليهم الاختلاف لهم والاعادة قد قطعناهم عنهم   فذلك إلفهم رحلة

٥   الشتا والصيف   فقذف الله عز وجل في قلوب الحبشة ان يجعلوا الطعام في

٦   السفن الى مكة   فيشترون من طعامهم على مسيرة يومين من مكة   فتتابع ذلك عليهم

٧   سنين كفاهم الله عزوجل مونة الشتا والصيف   ثم قال فليعبدوا رب

٨   هذا البيت لان رب (هذا) البيت كفاهم مونة الخوف والجوع   فليالفوا العبادة

٩   كما الفوا الحبشة ولم يكونوا يرجونهم   وامنهم من خوف يعني القتل والسبي

١٠   وذلك ان العرب في الجاهلية كان يقتل بعضهم بعضا ويغير بعضهم على بعض   فكان

١١   الله عز وجل يدفع عن اهل الحرم ولا يسلط عليهم عدوا   فذلك قوله وامنهم من

١٢   خوف   وايضا لايلاف قريش يقول لا ميرة لقريش ولا اختلاف   وذلك ان قريشا

١٣   لا ياتيهم التجار ولا يهتدون اليهم   فكانت قريش تمتار لاهلهم الطعام من الشام

١٤   في الشتا   لانهم اذا كان في الشتاء انطلقوا الى الشام فامتاروا الطعام لاهلهم

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١٥ فاذا جاز الشتا انطلقوا الى اليمن   فكانت لهم مرحلتين في الشتا
والصيف

١٦ فرحمهم الله عزوجل فقذف في قلوب الحبش ان يحملوا اليهم الطعام
في السفن   وكانوا

١٧ يخرجون ليلة الى جدة فيشترون الطعام   فكفاهم الله مونة الشتا والصيف

١٨ فانزل الله عزوجل يذكرهم النعم فقال   لايلاف قريش ايلافهم رحلة الشتا

١٩ والصيف   والايلاف من المونة والاختلاف   ثم قال فليعبدوا رب
هذا البيت

٢٠ يقول أخلصوا العبادة له الذي اطعمهم من جوع حين قذف في قلوب
الحبشة

٢١ ان يحملوا اليهم الطعام في السفن   ثم قال وامنهم من خوف

٢٢ يعني القتل والسبي والعذاب   كان يقتل بعضهم بعضا ويسبي بعضهم
بعضا

٢٣ وهم امين في الحرم .

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الارض ثم يعرج اليه في يوم كان مقداره ألف سنة مما تعدون ﴿٥﴾ ذلك عالم الغيب والشهادة العزيز الرحيم ﴿٦﴾ الذي أحسن كل شيء خلقه وبدأ خلق الإنسان من طين ﴿٧﴾ ثم جعل نسله من سلالة من ماء مهين ﴿٨﴾ ثم سواه ونفخ فيه من روحه وجعل لكم السمع والأبصار والأفئدة قليلا ما تشكرون ﴿٩﴾ وقالوا أإذا ضللنا في الأرض أإنا لفي خلق جديد بل هم بلقاء ربهم كافرون ﴿١٠﴾ قل يتوفاكم ملك الموت الذي وكل بكم ثم إلى ربكم ترجعون ﴿١١﴾ ولو ترى إذ المجرمون ناكسوا رؤوسهم عند ربهم ربنا أبصرنا وسمعنا فارجعنا نعمل صالحا إنا موقنون ﴿١٢﴾ ولو شئنا لآتينا كل نفس هداها ولكن حق القول مني لأملأن جهنم من الجنة والناس أجمعين ﴿١٣﴾ فذوقوا بما نسيتم لقاء يومكم هذا إنا نسيناكم وذوقوا عذاب الخلد بما كنتم تعملون ﴿١٤﴾ إنما يؤمن بآياتنا الذين إذا ذكروا بها خروا سجدا وسبحوا بحمد ربهم وهم لا يستكبرون ۩ ﴿١٥﴾ تتجافى جنوبهم عن المضاجع يدعون ربهم خوفا وطمعا ومما رزقناهم ينفقون ﴿١٦﴾ فلا تعلم نفس ما أخفي لهم من قرة أعين جزاء بما كانوا يعملون ﴿١٧﴾ أفمن كان مؤمنا كمن كان فاسقا لا يستوون ﴿١٨﴾ أما الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات فلهم جنات المأوى نزلا بما كانوا يعملون ﴿١٩﴾ وأما الذين فسقوا فمأواهم

Plate III, Edinburgh New College ms.1*. *Qur'ān 32:3–20*

Plate IV, Edinburgh New College ms.1*. *Qur'ān 32:20–33:4*