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Intentional Changes in Qur'an Manuscripts

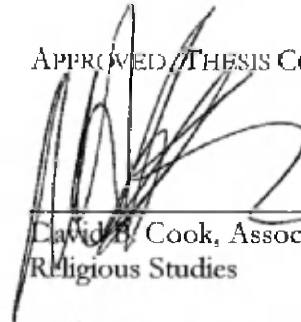
by

Daniel Alan Brubaker

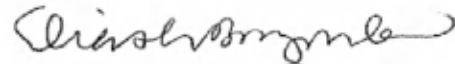
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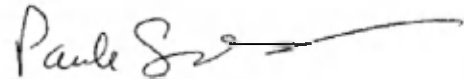
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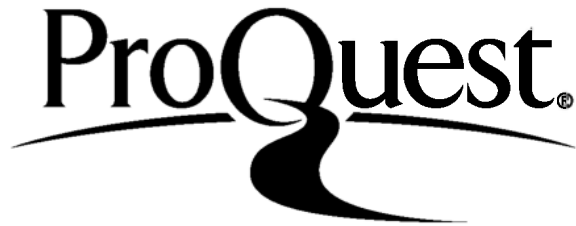
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ABSTRACT

Intentional Changes in Qur'an Manuscripts

by

Daniel A. Brubaker

This dissertation examines intentional changes in ten early bound Qur'ans, most partial, and a group of early Qur'an fragments that range in probable date of origin from the last quarter of the 7th to the first quarter of the 9th centuries AD. It finds intentional changes of various types to be widespread within these manuscripts. In some cases part or all of the underlying text may be discerned. Some areas show signs of having been corrected more than once and by different scribes. There is some correlation among changed passages between these manuscripts, the same portion of text having been corrected in multiple manuscripts. The vast majority of the changes involve portions of text that have no variant readings recorded in the *qirā'āt* literature, indicting that the traditional literature does not present a full picture of the range of the Qur'an's early textual transmission. There is some correspondence between the changes found and the *maṣāḥif* literature. The evidence of the scribal changes in these manuscripts points to a process of standardization that appears to have been still ongoing during and following the times of production of all these manuscripts. The nature of the corrections in these manuscripts indicate that the text of the Qur'an was not immediately established in every detail, nor was oral tradition strong enough or unanimous enough to prevent written variants in the form of alternate spellings, alternate words or phrases, omissions, or inclusions that precipitated later revisions or standardization of the pages themselves but that in some cases remain.

Acknowledgments

I have become indebted during this project to many individuals and institutions. It has been a privilege and honor to work under the supervision of David Cook and to have his close guidance through the PhD process. I am glad for the many conversations, hours of personal instruction in Arabic and texts, including the opportunity to teach Arabic students and to deliver classroom lectures from time to time. I am also grateful to have had full use of his extensive personal library, and particularly for the time spent together with him in the final stage of this dissertation combing through the *qirā'āt* literature. I am pleased now not only to be a student but also to count him a friend.

I thank the other members of my committee, Elías Bongmba, Paula Sanders, and Andrew Rippin, who have also advised, reviewed written material from time to time, and provided valuable input. I particularly thank Andrew Rippin for agreeing to join this committee; his work over many years in early history of the Qur'an and his stature in the field adds much.

I thank Keith E. Small who has been the greatest single influence in the specific direction of my study and choice of this topic. In addition to the inspiration he has given me since our first meeting in London in January 2005 where he delivered a paper titled "Textual Criticism of the New Testament and the Qur'an," he has become a dear friend and has patiently assisted me many times along this now nearly decade-long path of study. Among other things, it was Keith who at Oxford in 2007 first made available to me the then difficult to obtain UNESCO CD-rom of the Sanaa manuscripts, it

was Keith who facilitated my participation as a panelist with himself and David Powers at the MESA annual convention in San Diego in 2010 to present my paper on omission of *sab'īn marra fa* from Q 9:80 in one of the Sanaa Qur'an folios,¹ and it has been Keith who shared personal connections and resources crucial to my progress including introductions leading to my 2011 pilgrimage to the home of the Puins in Germany. Finally, Keith has given much valuable advice, read my work including drafts of the current project, and provided me with relevant books and other material.

I am glad to have become friends with Denis Saveliev, who shares my interest in early Qur'ans and has shared thoughts and material on the subject. I thank Denis for providing me images of E20, the Samarkand and Katta Langar manuscripts, as well as several papers of his own and others analyzing these.

I cannot fully express my wonder and delight at being met at the Frankfurt Book Fair and then hosted in the home of Gerd-R and Elisabeth Puin in Saarbrücken for two days in October 2011, nor the additional pleasure that Ibn Warraq was a houseguest at the same time. What a privilege to stay in the very study where the Puins conduct their ongoing writing and research. The conversations of that time were of great value and I have returned to my record of them many times since; it was a very special time for me as Gerd carefully showed me his library, his Qur'ans, and shared with me details of his experiences and work in Yemen and afterward, and of Qur'anic manuscript and textual studies as a field. Elisabeth in turn took focused time with me, talking through her own material and patiently answering my questions. Finally, Ibn Warraq among other things provided me at my request with an list of books for suggested reading, which I've been

¹ Daniel A. Brubaker, "'Even if you ask forgiveness for them seventy times:' a discussion of one Qur'ān manuscript variant," *Religious Studies* (Houston: Rice University, 2011).

since adding to my own library, that he considers to have been formative in his own course of intellectual development.

I would like to thank the staff of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) for their kind reception of me as a guest twice, including extensive and direct access to the early Qur'an manuscripts. In addition to my in-person work in "the Crypt," the quality high resolution images available online via *Gallica* made much of this work possible. I extend particularly my thanks to Ms. Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, Curator of Arabic Manuscripts, for her direct hospitable and gracious assistance before and during my visit to the BnF on October 14-15, 2011, and again September 16-18, 2013, and for placing these and other manuscript treasures into my very hands for extended close study. I acknowledge Matthieu Bonicel, Ann-Sophie Delhayé, and Patricia Ridolfi, all three manuscript archive staff of the BnF, for answering my questions while working in the Crypt. I thank Natalia Viola, former student of François Déroche whom I had the pleasure of meeting on my first visit in the manuscript room of the BnF and who placed me in contact with M. Déroche after discovering the topic of my research.

I would like to thank Mr. Samar Al Gailani, director of the Beit Al Qur'an for his hospitality in October 2011, at which time he met with me personally and made special arrangements for me to view the collections beyond ordinary opening hours, also permitting me to photograph what I needed for my research and even providing me with additional photographs from archived material. The Beit Al Qur'an is a wonderful collection and Mr. Al Gailani is a true gentleman with scholarly enthusiasm for these manuscripts to be the subject of academic study that is fitting of his position as their caretaker. By extension, I wish to thank the founders of Beit Al Qur'an, including its curator, Mr. Ashraf Al Ansari, who clearly share this sentiment and understand the

importance of the documents in their care, and have therefore made them available for public appreciation and scholarly inquiry.

One of the centers most dedicated to publishing early Qur'ans in facsimile has been IRCICA in Istanbul. I visited the center and its library in 2011 and was warmly welcomed personally by its director, Dr. Halit Eren, whom I wish to thank for his hospitality and interest in my project as it was taking shape at that time. In addition I wish to thank Fayçal Benaissa and Turuncan Kevser for their kindness and gracious assistance in making sure I had everything I needed during my visit, including directions to the Amerikan Hastanesi where I needed to visit a friend in hospital.

I would like to thank the staff of ISAM on the Asian side of Istanbul for their assistance in quickly providing me with their two volume facsimile during my visit to their center as I rushed to gather remaining materials during my 2011 stay in that city.

I thank Mr. Emir Eş, curator of the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, who met with me and inquired about my work. I apologized to him for not spending more time at his institution during my visit; the fault is my own as I tried to cover so much ground in Istanbul with limited time, and left myself with only a short space for that important collection he oversees; I feel the deficit acutely. I hope to remedy this in the future and look forward to a longer meeting, and a more leisurely perusal of that Library in subsequent trips.

I am most grateful the staff of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg, Russian Federation, particularly Amalia Zhukovskaya and Alla Sizova, for making available to me all pages of the manuscript E20 present at the Institute for my direct examination on my visit there on September 23rd and 24th, 2013.

At the British Library, I thank Colin Baker for his assistance in making available to me for direct viewing the important and early BL2165² during the second week of September, 2013, and for allowing me the use of a personal copy of his facsimile edition as I worked my way through the actual manuscript. At Cambridge University, I thank to Catherine Anson and the staff of the Manuscript Reading Room for their assistance to me during the two days of my visit, September 10 and 11, 2013. At the Oxford University Bodleian Library, I thank Alasdair Watson, as well as the staff of the Special Collections Reading Room for their helpfulness with the requested materials on September 13 and 14, 2013. Additionally, I thank Keith Small once again for pointing me directly to manuscripts of interest and within the time period of my research while at the Bodleian.

All my visits to libraries containing these rare and important manuscripts were preceded by preparation and planning. I owe special thanks to April DeConick for her valuable advice prior to my first research trip that helped open doors and ensure a smooth experience of access to these manuscript treasures.

I thank Mr. Michael Marx for his kind reception of me in Berlin on the afternoon of October 21, 2011, notwithstanding his duties as co-convenor of the ESF workshop “Methods of Digital Philology for the Study of Early and Classical Arabic Language” which concluded that day. I appreciated the fruitful and leisurely conversation over coffee discussing his work and my own. Additionally, I thank him for mailing from his office at Freie Universität to my home in Houston some books that I had purchased in Germany but could not carry with me.

² Not among the codices considered in this dissertation, sadly, due in part to the lack of access to images of images after the first 60 folios. Though I examined all pages of the codex itself in person over three days' time and made extensive notes, the addition of this material is not practical in the current dissertation but will serve as a valuable addition in later work on the subject.

I thank Prof. E. A. Rezvan for generously carrying a copy of his book containing the facsimile of the St. Petersburg, Katta Langar manuscript of Bukhara, Tashkent from Russia to London, and I thank Keith Small for mailing it the rest of the way to my home in Houston. As if this was not enough, Prof. Rezvan asked no compensation but made it a personal gift. I was honored in September 2013 to meet Prof. Rezvan in St. Petersburg, where he gave me a wonderful personal tour of the *Kunstkamera* and facilitated, via official letters of introduction, my direct access to E20 at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts as well as to the Manuscript Reading Room at the Russian National Library.

Language acquisition has been a prerequisite of this project. There is much yet to learn, but I have now had many teachers. I have already mentioned David Cook; I also thank Amina Moujtahid and Khalid Ahmed of the Seattle Language Academy for their work with me as a beginning Arabic student in 2005-6 that was foundational to entry in the PhD program at Rice. I thank Matthias Henze for giving me the basics of Syriac; though not a focal point of this dissertation, it is relevant to the study of the history of the Qur'an, a tool I have used from time to time already and that will continue to prove helpful in the future. I thank also Alex Vettriano and Marie-France Vettriano for their valuable assistance with translation of communications into French and with helping me to pre-arrange my visits to the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.

My life would be very different today were it not for my good friend Joshua Lingel who knew my interest in Islamic history, encouraged me to pursue admission to graduate programs, encouraged me to work under David Cook at Rice (to whom he introduced me), and helped ease the life transition from a two income household with three children toward a single income during seven plus years of full-time study with a partial academic scholarship funded through Ravi Zacharias International Ministries. Latha and I are very grateful to Joshua as a friend and to Stuart McAllister, Ravi

Zacharias, and the RZIM organization for building a robust structure beneath us and for keeping us connected throughout the process of this academic pursuit.

I am grateful also to the Rice University Department of Religious Studies, for the full scholarship extended to me on my admission that enabled me to undertake what would otherwise have been very expensive if not impossible. The Rice Religious Studies Department is a very special place; serious and scholarly, diverse, friendly, positive, and congenial. I am glad to have known and interacted with every faculty member to some extent, and acknowledge particularly Jeff Kripal and April DeConick as department chairs during my time at Rice, and Sylvia Louie for her assistance and friendship with details and process every step along the way.

I am thankful to my parents Alan and Susan Brubaker, and to my in-laws Jefreys and Annamma Samuel, all of whom have spent much time assisting us with the children for the specific purpose of allowing me to conduct this academic work.

Last but not one, I am grateful to my dear wife, Latha, for her patient and tireless support of this family during these years of study, and for the supportive patience of our three children, Rivka, Avigail, and Elizabeth, of whom I am as proud as any father could be. This project has not been mine alone; it has been a true partnership, and Latha is like no other human being I have ever known. At the same time a medical and business professional with a work ethic the like of which I have never seen, a superb mother of these children, a support to those around her, a patron of many and a co-manager of our own household. Latha gives so much and asks so little; I am not worthy of her but am so thankful to be her partner for life.

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abbreviations for manuscripts reviewed

F327:	BnF <i>arabe</i> 327
F328:	BnF <i>arabe</i> 328
F330:	BnF <i>arabe</i> 330
F331:	BnF <i>arabe</i> 331
F340:	BnF <i>arabe</i> 340
E20:	St. Petersburg Hijāzī E20
BMP:	Sanaa UNESCO CD-ROM manuscripts
M ^{san} :	Sanaa <i>Muṣḥaf Sharīf</i>
M ^{top} :	Topkapı <i>Muṣḥaf Sharīf</i>
M ^{cai} :	Cairo <i>Muṣḥaf Sharīf</i>
M ^{ist} :	Istanbul <i>Muṣḥaf Sharīf</i> (Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi Nüshası)

other abbreviations

CST	consonantal skeletal text (approximately the Arabic <i>rasm</i>)
F ¹⁹²⁴	Cairo 1924 edition of the Qur'an, endorsed by King Fahd in 1985
OQ	oral Qur'an
OS	original scribe
S2	second scribe
S3	third scribe, etc.
<i>TI</i>	<i>texto inferior</i>
<i>TI2</i>	2 nd <i>texto inferior</i> (i.e. written over <i>TI</i> , but also overwritten)
<i>TS</i>	<i>texto superior</i>

glossary of key terms³

A.H. - *anno hijrī*: Islamic date based upon lunar calendar beginning in 622 A.D.

autograph - the manuscript written by the original author

codex - a bound volume (Arabic: *mushaf*)

dittography - erroneous doubling of a letter, letters, word, or words

folio - a single leaf or page, front and back

genetic variant - variant reading derived linearly from another reading

gloss - an explanation of a difficult or obsolete word (i.e. written into or around the main text)

haplography - the omission of one or more adjacent elements that are identical or similar

homoioarcton - omission due to lines or segments of text beginning in the same way

homoioteleuton - omission due to lines or segments of text ending in the same way

interchange of letters - interchange of graphically or phonologically similar letters

interpolation - an exegetical addition to the body of the text

majuscule → uncial

matres lectionis - vowel letters (Hebrew *aleph, hē, vāv, yōd*; Arabic: 'alif, wāw, yā') added to the consonantal framework in order to facilitate or clarify the reading

metathesis - transposition of two adjacent letters

morphology - form of words

mushaf → codex

³ This glossary is a composite of definitions from the following sources, emended or paraphrased in places; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012); Keith E. Small, *Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011); Paul D. Wegner, *Textual Criticism of the Bible* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2006). (For simplicity and ease of reference I've omitted quotation marks in this glossary even though some wording is direct quotation from the sources cited.)

- Oral Qur'an - for purposes of this dissertation, an orally transmitted text of the Qur'an
- original reading - reading presumably contained in the "original" text as opposed to later (changed, corrupted) readings
- original or determinative text(s) - putative original form of the text
- orthography - spelling, particularly referring to the inclusion or exclusion of the *matres lectionis*; in Arabic I also use this term to refer to the development of the letter forms including the use of diacritics to distinguish letters from one another
- parablepsis - An eye-skip that occurs when copying a manuscript
- para-textual elements - all elements in texts beyond letters, vocalization and accentuation (e.g. in Qur'ans these would include verse or sūra dividers)
- parchment - writing material made from scraped, stretched and dried animal skin (generally goat, cow, or sheep)
- Peshitta - Syriac translation of Hebrew Scripture
- Qumran texts - Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek biblical and non-biblical texts found at Qumran
- Qur'an - for purposes of this dissertation, a Qur'an or a portion of a Qur'an in its oral, written, or printed Arabic forms, existing in various versions, and with 7, 10, or 80 readings⁴ but currently generally following as standard the Cairo 1924 version
- recto - the front side of a page; in a bound volume the first side of the page to be read
- scriptio continua* - continuous writing without word division
- Septuagint (or LXX) - Greek translation of Hebrew Scripture
- supralinear - element added above the line as a scribal correction
- synonymous readings - readings that involve words with similar meaning and function
- Targum(im) - Aramaic translation(s) of Hebrew Scripture
- textual witnesses (sources) - different forms of an ancient text transmitted in the original language or in translated sources
- texto inferior* - text that has faded and been overwritten, been erased and overwritten, or has been overwritten without erasure

⁴ Labib as-Said, *The Recited Koran* (Princeton; The Darwin Press, 1975).

textus receptus - “received text;” accepted form of a textual tradition, not necessarily reflecting specific manuscripts (mainly used in biblical studies; the idea of a *textus receptus* of the Qur’an remains problematic for a variety of reasons)

texto superior - the top layer of text on a page that has been written more than once

transliteration - phonetic representation of a word using the corresponding characters of a different language

uncial (majuscule) manuscript - Greek manuscript written with “capital” letters

Urtext → original or determinative text(s)

vellum - writing material made from scraped, stretched and dried cow skin; may also refer to skins of other animal origin

verso - the back side of a page; in a bound volume the second side of the page to be read

vocalization (vowels) - diacritical signs indicating the reading of the consonantal text

word division - indication of the separation between words

Written Qur’an - for purposes of this dissertation, a Qur’an or a portion of a Qur’an in its written or printed Arabic forms, existing in various versions but currently following as standard the Cairo 1924 version which was endorsed by King Fahd of Egypt in 1985⁵ that is referred to in this dissertation as F¹⁹²⁴

⁵ Tayyar Altıkulaç refers to this the “Rasm ‘Uthmānī,” a term endorsed by the publishers, and is “the Muṣḥaf which is being printed in Medina from the year 1405 (1984-85) onwards with the title *Muṣḥaf al-Madīna al-Nabawiyya* under the auspices of the late H.M. King Fahd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and distributed gratis to the pilgrims every year. It is representative of the Muṣḥafs which are printed in many Muslim countries today. The spelling of this Muṣḥaf, which we called the *Fahd Muṣḥaf*, is in conformity with those attributed to Caliph ‘Uthmān.” Tayyar Altıkulaç, ed. *al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf Attributed to ‘Uthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Organisation of the Islamic Conference Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), 2009), 15. Says Cook, “The standard modern edition is that produced in Egypt, under official aegis, in 1924; it has frequently been reissued, and must rank among the major publishing successes of the century.” Michael Cook, *The Koran : a very short introduction*, Very Short Introductions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 24.

Transliteration Key

In Arabic transliteration, I employ the IJMES system:

ء	z	ق	a
ب	s	ك	u
ت	sh	ل	ī
ث	s	م	īyy
ج	ḍ	ن	uww
ح	ṭ	ه	au or aw
خ	z	و	ai or ay
د	ع	ي	a
ذ	gh	-a (-at in construct state) ة	u
ر	f	al- and l- (article) ال	i

NOTE: Because this dissertation describes manuscripts which frequently do not graphically represent vowels, or do so only partially, transliteration often imposes a level of interpretation that strictly speaking is not warranted by what is seen on the page. For this reason, when I describe a portion of manuscript text, I usually give the transliteration of the text as it stands in F¹⁹²⁴. In cases where the CST varies, I may deviate slightly in order to represent this deviation in transliteration. This system is less than ideal in many cases since the consonantal text in early manuscripts, despite

the partial disambiguation that an understanding of “script grammar” allows,⁶ almost always contains ambiguity from at least partial lack of diacritics or other distinguishing features. Thomas Milo has developed a font family that allows the preservation of this ambiguity and accurate representation of manuscript forms; I have been unable to obtain this and so do the best I can with the tools available.

⁶ Thomas Milo, "Towards Arabic historical script grammar through contrastive analysis of Qurʾān manuscripts," in *Writings and Writing: Investigations in Islamic Text and Script in honour of Januarius Justus Wiktam*, ed. Robert Kerr and Thomas Milo (Archetype, 2013); Thomas Milo, "Brill | 330 Years : Scholarship in the Service of Typography - Part 1," (Brill Publishing, 2011); Thomas Milo, "Computing and the Qurʾān," in *Schlaglichter*, ed. Markus Groß and Karl-Heinz Ohlig, *Inārah : Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (Berlin; Verlag Hans Schiler, 2008).

1. Introduction

WHAT IS THIS DISSERTATION?

This dissertation examines intentional changes in ten early Qur'ans and a group of early Qur'an fragments. Although particular instances of scribal change in early Qur'ans, including several of those included in this dissertation, have been noted and discussed at various times, to my knowledge the subject of intentional change has never been treated in a broad fashion. The material in the following pages, then, contributes to knowledge about the early history of the Qur'an in the years around and following the Arab/Muslim conquests of the first century AH /seventh century AD by cataloguing and discussing instances of intentional change in eleven of the earliest textual witnesses,⁷ the Qur'an manuscripts themselves. My findings shed light on several questions, including: When did the Qur'anic material come to be written down? How uniform was the written Qur'anic material near the beginning? How, to what degree, and over what period of time was the written Qur'anic material drawn into relative conformity by the altering of perceived errors or discrepancies? Did written Qur'anic material always move toward convergence? To what degree did divergent wording persist within the manuscripts?

The often repeated command to Muhammad recorded in the Qur'an is *qul*⁸ "say (imper.);" or *iqrā*⁹ "recite (imper.);" To this day the collected revelations are primarily conceptualized in oral terms; the world knows them, even in printed form, as a *qur'ān*

⁷ On manuscripts as "witnesses," see Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*: 3.

⁸ E.g. Q2:80. The Qur'an contains nearly two hundred instances of *qul*.

⁹ E.g. Q96:1

“that which is recited” and not a *kitābān* “that which is written.”¹⁰ However, the Qur’ān prominently and frequently makes reference to itself also as a piece of writing,¹¹ underscoring the central role that the written form has in its identity. As Robert Hoyland states, “The verb ‘to write’ (from the root letters *k-t-b*) occurs, in its various forms, 58 times, and the noun therefrom is attested some 260 times, most often in the sense of scripture.”¹² Furthermore, the Qur’ān is undoubtedly now a book that, even if often memorized, has been transmitted in writing consistently since the first century of Islam, with evidence in the manuscripts of text-to-text transmission, in some cases with an apparent lack of a strong and unified supporting oral tradition. This is to say, the written word was far from tangential or secondary, even at the beginning stages.

Clearly, then, one of the most consequential developments of Islam’s formative period was the advent of a series of subsequent decisions and processes during and/or

¹⁰ Gerd-R Puin, October 18-20 2011.

¹¹ e.g. 2:1, 2:89, 2:101, 2:129, 2:151, 2:213, 2:231, 3:3, 3:7 (refers to Qur’an as *kitāb* and also as the ‘mother of the *kitāb*’ (i.e. Torah, etc.)), 3:23, 3:48 (apparently), 3:119 (refers to Qur’an as part of an ‘entire book’ (*kitābi kulihī*) including also (from context) presumably the Torah, Psalms, and Gospel), 3:164, 4:105, 4:113, 4:136, 4:140, 5:15, 5:48, 6:92, 6:155-7, 7:2, 7:52 (apparently), 8:75, 10:1 (apparently referring to the discrete revelation (the sura itself?) as *kitāb*), 11:1 (as 10:1), 12:1 (as 10:1), 13:1 (sim.), 13:39 (suggests the pattern for the *kitāb* (Qur’an) is in heaven), 14:1 (as 10:1), 15:1 (as 10:1), 16:64, 16:89, 18:1 (apparently), 18:27, 26:2, 27:1, 28:2, 28:49 (inferred), 28:86, 29:45, 29:47, 29:51, 31:2, 32:2, 33:6, 35:29, 35:31, 39:1-2, 39:41, 40:2 (apparently), 40:70 (apparently), 41:3, 43:2, 43:4, 44:2, 45:2, 46:2, 46:4 (‘a book before this one’), 46:12, 62:2 and others.

¹² Robert G. Hoyland, “Epigraphy,” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 26.

after the Prophet's lifetime through which the self-described 'kitāb'¹³ ("piece of writing") became a *kitāb* as such. The movement to written form (and eventually codex or *mushaf*) of the words recognized by the Muslim community as revelations received by Muhammad that according to the traditional accounts had hitherto been only heard, spoken and written down piecemeal forms the subject of this investigation. That this condensation and arrangement of auditory material into graphic form was neither instant nor immediate is not doubted, being attested even by Islamic tradition, which records a process of collection and arrangement soon after the death of the Prophet, followed by a campaign of standardization some twenty years later. Although most scholars have now rejected the long timeline of standardization that Wansbrough hypothesized,¹⁴ some recent critical scholarship has yet speculated a rather longer, or later, formative period than the traditional one, partly on the basis of physical evidence.¹⁵

¹³ Q 2:2, "This is the [piece of writing] (*kitāb*) in which there is no doubt" (translation mine; this verse can be read in several ways, but all contain the self-referential aspect). Most probably, *kitāb* in the above verse refers to the Sura 2 itself rather than the Qur'an as a whole. The Qur'an refers to itself, or parts of itself, as *kitāb* numerous times; for a discussion of the Qur'an's self-referentiality, see S. Wild, *Self-referentiality in the Qur'ān* (Harrassowitz, 2006). Cautions Madigan, "[W]e too easily presume that an understanding of scripture which only gradually emerged among Muslims during the centuries of their community's development was actually present and fully enunciated in the text of the Qur'ān itself." Madigan further analyzes the possible dimensions of the word *kitāb*; is it a physical "book" on earth or a "book" in heaven? Does the Qur'an see itself as part of a complete book to which also belong the *tawrāt* and the *injīl*? Ultimately, Madigan rejects the term "book" as "inadequate to the complexities of the Qur'anic term *kitāb*." Daniel A. Madigan, *The Qur'ān's self-image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 3-4, 181.

¹⁴ Wansbrough famously proposed that the full formation or stabilization of the text of the Qur'an was not complete before "the third/ninth century, and the appearance of the classical *maṣāḥif* literature (*variae lectiones*) was even later. It is neither possible, nor necessary, to maintain that the material of the canon did not, in some form, exist prior to that period of intensive literary activity, but establishment of a standard text such as is implied by the 'Uthmanic recension traditions can hardly have been earlier." John Wansbrough, *Qur'anic studies* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2004), 44.

¹⁵ See, for example: Dan Gibson, *Qur'ānic Geography : A survey and evaluation of the geographical references in the Qur'ān with suggested solutions for various problems and issues* (Saskatoon: Independent Scholars Press, 2011).

In particular, the hypothesis of a Qur'an taking shape near the end of the first/seventh century is far from proven but so far without solid contradiction¹⁶ apart from the traditional accounts. A possible challenge to such a theory is DAM 01-27.1, the earliest radiocarbon-dated extant Qur'anic parchment which shows a 99.2% probability of origin prior to 55 AH / 675.5 AD, and a 75.1% probability of origin prior to 24 AH / 645.5 AD.¹⁷ Results of radiocarbon dating of manuscripts must be treated with caution, as application of these methods to manuscripts in which the actual date of production has been known have shown the tests, even with recalibration, to be unreliable.¹⁸ Another problem with dating parchment is, of course, that it does not indicate when the writing actually took place; a skin lay among writing materials for a period of time before being put to use in production on a given project. However, even the extant early manuscripts with possible origin at the end of the first/seventh century and beginning of the second/eighth show few signs of meticulous conformity to a standard, an odd fact indeed considering the care that Muslim historical accounts attribute to the standardization campaign of the caliph 'Uthmān prior to 36 AH / 656 AD.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT (APPARENTLY)

According to tradition, Muhammad began receiving revelations in the year 610 AD, at the age of forty, one evening in the month of Ramadan when he was encountered

¹⁶ Says Déroche, "Some of the manuscripts which are part of the *ḥijāzī* corpus may even predate the Umayyad period, but there is for the moment little which can be argued in support of a very early date." François Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads: a first overview*, Leiden Studies in Islam & Society (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 7.

¹⁷ Behnam Sadeghi and Uwe Bergmann, "The Codex of a Companion of the Prophet and the Qur'an of the Prophet," *Arabica* LVII, no. 4 (2010). The absence of datable Qur'an material prior to the final years of the first/seventh century raises further questions that, taken together with other evidence including that of this dissertation, may justify a revision of certain details of the traditional accounts. On 01-27.1, see also Gerd-R. Puin, "Der Codex von Sanaa 01-27.1," (Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes, 2005).

¹⁸ Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads: a first overview*: 11-13.

by a being in the cave of Hira in the hills overlooking Mecca, who commanded him to “recite,” and eventually the words that are now preserved as Sūra 96 (or 74) began to flow from the mouth of the terrified and bewildered Qurayshī. His wife Khadīja, on hearing of this event was the first to believe that the being was an angel, the content a message of revelation, and Muhammad himself a prophet.¹⁹ This was the beginning; from that point forward, revelations would come upon the Prophet periodically for the balance of his life, sometimes at long intervals in between, and sometimes in short succession. Many of these revelations were received and understood in the context of an immediate situation in the life of the Prophet or the community of believers. The revelations themselves were recited by the Prophet and memorized by the believers, some of whom preserved them in written form during the lifetime of the Prophet on such materials as they had available: palm stalks, bones, and stones.²⁰ The Prophet died on a Monday in 10 AH / 632 AD, and this event marked the endpoint of the Qur’an revelations.²¹

The Qur’an was not written down completely during the Prophet’s life according to the Sīra (the Prophet’s biography) and other sources, but existed in written form in bits and pieces. We are also told that it existed in the memory of the believers who had learned it directly from the Prophet during his lifetime. That the Qur’an is internally

¹⁹ Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A translation of Ibn Ishāq’s sīrat rasūl allāh* (Karachi: Oxford University Press), 114, 55.

²⁰ “Al-Suyūṭī lists several types of material in which, according to the traditions, fragments of the Qur’ān were written: ‘usub ‘the bark of palm branches’; *likhāf* ‘thin stones’; *riqā* ‘scraps’ (al-Suyūṭī understands these to have been of *jild* ‘leather’; *raqq* ‘parchment’; or *kaghad* ‘paper’); *qitā* ‘al-adām ‘pieces cut from a skin’; *aktāf* ‘shoulder-blades’; *aqtāb* ‘the wood of camel saddles’; and *adlā* ‘ribs’.” Madigan, *The Qur’ān’s self-image*: 14-15. Madigan questions, on the basis of the absence from this 15th century list of the word *qarātīs* (“paper”), and on other factors, whether it can be presumed that Muhammad actually intended *kitāb* to mean “book” or “a piece of writing” in the sense of a physically compiled collection of these revelations. If the Qur’an is to be understood as revelation from God, however, questions of Muhammad’s intent would be quite beside the point.

²¹ Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A translation of Ibn Ishāq’s sūrat rasūl allāh*; 679-83.

self-referential in a way that suggests it is a book in the sense of the earlier revelations in whose lineage it places itself, bears mention: *wa'dan 'alayhi haqqān fi al-tawrāti wa-l-'injīli wa-l-qur'ān* “a binding promise on Him in the Torah, the Gospel, and the Qur'an” (Q9:111); of course, taking this as early evidence of the conceptualization of the Qur'an in this way requires the assumption of an early origin and/or standardization of the Qur'an itself, namely, a general circular acceptance of the traditional narrative.

The traditional accounts do occasionally make mention of the Qur'an as a discrete “thing” during this early period, and depending upon the sense of our understanding, possibly also as something to be read. As an example, the Sīra's account of the Prophet's death reports 'Abdullah b. 'Abbās as mentioning that he had been teaching 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf “to read the Quran” (*kuntu 'uqri'uhu al-qur'ān*).²² “Read” in this case is a viable, but not probable, translation choice; Guillaume should probably have rendered it “to recite.” The use of the definite article in this or similar cases should certainly not be taken as an indication that the Sīra reports conceptualized the Qur'an as having being compiled as a whole in written form at that point, but rather that either “the Qur'an” means a portion such as selections of verses or a sura that was written down, or this is back projection from a time when the Qur'an was indeed a compiled written text, onto the era when it had yet to take such form. The Muslim accounts at least concede that there was no delineated Qur'an during Muhammad's lifetime; notes Nekroumi, “According to Islamic oral tradition, the Qur'ān in its canonised form, that is written form, did not exist when the Prophet died in 632.”²³ The

²² Ibn Hishām, *al-sīra al-nabawiyya li-ibn-hishām* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2001), 669; Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A translation of Ibn Ishāq's sīrat rasūl allāh*: 683.

²³ Mohammed Nekroumi and Jan Meise, eds., *Modern Controversies in Qur'ānic Studies*, vol. 7, *Bonner Islamstudien* (Hamburg-Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2009), 11.

problem of a recognized standard led to the reported campaign 'Uthmān twenty years after Muhammad's death.

Even in the subsequent decades, Islamic tradition reports via Ibn al-'Arabī and others, inconsistencies and variants in the Qur'an started to multiply.²⁴ There came eventually to be acknowledgement of a degree of variety in acceptable Qur'an readings, the so-called Seven (or ten, or eighty) Readings,²⁵ mostly²⁶ having to do with the vowelings, which is often not represented in the early manuscripts.²⁷ However, it is worth noting that the seven Readings recognized by Ibn Mujāhid (d. 104/722) were not initially chosen as a reflection or representation of the seven *ahruf*, nor even a particular or unanimous consensus even within the urban centers from which they

²⁴ Shady Hekmat Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur'an : the problem of tawātur and the emergence of shawādhḥ*, Texts and Studies on the Qur'an (Leiden; Brill, 2013), 105.

²⁵ Ibid.; as-Said, *The Recited Koran*: 127-30.

²⁶ Ibn Qutayba (d. 275/888) delineated seven categories of differences among the Readings: 1) a difference in diacritical markings and vocalization not altering its CST or meaning, 2) a difference in diacritical markings and vocalization that alters its meaning but not its CST, 3) a difference in recitation but not its diacritical markings that alters its meaning but does not change its CST, 4) a difference in the word that changes its CST but not its meaning, 5) a difference that changes both its CST and its meaning, 6) a difference in word order, and 7) a difference in letters or augment. These categories are generally repeated by Ibn al-Jazarī and Abū al-Faḍl al-Rāzī. Aḥmad al-Imām 'Alī, *Variant Readings of the Qur'an: A Critical Study of their Historical and Linguistic Origins* (Herndon: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1998), 8-10.

²⁷ Nasser distinguishes "Readings" (the complete reading of one of the canonical or non-canonical Readers) from "readings" (a particular reading, possibly following that of one of the canonical or non-canonical Readers, at a point or portion of the Qur'an). Though the latter are represented in manuscripts, there is no example of a manuscript known to me that, even according to its CST, completely follows the CST of any one of the former. Nor do there appear to be two extant manuscripts the CSTs of whom match each other. These facts are acknowledged by Nasser, who points out that Muslim tradition accounts for variations among even the alleged official copies of 'Uthmān by stating that they "were deliberate, for they represent variants that the Prophet himself had acknowledged to be Qur'anic." Further, "Several Muslim authorities have also argued that the Arabic script used during the process of the codification of the Qur'an was 'deliberately' consonantal, and therefore, it was intentionally stripped of all diacritics, both the short vowels and the dots. This was done in order to accommodate multiple readings of one form." Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur'an : the problem of tawātur and the emergence of shawādhḥ*: 9-10. This represents an alternate view to the theory that the unpointed manuscripts represented either the undeveloped orthography of Arabic in the earliest years of Islam, or the intended use of these earliest manuscripts as merely mnemonic aids within a social context in which the Qur'an was already widely memorized and primarily transmitted orally.

were drawn,²⁸ and actually the confusion caused by his advancement of seven readings became a point of strong criticism of Ibn Mujāhid by others of his time.²⁹

CRITICISM OF THE HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Many scholars of Islamic origins operate under the general assumption that the major framework of the narrative about Islam's earliest years, the lifetime of the Prophet, the early conquests,³⁰ and other events of the century after the death of the Prophet until the time of first writing of Islamic history is more or less as these sources report them to have been. This approach takes too much for granted.³¹ While it is true that there is little reason to believe that every bit of the material contained in the

²⁸ Says Nasser, "al-'Irāq/al-Kūfah did not have one single dominant Reading to which the majority of the Kūfan readers have adhered. ... 'Āṣim's Reading [selected by Ibn Mujāhid] was far from being the dominant Reading in Kūfah". Ibid., 56-57.

²⁹ "Muslim scholars did not object to the eponymous Readers themselves but to the specific number 'Seven', for any number would have sufficed except Seven. al-Mahdawī (d. 440/1048) condemns Ibn Mujāhid by saying that he has done something that should never have been done. He has confused the masses ... and misled the lay Muslim to assume that the seven Readings are the *sab'at aḥruf*." Ibid., 64.

³⁰ Donner's important work, which remains a standard, demonstrates the limitations of the traditions when reconstructing a chronology, for example, of the details of Khālīd b. al-Walīd's important movements around Syria, Iraq, and Arabia. Fred Donner, *Early Islamic conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

³¹ Comparing details of history found in outside or non-sympathetic secondary sources is very helpful when it can be done. Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it : a survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1997).

Muslim traditions has been fabricated, there is yet little reason to take the major narrative as a solid starting point either.³²

For a millennium, Muslim and non-Muslim scholars alike have found the need to deal with a corpus of secondary historical material containing discrepancies, factual problems,³³ and even absurdities.³⁴ Scholars wanting to take the subject seriously while have formulated various methodologies, founded upon certain assumptions and careful attention to what was reported, who and how many transmitters reported it, and even what is not said that one would expect to have been widely reported had it actually occurred. A number of scholars now follow in Joseph Schacht's footsteps of diachronic analysis,³⁵ attempting to winnow the "literary garb" from the "historical core" of

³² Although their thesis has undergone modification since, this particular assertion is an echo of that made forty years ago Crone and Cook: "The historicity of the Islamic tradition is thus to some degree problematic; while there are no cogent internal grounds for rejecting it, there are equally no cogent external grounds for accepting it." Patricia and Michael Cook Crone, *Hagarism the Making of the Islamic World*, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 3. Crone has continued more recently to demonstrate the implausibility of some of the most basic assumptions that underlie the early history of Islam: "This is a book in which little has been learnt and much unlearned. ... That the sources on the rise of Islam are of questionable historic value has long been recognized. The trend until recently, however, has been toward general acceptance of their veracity, and the secondary literature frequently treats them as straightforward historical reports. This they are not, as should be clear already, and most of our conventional knowledge about the rise of Islam will have to be unlearned when this is recognized." Patricia Crone, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2004), 203.

³³ Much has been written on the subject. For now, one example illustrates the nature of the issue: When asked whether Isaac or Ishmael was the son taken to be sacrificed by Abraham, Ṭabarī records dozens of reports of the Prophet's response. In roughly half of these the Prophet says it was Isaac; in the rest he says it was Ishmael. To further complicate matters, some of the conflicting reports are sourced through the same person: three have the coveted transmitter Ibn Abbās stating the Prophet said it was Isaac, while nine have Ibn Abbās stating the Prophet said it was Ishmael. William M. Brinner, *Prophets and patriarchs, The History of al-Ṭabarī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 81-92. Although he does not note the above portion from Ṭabarī, Ayaz Afsar, "A Comparative Study of the Intended Sacrifice of Isaac/Ishmael in the Bible and the Qur'ān," *Islamic Studies* 46, no. 4 (2007): 495, describes similar ambiguity on the Isaac/Ishmael question among the other early exegetes.

³⁴ A simple internet search returns ample Muslim and non-Muslim material, all seeking to employ this phenomenon to sectarian advantage. The existence of irreconcilable material in even the most respected Muslim historical collections, however, is not disputed. For an example of such from a Muslim point of view, see Unattributed, "Hadith part 7: fairy tales, absurdities and contradictions in the sihah," <http://www.al-hadi.us/religion/research/hadith/7.html>.

³⁵ Jonathan A. C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's legacy in the medieval and modern world* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2009), 210-17.

accounts based upon their literary qualities and other features. Among these are Michael Lecker,³⁶ and Harald Motzki.³⁷ One of the most developed attempts at detailed *isnād* and *ḥadīth* analysis in this way, is represented in the work over many years of G. H. A. Juynboll, with his system of “common links” analysis.³⁸

For all the effort, however, some scholars still feel that they have come up short. Speaking of the thirty years following the death of the Prophet, Noth says, “Never again in the history of Islam would so many events of such significance take place within so short a space of time; never again in Islamic historical tradition would so much be handed down concerning so short a period of time as there was for these three decades; and nowhere else, despite the richness of the sources, does the historian of Islam who wishes to reconstruct what actually happened encounter such great difficulties as he does here.”³⁹ And again, “Arab-Islamic historical tradition contains much which, however richly it may inform us about the perceptions and views of later times, reveals nothing *per se* about the historical object of its discussion.”⁴⁰ Expressing his recognition of the doubtfulness of many of the historical accounts that specifically serve an exegetical function with regard to the Qur’an itself, Mustansir Mir notes that “[I]t is well-nigh impossible to say with certainty that a given *sabab an-nuzūl* in fact occasioned

³⁶ Michael Lecker, “Did the Quraysh conclude a treaty with the Anṣār prior to the Hijra?,” in *The Biography of Muḥammad: the issue of the sources*, ed. Harald Motzki (Leiden; Brill, 2000), 162.

³⁷ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in legal, exegetical and maghāzī ḥadīth* (Leiden; Brill, 2010).

³⁸ G. H. A. Juynboll, “(Re)appraisal of some technical terms in *ḥadīth* science,” *Islamic Law and Society* 8, no. 3 (Hadith and Fiqh) (2001); G. H. A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* (Leiden; Brill, 2007).

³⁹ Albrecht Noth and Lawrence I. Conrad, *The early Arabic historical tradition: a source-critical study*, trans. Michael Bonner, 2nd ed., *Studies in late antiquity and early Islam* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994), 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, xi.

the revelation of a certain verse."⁴¹ So thorny are the questions, indeed, that some scholars have chosen to limit themselves completely to analysis of the texts absent any judgment about their historical value: "In the following chapters," says Rubin in the introduction to his book examining the Prophet as viewed by early Muslims, "...the effort to isolate the 'historical' from the 'fictional' in the early Islamic texts is given up entirely."⁴²

There are, in other words, serious problems with the early Islamic historical tradition, and it is widely recognized that some traditions were fabricated⁴³ or for various reasons in disagreement or mistaken. "All are agreed, including the Sunna supporters," noted Burton, "that no human is quite free from error, not to speak of mendacity. Indeed, the Sunna party themselves not infrequently used this argument, picking and choosing among the reports in circulation."⁴⁴ Though the Sunnī tradition, for example, eventually (i.e. near the end of the eighth century and following) made an

⁴¹ Mustansir Mir, *Coherence in the Qurʾān* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1986), 22.

⁴² Uri Rubin, *The eye of the beholder : the life of Muḥammad as viewed by the early Muslims*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam (Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc., 1995), 3.

⁴³ "The production of ḥadīths became a flourishing, sophisticated industry because the contesting parties quoted the Prophet, his companions, or at the very least the earliest sages of Islam. The traditions thus created rested on the best authorities and the soundest chains of transmitters that ʿilm, the science of tradition, could provide. As often happens in history, fabrication in the cause of party had neither limits nor sacred borders." Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East: the Establishment of the ʿAbbāsīd State - Incubation of a Revolt*, The Max Schloessinger Memorial Series (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1983), 34. Speaking of the general phenomenon in his discussion of debates around the literacy of the Prophet, Nöldeke observes, "On these points the statements of Muslims differ. Worst of all, those who agree as well as those who disagree are less concerned with the truth of the matter than with the pursuit of dogmatic or political interests. Both parties resort to the weapon of fabricated or twisted traditions, a method that was widespread in early Islam." Theodor Nöldeke et al., *The history of the Qurʾān*, trans. and ed. by Wolfgang H. Behn, Texts and Studies on the Qurʾān (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9. As a general phenomenon, fabricated ḥadīths can today sometimes be discerned as such - being for instance the product of a clear political or doctrinal motive. But the very existence of fabricated and conflicting ḥadīths in the first place, some of which have solid isnads, is what so greatly complicates matters for serious historians of Islam. Some scholars have felt there might be a reliable way to detect corruptions; for an example of this, see Mohammad Saʿīd Mitwally Ibrāhīm Al-Rahawān, "Detecting Textual Additions of Reliable Ḥadīth Transmitters," *Islamic Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010).

⁴⁴ John Burton, *The Collection of the Qurʾān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 20.

attempt to respond to this circumstance of ḥadīth proliferation by the commissioning of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections beginning with Bukharī and the eventual endorsement by the *ummah* of *al-ṣiḥaḥ al-sitta*⁴⁵ buttressed by an elaborate system of ḥadīth classification from weak to strong based upon isnad strength, which was in turn based on grading of the individual transmitters, grading of the person who is reported to have originally uttered the ḥadīth, consideration of the biographies of these individuals (including the dates of their lives and places they lived and people with whom they were known or alleged to have come into contact), and consideration of the total number of transmitters in the chain,⁴⁶ this situation continues to cause consternation among historians of the period as it is evident that even traditions classified as “sound” are sometimes demonstrably false.⁴⁷ The criticism of hadith does not merely have to contend with discrepancies in the content (*matn*); it also must deal with differences such as interruptions or additions within versions of the chain itself for any given tradition.⁴⁸ With all these variables, natural questions for historians include: Is there a kernel of truth in the accounts? If so, how large a kernel is it, and how can it be reliably discerned from that which has been fabricated or corrupted?

⁴⁵ The six ḥadīth compilations considered by most Sunnīs to be *ṣaḥīḥ* (true, sound, or authentic) are Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Nasāʾī, Tirmidhī, and ibn Māʾja.

⁴⁶ An isnad is “support” [i.e. for the reliability of a historical report] in the form of a recorded chain of oral transmitters. Out of isnad criticism (stemming from this need to winnow the traditions) soon grew an extensive category of literature, called *rijāl*, dedicated to cataloguing the biographies of Companions and successors, including such material as dates of birth and death, travels and places of residence, and personality and character, all with the specific purpose of ranking and judging the quality and soundness of any given isnad, in order, of course, to judge the strength of the particular tradition or report it supported. Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 1-81; Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies volume two*, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), 17-251. For a summary of the various aspects and methods of modern Ḥadīth criticism, see Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *A Textbook of Ḥadīth Studies : Authenticity, Compilation, Classification, and Criticism of Ḥadīth* (Markfield; The Islamic Foundation, 2005).

⁴⁷ Again, an internet search provides many lists of such instances.

⁴⁸ Al-Rahawān, “Detecting Textual Additions of Reliable Ḥadīth Transmitters.”

THE PLACE OF THE QUR'AN WITHIN THE HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Against such a backdrop, the existence of actual written Qur'ans dating closer to the period in question presents an opportunity. What remarkably few scholars have done until recent years, is to allow the primary witnesses of the physical record to speak while holding the Muslim written historical tradition in suspense or placing it in a secondary position.⁴⁹ Material evidence is valuable to historians for several reasons. First, it is sometimes datable. This is the case *par excellence* in numismatics, and although they hold only a small portion of text, coins provide a reliable reference point that can be used to anchor, corroborate, or question key details of other sources. Second, material evidence tells some truth either on its face or incidentally. Coins give clues about the priorities and values of the society or authority that produced them, and are thus as valuable for what they do not say as for what they say. The same is the case with inscriptions and even the features and orientations of building structures.⁵⁰ Material evidence gives a picture of a moment in time at which it was produced, a snapshot reflecting the concerns, pressures, and priorities of its time and place of origin, but free from the concerns or interests of later generations except for later

⁴⁹ Says Déroche, "Why identify more precisely the early copies of the Qur'an? What can be learned from them? In the traditional Muslim view, only the recited text matters. When the al-Azhar specialists convened to produce a reliable edition of the Qur'an towards 1920, they never thought of looking for the earliest written witnesses, had they known how to identify them, but used in the course of their work the specialised literature on the *qirā'āt* or the orthography which developed in Muslim scholarly circles from the second/eighth century onwards." Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads: a first overview*: 14.

⁵⁰ Dan Gibson, for example, has recently noted that all *qiblas* in mosque foundations until the early 8th century AD face toward Petra, and not toward either Mecca or Jerusalem. Gibson, *Qur'anic Geography: A survey and evaluation of the geographical references in the Qur'an with suggested solutions for various problems and issues*.

alteration or marring that may have been imposed after the fact.⁵¹ This is a safeguard against the changes and development in corporate memory that can happen naturally over time.

The Qur'an was born into a moment of immense social and political change, at the genesis of one of the most rapid imperial expansions the world has ever known. At the start of the Muslim era, there was no written Qur'an and probably no spoken Qur'an either. The Arab peoples, most certainly aware of their ancient common heritage with the Jews and Christians, yet lacked the honor of specific ethnic inclusion – apart from the dubious distinction for her son Ishmael promised by God to Hagar in Genesis 16:12 – in the Jews' and Christians' salvation history. The decades of early Islam were a time of the creation of the caliphates, of political and religious schism and intrigue, of establishing control and settling vast new territories populated by peoples of diverse languages and cultures, of sorting political power and taxation strategies, of the development of the Arabic language and grammar (particularly in written form), and of renegotiating the relationships between people groups along religious, social, and ethnic (i.e. Arab and non-Arab) lines. By the end of this period, in dramatic contrast, the Arab peoples had emerged from the Hijaz victorious politically and religiously, having apparently asserted God's special sanction of their actions, over what was to be

⁵¹ The degree to which the physical record can be later altered varies based on the type of evidence. The multiple witness of circulated duplicates in the form of coins makes them all but impossible to tamper with at a later time. Inscriptions and graffiti are also quite reliable when they can be dated, though care must be taken with those found on monumental structures such as city gates or palaces. On the application of the numismatic record to the study of Islamic origins, see Volker Popp, "Die frühe Islamgeschichte nach inschriftlichen und numismatischen Zeugnissen," in *Die dunklen Anfänge: Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam*, ed. Karl-Heinz Ohlig and Gerd-R. Puin, *Inârah* (Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2005); Volker Popp, "Maauia der Aramäer und seine Zeitgenossen: Die Muslimische Geschichtsschreibung als Mythologisierung eines theologischen Konzepts," in *Vom Koran zum Islam*, ed. Markus Groß and Karl-Heinz Ohlig, *Inârah: Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (Verlag Hans Schiler, 2009). On early Islamic coinage of the Middle East region, see David Hendin, *Cultural change: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic coins of the Holy Land* (American Numismatic Society, 2011), 77-93. On epigraphy generally, see Hoyland, "Epigraphy."

a lasting if turbulent and multi-faceted civilizational entity of great consequence to all who fell within the orbit of their colonizing endeavors for a millenium and more.

Textual criticism as a means of interrogating the earliest witnesses is a means of hearing across the centuries certain details that can cut through the noise that later traditions sometimes add to the equation. A textual critic is a scientist. Evidence is gathered, variables are eliminated to the extent possible, an attempt is made to enumerate and seriously consider the entire range of possible explanations or sources of error. In assessing the historical import of any given change in the following discussion, a textual critic distinguishes between the features of the page, that is, what is observed or the physical “fact,” and the interpretation of this fact. The former in most cases⁵² is not in dispute. The latter, however, draws the critical observer into the realm of forensics:⁵³ He or she must judge from the evidence, and by discernment come to a warranted conclusion about the meaning of that evidence. In some instances the meaning is quite clear. In every case discussed in the pages to follow, I resist the urge to draw hard and unqualified conclusions, favoring rather a measured judgment pending the ongoing study of these and other manuscript materials and/or the emergence of

⁵² There are some places in manuscripts, for example, at which an erasure seems clearly to have been made as suggested by a conspicuous gap but without erasure marks being clearly evident.

⁵³ I appreciate the use of this term by Brian Arthur Brown, who considers his work with forensics concerning the Qur’an and biblical material in a different vein than mine. Brown notes the Latin term *forensis*, “is derived from *forum*, referring to the place in ancient Rome where the courts ... heard evidence. The term requires the translation ... as ‘before the forum’ or ‘before the courts.’” Brian Arthur Brown, *Forensic Scriptures Critical Analysis of Scripture and What the Qur’an Reveals about the Bible* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2009), 23. In the forward to Brown’s book, Prof. Amir Hussain explicitly prizes “reviewing Islamic holy writ from a critical perspective without doing violence to traditional Islamic teaching concerning the uniqueness and completeness of the Qur’an,” (xvi-xvii) While such sensitivity is in vogue in some scholarly circles, it is not my own approach; I do not believe critical scholarship can be conducted under circumstances in which the sensibilities of believers become limiting factors in the scientist’s or historian’s pursuit of answers. So, while I do not set out specifically to “do violence” to traditional Islamic teaching, neither do I refrain from going where evidence leads or from entertaining novel but plausible theories. It will remain to others to judge the merits of my work and whether I have treated the topic in a judicious manner.

new evidence which can either confirm or challenge my conclusions. This project is largely descriptive and my conclusions will not exceed the warrant of the evidence.

CRITICISM OF THE QUR'AN (BRIEFLY)

Textual criticism of the Qur'an as a field has not yet reached full flower⁵⁴ but is alive and well today. Qur'anic textual criticism has its outstanding frontrunners among the orientalist of the 19th and early 20th Centuries: Theodor Nöldeke and Friedrich Schwally,⁵⁵ Arthur Jeffery,⁵⁶ Alfons Mingana,⁵⁷ Abraham Geiger,⁵⁸ William St. Clair Tisdall,⁵⁹ and others. More recently, the field of textual criticism of the Qur'an has been taken up by a number of scholars representing a wide range of methodologies and theories: John Wansbrough,⁶⁰ Michael Cook and Patricia Crone,⁶¹ Gerd-R and Elisabeth

⁵⁴ Wansbrough remarked some forty years ago, "As the record of Muslim revelation the book [i.e. Qur'an] requires no introduction. As a document susceptible of analysis by the instruments and techniques of Biblical criticism it is virtually unknown." Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*: xxi.

⁵⁵ Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte Des Qorans* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005). Now in translation as Nöldeke et al., *The history of the Qur'an*.

⁵⁶ Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary Of The Qur'an* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938); Joshua B. Lingel, "Arthur Jeffery Memorial," (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2005); Arthur Jeffery, "Progress in the study of the Koran text," in *The origins of the Koran*, ed. Ibn Warraq (Amherst Prometheus Books, 1998); Arthur Jeffery, "A variant text of the Fatiha," in *The origins of the Koran*, ed. Ibn Warraq (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1998).

⁵⁷ Alfonse Mingana, "Three Ancient Korans," in *The Origins of the Koran Classic Essays on Islam's Holy Book*, ed. Ibn Warraq (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1998); Alfonse Mingana, "The Transmission of the Koran," in *The Origins of the Koran Classic Essays on Islam's Holy Book*, ed. Ibn Warraq (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1998).

⁵⁸ Abraham Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen* (Berlin: Parerga, 2005); Abraham Geiger, "What did Muhammad borrow from Judaism?," in *The origins of the Koran: classic essays on Islam's holy book*, ed. Ibn Warraq (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1998).

⁵⁹ William St. Clair Tisdall, *The Original Sources of the Qur'an* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1911).

⁶⁰ Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*; John Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu : content and composition of Islamic salvation history* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2006).

⁶¹ Crone, *Hagarism*.

Puin,⁶² the pseudonymous Christoph Luxenberg,⁶³ Alba Fedeli,⁶⁴ James Bellamy,⁶⁵ David Powers,⁶⁶ and Keith Small.⁶⁷ The study of Islamic origins, including that of the Qur'an itself, has witnessed the proposition of many creative theories in recent decades.⁶⁸

Despite the abundance of historical reports relating to the period, the events of the early years of the life of the Qur'an, like the general history of the initial decades of the *umma*,⁶⁹ remain at least partially opaque to historians. Questions about the stature⁷⁰ of the Qur'an in the decades following the Arab conquests of the First/Seventh century are sometimes underscored by what is *not* said. David Cook points out the strange fact that during the first two centuries of Islam, which was "the heyday of Muslim

⁶² Puin, "Der Codex von Sanaa 01-27.1.," Elisabeth Puin, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣan'ā'," in *Schlaglichter Die bieder ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte*, ed. Markus Groß and Karl-Heinz Ohlig (Hg.), *Inārah : Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2008).

⁶³ Christoph Luxenberg, *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran : A Contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran* (Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2007).

⁶⁴ Alba Fedeli, "Early Evidences of Variant Readings in Qur'ānic Manuscripts," in *Die dunklen Anfänge: Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam*, ed. Gerd-R. Puin Karl-Heinz Ohlig, *Inārah : Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2005).

⁶⁵ James A. Bellamy, "Textual Criticism of the Koran," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 1 (2001); James A. Bellamy, "Some Proposed Emendations to the Text of the Koran," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113, no. 4 (1993); James A. Bellamy, "More Proposed Emendations to the Text of the Koran," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116, no. 2 (1996).

⁶⁶ David S. Powers, *Muhammad Is Not the Father of Any of Your Men* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); David S. Powers, "The Islamic Law of Inheritance Reconsidered: A New Reading of Q. 4:12b," *Studia Islamica* 55(1982).

⁶⁷ Small, *Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts*; Keith E. Small, *Holy books have a history : textual histories of the New Testament & the Qur'an* (Avant Ministries, 2010).

⁶⁸ For a good summary, see Fred Donner, "Modern approaches to early Islamic history," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁶⁹ Wim Raven, "Sira and the Qur'ān," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 32.

⁷⁰ When discussing the trove of manuscripts and fragments discovered in the Great Mosque in the Yemen, including many dated to the eighth century, Rippin rightly notes that their discovery alone tells us that the text "existed in some sort of collected form" by that time but "does not tell us anything about the status of the text itself within the community of believers." Andrew Rippin, *The Qur'an and its Interpretative Tradition*, Variorum Collected Studies Series; CS715 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), x.

apocalyptic,” many of the Qur’an verses which “are clearly apocalyptic in nature, especially those mentioning the Hour, etc, are ignored by the apocalyptists.”⁷¹ Wim Raven, in his research on the early historians, does not find the Medinan scholar and historian Mūsā b. ‘Uqba (d. ca. 141/758) anywhere making reference to the Qur’an - an odd omission indeed given the central position the book is supposed to have held in the early community.⁷² Wansbrough calls attention to a similar odd “absence of any reference to the Qur’ān” in the mid-second/eighth century *Fiqh Akbar I*.⁷³ The absence of any extant Qur’an manuscripts that could solidly be claimed as ‘Uthmānic or indeed any manuscripts at all whose writing has so far been dated prior to the time of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik leaves the door open for alternate theories of Islamic origins.

Inscriptions, which exist and do attest to other details of the history of the time period, such as a monumental Greek inscription in Palestine dated to 662 or 663 referring to ‘Mu‘āwiya, commander of the believers,’⁷⁴ are likewise puzzlingly absent of early reference to the Qur’an. The earliest external explicit mention of the Qur’an itself that is known to date is quite late. Notes Hoyland, “Though cited directly or alluded to innumerable times, the Qur’ān is not specifically mentioned in inscriptions as a distinct entity until at least a century after Muhammad’s time. On a second/eighth century graffito from northern Arabia there appears the expression, ‘he believes ... in every messenger he has dispatched and book he has sent down,’” an inscription dated to 752

⁷¹ David Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, Studies in late Antiquity and early Islam (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2002), 301.

⁷² Raven, “Sīra and the Qur’ān.”

⁷³ Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*: 44.

⁷⁴ Chase F. Robinson, “The Rise of Islam, 600-705,” in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 210.

AD.⁷⁵ The general lack of an early written historical tradition in these early years poses a further challenge to historians attempting to winnow fact from fancy without, in some cases, enough solid reference points.⁷⁶

The matter of the *qibla* is one example of a historical detail that appears rather settled within the traditional sources but much more complex when other evidence is considered. According to the Islamic traditions, the direction of prayer for Muslims was originally Jerusalem until the Prophet received permission from God to change it to Mecca in the year 624 AD / 2 AH, at which time he changed his own direction of prayer and the community followed his example.⁷⁷ Suliman Bashear, however, made the interesting observation that in all the early traditions, Sunni and Shi'i, dealing with the matter of Muslim prayer in Christian churches and the circumstances under which it is permissible, only that related from Ja'far as-Şādiq, who died in 765 AD / 148 AH, sees fit to even address the matter of *qibla*: "[T]hese traditions of al-Şādiq are the only ones

⁷⁵ Hoyland, "Epigraphy," 26.

⁷⁶ In many places, the physical and archaeological evidence gives reason to question the traditional accounts. According to tradition, the *qibla*, or direction of Muslim prayer, was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca in 2 AH / 624 AD, however, some mosques built a half century later (such as that of Wasit, Iraq) had *qiblas* facing Jerusalem or, according to Gibson, Petra, Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006); Gibson, *Qur'ānic Geography : A survey and evaluation of the geographical references in the Qur'ān with suggested solutions for various problems and issues*: 238-50,

⁷⁷ Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A translation of Ibn Ishāq's sū at rasūl allāh*; 135,37,202,58-59,69.

which show some awareness to the issue of *qibla* while praying in churches or other non-Muslim places.”⁷⁸

The theory of an early and complete standardization and effective canonization of the Qur’an, certainly, itself has problems for historians. First, the reported campaign of standardization by ‘Uthmān would have been unnecessary if there were not variants that threatened the integrity of the written, and oral,⁷⁹ text. The theory of an unbroken and robust transmission also makes it hard to explain the many difficulties that later Muslim commentators found in exegeting a text self-described as *mubīn* (“clear”),⁸⁰ whereas a period of lapse in the oral tradition coupled with an ambiguous consonantal skeletal text that was later misread would have a certain explanatory power for such a circumstance. From this aspect flows a whole train of early origins research that has as its working assumption a period of some length of time between revelation and the origin of the exegetical tradition, and also in the view of some serious scholars, between origin and standardization with some degree of fluidity existing in the early years. “The infinitesimal differences [e.g. as discussed and exhibited by Bergsträsser,

⁷⁸ Suliman Bashear, “Qibla musharriqa and early Muslim prayer in churches,” *Muslim World* LXXXI, no. 3-4 (1991): 281. In light of an absence of an early mention of the Qur’an qua Qur’an in external references, and other puzzling archaeological discoveries that in some cases appear to tell a different story than the traditional accounts - such as for example Dan Gibson’s recent research into the foundations of early mosques demonstrating that no *qibla* can be found facing Mecca, even in lands as far afield as China, until at least the end of the 7th century, the existence of early Qur’an manuscripts and what they may tell us about the book’s early history as such becomes all the more important for a more accurate understanding of the community and culture of which the book became a central and guiding feature. Careful attention to them and the clues they provide, it would seem, is warranted. The increasing availability of many early Qur’an manuscripts to scholars, combined with the application of current analytical technologies and internet tools has removed many barriers to such research. Gibson, *Qur’anic Geography : A survey and evaluation of the geographical references in the Qur’ān with suggested solutions for various problems and issues*.

⁷⁹ Says Déroche, “[T]he Muslim tradition of writing down the Qur’ān largely reflects a suspicion that oral transmissions may not be entirely accurate.” François Déroche, “Written Transmission,” in *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur’ān*, ed. Andrew Rippin (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009), 172.

⁸⁰ E.g. Q12:1, تِلْكَ آيَاتُ الْكِتَابِ الْمُبِينِ, *tilka ‘ayāt ul-kitāb al-mubīn* (“these are the signs of the clear book”)

Pretzl, and Jeffery] are not such as would seem to have necessitated suppression of the non-ʿUthmānic versions, the more so since a minimal standard deviation from the canon was accommodated by the several interpretations of the *ahruf* doctrine.”⁸¹

Although the oral traditions upon which earliest Islamic history rest came to be developed in elaborate detail in order to judge and undergird the integrity of the material transmitted, the fact of discrepancies, while posing challenges that some feel makes finding the kernel of truth all but impossible, should not be surprising. In fact, it is what we might expect to have emerged in a sectarian and politically diverse environment that did not begin to distill such material into written form in any substantial or comprehensive way until about a century after the events,⁸² and even then only in rudimentary form, with most extant early works not emerging until the beginning of the third century AH / ninth century AD,⁸³ two hundred years after the death of the Prophet. The role of orality in both the transmitted history about the Qur’an and also in the transmission of what came to be the written Qur’an itself is

⁸¹ Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*: 44-45.

⁸² There were some *maghāzi* and hadith materials written in the first century after the death of the Prophet. The earliest compilers of traditions included Wahb b. Munnabih (d. ca. 110/728), whose reports about the battles and expedition were not seen fit to quote by Ibn Ishāq or Ibn Hishām or al-Ṭabarī; ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. ca. 93/712) who provided written correspondence providing requested details about events from the time of the Prophet to the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd but was not the author of the *kitāb maghāzi rasūl allāh* that was later attributed to him; the Medinan scholar and historian and student of al-Zuhrī, Mūsā b. ʿUqba (d. ca. 141/758) whose book *kitāb al-maghāzi* is not extant; al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) who was a pupil of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and a collector of *ḥadīth* and stories who made use of *isnads* and was consulted and patronized by the ʿUmayyad court; and Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 150/767) who is the most important author of *sīra* but whose major work survives only in the later edition of Ibn Hishām (d. ca. 215/830), the latter having made judgments about theological purity and having omitted passages he found offensive. Raven, "Sīra and the Qurʾān," 31-34. See also Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II: Qurʾānic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 5-83.

⁸³ Ibn Hishām’s (d. 218/833) revision of Ibn Ishāq is the earliest extant in the *Sīra* genre. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUṭāridī (d. 272/886) also drew from this material. Raven, "Sīra and the Qurʾān," 33-34; Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A translation of Ibn Ishāq’s sīrat rasūl allāh*.

undeniable according to the traditional accounts. It is attested externally through Muslim historians, and it is attested internally through the way in which the narrative is structured and patterned.⁸⁴

For some scholars studying Qur'an origins, orality, and oral formulaic theory, the work of Werner Kelber⁸⁵ has been methodologically helpful. Drawing primarily from Rudolf Bultmann's 1971 book, Kelber looks at the New Testament, especially the Gospels, but also the writings of Paul, from the standpoint of the oral nature of their transmission and development. Kelber feels the New Testament shows clear signs of the oral transmission and formulation. For example, he sees the increase in level of detail contained within the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (later) from that contained within Mark. To cite one example, regarding Mark, he notices that the presence of parables is limited to those that are easily grasped or understood within the context of day-to-day life. He proposes that Mark served as a harmonizer of the "Hellenized" kerygmatic Jesus (the one preached after the Resurrection) with the historical Jesus (the one who lived and taught and whose sayings were grappled with and understood by his hearers *prior* to the paradigm-shifting communal experience of the crucifixion and Resurrection itself), and that therefore he gathered and synthesized the circulating materials with this purpose in non-controversial ways in order to "make peace" among various circulating accounts.

⁸⁴ Michel Cuyper, *The banquet : a reading of the fifth sura of the Qur'an* (Miami: Convivium Press, 2009); Andrew G. Bannister, "Retelling the Tale An Oral Formulaic Study of the Qur'an" (Brunel University / London School of Theology, 2011); Angelika Neuwirth, "Studien Zur Komposition Der Mekkanischen Suren : Die Literarische Form Des Koran - Ein Zeugnis Seiner Historizität?," in *Studien Zur Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007). It is not clear from Cuyper's discussion whether he himself considers his findings to be evidence of an oral origin, but Cuyper's discoveries do seem to indicate a type of order within the text that would be consistent with Bannister's oral-formulaic conclusions.

⁸⁵ Werner Kelber, *The oral and the written gospel : the hermeneutics of speaking and writing in the synoptic tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

Among Kelber's most salient points are that speech patterns, parallels between similar stories, variants among tellings of the same story, and patternings and motifs within a given story all can point to an oral period at some point in the history of a text. Further, he points out that, insofar as spoken words are "gone the moment they are uttered," oral transmission is not to be steadfastly understood as a simple process of recording the facts as they occurred. Kelber's work on orality in the New Testament was influenced by the earlier works of Milman Parry and Albert Lord,⁸⁶ who found in Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey* that the proportion of strophic elements could give a clear indication of oral composition of a written text.⁸⁷

Just as Kelber applied oral formulaic theory as a lens for analysis of the New Testament, the recent unpublished doctoral dissertation of Andrew G. Bannister presses Parry and Lord's method into full service in analyzing the extent to which the Qur'an shows signs of having been orally composed, and returns with the a conclusion that the Qur'an indeed bears all the marks of oral-formulaic composition, writ large. Among other findings, Bannister demonstrates that the themes concerning the prophets that appear in the Qur'an are the very themes that were in popular oral circulation during Islam's formative period. These themes form the static core around which a flexibility or fluidity of detail revolves. A major example of this is the story of Adam and Iblis. Occurring seven times in the Qur'an, it exhibits fully the strength of this paradigm. Bannister demonstrates this by breaking down the thirteen discreet elements of the story that are found in its various tellings, and finds that the only three elements that occur in all seven of the tellings - 1) the angels are commanded to bow down before

⁸⁶ Arthur Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

⁸⁷ For a treatment of orality and the written word, including the psychodynamics of orality and the effects of writing on consciousness, see Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London: Routledge, 1982).

Adam, 2) The angels bow, and 3) Iblis refuses - are the same elements that also exist in the Jewish and Christian versions of the legend of the centuries immediately prior to the genesis of Islam. All the rest of the ten elements of the story occur in one or several, but not all, of the Qur'anic tellings. The three that form the core, he notes, are also to be found in the Syriac Christian rendition *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (attributed to Efreem the Syrian c. 306-373 AD, with the current form probably sixth-century), and also in the *Vita Adae et Evae* (which scholars place as early as 100 BC with the current Latin text dating c. 400 AD), as well as the Jewish versions from 2 Enoch and many rabbinic re-tellings. Says Bannister,

When the Qur'ān emerged in the seventh-century, it did so in an oral culture in which Biblicist traditions were freely circulating and thus there existed a large pool of commonly known stories and traditions to fish from; a pool in which stories could cross-fertilise and influence one another. It is this, more than direct borrowing that perhaps better explains stories like the Seven Sleepers (Q.18:9-25), the Legend of Alexander (*Dhu al-Qarnayn*, Q.18:83-101) and, of course, Iblis and Adam. The Qur'ān originates from a milieu in which Biblicist material was well known to the first audience of the Qur'ān; even a simple allusion to a story was often enough to trigger a connection for the hearer. *That Biblicist material has been filtered through storytelling rather than simply copied from a written text is perhaps further suggested by what the Qur'ān leaves out; no minor prophets are referenced, possibly because almost no Old Testament narratives feature them nor did the rabbinic literature weave lengthy tales about them. The exception which proves the rule is Jonah (Q. 21:87-88; 37:139-148; 68:48-50), whose short but dramatic story was popular in both Jewish and Christian contexts.*⁸⁸ (emphasis mine)

Bannister in his thesis does not suggest that the Qur'an was constructed, "scissors-and-paste style," but is merely showing that stories such as these bear the marks of being distinct stories, the core elements of which were known to the composer of these suras at the time of their composition.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Bannister, "Retelling the Tale An Oral Formulaic Study of the Qur'an," 8-9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2-18.

Bannister, this is to say, when viewing the Qur'an through the lens of oral formulaic theory, discovers that the text itself shows clear signs of oral *composition*. Furthermore, the results are striking: Whereas [a commonly cited] benchmark for indicating the probability that a text was composed orally from stock phrases and elements (for example by professional storytellers, transmitters, or even prophets) is something like 21% strophic content, the standard applied to the Qur'an shows that the book as a whole "achieves an overall formulaic density of 52.18%. Not only is this astonishingly high, but ... it is also consistently high. Indeed, 99 of the suras have a formulaic density of 20% or higher, with 69 of those having a density of 40% or greater and 45 having densities of 50% or higher." Fourteen suras have a formulaic density of over 60%, with one (sura 61) weighing in at a whopping 77.88%.⁹⁰ In other words, these scholars believe that, far from the Islamic doctrine of *ijāz* ("inimitability"), the Qur'an instead shows in even more dramatic ways than the Iliad and Odyssey, clear signs of being composed out of stock elements in an oral setting. These findings, certainly, would affirm traditional accounts of the book's oral transmission, but would suggest a sharply divergent picture of its actual origin.

Orality brings us partway but is only one way of approaching the questions of first origin; it obviously is one aspect of the latter since the delivery of the book to the Prophet, as we are told, took place over a span of years during which the material was not being systematically recorded in written form. But while origin is understood by Muslim tradition to have been complete by the time of the Prophet's death, transmission continued on, with possible oral primacy at first, and shifting - it seems - to written primacy at some point in time. Muslim tradition came to convey that the Qur'an has been perfectly transmitted (with some small exceptions such as the *ayat al-*

⁹⁰ Ibid., 149.

rajm, the “stoning verse”) by allowing for a parallel system in which oral and written chains serve mutually reinforcing functions. Thus, the existence of an oral tradition mitigates the ambiguity of the written text, and also serves a narrative that allows for the assertion that the community would never allow an error to persist within the text itself; even if a mistake were made by a scribe, this would be readily recognized as error and would be corrected shortly. In reality, however, as Jeffery pointed out, “actually the enormous body of variant readings that has been recorded proves that there was no consistent tradition on this matter transmitted.”⁹¹ Therefore we must consider the possibility that we are here faced with a veneer of oral primacy that has been back-projected by later generations in order to settle the problems of divergent written traditions. Oral primacy, it would seem, is essential to the text’s integrity. But did it really exist?

CRITICISM OF OTHER MAJOR TEXTS (VIZ. THE BIBLE)

Textual criticism of the Qur’an makes use of tools developed in the field of textual criticism of the Bible. The latter discipline has been ongoing for hundreds of

⁹¹ On this see Arthur Jeffery as quoted in Rippin, *The Qur’an and its Interpretative Tradition*; x-xii, as well as other discussion by Rippin on this subject.

years for both the Hebrew Bible⁹² and the New Testament⁹³ and is today a robust academic enterprise.

Regarding textual criticism of the New Testament, Vincent delineates three periods prior to 1899: 1) 1516-1770 saw the Erasmus making use of manuscripts in preparation of his Complutensian Polyglot, the origin of the term “textus receptus,” the beginnings of a critical method including development of critical apparati and methods for analyzing the nature of relations among disparate manuscripts including the development of the genealogical method and the division of documents into families, 2) 1770-1830 saw a transition away from the textus receptus to a primacy of the older uncial text via the work of John Jacob Greisbach (1745-1812), particularly his publication of the New Testament in 1782 and in a second edition (3 vols.) in 1803-1807, and those who followed him, 3) Further refinement of the methods: Lachmann's rules for classification of texts and estimating comparative weights of readings, Tischendorf's discovery of Codex \aleph , and the work of Tregelles, Scrivener, Wescott and Hort (culminating in their revised version of 1881), and finally Weiss' work with Codex Bezae.⁹⁴

⁹² The standard text today is Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. See also Wegner, *Textual Criticism of the Bible*; Karen H Jobses and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005).

⁹³ Marvin R. Vincent, *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London: The MacMillan Company, 1899). On the current state and methods of New Testament textual criticism, see Wegner, *Textual Criticism of the Bible*; Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The text of the New Testament: an introduction to the critical editions and to the theory and practice of modern textual criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995); Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: its origin, development, and significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The text of the New Testament: its transmission, corruption, and restoration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Bart D. Ehrman, *The orthodox corruption of scripture: the effect of early christological controversies on the text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Robert B. Stewart, ed, *Bart D. Ehrman & Daniel B. Wallace in dialogue: the reliability of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011); Daniel B. Wallace, ed, *Revisiting the corruption of the New Testament: manuscript, patristic, and apocryphal evidence* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2011).

⁹⁴ Vincent, *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*.

MY METHODOLOGY

When we find any manuscript change, what we are really being faced with is a question, or rather a set of questions. The first of these is “Why was this correction needed?” In some cases the answer will be fairly obvious, but the importance of the question should never be missed, particularly in such an important text as this. Was it to remedy an obvious error? Was it to address a point of doctrine? Was it done for recitation purposes? Was it to correct or standardize spelling? Was it to correct or improve grammar? Was it to improve orthography? Each of these potential answers hover around every one of the changes that I discuss in this dissertation. In some cases it is easy to make a judgment as to what is the most plausible answer. In other cases we cannot say with confidence which answer applies, though we may be able to narrow the possibilities based upon observation of the clues on the page.

A second question that faces us when there are variations among manuscripts and/or some manuscripts contain corrections is “Which reading gave rise to other readings?” A change in a manuscript, in other words, implies a hierarchy of authority among manuscripts, that is to say, one text (oral or written) is considered by the scribe making the adjustment to be more “correct” than another, and an alteration of the one considered inferior or out of conformity to the (or a) standard is warranted.

My methodology is the application of reason to the physical evidence, guided by the principles of Occam’s Razor: The simplest explanation is usually the correct explanation. Textual criticism is detective work; it rarely, if ever, requires wild theorizing but rather most frequently calls for careful observation of details and thoughtful consideration of the evidence. Emmanuel Tov, in his book on textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, prints the following quotation on the subject: “A man who possesses common sense and the use of reason must not expect to learn from

treatises or lectures on textual criticism anything that he could not, with leisure and industry, find out for himself. What the lectures and treatises can do for him is to save him time and trouble by presenting to him immediately considerations which would in any case occur to him sooner or later."⁹⁵

ANTICIPATING CRITICISMS (2-4)

It is well-known that scribes sometimes made mistakes in their work, and then often these mistakes were corrected. Why, one may ask, should we ascribe significance to scribal corrections in these Qur'an manuscripts? In answer, I would agree that scribes, being human, did make mistakes. However, scribal error is only one of a variety of possible motivations for a change in a manuscript. There are many other reasons that can explain changes made in ancient religious manuscripts and simple scribal error is not always the most reasonable explanation. The purpose of this dissertation is not to ascribe every change to something more than the correction of scribal error; indeed, a large number of the changes discussed in the following pages are attributable to such a circumstance. The purpose of this dissertation is to first catalogue the instances of change and second, judge from the evidence (if possible) when, by whom, and for what purpose the change was made. Finally, I look for any correlation of observed changes among the manuscripts, or with known textual issues that have been discussed by others.

⁹⁵ Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*: 1. (Quoting A.E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 18 [1922] 67-84 [67])

A second possible question might be whether this dissertation covers new ground. Haven't others, such as Keith Small,⁹⁶ Alba Fedeli,⁹⁷ and Tayyar Altıkulaç⁹⁸ already noted scribal issues, including changes, in Qur'an manuscripts? Yes, they have, but to date others have been more atomistic in their method. No one has yet, to my knowledge, taken such a broad approach by probing the extent and nature of scribal change in these particular manuscripts or indeed any complete manuscript or group of early Qur'an manuscripts.⁹⁹ Dr. Altıkulaç, one of the few scholars who has direct access to four of the codices discussed in this dissertation, is in fact the editor of and expert on these and has made note of some of the textual discrepancies among them, though he has not to my knowledge dealt with the issues of change that are my subject. With this dissertation, in contrast, I am interested in drawing a broad picture by surveying intentional changes across ten-plus early codices, in order to assess the range and degree of these textual issues. Such a project is very relevant as a means of testing, tempering, or even revising if needed the early historical theories or accounts of the Qur'an's early transmission.

A third criticism may be anticipated, and though not properly a scholarly criticism, I will address it. This is my awareness that there may be some who will

⁹⁶ Small, *Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts*; 31-87; Keith E. Small, "Gems of the Bodleian: Qur'an Manuscripts at Oxford University," in *International Qur'anic Studies Association Annual Meeting* (Baltimore2013); Small, *Holy books have a history : textual histories of the New Testament & the Qur'an*; 31-51.

⁹⁷ Fedeli, "Early Evidences of Variant Readings in Qur'ānic Manuscripts,;" Alba Fedeli, "Variants and Substantiated Qirā'āt: A few Notes Exploring their Fluidity in the Oldest Qur'ānic Manuscripts," in *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II*, ed. Markus Groß and Karl-Heinz Ohlig, *Inārah : Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (Berlin; Verlag Hans Schiler, 2011).

⁹⁸ Tayyar Altıkulaç, ed, *Hız. Aliye nisbet edilen Mushaf-ı Şerif: San'ā nūshası / yayına hazırlayan Tayyar Altıkulaç; önsöz Halit Eren.-- İncelemeli bs.* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2011), 43-167.

⁹⁹ Altıkulaç has noted and discussed the dissimilarities among a number of the codices I treat, but his excellent indexing of these *rasm* variants is different from the matter of the changes which I have undertaken here.

consider this project sensational or discourteous to Islam. This dissertation treats as a category a subset of manuscript irregularities whose existence and scope is to date unknown to many and which may at times be disconcerting to those holding the doctrine of *ijāz*, often translated “inimitability” regarding the Qur’an. This project (though not the first to do so) opens the Qur’an to cross-examination in its written form, a process that, as M. M. Al-A‘zamī says, “essentially leads to a thorough secularisation and desanctification of the text.” Al-A‘zamī, in his general objection to non-Muslim scholarship on Islām, is representative of a Saidian point of view which in this case specifically seeks to discredit the endeavor of textual or linguistic analysis on the basis that it can have no other purpose than a desire to secularize Islam. For Al-A‘zamī, that is, the task is to be scorned largely because it has no particular regard for the preservation of Muslim piety.¹⁰⁰

The challenge to Islam that can result from not placing ultimate trust in traditional accounts is one that is objectionable to some scholars (not limited to Muslims, it must be noted). “With the Prophet’s passing in early 11 A.H. the revelations arrived at their natural end;” says Al-A‘zamī with confidence, “they were compiled into their external form during the reign of Abū Bakr (d. 13 A.H.), and their spelling standardised and copies dispatched by ‘Uthmān (25-30 A.H.). That is the Muslim view.”¹⁰¹ There is certainly nothing wrong with this as a believing point of view, except to note that the witnesses contradict it and that the Muslim accounts are not consistent on this point.

¹⁰⁰ Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami, *The History of the Qur’anic Text From Revelation to Compilation A Comparative Study with the Old and New Testaments* (Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003), 9-10.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 315.

I discuss Al-A'zamī at some length not because I feel his sentiments represent a particular threat to my own work in this dissertation, which will stand or fall on its merits, but rather to acknowledge the concerns that some may have. Al-A'zamī's feelings will no doubt be shared when he accuses the array of non-Muslim critical scholars of the Qur'an of sinister plotting and suggests that all Orientalists are bent on distorting the truth about the book. "Schacht, Wansbrough, Nöldeke, Hirschfeld, Jeffrey, Blachère, Guillaume, Mingana, and Puin are not alone in their schemes," he says; "all Orientalists must, to varying extents, practice dishonesty if they are to successfully distort the Qur'an, whether by transmutation, deliberate mistranslation, wilful ignorance, use of spurious references, or other means."¹⁰² Al-A'zamī appears to argue that exclusive privilege be given to believing Muslims when it comes to the academic study of the history of the Qur'an by drawing the analogy that a German professor of law ought not be expected to be given "the clout to appear on television and instruct the American people on how to run *their* judicial system[.] No, but Western scholars feel obliged to instruct Muslims as to how they must interpret their own religion."¹⁰³ Here, however, he misses an important point. The Qur'an to a Muslim is indeed an object of faith, but this does not mean that the Qur'an is nothing at all to a non-Muslim. True, to a non-Muslim the Qur'an is not a faith object; otherwise, after all, that person would be a Muslim. But the Qur'an is *something* to him: among other things, it is a fact and object of history. Furthermore, the Qur'an itself and its history has been tremendously important and consequential, not just to Muslims, but for the entire world. For this among other reasons the world, and not just Muslims, are justified to study it from a historical perspective. Kenneth Cragg put it well:

¹⁰² Ibid., 318,

¹⁰³ Ibid., 342, (emphasis his)

The Qur'ān in the inwardness of Islamic experience and apprehension relates to the larger world on the outer side of that experience wherever man, either in his religions or his secularity, is found. It belongs more widely than the boundaries of Islam. For it is part of human religious history. Non-Muslim reckoning with the Qur'ān must have its due place and so also must an Islamic relation to such external bearings of their Scripture. When ... the intensive passes over into the extensive - the possessive into the diffused and the committed into the neutral - sensitive areas of life and psychology are aroused. But in the developing commonness of the human situation and its contemporary travail, there can be no evading or disallowing this sort of external cognizance, however delicate its implications. (Event of the Qur'ān, 185)

This does not mean that as scholars we are “instructing Muslims as to how they must interpret their own religion.” Rather, we are treating a historical fact with the tools of an historian rather than the tools of a theologian. Muslims may interpret their own religion however they so choose and they need not pay attention to the work of scholars with whom they disagree.

GOALS OF THE RESEARCH WITHIN THE OVERALL CRITICAL METHODOLOGY (TEXTUAL HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS TEXTS)

The Qur'an, though not Islam's only or even prime source of authority, lies at the heart of this religious tradition and is the focal point of its currently 1.6 billion adherents. This book has influenced the course of human history and impacted Muslims as well as those with whom Muslims have come in contact for fourteen centuries. Furthermore, the Qur'an has been transmitted in written form at least since the end of the 1st/7th centuries, with many early manuscripts extant. Given these facts, the Qur'an deserves to be taken seriously as both a holy book and an artifact of history. This dissertation should contribute to current investigations about when the Qur'an came to be written down, how it was transmitted in written form, how and over what period this written form came to move toward standardization, the nature and scope of

scribal anomalies such as mistakes and/or textual variants, the degree to which these anomalies were recognized as such, and the degree to and processes by which they were dealt with or, in some cases, permitted to remain.

It is remarkable that nearly a millennium and a half after its delivery, and after several hundred years of textual criticism having been applied to other books that have been central to the human experience, such a book as the Qur'an stands so relatively unexamined by this methodology. This dissertation is intended to bring textual criticism of the Qur'an one more small step along. As has been noted above, there are many unanswered questions about the formative years of Islam and many pieces of the puzzle that do not seem to fit within the larger narrative about these origins that the Islamic tradition has provided for us. These bits of information include questions about orality, about archaeology including external mention of the Qur'an, and directions of the qiblas on early mosques, to name a few. To these I add this examination of intentional changes which include many instances of change that appear not to have been carried out by the original scribes and in some cases to have significantly changed what was written previously.

Considered individually, my own research and the discrete works of other scholars mentioned above may not be much more than curious anomalies. But while these singular issues may mean little alone, taken together I believe it is reasonable to notice that they may provide an ever clearer picture of these middle years of the first/seventh century. The contents of the following pages provides a continuity for such an avenue of exploration.

STRUCTURE AND FLOW OF THIS DISSERTATION

Chapters 2 through 8 form the main body of this dissertation. They are an enumeration of the manuscript changes by type and then by manuscript. In each

instance I locate the affected Qur'anic passage and describe the features of the change itself. When on occasion it is possible to discern part or (rarely) all of *TI*, such is mentioned. If a clear picture emerges as to what motivated the change, when it took place, and/or by whom, I note this in each case, as I also do if there is a range of possibilities. I have also surveyed the *qirā'āt* and *tafsīr* literature for clues that these might yield. It should be noted that I am well aware that there will be details I have missed; the sheer number of instances of correction have made cataloguing, identifying, and describing these a time-intensive endeavor. Therefore, I have tried to include the immediately evident features in each case with full knowledge that there is further work and analysis to be done.

I have made the practical decision to organize my discussion of the changes as mentioned above, but this arrangement clearly does not make it easy to see correlations among manuscripts or patterns. Since each codex or set of pages or fragments in Chapter 2 is listed in turn, it is difficult to see a larger picture among the discrete instances of change. For this reason, I make specific mention of interesting correlations along the way.¹⁰⁴

When I first began work on this dissertation, I hoped to be able to find enough examples of intentional change within these manuscripts to fill a discussion worthy of a doctoral dissertation. In the course of the study, however, I have been overwhelmed with more material and instances of correction than I could have imagined or expected at the outset. This feature of the manuscripts alone, that is, the sheer number and density of changes, as well as their size or degree in a number of cases, speaks to the

¹⁰⁴ This project surveys a relatively large number of manuscripts, but it is only a beginning. The addition of much more data will in coming years, including with the aid of computer search tools such as those now being developed by the Corpus Coranicum project, will allow many more patterns and correlations to be explored.

importance of the subject of intentional change in formulating a more detailed picture of the Qur'an's history.

Chapter 2

Introducing the manuscripts

In the following chapters I catalogue, describe, and discuss scribal changes on nearly three thousand folios from ten early Qur'an codices and one collection of fragments, most of which were probably first produced in the 8th and 9th centuries AD, and some of which may have an origin in the last years of the 7th century. These manuscripts are five early Qur'an codices (or partial codices) found at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, catalogue numbers BnF arabe 327, BnF arabe 328, BnF arabe 330, BnF arabe 331, and BnF arabe 340, the St. Petersburg Hijāzi *muṣḥaf*¹⁰⁵ known as E-20, pages from among the Sanaa Manuscripts, and finally four monumental codices which have been presented by some as the four which Islamic tradition says were produced during a campaign of standardization by 'Uthmān b. 'Affan and sent at his order to the provinces; these are the Sanaa *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*, the Cairo *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*, the Topkapı *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*, and the Istanbul Museum *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*.¹⁰⁶ These four, however, cannot be dated to the time of 'Uthmān.¹⁰⁷

There are many textual issues in manuscripts, and this dissertation is not meant to say everything that can be said about them. I do not claim to have captured and noted every single instance, nor even every significant instance, of change to be found

¹⁰⁵ *muṣḥaf* = codex

¹⁰⁶ The names of these four codices represent where they currently reside.

¹⁰⁷ Speaking of the Topkapı codex: "Judging from its illumination, the Topkapı Museum *Muṣḥaf* dates neither from the period when the *Muṣḥafs* of the Caliph 'Uthmān were written nor from the time when copies based on these *Muṣḥafs* were written." Tayyar Altıkulaç, ed. *Al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf Attributed to Uthmān bin Affān: The Copy at the Topkapı Palace Museum* (Istanbul: Organisation of the Islamic Conference Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), 2007), 10.

in them; I am in fact certain that this is not the case.¹⁰⁸ What I have done is describe and discuss many hundreds of the most obvious changes that appear possibly significant. I include only cases of certain or nearly certain change. As a practical matter, and to avoid losing focus, I omit many plainly visible instances of change, mostly involving *'alif* insertions, that represent the early fluidity and inconsistency in the graphic representation of the long vowels.¹⁰⁹ In exception to this are a few cases in which the long vowel affected belongs to the root of the word. I do not include instances in which restoration of faded or water-damaged text cannot be reasonably ruled out as the circumstance that precipitated subsequent scribal involvement with the page in question. In short, I have attempted to the best of my judgment to omit textual issues that fail to break new ground or have potential new relevance in the larger questions I ask concerning the development of the Qur'an as an oral and written text which scribes at times felt required revisiting of the page with pen or pumice stone.

As this dissertation grew, the frequency of certain terms, including names of the various manuscripts themselves, became cumbersome. For ease of reference and to save space, I therefore created abbreviations for each of the codices discussed as well as for some other terms I employ frequently. Thus, "r" or "v" after the page number abbreviates *recto* and *verso* respectively; "27r" means page 27, *recto*. A list of other abbreviations such as CST for *consonantal skeletal text*, OS for *original scribe*, and others can be found at the front of this dissertation.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Déroche has discussed a correction in F328 that I did not catch, an insertion of an *alif* at Q7:149. Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads : a first overview*; 24.

¹⁰⁹ Others have dealt with this subject in detail, for example Gerd-R Puin, "Vowel letters and ortho-epic writing in the Qur'an," in *New Perspectives on the Qur'an*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds (London: Routledge, 2011).

There are many extant manuscripts from the time period of those studied here, especially in the (so-called) kufi styles. I chose these particular manuscripts for several of reasons. First, early manuscripts were important. Several of these *muṣḥafs* are among the earliest extant.¹¹⁰ Second, breadth was valuable. Therefore I chose to include multiple manuscripts of similar style and time period to note patterns or convergence. Third, I chose manuscripts of several calligraphy styles, in order to bring a time dimension. Fourth, access to the subject manuscripts at least in good facsimile and preferably also in person was essential. There are early manuscripts in public and private¹¹¹ collections elsewhere in the world; of those studied here I was able to view all pages and/or to consult in person all but the so-called *Maṣāḥif Sharaʿif* and the Sanaa manuscripts. There are many more manuscripts to study in this way; this dissertation is only a starting point.¹¹²

All five of the Paris codices were reviewed page by page in person in October of 2011, and again in September of 2013 to check my work and catch anything I might have missed. The St. Petersburg codex was studied first in facsimile and then in person.

¹¹⁰ In my visits to libraries, namely the BnF and Cambridge University Library, I have now also had the opportunity to review two manuscripts with probable dates of origin in the 14th to 15th centuries, and it is interesting to note that I did find changes in both of these. This fact indeed raises interesting questions concerning the later transmission of the Qurʾan in both written and oral form, but does not, perhaps, touch on the matters of earliest development, orthography, standardization, and fidelity/uniformity that drive this project.

¹¹¹ There are many important early fragments in private collections; the 2007 exhibit at the Houston Museum of Fine Arts, which included even a *ḥijāzī* folio, was primarily comprised of such. David J. Roxburgh, *Writing the Word of God : calligraphy and the Qurʾan* (New Haven: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston / Yale University Press, 2007).

¹¹² The Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, the BnF, and the British Library all have numerous manuscripts that were probably produced within the latter part of the 8th century. I have now seen many of these in person. There are also important early manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, and in the Mingana archives in Manchester, neither of which was I able to consult for this project. At the British Library in September 2013, I have additionally reviewed and made notes of all pages of BL2165, another important and very well-preserved early *muṣḥaf*, but due to the already large size of this dissertation and also the lack of availability of photographic images of the latter half of that volume, I have not included it here but save it for discussion in my future work on this subject.

My observations of the Sanaa (UNESCO) manuscripts have been made via online photographs, and those of the four monumental *maṣāḥif*, via printed color facsimiles. While online or print images are almost always less than ideal for making very fine judgments about such matters as erasures or variations in ink color and so forth,¹¹³ still I am confident that what I include as an instance of change is based upon a familiarity and trained eye that I have gained from my work with the other manuscripts.¹¹⁴ In all cases I have taken care to err on the side of caution in considering something to be an erasure when observed in facsimile only, and this limitation is acknowledged: alleged changes or erasures may be later verified or discredited through actual observation.

A feature of the changes witnessed in the manuscripts is that, while in almost every case to follow, it can clearly be seen that an erasure mark exists or that a previous text appears faded beyond discernment, and that either something has been re-written, or that a blank space has been left, it is in many cases impossible to clearly discern what, if anything, was written previously. For this reason it is important to point out that although there is often some indication otherwise, the various possible explanations for an instance of “change” include the possibility of no substantial change at all, save a restoration of the same text that originally was written on the page. Therefore, to be clear, the technical meaning of “change” in this dissertation is *any physical alteration on an already written letter, word, line, or page*. This having been said, it is clearly not the case with every instance of change in Qur’an manuscripts that the

¹¹³ A number of the cases of clearly evident erasure that I note in the manuscripts examined in person at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, for example, are not so easily discerned online, despite the high quality of those images; from this experience I fully expect that there will be much more that can be said about the other manuscripts on direct examination.

¹¹⁴ I’ve now spent several years moving back and forth between manuscripts and facsimiles, including cross-checking my work. As I have done so, I’ve found a few times where something appeared to have been changed in facsimile but turned out to be, for example, a shadow of text from the reverse side of the page or something similar. However, in the majority of cases, my evaluations have been borne out and, at any rate, my discernment and ability to judge has been improved by all these experiences.

new text does not differ from the earlier text, and there are many cases in which what was originally written on the page will be seen plainly to have varied, sometimes significantly, from the *TS*.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

BnF *arabe* 327¹¹⁵

This basically square codex is formed of 14 folios of about 18 lines each, written on skin. It begins at Q24:14, and ends at 46:25; thus it is only a partial codex. Its pages are approximately square, 26-27cm in height and only slightly more in width to allow for binding. The written area measures about 23cm in height and 22 1/3 cm in width. Its ink is mainly dark brown, darker than that of BnF *arabe* 328. Its script style is Déroche's B.II.¹¹⁶ There are red dots and hamza notations throughout; although recent chemical tests of ink on manuscripts has demonstrated once that dots that such dots elsewhere were in fact most likely original,¹¹⁷ this cannot be assumed always the case; whether these were placed at the time of original writing cannot be discerned at this time. I studied this manuscript in facsimile, and twice, page by page, in person.

BnF *arabe* 328

This manuscript, a codex of 97 folios housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, is a partial codex,¹¹⁸ written in ink on vellum. The fact that it contains

¹¹⁵ All images of the BnF manuscripts are screenshots of the discussed portions of their facsimiles which are available at gallica.bnf.fr

¹¹⁶ François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition : Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (London: Nour Foundation, 1992), 38.

¹¹⁷ Sadeghi and Bergmann, "The Codex of a Companion of the Prophet and the Qur'ān of the Prophet."

¹¹⁸ Another portion of this codex exists, along with other fragments, under catalogue number Marcel 18 in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg. I did visit the manuscript reading room in this library but was unable to access that folder. A single folio from this codex is in the Khalili collection in London; another is in the Vatican Library. François Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam: Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, Texts and Studies on the Qur'ān (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 171.

corrections has been noted by Déroche, “In many places, corrections were made to the text or to the verse ending marks. Some were the work of the copyists, but others were made over the course of time.”¹¹⁹ This codex is vertical in format, with pages measuring about 33cm tall by 25cm wide. It has been previously thought to date to the second half of the 9th century A.D. based upon the opinion of Michele Amari;¹²⁰ Déroche dates it to either the early 8th century AD,¹²¹ or the third quarter of the 1st/7th century.¹²² He further states that “it is clearly a copy of an older manuscript.”¹²³ Altıkulaç considers its origin to be the end of the 7th century AD, but he does not believe this to have been one of the codices that were said to have been produced by the Caliph ‘Uthmān, rather being, he believes, a copy of the one that was sent by ‘Uthmān to Damascus or a copy of a copy based upon this.¹²⁴

A generally well-preserved manuscript,¹²⁵ F³²⁸ begins at Q 2:276, and ends at 28:32, with some folios missing from this portion as well. The script of the manuscript is *ḥijāzī/maʿil*, and has a distinctive and pronounced backward slant. It was produced by five¹²⁶ or six¹²⁷ scribes, and Déroche has classified its overall script style as “ḥijāzī

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 173.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition : Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD*: 32.

¹²² Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam : Le codex Parisino-petropoplitanus*: 177.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Altıkulaç, *al-Mushaf al-Sharīf Attributed to ‘Uthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo*, 131.

¹²⁵ Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam : Le codex Parisino-petropoplitanus*: 171-73.

¹²⁶ Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads : a first overview*: 19.

¹²⁷ François Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes : deuxième partie : manuscrits musulmans : tome 1, 1* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983), 59-61.

l” (folios 1-86 and 96-97),¹²⁸ “ḥijāzī II” (folios 90-92),¹²⁹ and “B Ia” (folios 87-89).¹³⁰ Written on skin, its pages are of varying thicknesses, with the thickness of the skins increasing toward the end. In addition to being a partial codex as noted above, BnF arabe 328 also contains pages from more than one Qur’an, as it jumps from one part to another in places and contains some repetition. Q5:12, for example, is found on two different pages: 21v and 90r. This manuscript was studied in facsimile, and also page by page in person twice at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.

Déroche finds reason to believe that this manuscript was produced in haste. Furthermore, he finds evidence that it was copied from an exemplar manuscript. It contains, for example, a word reversal and two dittographies that may best be explained by such a scenario.¹³¹ Importantly, he also notes that the pages written by one particular scribe (whom he names “hand D”) contain a disproportionate number of mistakes and corrections.¹³²

BnF arabe 330

This codex is composed of 69 large vertical parchment folios, approximately 37cm tall and 28cm wide, with the exception of pages 3 and 4, and several others throughout, which are only about 31.5cm tall and appear to belong to a different codex.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 62.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 67.

¹³¹ “Des éléments relevés en d’autres points du texte laissent plus clairement entrevoir un travail réalisé à partir d’un *exemplar*. C’est par exemple un saut du même au même au f. P 8a, l. 13: *وان والله وان* au lieu de *وان الله* s’explique par un saut de l’*alif* de *ان* à celui de *الله*. Deux dittographies apparaissent: l’une, au f. P 59a, l. 2 et 3, consiste en une répétition de *ل* en passant d’une ligne à autre; l’autre se place à un passage du recto au verso: au f. P 58, le copiste a écrit une première fois *لا* à la dernière ligne du recto avant de la transcrire une deuxième fois en haut du verso. Nous pouvons donc conclure que le manuscrit est une transcription du texte d’un original que les copistes tenaient devant eux.” Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l’islam : Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus*; 152.

¹³² Déroche, *Qur’ans of the Umayyads : a first overview*; 19.

Some of the pages are very delicate. The codex has about 25 lines of text per page. It is written by five scribes; the script style of folios 1 and 2 has been classified by Déroche as “ḥijāzī III,”¹³³ 22 to 29 he classifies as A.I,¹³⁴ and folios 3 to 10 he classifies as B.Ib.¹³⁵ Folios 11 to 19 and 50 to 69 he has left unclassified.¹³⁶ The codex begins midway through sūra 14, followed by 15. Pages 3 and 4 contain Sura 4:83ff. Page 5 returns to Sura 15 and the text continues from there. Later the codex contains sūra 10, and then jumps back to Sura 33. Whether this disorder is entirely the result of a re-binding of pages at some point in incorrect order, as certainly appears to be the case with pages 3 and 4, or due to some other cause is not of particular concern to the current discussion. The external or unbound margins of the pages of this codex have in some cases been worn to such an extent that portions of the text near the edge have been lost. Pages 51 and 52 of this codex are in particular clearly out of place and appear older, being written in an early Ḥijāzī/mā'il style. I studied this manuscript in facsimile and, twice, page by page in person.

BnF arabe 331

This codex of 56 folios has very large pages, of about 39.5cm tall and 34cm wide. It is ink on vellum and contains about 19 lines of script per page, except for pages including a transition between suras, in which case the number of lines is 18. Surprisingly well-preserved, it is written on heavy parchment, and is truly magnificent for its style and beautiful rich brown ink tones flowing from dark to light with each

¹³³ Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes : deuxième partie : manuscrits musulmans : tome 1, 1*: 63.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 144-46.

stroke. Its script style is Déroche's B.Ia,¹³⁷ placing the most likely date of production of the manuscript in the late 7th century AD or early 8th.¹³⁸ I studied this manuscript in facsimile and, twice, page by page in person.

BnF arabe 333

This codex of 78 folios is written in brown ink on parchment. Its format is horizontal, with 15-17 lines per page. Written by what appears to be three different scribes, folios 21-32 Déroche has classified B.Ib,¹³⁹ folios 33 to 60 and 61 to 78 he classifies as C.III.¹⁴⁰ Déroche has left folios 1 to 20 unclassified.¹⁴¹ The manuscript has verse dividers which appear to be original; it also has partial inclusion of diacritic marks, either red dots made with a different nib, or nib marks made in the same ink and probably at the time of the original writing. Some pages contain one or the other, some contain both types of marks. I studied this manuscript in facsimile and, twice, page by page in person.

BnF arabe 340

This beautiful codex of 121 folios is written in horizontal format on parchment. Its pages measure 15cm tall by about 20cm wide, with the written area being about 10.5cm tall by 15cm wide, in some cases wider. There are 15 or 16 lines of text per page. The manuscript begins at Q4:29, and ends with Q7:49. It appears to have been written by seven scribes, and the script style of this codex has been classified by Déroche as B.II,¹⁴²

¹³⁷ Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition : Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD*: 38-39, Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes : deuxième partie : manuscrits musulmans : tome I, 1*: 67.

¹³⁸ Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition : Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD*: 28-29.

¹³⁹ Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes : deuxième partie : manuscrits musulmans : tome I, 1*: 69.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 72.

except for folios 67 to 76, which he classifies as D.IV,¹⁴³ folios 110 to 119, which he classifies as D.I/D.III,¹⁴⁴ folios 106 to 109, which he classifies as Graphie D commune,¹⁴⁵ and folio 121 which he classifies as NS.II.¹⁴⁶ Folios 1 to 12 and 13 to 30 he has left unclassified.¹⁴⁷ Déroche dates this codex to the 9th century AD.¹⁴⁸ The manuscript was examined in facsimile and, page by page, in person.

St. Petersburg Hijāzī E20¹⁴⁹

This manuscript of 81¹⁵⁰ folios is ink on vellum, and resides at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg, Russian Federation, where it came in 1936 after its purchase from a former diplomat of Syrian origin, Irene Nofal.¹⁵¹ There is a very similar manuscript located in Katta-Langar that Rezvan has visited in person and

¹⁴³ Ibid., 109.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 120. These particular two script styles, Déroche notes, “were represented throughout the whole spectrum of book production, from calligraphic masterpieces to crude renditions.” Déroche, *Qur’ans of the Umayyads: a first overview*: 8.

¹⁴⁵ Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes: deuxième partie: manuscrits musulmans: tome I, 1*: 131.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 138.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 147.

¹⁴⁸ Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qur’ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD*: 54-55.

¹⁴⁹ All images of this manuscript contained in this dissertation are screenshots from the digital images contained in the CD-ROM included with the volume Efim Rezvan, *The Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān* (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies, 2004). My sincere thanks to Denis Savielev for first making me aware of this manuscript, and to Prof. Efim Rezvan for generously gifting me his published print facsimile of the same. My additional thanks to Prof. Rezvan for assisting me in gaining access to examine the manuscript in person in St. Petersburg.

¹⁵⁰ I was able to view 78 folios in person, and was told by the Institute of Oriental Studies where it is housed that the codex had three folios out on exhibition. This count of 81 folios roughly matches the electronic facsimile images I worked from in this dissertation. However, Efim Rezvan’s black and white bound facsimile edition represents 98 folios. The volume also contains a CD-ROM which includes the color images that I have used herein. I have reconciled my own work with the actual manuscripts I viewed. I believe the additional folios represent pages still located in the old mosque at Katta-Langar, as well as possibly another folio located in a collection in Bukhara that also belongs with this codex.

¹⁵¹ Altıkulaç, *al-Mushaf al-Sharīf Attributed to ‘Uthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo*, 129.

identified as belonging to the same original volume.¹⁵² Although once bound, E20 is now separated into single folios. This manuscript has been studied in detail by Professor Rezvan, who ultimately published a monograph including monochrome facsimile images of it. It is Rezvan's opinion that this codex was produced in the final quarter of the 8th century AD, that its intended function was as an *aide memoire*, and that the ubiquitous corrections in red ink (mostly 'alifs) were made within 60 years of its original production.¹⁵³ The pages of this manuscript are rather large, measuring about 49cm tall by 32.2cm wide, and they contain 23 to 29 lines of text per page. Particular features of its writing include the presence of many corrections by erasure, as well as by addition of letters (mainly 'alifs) in red ink. The latter are ubiquitous throughout this manuscript and the majority of these represent the development in the orthography of the long vowels. Although these cases do represent an intentional change to the manuscript, the matter of the standardization of the orthography of the long vowels in the written text is not the focal point of this project. However, as with all the manuscripts I discuss, when I happen to notice an 'alif that was added or removed that does not clearly have to do with this (such as an interrogative or potential interrogative 'alif, for example), I include mention. Having said this, the large number of added 'alifs in E20 have precluded my ability to closely consider every single one for this project.

I initially studied this manuscript in color facsimile only. However, since it appeared to be so rich in corrections and perhaps erasure and over-writing, and since I was informed that there was a possibility of gaining direct access to it, I felt it important to travel to St. Petersburg to check my work against the manuscript itself; I

¹⁵² Rezvan, *The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān*; Altıkulaç, *al-Mushaf al-Sharīf Attributed to 'Uthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husaynī in Cairo*, 130.

¹⁵³ Rezvan, *The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān*; 12.

did gain access with the help of an official letter of introduction from Prof. Rezvan, and I spent two full days (September 22 and 23rd, 2013) looking carefully at each available page of this codex. At the time of my visit three of its 81 folios were away on exhibition in Holland and so I could only see the remaining 78.

Direct access to the remainder of the manuscripts, the Sanaa fragments and the Sanaa, Topkapı, Cairo, and Istanbul *Maṣāḥif Sharā'if*, has not been permitted to most scholars. The exceptions have been, in the former case, Gerd-R Puin and Hans Graf Von Bothmer who both spent years cataloguing and photographing the collection, and in the latter case, Drs. Tayyar Altıkulaç and E. İhsanoğlu, who together had five years' access to the four codices in order to study them and prepare the critical editions upon which my discussion is based. Because my observations of these are based only upon the facsimiles and the comments of their editors, my alleged instances of change should be considered tentative pending confirmation. However, judging by the types of change observed in other manuscripts, I believe that many or most of these will indeed be found to be more or less as I suggest. The instances I most wish to qualify are those of selective covering as this is a less common phenomenon and has a plausible explanation outside of intentional obscuring of perceived scribal errors.

Sanaa Manuscripts (UNESCO CD-ROM)

The Sanaa manuscripts were discovered four decades ago, plastered in between the inner and outer walls of the dome of the Sanaa mosque in Yemen. They comprised a large amount of manuscript material, including many early Qur'an fragments, and this find has been considered a very significant event for scholars of the Qur'an's text and history in written form. As part of the subsequent cataloguing process, a CD-ROM was released by UNESCO containing images of a representative portion of the fragments

from this find, and these are the images I have consulted in this dissertation. All images contained in this dissertation are screenshots from this CD-ROM.¹⁵⁴ I did not have the opportunity to view the Sanaa manuscripts in person; my discussion deals only with the images made available via UNESCO of a selection from the manuscripts. These photographs are of good quality, but even the best photographs are not as good as the original manuscript when making fine judgments; one cannot yield more information by turning a photograph at an angle, for example, or by feeling the texture of the page or examining it very closely under a magnifying glass. For these reasons, I have selected only cases that look to be clear instances of change and even then will suspend more certain and detailed analysis until such time as I have opportunity to view the pages directly.

Rippin has noted suggestions made by others that variants found in the Sanaa manuscripts may have been the reason they were discarded in the ceiling of the mosque in the first place.¹⁵⁵ This scenario is certainly a possibility and should be kept in mind as we proceed. However, as will be seen in the following pages, the Sanaa manuscripts are not particularly unique for the number or type of intentional changes they contain. Furthermore, many do show signs of binding and circulation; this fact as well as the presence of corrections may indicate that some of these fragments are more representative of a process over a course of time rather than simply inferior or student texts that were discarded for their non-conformity.

¹⁵⁴ "UNESCO CD of Sanaa Qur'ans." Many or all of these manuscript images can also now be viewed online at Yemen Organisation Nationale de l'Archéologie; des Musées et des Manuscrits, "The Sana'a Manuscripts," UNESCO, <http://www.unesco-ci.org/photos/showphoto.php/photo/3462/title/all-qur-27anic-fragments/cat/837>.

¹⁵⁵ Rippin, *The Qur'an and its Interpretative Tradition*: xvi; Keith E. Small, "Mapping a new country: textual criticism and Qur'ān manuscripts" (Doctoral dissertation, Brunel University, London School of Theology, 2008), 132.

Sanaa *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*¹⁵⁶

This manuscript, a well-preserved and nearly complete codex of 275 folios, has been attributed to 'Alī. It currently resides in a vault in the library of the Grand Mosque in Sanaa, Yemen, having been moved there from Sanaa's *Masjid al-Shahīdayn* in 1944.¹⁵⁷ The surviving pages of the codex, the work of several scribes, begin at Q2:143 and end with Q59:18, with numerous portions missing in between.¹⁵⁸ Some pages of this manuscript are badly damaged by liquid, and a few have been lost completely, but others are very well-preserved. Two pages (85 and 226) are written in a completely different hand, clearly later, obviously replacing a lost page. Despite its attribution, Altıkulaç suggests a date of production for this codex at the end of the 1st century AH or the first half of the 2nd, and therefore neither 'Uthmānī nor written by 'Alī.¹⁵⁹

The facsimile of this manuscript has many places¹⁶⁰ at which the text is obscured by what appear to be patches of parchment or some other material. In some

¹⁵⁶ Altıkulaç, *Hiz. Aliye nisbet edilen Muṣḥaf-ı Şerīf: San'â nüshası / yayına hazırlayan Tayyar Altıkulaç; önsöz Halit Eren.-- İncelemeli bs.*

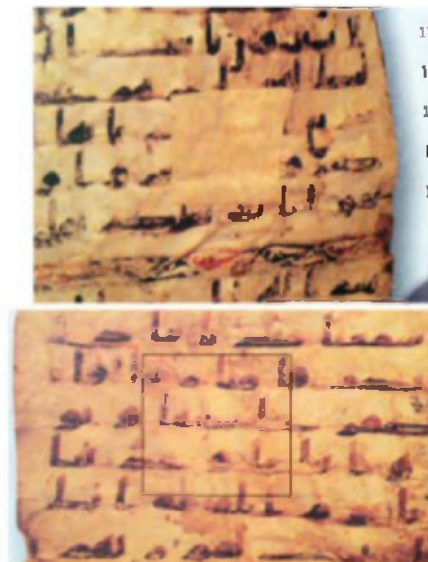
¹⁵⁷ Altıkulaç, *al-Muṣḥaf al-Şarīf Attributed to 'Uthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo, 143-44.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 145-46.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁶⁰ Verses in this facsimile at which some portion of text appears covered beyond what seems necessary for ordinary repair (often in absence of any evident need for repair at all) include the following: 2:230-31, 251, 275-82; 3:28, 40, 60-64, 77-78, 81-84, 105, 120-23, 159, 174-76, 181-83, 188, 199-200; 4:12, 50, 57-59, 64-65, 97, 122, 130, 137-39, 142, 144, 155, 171, 174-75; 5:5-6, 8, 52, 55-56, 67, 76-77, 82-84, 90, 110-11, 117; 6:30, 33, 139, 153, 158; 7:14-16, 18, 74-79, 149-50, 179, 188, 199, 204; 8:48; 9:13-18, 24-28, 99, 111, 127-79; 10:1, 12, 14, 24, 57, 73-74; 11:33-35, 92-93; 12:57-69, 87, 100; 13:29-30, 40; 14:3-6, 42; 15:43-44, 48, 85, 88, 91; 16:12, 15-16, 63-64, 89-90, 91, 122-23; 17:12, 15, 98-99, 101; 18:6-9, 20-21, 47-48, 75-76, 82; 19:21-26, 29, 31-33, 76-77; 20:47, 49, 51, 61, 72-75, 78, 82; 21:11, 15, 60; 22:22-23; 23:33, 75; 24:3-4, 10-11, 54-55; 25:37, 47, 63; 26:175, 177, 211, 216, 218, 224; 27:37-39; 28:10-12, 25, 27-29, 48-50, 52-53, 61; 33:11-12; 36:65, 67; 39:69; 41:17, 19, 30, 31-34; 44:42; 46:9; 47:38; 53:31-32, 36; 54:53, 55; 56:88-91; 57:21; and 58:5, 16. I have omitted mention of numerous verses that have been partially covered due to clear page repair effort. The following sections are missing completely from the text due to pages having been lost; 2:172b-189a; 4:175-5:5a; 9:3b-9:12a; 24:31b-40a; 38:27b-end; and 39:3-36a. Similar covering of text can be seen in the facsimile edition of the Cairo *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*, in which hundreds of portions have been blocked by what looks like editing tape (see M^{ca1} below).

cases in this facsimile edition, it appears plausible that the patching represents a (in many cases imprecise) attempt to repair holes or damage to the page. However, this sort of repair in which underlying text is blocked out is rather unusual and it is difficult to imagine why these repair efforts would not have been carried out with greater



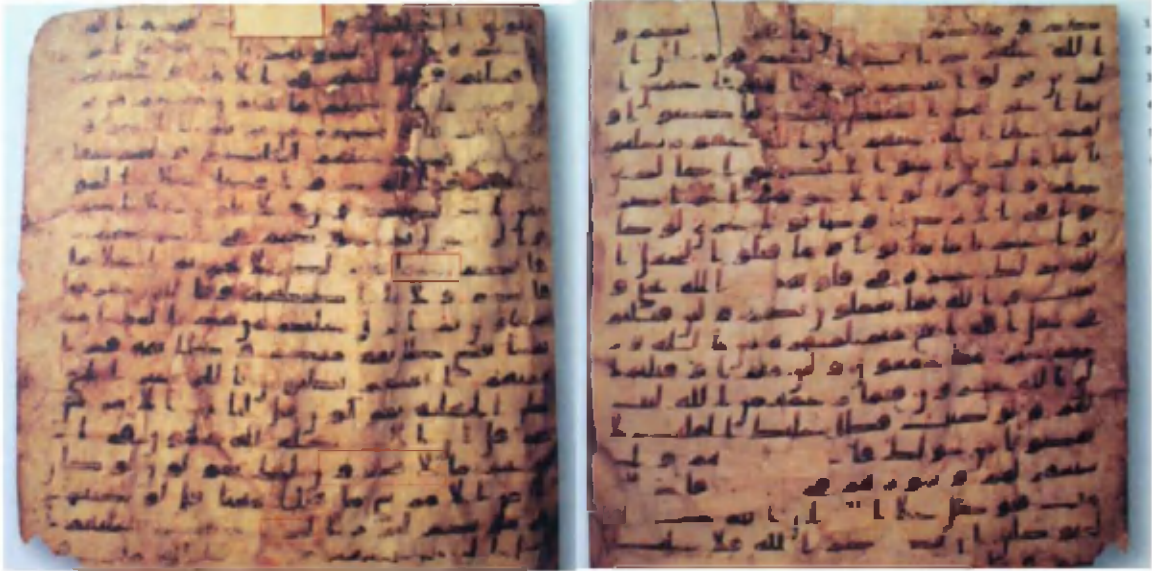
precision. To the left is an example of one such instance in which the patch appears to be serving some other purpose than the repair of the page itself, as indicated by the fact that the approximate portion of the reverse side of the page apparently¹⁶¹ corresponding, as indicated by the red box in the lower image, shows no sign of page damage or wear and has every appearance of being unbroken text by the original scribe.¹⁶² This said, I have seen examples of page repair in which

the damage to the page that was being addressed was not evident except by the closest direct inspection, and the iron-based inks generally used in writing these manuscripts are known to eat through the vellum in places. My inquiry to IRCICA inquiring about the reasons for the proliferation of this taping in these manuscripts has been unanswered.¹⁶³ Following is a second example, with both 26 recto (left side) and 26 verso (right side) of the page being displayed. A box is drawn around the approximate areas on the recto side over which tape or mask has been placed on the verso:

¹⁶¹ A second curious feature in this case is that the shape of the outer edge of the recto and verso images of this page do not seem to match.

¹⁶² Altıkulaç, *Hız. Aliye nisbet edilen Mushaf-ı Şerif: San'â nûshası / yayına hazırlayan Tayyar Altıkulaç; önsöz Halit Eren.-- İncelemeli bs.*, 61-62.

¹⁶³ Daniel A. Brubaker, email correspondence, April 7 2013.



Topkapı *Muşhaf Sharif*¹⁶⁴

This codex, comprised of 408 folios, is in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul. It has traditionally been attributed to the caliph ‘Uthmān, however today’s experts date its production much later. Dr. İhsanoğlu says of this *muşhaf*, “The dimensions and ornamental style of the Topkapı *Muşhaf* indicate that it belongs to [...] the Umayyad period. The style of ornamentation on this *Muşhaf* is quite similar to that of the Sanaa *Muşhaf*.”¹⁶⁵ Though I did visit Topkapı and IRCICA, I was not granted access to the manuscript itself, and so my discussion in this section may not have caught every detail or erasure that might actually be evident upon direct examination; likewise my readers should know that, although in almost every case in which I have been able to check my observations in facsimile against the actual manuscripts, they have been proven correct,¹⁶⁶ the presumed erasures have not been confirmed by direct

¹⁶⁴ Altıkulaç, *Al-Muşhaf al-Sharīf Attributed to Uthmān bin Affān: The Copy at the Topkapı Palace Museum*,

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ For the most part the utility of consulting the manuscripts directly has proven to be the discovery of more corrections that were not immediately visible in facsimile rather than disconfirmation of what I had already noted.

examination. There are a number of places in this codex where I suspect erasure and over-writing that I do not mention here since I cannot be certain enough about without seeing the pages in person. This said, a number of changes can still be clearly seen from the facsimile published by in 2007 by IRCICA, and these will suffice as a starting point and the basis of my discussion of the manuscript here.

Cairo *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*¹⁶⁷

This monumental codex is immense in dimension and number of pages, by far the largest codex considered in this dissertation. Ink on parchment, it contains 1088 folios. Concerning its date of production, Dr. Altıkulaç says in his introduction to the facsimile edition, “[T]he authorities of the Government of Egypt presented this *Muṣḥaf* to researchers as one of the *Muṣḥafs* of Caliph ‘Uthmān. People also believed this and Labīb al-Sa‘īd defended this view,” but he rejects this opinion and states, “According to Hasan Abd al-Wahhāb, the rules of writing and ornamentations of this *Muṣḥaf* are not in line with the style of the 1st century. We can guess that it belongs approximately to the end of the 2nd (8th) century and the beginning of the 3rd (9th) century.” Altıkulaç therefore does not think it possible that this codex was one of those alleged to have been produced by ‘Uthmān, though he does allow for the possibility that it was copied from one of the latter, “probably from the Kūfa *Muṣḥaf* which it most resembles or from a copy based on it.”¹⁶⁸ The editors have made commendable analysis of the text of this Qur’an in an attempt to discover its lineage; the process revealed that it does not match any particular reported pattern completely. On the subject of the degree of this manuscript’s alignment with the recorded readings, Altıkulaç says:

¹⁶⁷ Altıkulaç, *al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf Attributed to ‘Uthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo*,

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 124-25.

The comparison we made between the Muṣḥafs attributed to Caliph ʿUthmān in 44 places concerning pronunciation, a superfluous or a missing letter and the structure of words leads us to think that this Muṣḥaf is not related to any of the Muṣḥafs of Caliph ʿUthmān. [...] this Muṣḥaf differs from the Madina Muṣḥaf in 14 of the 44 places, from the Mecca Muṣḥaf in 15 places, from the Kūfa Muṣḥaf in 7 places, from the Basra Muṣḥaf in 9 places and from the Damascus Muṣḥaf in 28 places. As a result, although the Cairo Muṣḥaf has common points with one or more than one of these Muṣḥafs in each of the 44 places, it is not exactly the same as any one of them.¹⁶⁹

Istanbul *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*¹⁷⁰

This manuscript of 436 folios is written in horizontal format. Also referred to as the TIEM *Muṣḥaf*, it came to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works in June, 1914 from the Ayasofia Library, and is kept under catalogue number 457.¹⁷¹ The codex is nearly complete, beginning with the *Fatiha*¹⁷² (though the first page is not original), and ending with Q114. In addition to folio 1, there are 13 others in this codex that represent 9th/15th century replacements of original pages; after these, there remain only 3 folios missing from this volume.¹⁷³ Page 438r contains the statement, *كتب عثمان بن عفان في سنة ثلاثين* *kataba ʿuthmān bnu ʿaffān fī sana thalathīn* (“written by ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in the year thirty”). However, the editors and the scholars who have already worked on this codex

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 125.

¹⁷⁰ Tayyar Altıkulaç, ed. *Hizmetli Osman'a Nisbet Edilen Mushaf-i Şerif (Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzezi Nüshası)*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: ISAM, 2007).

¹⁷¹ Altıkulaç, *al-Muṣḥaf al-Şarīf Attributed to ʿUthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo*, 106-16. Failure to conform totally to one particular alleged pattern *muṣḥaf* is not uncommon, and the feature has also been noted with regard to versification schemes in F328, which follows several different patterns in different locations. Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads: a first overview*: 27.

¹⁷² The first chapter in today's Qurʾan

¹⁷³ Altıkulaç, *al-Muṣḥaf al-Şarīf Attributed to ʿUthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo*, 106.

do not consider that it could have been produced prior to the latter part of the Seventh century AH:

[T]his Muṣḥaf must have been copied at a date which is close to the period when the practice of vowelling and dotting the Muṣḥafs took place. Ābū al Aswad al-Dualī (d. 69/688) was the first to vowel the Muṣḥafs with dots; Naṣr b. 'Āsim (d. 89/708) and Yahyā b. Ya'mar (d. before 90/708) introduced dotting with the purpose of differentiating similar letters from one another. [...] [T]hat the TIEM Muṣḥaf was copied in the second half of the 1st century and the first half of the 2nd century A.H. seem accurate.¹⁷⁴

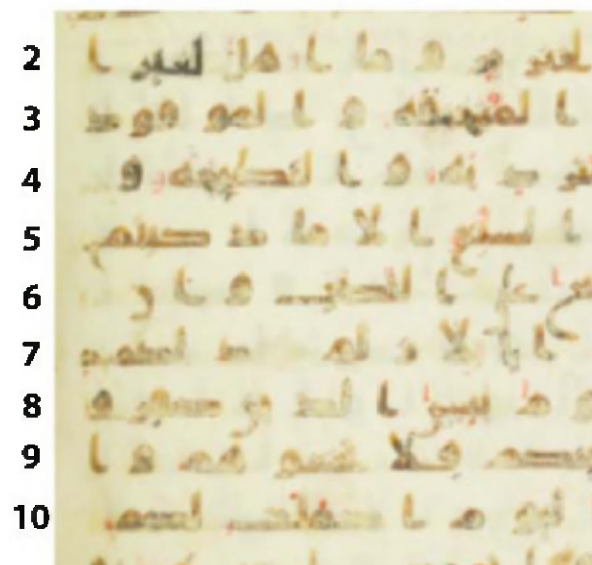
There are two printed facsimile editions of this codex, one very large in format with quite high definition images and the other, though still large with two volumes, containing much smaller scale images. Though I was able to see the former during my visit to the IRCICA library, and I was able to get across on the ferry to visit the ISAM campus, I was unable to procure a copy of the larger format and therefore base my observations on the smaller images. Accordingly, there are quite a number of locations in the manuscript that I would wish to examine more closely, I have mostly refrained from including them here due to the lack of the level of clarity I would prefer before alleging an instance of intentional change. This said, the present codex appears to be, compared with the others in under consideration in this dissertation, perhaps the most well preserved in its original form. It shows few signs of evident erasure or alteration, and minimal evidence of touch-up or restoration. That is to say, on the matter of intentional change, this codex appears rather clean apart for the examples cited and perhaps a few others.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 113.

CATEGORIES OF INTENTIONAL CHANGE

The categories of intentional change discussed in the following chapters are insertion, erasure, erasure with overwriting, modification of the text without evident erasure, selective covering, and covering with overwriting. A description of the characteristics of these types of change follows at the head of the chapter dealing with each one in turn.

Often there are multiple instances of alteration of the text on a given page. For the purpose of dealing with each of the the types of change in turn, I have broken the examples from the manuscripts into separate sections. I usually mention in the discussion of a given change whether there is another type of change on the same page. This arrangement, certainly, sacrifices the presentation of the spatial relation between



the various instances of changes on a given page. In order to give one example of a page with several different types of change in close proximity, at left is pictured a portion from F330, page 38v. The first change on this page, at the end of line 2, is an erasure with a pumice stone that has been over-written with darker ink. The TS is the *غير* *li-ghayri* (“other

than”) of Q5:3. The second, in the middle of the following line, is a correction in the middle of the word *المنخنقة* *al-munkhaniqatu* (“that which has been strangled”) with darker ink. The third, in the middle of line 7, is the erasure of a letter stem preceding

the *lām'alif* of *بِالْأَزْلَامِ* *bil-azlām* (“by the arrows”) later in the same verse. The fourth is immediately following the end of that word on the same line, where there is a clear erasure of another one to three letters with a pumice stone. Nothing is over-written and a gap remains, an indication that this particular erasure was not made at the time of original writing. The fifth is in the final word of the same line, in which an upward extender from the *kāf* of *ذَلِكَ* appears to have been erased. The sixth correction on this page is the penultimate word of line 10, in which the letters *kāf-mīm-lām-tā'* of *اَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ* have been written over an erasure. It is not entirely clear on this page whether the corrections were made by the OS; it seems to have been so by the style and nib width, but that this page was corrected perhaps a short time after it was completely written, due to the gap at line 7 as well as the fact that the *lām'alif* in the word prior is not written over the top of the erased letter stem.

A second example of a page with several types of change is found on 6r of F340, which has five instances of textual alteration comprised of three types: insertion, erasure, and erasure with overwriting. The first is the addition of an *'alif* squeezed in



and slightly above the main text on line 6, it is the initial *'alif* of the *أَوْلِيَا* *awliyā'a*¹⁷⁵ (“companions”) of Q4:89, which was apparently missing from the text as originally

¹⁷⁵ Here, as frequently in the pages to follow, I keep the Arabic text as close as possible to the CST in the manuscript, and in transliteration I follow F¹⁹²⁴ including elements not included in, or differing from, the CST of the manuscript. In this case, for example, I represent the final *hamza* in the transliteration.

written here. The second is an erasure, apparently of multiple words, also on line 6. Next, there is an erasure, apparently of at least one complete word or more, immediately following the end of the word **اوليا** on the same line. Erasure marks are clear and a gap remains, filled with three horizontal dashes as apparent space fillers. What was erased cannot be discerned. The third and fourth corrections are both erasures and overwritings on line 8. The TS in the first case is the **حيث وجد** of the words **حيث وجدتموهم** *haythu wajadtumūhum* (“where you find them”) of the same verse. The second is an erasure and resultant gap, again filled with a horizontal dash, between **منهم** *minhum* (“from them”) and **وليا** *waliyan* (“a companion”) near the end of the verse. Finally, there is a fifth erasure and over-writing in which the TS is an ink blot followed by the **ولا** that is the last word on the line and the penultimate word of the verse. With the possible exception of the first one, that is, the addition of the *'alif*, all of the remaining corrections on this page appear to be the work of a single scribe, writing in darker ink, in a different hand, and with a nib narrower than that of the original writing.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ An intriguing feature of the portion of text that has been so heavily re-worked on this page from F340 is that the entire portion from *tattakhidhū* of verse 89 through *la-sallaḥum* of verse 90 has also been erased and overwritten in 133175B.BMP of the Sanaa collection DAM. There is also a more minor correction involving an inserted *'alif* in F330. This is not an exhaustive mention of the correlations at this point, but an example of the potential fruitfulness of the broad approach that I take in this dissertation.

Chapter 3

Insertion

An insertion is a post-production addition to a text. It may occur in the space between letters or words, above the line, or in the margins of the page either at the beginning or the end of the line. Features that allow us to judge a particular mark an insertion include spacing or positioning, script style or angle, ink color, or nib width. Often more than one of these factors combine to suggest that an insertion, or some other type of change, has taken place. Possible reasons for insertions in any manuscript include a later realization of scribal omission due to human error, or a later standardization of divergent manuscripts.

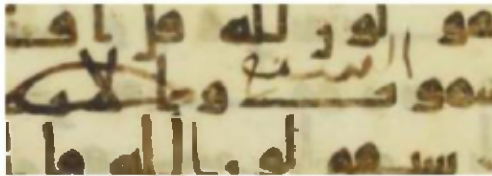
The former cause could lead to insertions very soon after original production; since writing materials were valuable, even a freshly produced page may have been corrected if possible once proofreading revealed a copyist error. Realization of scribal omission, however, need not have happened immediately; it is at least possible to imagine an omission going unnoticed for a period of time, depending upon the level of usage of the particular Qur'an, the existence of an accepted and available standard, and/or the level of knowledge of the users of the standard. The likelihood of a less commonly recited section of the Qur'an containing an error unnoticed for a stretch of time would be greater than it would in the case of a well-known or often-recited section.

The latter motive, that of later standardization, could account for a longer passage of time between original production and correction, since the text as produced would not have been initially judged incorrect if it had been in conformity with its

parent manuscript even if that manuscript was not in line with what eventually became standard. Therefore, it can be assumed that insertions in which a greater time appears to have passed from original production to alteration may more likely be attributed to standardization than to correction toward conformity with the immediate pattern text.

On F327,¹⁷⁷ page 1r at line 6, in the middle of the line, the text is corrected, but

the previous text has not been rubbed out.



An oval mark of 4.7cm in length lies over the word following the original omission; it is in brown ink that appears slightly different from the original and close inspection of the

page shows it to be later than the main text, but nib width is similar.¹⁷⁸ The page as

¹⁷⁷ BnF *arabe* 327. From here forward, manuscripts are referred to by abbreviations; a list of these abbreviations can be found on page xii.

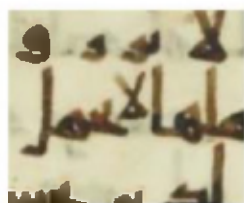
¹⁷⁸ Although the oval looks intentional and this is the only place in this codex where such a mark exists, its purpose on the page is at this point unclear.

originally written lacked one word, السبع¹⁷⁹ *al-sab'a*¹⁸⁰ (the seven), of Q23:86. The correction, written with a different nib and in a clearly different and less formal hand, adds this word as superscript, bringing the CST at this point into conformity with F¹⁹²⁴. This correction, therefore, was written after the original time of writing, and almost certainly by a different scribe. At this time it is not possible to say how much time transpired between original writing and correction. The number seven, a very important biblical motif, occurs in the Qur'an in several places but rarely seems to have an essential role in the Qur'anic narrative. Certainly here it is worth noting that the word سبعين *sab'īn* (seventy) was also omitted, with never an attempt at correction, from

¹⁷⁹ A note on notation (Arabic): I have chosen to reflect, as much as possible with the typographic tools available to me, the ambiguity of the manuscripts in my own discussion of the letters, words, or verses discussed in this dissertation. Further, as this dissertation is heavily focused on the CST, and since I have not found any corrections that seem to have been motivated by a desire to correct the vowel markings that sometimes exist in these manuscripts, I do not place emphasis on the vowel marks, nor do I include them in my transcription of the Arabic text. The added detail of noting vowel marks where they exist in the manuscripts may be desirable in the future, but for my purposes here it would have been prohibitively time-consuming, technically difficult to maintain accuracy and consistency, and probably also somewhat confusing and distracting from the larger discussion of the consonantal text. Even with this slightly minimalist approach, it must be noted that in many cases we have still provided here, by way of diacritics distinguishing letters of similar basic shape from one another, a level of clarity beyond what is found in the manuscripts, some of which are partially pointed and others of which are not pointed at all. The thing to be remembered is that the earliest Qur'an manuscripts are most often written defectively, that is, lacking diacritic marks and/or long vowels, although in cases these have been selectively added as a later enhancement. In my method of portraying the script sans short vowels or the hamza, I follow a common practice in the area of Qur'an manuscripts. See, for example: *ibid*.

¹⁸⁰ In transliteration, there is as yet no widely available standard way to accurately represent the unpointed Arabic script. Even lacking diacritics, some early Arabic scripts allow a degree of consonantal disambiguation by use of such devices as varying tooth heights, however, neither complete disambiguation of consonants nor full voweling is justified from any of the manuscripts discussed in this dissertation. (See Milo, "Towards Arabic historical script grammar through contrastive analysis of Qur'an manuscripts.") Unless otherwise indicated, in transliteration I have chosen throughout to follow the short voweling of the 1924 Cairo Qur'an. Such voweling, readers should understand, represents a level of information not explicitly represented by the manuscripts themselves.

one of the Qur'an pages among the Sanaa manuscripts.¹⁸¹ There is no mention of variance involving omission of the word *al-sab'a* from this verse in the *qirā'āt* literature.¹⁸² The *'alif* immediately below this line is also a later insertion. It converts *li-llāhi* to *allāh* and takes the CST out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. Because of its tail, it is difficult to say if it was written at the same time as the *sab'a* of the line above, but it also clearly does not belong to the main text of the page either, as it was made with a much narrower nib and is a bit shorter in its upward extension.



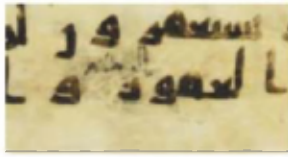
On F327, page 7v, there is an insertion of a *lām'alif* after its omission at first writing. The script style of the insertion (B.II) matches that of the rest of the page, as does the ink color. However, a narrower nib was used. I believe this insertion to have likely been made shortly after original production of the page. The inserted word is the second لا *lā* ("not") of Q 35:18. The verse does make grammatical sense, with a reversal of meaning, without this negation. There are seven variant readings noted in the *qirā'āt* literature concerning this verse, but none involving the *lā* or otherwise shedding light on this omission or insertion.¹⁸³ The insertion brings the CST of this manuscript at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

¹⁸¹ Daniel A. Brubaker, "Asking forgiveness seventy times; discussion of a Qur'an manuscript variant," *Religious Studies* (Houston: Rice University, 2009); Brubaker, "'Even if you ask forgiveness for them seventy times:' a discussion of one Qur'an manuscript variant." The salient details of this variant include the fact of correction at two other places on the page, one of which was the correction of an omission, combined with the fact that the page was part of a codex that was clearly circulated and used over a period of time. Why was the page corrected elsewhere, while not addressing what would be the most conspicuous variance, the absence of three words *سبعين مرة ف* *sab'īn maratan fa* ("seventy times, and") that stand today in Q9:80? Further, I find significance in the collocation of the number *sab'īn* and the concept of forgiveness, noting the obvious similarity with the biblical text in which Jesus instructs forgiveness of one's enemies not seven times, but seventy-seven (or seventy times seven) times.

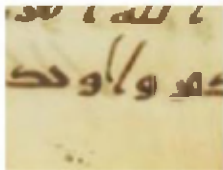
¹⁸² Ahmad Mukhtār 'am 'Umar and 'Abdel-āl Sālam Makram, *mu'jam al-qirā'āt al-qur'āniyah, ma'a maqaddimah fī qirā'āt wa ashhar al-qurrā'*, 6 vols, (Cairo: 'Ālim Al-Kutub, 1997), v.3 341.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, v.4 147.

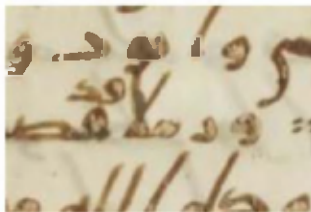
On F327, at the last line of page 12v, there is a superscript insertion by a later scribe. It is الرحيم *al-rahīm* (“the merciful”) of Q42:5, which was omitted at the time of original writing. For some reason, this insertion itself has been rubbed away mostly; whether this is intentional cannot be discerned. The insertion looks to have been written with two different nibs, one very narrow and the other somewhat wider but still not as wide as the nib used in the main text of the page. This insertion would bring the CST of this manuscript at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.



On F328, 5v, there is an insertion of an alif, with slightly narrower nib, different hand (angle of writing) and ink, on the final line of the page. It is the alif of او *aw* (“or”) of Q3:127. What apparently happened here was the omission of the final alif of the third communist plural perfect form *kafara* (*kafarū* = “they disbelieved”). It was later corrected by another scribe in this fashion. The change brings the CST at this point in the manuscript into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

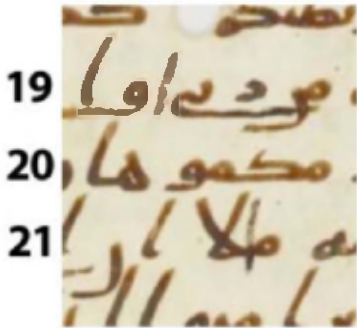


On F328, 20r, line 8, there is an insertion above the line near the left side of page. The word is the قد *qad* (“already”) of Q4:164, which was initially omitted. The verse makes sense with or without the word, in the former case saying “messengers about whom we have *already* related stories,” and in the latter case “messengers about whom we have related stories.” This correction has the appearance of being the work of the original scribe.



The insertion brings the CST of this manuscript into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

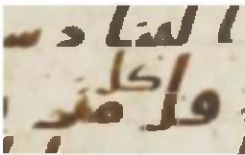
On F328, page 74v, lines 19 and 21 both contain insertion of *'alifs*. The first is



between the words *ربى rabbī* (“his lord”) and *واتينى wa-ataynā* (“and bring us”) of Q11:28. The purpose of this insertion is unclear, since no alif stands at this location today, and indeed the letter actually makes no sense in this location. This insertion brings the CST out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴ at this point. The second, a mid-word insertion, is the first alif of *ملا māla* (“some money”) of Q11:29. This insertion brings the text into conformity with the CST of F¹⁹²⁴.

Both of these corrections were carried out with a different hand, ink, and nib than the main text of the page.

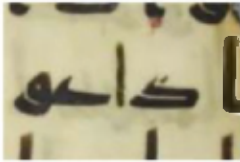
On F328, 79r, near the middle of line 7, there is an insertion over line just after



the final verse of the sura. The *كل kul* (“every”) that is the second word of Q20:135, it is written with a narrower nib and what appears to be a different hand, judging by the more rounded *kāf*), but very similar if not identical ink. This change is

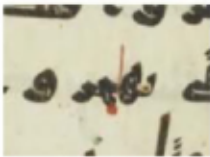
possibly, but not certainly, the work of the OS, but if so, at a different time than that of first writing. This insertion brings the CST of the page at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, page 3r, near the beginning of line 4, there is an inserted 'alif. It is written with a narrower nib, a different hand and different color ink; these factors and the spacing indicate it was not made at the time of first writing. The inserted letter is the second 'alif of



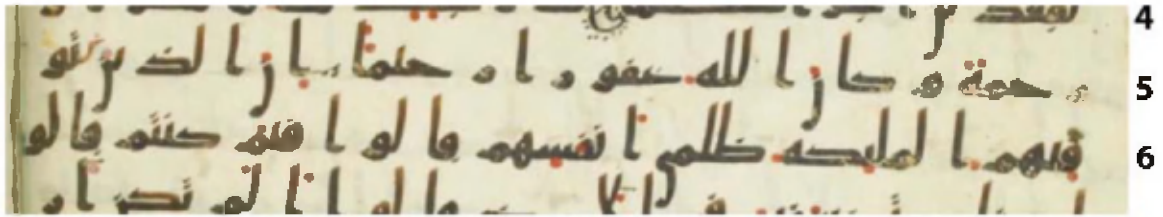
اذا عوا *adhā'ū* ("do they not spread [it]?") of Q4:83. The *dhāl* on this page is dotted, distinguishing it from *dāl*. The originally omitted 'alif here is part of the root of the word *dhāl-yā-'ayin* or *dhāl-'alif-'ayin* that is currently read; it is not a *matre leccionis* and is therefore not optional in the spelling of the word. This insertion brings the CST of the page at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 3v, at line 5 there is an insertion of 'alif in red ink and with a much narrower nib than is used in the main text of the page. It is the medial 'alif of

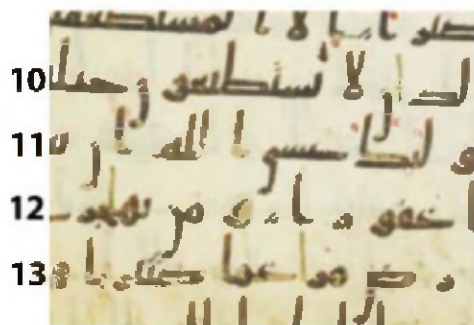


يهاجروا *yuhājirū* ("they emigrate") of Q4:89. This coincides with a section of text that was erased and overwritten in 133175B.BMP of the Sanaa manuscripts, but there is no correlation between these two; the other, discussed in the section on erasure and overwriting, is attributable to an eye-skip. This insertion brings the CST of the page at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, page 4v, there are four insertions. The first is a tooth added in front of *tā'-wāw* at the end of line 5, written with a lighter ink and narrower nib. The correction



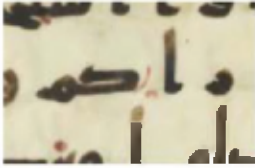
occurs at the beginning of *tawaffāhum* (“they cause them to die”) that is the third word of Q4:97. The purpose of this added tooth is unclear, since the CST at the beginning of the word as originally written here was in conformity at that point with F¹⁹²⁴. Another aspect of this word as written is seen in the latter half of the word (at the beginning of the following line) between *fā'* and *hā'*, at which point there is a tooth that is definitely not an *'alif* (which might be expected since a dagger *'alif* holds this place today) and actually is the right height to be a *yā'*. The second is an *'alif* at line 10. This is



written with a much narrower nib and a different, lighter ink. It is the latter *'alif* (that in F¹⁹²⁴ is written as a dagger *'alif*) of *الولدان* *al-wildān* (“the children”) of Q4:98. The third is an *'alif* at line 12, made mid-word in *يهاجر* *yuhājir* (“he emigrates”) of Q4:100, and with a nib

narrower than the main text but wider than that which was used in the other two insertions on the page. This insertion brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. The final insertion is another *'alif* at line 13, and is very similar to the second. It is the *'alif* (that is represented by a dagger *'alif* in F¹⁹²⁴) of *مراغما* *murāghamā* (“place of refuge”) of the same verse, and is made by a later scribe. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

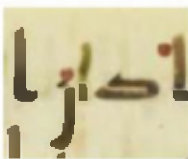
On F330, page 5r, at line 6, there is an insertion made with a very fine nib in red ink. It is the tooth that today forms the seat of the *hamza*, that was originally omitted and has here been added by a later scribe in front of the *kāf* of *ورائكم* *warā'ikum* (“their rear”) of Q4:102. The change was clearly made by a later scribe judging by the very different nib, ink, and hand, and brings the CST at this point on the page into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F330 page 5v, at line 10, there is an insertion of an *'alif* after *hā'*. It is a later addition, judging by the much narrower nib, different hand with a curve to the *'alif*, and slightly lighter ink. This is the second *'alif* of *ها انتم* *hā-antum* (“there you are”) of Q4:109, the first *alif* of which is represented in F¹⁹²⁴ as a dagger *'alif*. Although the second written *'alif* here may not be absolutely essential, the writing of this word without the second gives the visual impression that the written *'alif* belongs to the initial *hā'*, when in reading or reciting, it clearly belongs to the following part of the word. Perhaps this later addition reflects a later recognition of this lack of clarity.

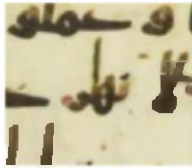


On F330, page 6v, there are three separate instances of insertion. Judging from nib width and other features, each appears to have been done by a different scribe. The first, at line 1, is an insertion of an *'alif*. It is made with a different ink, a slightly narrower nib, and is shorter than other *'alifs* on the page. It is the second *'alif* of *اذنان* *'adhān* (“ears”) of Q4:119. Without the inserted *'alif*, the word would be singular, “ear,” but would not make as much sense since it is in *idāfa* construction with the following word, “grazing



livestock” in its plural form, *الانعام* *al-anʿām*. Second, there is an insertion at line 6, of the

second *alif* of *الانهار* *al-anhār* (“the rivers”) of Q4:122. It is written with



a narrower nib and different ink and is likely the work of a later scribe. Third, at line 16, there is an insertion made with a fine nib above the main line of text. It is the *في الكتاب* *fi al-kitāb* (“in the

book”) of Q4:127. This is on a portion of the page that has been badly damaged by water,

and almost escapes notice. However, it can be clearly seen with

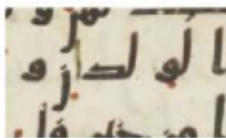


close attention. It is written with different ink, with a different hand, and with a nib much narrower than that used in original production of the page. This particular verse appears to be a reference (in an odd numerical coincidence considering it is

verse 127 of its sura) to James 1:27. Could the insertion be for the purpose of emphasizing this intertextual link? All three insertions on this page brings the CST at their respective points into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at these points was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F330, page 7r there is an *ʿalif* insertion at line 2. This insertion is almost

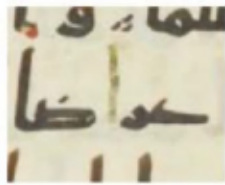
identical to that mentioned above in the same manuscript at



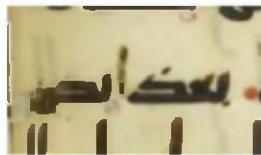
Q4:98. It is the latter *ʿalif* (that in F¹⁹²⁴ is written as a dagger *ʿalif*) of *الولدان* *al-wildān* (“the children”) of Q4:127. It is written in a

different ink and nib, as well as hand, but it appears to be the work

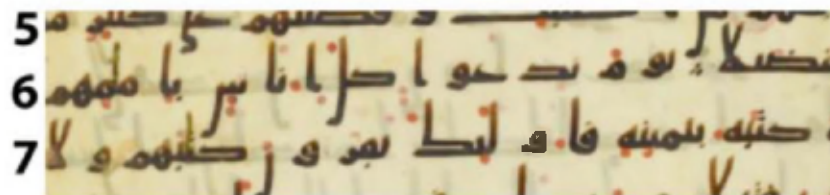
of the same corrector who added the *ʿalif* to this word in the other verse. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.



On F330, page 7r, there is an *ālif* written in, about 4.5cm from the right margin, with different ink, style, and nib than the rest of the page. This is the medial *ālif* belonging to the word *اعراضا* *i'rādā* (“aversion”) of Q4:128. A few lines up on the same page, there is another long *'alif* added, between the *wāw* and the *nūn* of the word *الوالدين* *al-wildāni* (“the parents (dual)”), a location at which only a dagger *'alif* is standard in F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention of alternate readings in nearly all the *qirā'āt* literature sources consulted involving *aslaḥa/yusliḥa* in the middle of verse 128, but nothing involving these particular words.

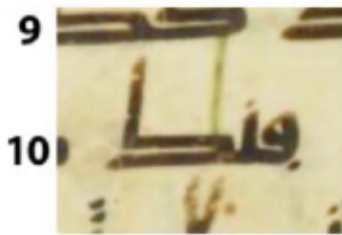


On F330, page 8v, at line 7, there is an inserted *'alif* near the end of the line. This is a post-production modification, written with a different ink, nib, and hand. It is the *'alif* of *بعذابكم* *bi-adhābikum* (“with your (pl.) punishment”) of Q4:147, apparently part of a process of standardization of orthography. This insertion brings the CST of the page at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F330, page 9r, at lines 6, 7, and 13 there are insertions of *'alifs*. They are written in different ink, all three having a somewhat greenish tint in contrast to the dark brown iron-based ink of the rest of the manuscript. These have been made with a narrower nib and a different hand. The first is the second long *alif* of *بإمامهم* *bi-imāmihim*

(“with their leader”) of Q17:71. Changes involving addition of the long *'alif* abound in early Qur'ans, and I have passed over most of them in this dissertation as this subject has been discussed by others. In this case, it is interesting to note that the second corrected word, كتاب *kitāb* (“piece of writing”) occurs twice in the same verse, also Q17:71. In both cases it was originally written without the long *'alif*, however, in the first case it remains as written while only the second occurrence four words later was corrected. Why the one and not the other? There are many other places on this page in

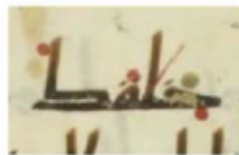


which there stands a dagger *'alif* today but none has been added on this page. One other *'alif* has been added on this page; it is the second of لا ذقناك *la-adhaqnāka* (“surely we have made you taste”) of Q17:75, one that is written only as a dagger *'alif* in F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this

point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, page 9v, at line 1 there is an insertion with red ink and a very narrow

nib an oblique *'alif*, in order to create a mid-word *lām'alif*. It is the word خلفك *khilāfaka* (“after you”) of Q17:76. The *alif* is written with a rightward slant, the opposite direction we would expect since it should follow the *lām* rather than preceding it. Accepting



the unusual orthography as representing a conversion to *lām'alif*, this insertion makes sense; however in F¹⁹²⁴, only a dagger *'alif* stands after this *lām*.

On F330, page 10r, at line 13 there is an inserted 'alif. It is that of تَزَوَّر tazāwaru

("it turned") of Q18:17, which in F¹⁹²⁴ is a dagger 'alif. Again,



corrections involving 'alif, particularly when the letter is not part of the root of the word, are not the subject of this dissertation. However, as this particular manuscript does not abound with them, it is interesting to ask, in the selected places where they do

appear, why these places were considered important enough to alter, while others were left un-retouched. Or perhaps there was a longer period of standardization of the orthography, and this round of corrections came before the end of that period. There are two other places, lines 1 and 12, where insertions were made with perhaps the same nib and by the same scribe, in red ink. These are both simple conversions of the upright long 'alif to the 'alif maqsura, though in both cases the latter is simply written in while the former is permitted to remain without erasure. There is mention of an issue with this word throughout the qirā'āt literature,¹⁸⁴ though not in Zayd b. 'Alī.

¹⁸⁴ "tazawaru 'an kahfihim: bi-iskān al-zāy wa tashdīd al-rā wa-al-kūfyūn bi-fath al-zāy mukhafafa wa-alif ba'diha wa-al-bāqūn yushadadūn al-zāy wa yathbatūn al-alif;" al-Danī, *al-taysir fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*, ed. Otto Pretzl (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996 (reprint)). 116. "yaqrā' bi-l-tashdīd wa-l-takhfīf ... tazāwaru fa-askan al-tā' wa-adghamuhā fī al-zāy li'anhā tufaḍḍihā bi-l-ṣaffir;" etc. Ahmad b. 'Alī (d. 540/1145) al-Ansari, *al-iqna' fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*, ed. Ahmad Farid al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1999). 116. "tazwa'r - mithl taṭma'n" 'Abdallāh Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallāh b. mas'ūd*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Khatir (Cairo: Dar al-'Itisām, 1990). 123. "fa-qirā' ibn kathīr wa-nāfi' wa-abū 'amrū: bi-shadīd al-zāy" "wa-qirā' āsim wa-ḥamza wa-al-kisā' khafifa" "wa-qirā' ibn 'amr: mithl taḥmarru" etc. al-Ḥusayn b. Ahmad (d. 370/980-1) Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-ḥujja fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*, ed. 'Abd al-'Alī Salīm Mukrīm (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1997). 77-78. Ahmad Mahmūd al-Hafīyan, *qirā'āt al-kisā' wa-yalihi idgham al-quira' (al-Hasan b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Marzuban al-Sayrafi)* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2002). 89. "bi-iskān al-zāy wa-tashdīd al-rā wa-l-kūfyūn bi-fath al-rā mukhafafa wa-alif ba'diha wa-l-bāqūn yushadadūn al-zāy wathabitūn al-alif;" etc. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yusuf (d. 833 / 1429-30) al-Jazari, *taḥbir al-taysir fī qirā'āt al-'amma al-ashara* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983). 137.

On F330, page 10v, at lines 4, 5, and 6 there are three added 'alifs. The first, written in brown ink, is the medial 'alif of ذراعيه *dhirā'ithi*



("its paws") of Q18:18. The latter two are written in red ink, contrasting the brown of the rest of the text, with a very narrow nib and not in proportion to the rest of the text, being about thirty percent shorter. The word is فرارا *firārā* ("in flight") of Q18:18, and the originally missing 'alif that has been inserted is the medial one. At line 6

there is another inserted red 'alif, more interesting since it is part of the word root. The word is here is the ليتسالوا *li-yatasā'alū* ("in order that they might question one another") of verse 19, which as originally written on the page connects the *sīm* with the *lām* to give ليتسالوا. The addition of the long 'alif does not include the creation of a gap between the previously joined letters, so the 'alif appears as a *lām* or as a "dagger 'alif." Variations in the use of the long 'alif are among the most common irregularities in Qur'an manuscripts,¹⁸⁵ as the orthography and written text went through its process of stabilization and standardization. There is a third instance of correction on this page, an erasure and overwriting; this is mentioned in the section dealing with that category of change. All three of these insertions are made with different nib and ink than the base text. The latter two appear possibly to be the work of a single editor, the first appears to be that of another. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

¹⁸⁵ Small, "Mapping a new country: textual criticism and Qur'an manuscripts."

On F330, page 14r, at the end of line 9, there is an insertion of what appears to be

له *lahu* (“to him”) in the margin in red ink. It is written with a



narrower nib than the main text. The addition takes place at the

end of Q16:35, which reads “So, what is the obligation upon the messengers except the clear delivery?” The beginning of the

following verse continues on the next line, and *lahu* is not part of

the text of F¹⁹²⁴ but does make grammatical sense, although *lahum* (“to them,” i.e. to the

people to whom a message is sent through a prophet) would make somewhat more

sense. This is the sole instance of clearly evident post-production alteration of this

page. The motivation for its insertion is unclear; is it a gloss, or something else? No

mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F330, page 15r, there is an insertion written very small in red ink after the

يسمعون *yasma’ūna* (“they listen”) which is the final



word of Q16:65. As this is the gap between verses,

and the وان *wa-inna* (“and surely”) of the following

verse immediately follows, it is not clear what the

purpose of this marking could be, except that the

final part looks like *hā’*; read *hu* as indication of direct a direct object of the listening,

this would not be insensible and would correlate to what is observed at line 9 of 14r in

this same manuscript. Certainly as this exists at a point of verse division it would not be

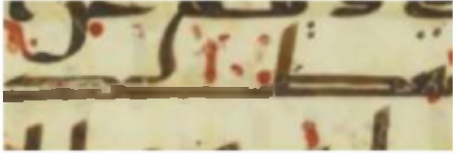
odd to expect a division marking, but such are usually in the form of dots or medallions,

or, if a single letter (such as the *ṭā* seen on line 17 of 16v) it is usually outlined or gilded.

I am not aware of letter forms being used for verse divisions in Arabic Qur’ans, and this

marking certainly looks like letter forms. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 16v, there is what appears to be an insertion in the form of what



appears to be a red 'alif' at line 14. This is in the middle of the word يَعْظَاكُمْ *ya'izukum* ("he warns you") of Q16:90. There is no apparent purpose for a long 'alif' in this location, and so the reason

for this insertion is unclear. I include mention of it because it appears to be an 'alif' and does not look like a stray mark. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 17v, at line 2 the 'alif' of عَذَابٍ *adhāb* ("punishment") of Q16:106 has been



inserted. This insertion is post-production, judging by nib width, spacing, ink color, and hand. The omission of the 'alif' by the first scribe is in this case important, since without it the root yields a nearly opposite meaning of sweet or

pleasant. Being an adjective, it would be unlikely for such a reading to be understood

here even without the correction, but the need for clarity

which probably precipitated this insertion can be seen. Two



verses earlier, on the recto side of this folio, the same word

is written with the alif included by the OS. However, on the

following folio, 18r, at line 1, the same word is again corrected with an inserted 'alif', this

time above the baseline, in Q16:117. This ink is darker with fewer brown tones than the

main text. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, folio 23r, there is an inserted *kum* at end of line 2. It is the final two letters of *بـفـيـكـم* *baghyukum* (“your injustice”) of Q10:23. The



inserted text is written with a narrower nib, a different hand and different ink, which is both lighter and more yellowish brown. The resultant text is in conformity with the CST of F¹⁹²⁴.

The verse without these two letters would read “O people, surely injustice is (or shall be) upon you.” As corrected, and as it reads today, it says “O people, surely your injustice is (or shall be) upon you.” No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F330, page 23r there is an *ʿalif* added in red ink and with a narrower nib in the middle of the penultimate word of line 11. This is the first *ʿalif* of the words *بـالـامـس* *bil-ʿāmsi* (“prior”) of Q10:24. It would easily be mistaken



for a *lam* since the ligature between *bāʾ* and the following *lām* had already been drawn and there was probably not room to create a gap by erasure when the correction was made. No mention of an

issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

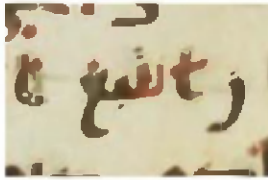
On F330, 23r, at line 16 there is what appears to be an inserted *lām*. It comes after the initial *waw* of *وـجـهـهـم* *wujūhahum* (“their faces”) of



Q10:26. This is a post-production insertion, judging by the narrower nib, different hand, and different ink. This insertion at this point takes the page out of conformity with the CST of

F¹⁹²⁴. Its purpose, however, is unclear. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F330, 24r, line 9, there is an inserted tooth written in red ink and with a narrower nib than the main text. It is *يتبع* *yuttaba'a* (“followed”)

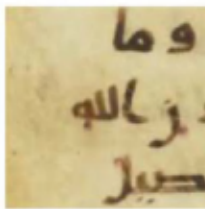


of Q10:35. The difference is one of tense; as it was originally written, the word is perfect, and as it is altered and as the CST stands today in F¹⁹²⁴, it is imperfect, i.e. present or

future. As originally written, the verse appears grammatically unviable at this point. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 24r, at line 13, there is an insertion. It is the final three letters of *الله*

(“Allah”) of Q10:37, and extends into the left margin. The added

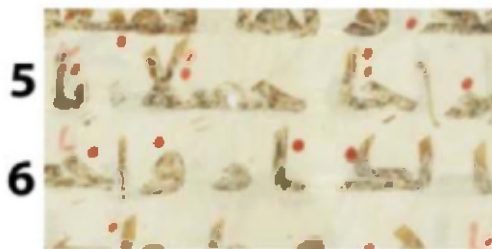


portion certainly seems to belong in this location and the verse does not make much sense without it since it is the completion of the phrase *min dūn allāhi* (“apart from Allah”); without this, the phrase is left hanging without a reference point. This insertion has

been written in somewhat lighter ink, but the hand seems almost certainly matched to that of the rest of page. This was probably an accidental omission corrected by the OS a short time after original production of the page. The CST as corrected at this point is brought into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 48v there are two inserted *'alifs*, written with a narrow nib and brown

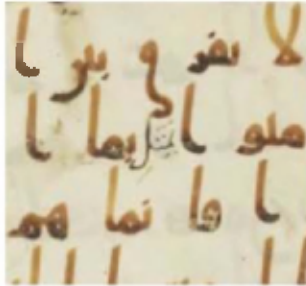
ink, at lines 5 and 6. The former of these is the



medial *'alif* of *سراحا* *sirāhā* (“a way”) of Q33:49. The latter is the medial (today dagger) *'alif* of *ازوذك* *azwājaka* (“your wives”)

of the following verse. The first revision brings the CST at its point into conformity with F¹⁹²⁴; the latter accomplishes the reverse. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F331, page 1v, there is an insertion of the word بِمِثْلٍ *bi-mithli* (“similarly”) of



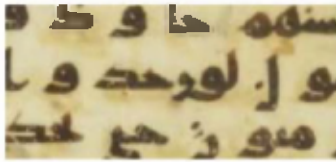
Q2:137 with a very fine pointed pen. This addition was clearly made by a later scribe, as it is written in much later (or at least less formal) style and it includes the later short vowel marks, the *fatha* and two *kasras*. However, its ink is of a very similar type and on close inspection seems almost a match to the ink of the rest of the page, and for this reason

a relatively shorter time period between original production and this insertion, while not confirmed, cannot be completely ruled out. The verse as originally written in the manuscript read *فَانِ اٰمَنُوْا بِمَا اٰمَنْتُمْ بِهٖ* *fā-in amanū bi-mā amantum bihi* (“If they believe in that which you have believed”). Interestingly, the correction added the *بِمِثْلٍ* after the *اٰمَنُوْا* (“they believed”), where it stands in today’s Qur’an, but failed to then remove by erasure the tooth that precedes the *mā* following. Thus, the manuscript now reads *فَانِ اٰمَنُوْا بِمِثْلٍ بِمَا اٰمَنْتُمْ بِهٖ*, an impossible formulation and certainly out of line with the CST of F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention of an issue concerning this *mithli* in ‘Abdullah b. Mas‘ūd¹⁸⁶ and Ubayy b. Ka‘b.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ “*bi-mā amantum bihi - dān mithli*” Ibn Mas‘ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*; 185-91. “As was read also by Ibn ‘Abbās: *bi-mā - bi-mithli mā*” A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an: The Old Codices; the Kitāb Al-Masāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai, Aḥ, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qur'anic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān* (Al-Mutannā, 1960), 28.

¹⁸⁷ “*bi-lladhī - bi-mithli mā*” *ibid.*, 120.

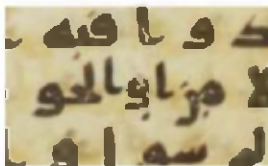
On F340, page 4r, there is an insertion of *waw* near the beginning of line 8. It is



written with a narrower nib and ink, and in a different hand than the rest of the page, and is clearly fit into a standard space where it had originally been omitted. The inserted letter is between the initial *wāw* of لا يوجدوا *la-*

wajadū (“then they would have found”) of Q4:64. This insertion, which is probably not a *damma* since the existing *waw* is vowelled with *fatha*, takes the CST out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴, in which the initial *lām* of this word signals the second half of a *law-lā* (“if...then”) grammatical construction. Under other circumstances, it would be possible to write لا يوجدوا *law wajadū* (“if they found”), but it is difficult to see how such a phrasing could work in this particular case. Therefore, it is unclear what purpose this correction was intended to serve. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

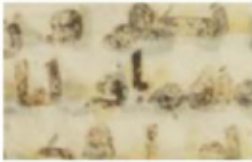
On F340, page 5v, there is an insertion of two *‘alifs* which sit slightly above the



baseline, at the middle of line 6. It appears to be the work of the original scribe, though the nib appears a tiny bit narrower than the original. The line without the insertions read امر من الامن ولخوف اذاوا به *amru min*

al-amni wa-likhawfi ‘adhā’ū bihi (“a matter of security, and they broadcast fear”) but with the insertions it reads امر من الامن او الخوف اذاوا به *amru min al-amni aw il-khawfi ‘adhā’ū bihi* (“a matter of security or fear, they broadcast it”) of Q4:83. The insertions bring the CST of this manuscript into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F340, page 6r, there is an insertion of an *'alif* at the middle of line 6, with darker ink. This is the initial *'alif* of *اوليا* *awliyā'a* (“companions”) of Q4:89. This verse has corrections in at least two other manuscripts dealt with in this dissertation. Without the added letter, it could read *وليا* *waliyā* (“a companion”). There are other corrections on this page, erasures overwritten, which are dealt with in that section. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F340, page 7r, at the middle of line 9, there is an insertion of the final *'alif* of the third *قالوا* *qālā* (“they said”) of Q 4:97. The nib width used in this insertion is slightly narrower than that of the rest of the page and the style is different, with a sharp angle at the base of the letter. There also appears to be an erasure after the *'alif* following this one, but such is only observed in facsimile; I did not notice it when examining the page in person and therefore am disinclined to assert that this is in fact an erasure. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

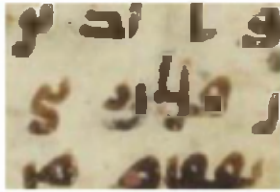


On F340, 9v, in the middle of line 13 there is an *'alif* that has been inserted with different ink and hand than the main script. It is the initial letter of *ابن* *ibn* (“son of”) of the phrase *'isā ibn maryam* (“Isa the son of Mary”) of Q4:157. This is a post-production correction; it appears also to likely be the work of a different scribe. This insertion brings the CST of this manuscript into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F340, 26r, there is at least one evident insertion, at line 7. It is the ان *inna*

(“surely”) of Q34:39. No erasure marks are clear, and spacing



indicates that this is a simple insertion. The different ink, nib width, and hand indicate that this is not the work of the OS.

The verse makes sense with or without the inserted text; as initially written it reads, “say: it is my Lord who,” while in its

corrected form it reads “say: surely it is my Lord who.” This insertion brings the CST of this manuscript into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 26r there is a second insertion, at line 9. It is the conjunctive *waw* that

begins Q34:40, which has apparently been written over the top of



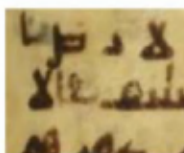
the red medallion that serves as the ten-verse divider here. The nib width, ink, and style are not extremely dissimilar to those of the main text of the page, but this is still clearly a post-production

insertion. It is squeezed into this space, with little space between

the *waw* and the letters on either side. In this case, the standard spacing around a *wāw* can be seen on the line immediately above this one. This insertion brings the CST of this manuscript into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 28v, there is an insertion near the end of line 14. It is the ا في *ā* (“in

[the]”) of Q35:39, which was apparently omitted by the OS. The



insertion has been made with a very narrow nib and in a different hand, and fills the existing space. It is not clear what the OS intended

with the verse as apparently here originally written. It read جملكم

جاءتكم خلف لارض *ja'alakum khala'ifa li-'ard* (“made you successors to earth”), though it would have at least made grammatical sense with the article, i.e. *li-l-'ard*. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 117r, there is a portion of text that has been re-worked, including

insertions. There is a clear insertion of the final 'alif of **وزيراً**



wazīra (“a minister”) of Q25:35. It appears that this insertion

took place after the verse divider medallion was placed on this

page; the 'alif accordingly had to be written in after the verse

divider for space considerations. The first word of the

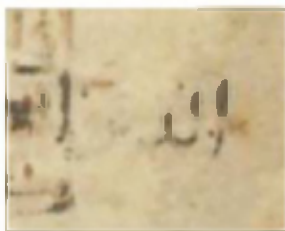
following verse, **قلنا** *fa-qulnā* (“then we said”) may include additions of the medial *lām*

and final 'alif, but I am unwilling to say this with certainty. The page as now written,

however, has a CST that at this point is in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, 121v, there is an insertion at the beginning of line 13. The inserted

word, which protrudes far out into the right margin, is the



initial **الذين** *alladhīn* (“they who”) of Q7:51, which was omitted

at the time of first writing of this page. The final *yā'-nūn* of

this word is now faded but a shadow remains. The 'alif of the

insertion has a forward-pointing tail, unlike others on this

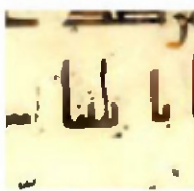
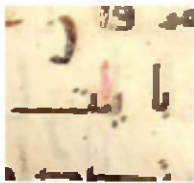
page, and the curve of the rest of this correction also suggests that the corrector was

not the OS. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

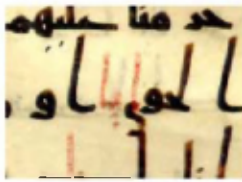
On E20, page 51r, there is an insertion of a very small tooth, with the addition of two dots designating the letter *ya*. This addition has the effect of converting *abraham* (or possibly *abraham* or *ibrahim*) to *abrahīm* or *ibrahīm*. This change is made in a much narrower nib and clearly does not belong to the time of original writing of the page. The alteration brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On E20, page 51r, there is an addition of the second *'alif* into the word *بآيات* *bi-ayāt* (“in the signs”) of Q3:98, which was written rather oddly as *بايت* at the time of original writing. No separation is made between the *yā'* and the *tā'* when this is corrected; the *'alif* is only carefully written in with reddish ink over the extra tooth which already exists between these two letters. The purpose of the extra tooth prior to correction in the mind of the original scribe is unclear, but its forward ligature to *tā'* would seem to preclude the possibility that it was intended as an *'alif*. A similar orthography, however is seen again on page 6 (recto), where *بآياتنا* (“in our signs” (roughly)) of Q4:56 is written, again with an additional tooth between *yā'* and *tā'*, with then a later addition of the long *'alif*, this time with black or brown ink and actually attached to the tooth it sits over. No mention of an issue at these points was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On E20, page 18r, near the beginning of line 9 there is an addition of letters in red. Originally written الحوى, the letters 'alif-yā-'alif have been



added to bring the word toward conformity with الحوايا al-hawāyā (“the entrails”), the now standard consonantal text of Q6:146. There are no visible erasures here, and even the (now

redundant) 'alif maqsūra is allowed to remain. There are elsewhere on this page and throughout this manuscript many instances of additions in red ink, most of them long 'alifs. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the qirā'āt literature.

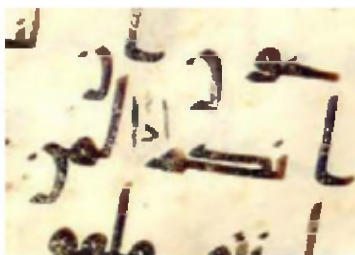
On E20, page 25r, at line 5 there is an insertion. The wāw of ذو dhū (“possessor



of”) of Q38:12 has been inserted after the time of original writing. A different ink and narrower nib was used, the addition is squeezed into the space between the dhāl and 'alif. The resultant alteration, insofar as it adds waw, brings the text into greater conformity with

today's standard; however, the verse preserves here an extra 'alif and now reads وفرعون ذوا او تاد, and so remains out of conformity at this point with the CST of F¹⁹²⁴. The second ālif of this final word has also been written in at a later time (with red ink) but on a separate occasion from that of the wāw. This word in this form occurs in only one other place in the Qur'an, Q89:10. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the qirā'āt literature.

On E20, page 31v, there are three insertions. The first, the *wāw* of *دعائوكم* *du'ā'ukum* (“your (pl.) supplication”) of Q25:77, has been inserted as superscript at line 4. This has been written in a different hand, nib, an ink than the main text of the page and is a later correction. The second insertion, another *wāw*, is seen at the middle of line 8. This is the initial *wāw* (“and”) of Q26:5. This insertion was also made after the time of original writing in a different nib, hand, and ink, and sits atop the verse divider. Finally, at line 21 the word *بنى* *banī* (“children of”) of Q26:17 has been inserted in with a smaller nib, different hand, and different ink, to where it stands in the standard text today. The verse would be grammatically correct and would make sense with or without this word; minus the addition it would carry the meaning “Send Israel with us,” and after it, it has the meaning “Send the children of Israel with us.” The addition is written in the gap between the words; judging by the spacing and the other factors noted above, this alteration was made after the initial production of the page. No mention of an issue at these points was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

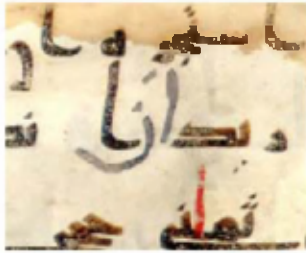


On E20, page 32r, one line below an erasure, the word *إذا* *idhā* (“then”) has been

inserted into Q26:42 between the words *وانكم* *wa-innakum* (“and surely you”) and *لمن* *llamin* (“will be among”), bringing the CST at this location into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. The addition is written with a very narrow nib and different ink and hand, and

elevated above the baseline in order to fit into the available space. This addition was made after the time of original production of the manuscript although how long cannot be discerned. The verse makes grammatical sense without the word in question, “Say: Yes, and surely you will be among the favored ones,” as it does also with the word as it stands today, “Say: Yes, and surely you, then, will be among the favored ones.” Nothing was found in the *qirā’āt* literature dealing with this particular word, although the word *na’am* (“yes”) is mentioned.

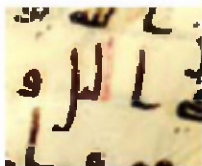
On E20, page 37v, the word ان *an* (“to”) is added in with a different pen, ink, and



hand between the word اريد *uridu* (“I want”) and the word انكحك *unkiḥaka* (“I marry you”) in the Q28:27, bringing the consonantal text of this manuscript into conformity with today’s standard. There is no sign of erasure, and the added text is clearly made to fit into the existing space between

the words as the page stood when first written. This is clearly a change that was made, then, after the time of original production of this manuscript, although how long after cannot be discerned at this time. The verse makes grammatical sense without the addition, “Surely I want to marry you to one of my daughters,” as it does with the addition, “Surely I want to marry you to one of my daughters.” No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

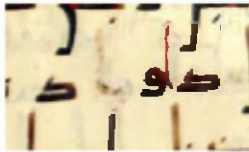
On E20, page 43r, there is an additional lam that has been appended to the



beginning of second occurrence of the word ليل *layl* (“night”) in Q31:29, in red ink, now somewhat faded. The addition clearly belongs to a point in time after the original production of this manuscript, and it takes the consonantal text of this manuscript

out of conformity with the standard text of today. The addition, moreover, does not seem to make grammatical sense, at any rate; even if one makes the initial *ālif* interrogative, this would be impossible after after the preposition *فِي* *fī* (“in”). This addition was obviously intentional, but its meaning or purpose for now cannot be discerned. The *lām* is indeed doubled, as shown today with the *shadda* over it, but to my knowledge this sort of doubling is never represented by an actual doubling of the consonant in writing. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On E20, page 48v, at line 12 there is an erasure, the second in this manuscript



involving the name of David of Q34:13. The long *'alif* originally written between the *wāw* and the final *dād* appears to have been rubbed out or erased, and a new long *'alif* placed after the initial *dād* instead. The change brings the consonantal text into

conformity with today's Qur'anic and therefore grammatical¹⁸⁸ standard. This is certainly an interesting change for what it may tell us about the early vocalization by Muslims of the names of the biblical prophets, and bears further consideration.

On E20, page 60v, the first *لا* *illā* (“nothing but”) of Q45:24 was omitted in the

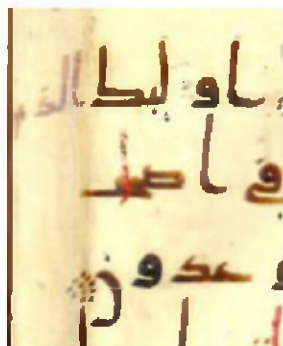


initial writing of the page. It was added in later, squeezed into its current location by use of a narrower nib and elevation of the word above the baseline of the text. The ink of the insertion is different from the original, as is the hand and nib width as mentioned. The initial *'alif* of this word has an odd forward-pointing tail at its base, rather than the expected

¹⁸⁸ Wright's Grammar, v.i, 18, Rem. c.

right-facing tail. In addition, there is some shadow on the page that looks like an erasure involving the top half of this word or the space between the gap of the *lām'alif*, but nothing definite can be said about this without direct examination.

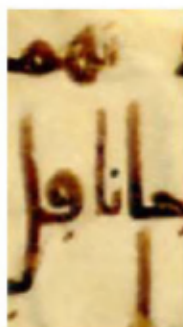
On E20, page 62r, the word *الذین* *al-dīn* (“the religion”) of Q46:16 is written



extending far into the margin out to the edge of the page. It is written in a slightly less formal and angular hand than the rest of the page, and with what looks to be a somewhat narrower nib. Though writing by the original scribe cannot be ruled out, it is clear that the writing of this word here did not coincide with the original writing of the page but was added at some point at least after the line had been

completed and the next had been already begun. There are no signs of erasure, nor would such be expected here. The verse makes grammatical sense with *اولئك الذین نتقبل* (“Those are the ones from whom we accept...”) or without *اولئك نتقبل عنهم* (“We accept from them...”) the apparently initially omitted word.

On E20, “62v”¹⁸⁹ at line 14 there is an insertion of the *نا* of *جانانا* *ājanā* (“he comes

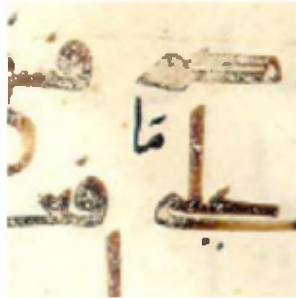


to us”) of Q43:38, where it had apparently been left out at the time of original writing. No erasure marks can be discerned from the facsimile. The insertion is made with a much narrower nib, very slightly elevated above the baseline. The ink colors are similar, and it is hard to determine whether this was carried out by the original scribe after the page had been written, or by another scribe at some

¹⁸⁹ This folio was not examined in person, and I was therefore unable to reconcile the actual folio number with the alleged folio number on the image file. It is almost certainly not folio 62 in actuality.

later time. The former is certainly a possibility, as the narrower nib could have been used of necessity because of the tight space. This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴, lacking only a *hamza* as corrected.

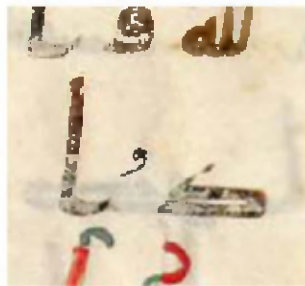
On E20, page 66r, Q49:6 was originally written without ما *mā* (“that which”), and



this word was added in at its current location by a later scribe, with a narrow nib and dark ink, in small script and elevated above the baseline. The phrase as originally written on this page reads فتصبحوا على ما فعلتم ندمين *fa-taṣbiḥū 'alā fa'altum nadimīn* (“so wish a good morning to Your deed, as regretful ones”); as now written, and as is the standard

today: فتصبحوا على ما فعلتم ندمين *fa-taṣbiḥū 'alā mā fa'altum nadimīn* (“so wish a good morning to that which you did, as regretful ones”).

On E20, page 76r, on line 9, the *waw* of ذوا *dhū* (“possessor of”) of Q57:29 was

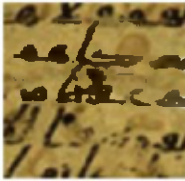


originally omitted, and has been inserted with a very fine-tipped pen above the line in its current location. The original consonantal text at this place was out of conformity with today's standard, but the resultant text here is also out of conformity, since the extra *'alif* that stands here has not been erased. The final text thus reads

والله ذوا الفضل العظيم *wa-allāhu dhū al-faḍli al-'azīmi*, an impossible formulation. There

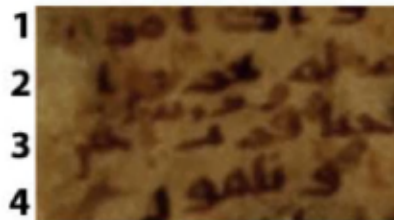
are several other changes on this page; they are erasures that have been overwritten, and these are discussed under the heading dealing with that type of change.

In 027002B.BMP,¹⁹⁰ at line 26, there is what appears to be a wāw written in over the line. It is written superior to an existing wāw of the word نَدَعُوا



nad'ū ("we called upon") of Q16:86. Additionally, there is some other mark prior to the 'alif, on the line itself. In the CST of F¹⁹²⁴, both these marks would be extraneous. It is unclear to me what could be the meaning or purpose of this change.

In 038015B.BMP, near the top left of the page, there is an insertion above line 3.



The وذريتنا *wa-dhurriyyātina* ("our progeny") of Q25:74

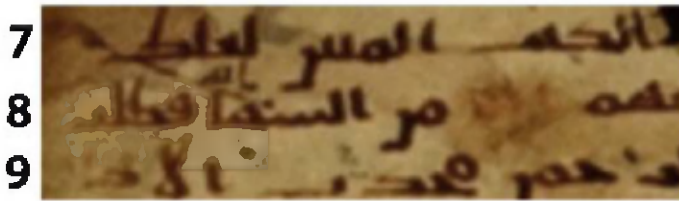
was initially omitted and is written in as superscript later. There has been liquid damage to this part of the page, but such does not appear to have been a factor in this insertion, since there is no indication

that the surrounding text has been restored and there are no irregularities of spacing that would give indication of the insertion having been part of the main line at any point. The script style of the insertion is similar to that of the page; it is possible that this insertion was a correction close to the time of original production of the page. There is much mention of this word in the *qirā'āt* literature, dealing with singular versus plural forms.¹⁹¹ None, however, allows for the complete omission of the word.

¹⁹⁰ All manuscripts in this dissertation designated by .BMP are from the Sanaa fragments.

¹⁹¹ "wa-dhurriyyātina - jam'a: al-ḥarmiyān wa-ibn 'amr wa-ḥafs." al-Ansari, *al-Iqna' fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*: 436. "wa-dhurriyyātina - yaqrā' bi-l-jam'a wa-l-tawhīd," etc. Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-ḥujja fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*: 266-67. "bi-l-alif 'alā al-jam'a," and "wa-qarā' abū 'amrū wa-abū bakr 'an 'āsim wa-ḥamza wa-l-kasā'ī wa-khalf 'wa-dhurriyyātina' biḥayr alif." Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*: 133; Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Miḥrān; (d. 381/991) al-Isfahani, *al-mabsut fī al-qirā'āt al-a'imma al-'ashara*, ed. Hakimi (Jidda: Dar al-Qibla li-l-Thaqafa al-Islamiyya, 1988). 272; Muḥammad al-Dimashqī (d. 833/1429-30) Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-nashr fī al-qirā'āt al-ashir*, ed. Zakariya 'Umayrat, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998). 207; al-Dani, *al-taysir fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*: 133.

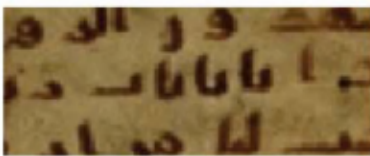
In 038015B.BMP, near the left edge of the written area, there are two



alterations. One is an insertion at the interline of 7 and 8, and the other is an erasure leaving a gap earlier on line 8. The insertion, is the word *آية* *ayat*

(“a sign”) and occurs between *السماء* *as-samā* (“heaven”) and *فقطت* *fa-zallat* (“so strike”) of Q26:4 was initially omitted and then inserted as superscript. Immediately prior to the *من* *min* (“from”) of the same verse, there is a gap that appears to be an erasure in a length of space that could accommodate 2-4 letters. What may have been erased, however, cannot be discerned at this time. In both these instances of insertion, the CST of the page has been brought into conformity at these points with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue in either case was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

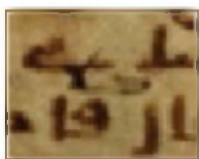
On the second line of 038015B.BMP, the CST of Q25:73 is out of conformity with



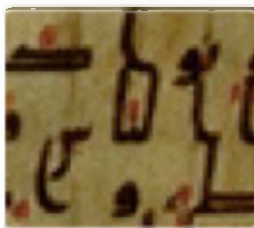
of F¹⁹²⁴, and no attempt was made at correction. There is an extra *يا* *in* *بآيات* *bi-ayāt* (“of [the] signs”) of Q25:73. It is unclear what may have happened with the scribe at this place in the writing, nor why there was no later

attempt at correction, as a sensible reading with the additional letter stems is not immediately apparent. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

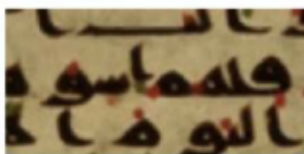
On 038015B.BMP there is an insertion between lines 16 and 17. The added text, the word *كلا* *kallā* (“both of you”) of Q26:15, is written with a narrower nib and what looks from the facsimile to be a different and darker ink. This word was omitted at the time of first writing, and was inserted later. The alteration brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.



On 052033B.BMP, at line 23 there is what appears to be an added, or extended, letter stem - it is the medial *nun* of *الناس* *al-nās* (“the people” of Q8:47, just two words after an erasure and gap that will be discussed in the section on erasures. It almost appears as if there was a stem written originally, and the extension occurred as a later modification. However, it is not clear what the function or purpose of an extension of a pre-existing stem would serve if this were the case. Due to the low resolution of this image, a better determination must remain contingent upon direct examination or a better image. The alteration leaves the CST at this point in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

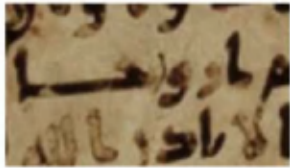


On 069052B.BMP, there is an insertion in the middle of the fifth line of text. This is the initial *alif* of *اسوة* *uswa* (“an example”) of Q60:6. That this is an insertion can be determined by the spacing, and by the observation that the letter floats above the baseline and is shorter than the other *alifs* on the page. This appears to be the work of the OS. There is a shadow at the base of the *alif*, but what it is cannot



be discerned. The alteration brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

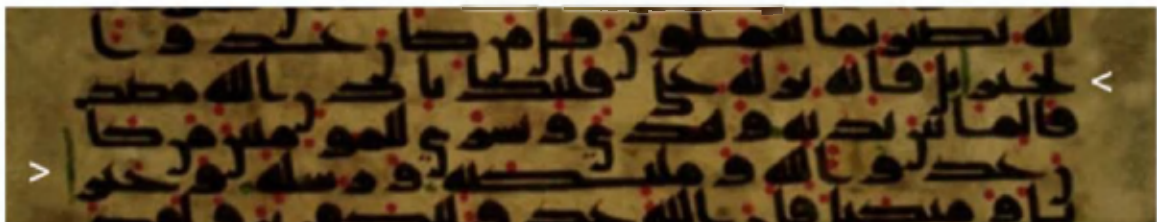
On 071054B.BMP near the middle of line 5, there is an insertion. The addition,



an apparent 'alif, lies between the *wāw* and the *jīm* of *ازوجا* *azwājā* (“spouses”) of Q13:38. The correction was made with a very fine nib and stands out on the page. In F¹⁹²⁴, there is a dagger 'alif at this point in the text. This is the only such

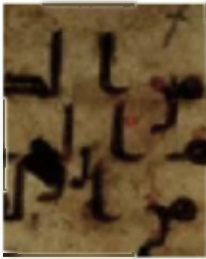
correction apparent on this page, and there are other places on this page that contain dagger 'alifs in F¹⁹²⁴ but are not corrected in such a way in this manuscript. More interestingly, the final word of the same verse, written with the full long 'alif as *كِتَابٌ* *kitāb*^m (“a book”) in F¹⁹²⁴, is written absent the long 'alif in this manuscript as *كتب*. Why did the corrector of this page feel it important to add 'alif in *azwāj* but not elsewhere? No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

In 096086B.BMP, the two instances of the name *جبريل* in Q2:97-98 have been changed to *جبرائيل* by the insertion of 'alif. These insertions bring the CST out of



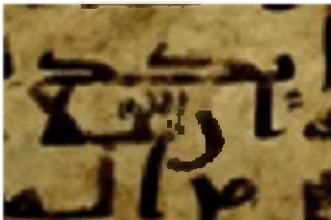
conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. The changes are post-production, with a narrower nib and a different ink. Both appear to have been made by the same scribe. There is mention of an issue surrounding the name *jibrīl* in this verse in al-Suyūṭī, but nothing concerning this particular long 'alif.

In 132172B.BMP, on the second line there is what appears to be an insertion of the *nan* of the second ان *an* (“that”) of Q73:20. This is judged to be an insertion because of the narrower nib used and because of the spacing; the page as originally written read at this point المان rather than علم ان لن. The spacing issue is made more clear as there is another *alif* followed by a *lām*, as well as a *nūn* followed by an *alif*, in fact, directly above this point, as can be seen in the photograph here, demonstrating the ordinary spacing in both cases. The time of this change is unclear except for the observation that it was at some point after the time of original writing. The alteration brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

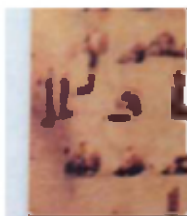


In 140203B.BMP, there is an insertion that was made after the page was written.

It is the second الله, *allāh*, of Q9:78. This word had been omitted at first writing and is written in over the spot where it belongs after the fact. The ink appears to be a similar color as the rest of the page but a much narrower nib was used for the change; the time of the change is therefore unclear. Elsewhere on this page, there is another simple omission of the words سبعين مرة ف, *sabʿīn marra fa*, but this omission has gone uncorrected and so the text at that point deviates from the CST of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue here was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.



On M^{san}, page 17v, at line 15, the first *l āl* (“people [of]”) of Q3:33 appears to



possibly have been added extending into the interior margin. At the top of the page, two other lines extend a similar distance into the margin, however this instance stands out to the eye when the page is viewed as a whole. In facsimile the ink seems to have a slightly different color, the hand looks less confident, and the nib appears a

little narrower. Even so, that this could be the work of the original scribe cannot be firmly ruled out without direct examination of the page. However, it is worth noting that the verse would make sense with (“Allah chose Adam, Noah, the family of Abraham and the family of ‘Imran”) or without (“Allah chose Adam, Noah, Abraham and the family of ‘Imran”) the word. The insertion, if it is such, brings the CST of at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is no recorded variation in the *qirā’āt* at this precise point, but there is one just after this location, in which *wa āl muḥammad* (“and the people of Muhammad”) replaces *wa āl ‘imrān* (“and the people of ‘Imrān”).¹⁹² Jeffery records Ibn Mas‘ūd with such a substitution as well,¹⁹³ and as might be expected, the Shiite *Tafsir al-Ayāshi* (320 AH) mentions *āl muḥammad* as well.¹⁹⁴ None of the referenced materials, however, allow for the omission of the *āl* prior to *ibrāhīm*.

¹⁹² ‘Umar and Makram, *mu’jam al-qirā’āt al-qur’āniyah, ma’a maqaddimah fi qirā’āt wa ashhar al-qurrā*: v.1 398.

¹⁹³ Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur’an: The Old Codices; the Kitāb Al-Masāḥif of Ibn Abi Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubai, Alī, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qur’anic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān*: 32.

¹⁹⁴ Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd (d. ca. 320/933) al-‘Ayyāshī, *tafsir al-‘ayyāshī*, 3 vols. (Qumm: Mu’assasāt al-Bi’tḥa, 2000), v.1 299-301.

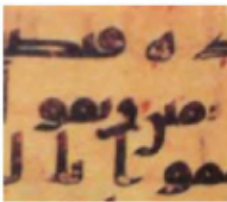
On M^{san}, page 23v, there is an insertion of a wāw at line 18. That the letter has



been inserted after original production of the page is evident by the absence of uniform standard spacing, which is consistent around all other wāws on this page, but is missing here, with the letter itself filling the standard space between the preceding and following elements. This is the first waw of

Q3:119, in the middle of the word *ālā'i* (“they”). As it stands in F¹⁹²⁴, the section reads “There you are, you love them, while they do not love you.” Without the letter that has been here added, the word can be read as the compound of the interrogative *’alif* and then negative *lā*, to read “There you are - Do you not love them? But they do not love you...” It is unclear whether this insertion may have been much later than the time of original production, though this is one possibility. Because of matching nib width and style, the appearance here is of a correction made by the original scribe some time after the completion of the page. This insertion brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There are other recorded *qirā’āt* at this verse, but none at this exact location.¹⁹⁵

On M^{san}, page 49v, there is a waw insertion on the second line. The insertion takes place between the end of Q5:52 and the beginning of Q5:53.



That this wāw was not originally written here is again judged by the fact that it fills a standard space between the preceding and following elements, and that it is written quite differently from the other wāws on the page, one of which can be seen three

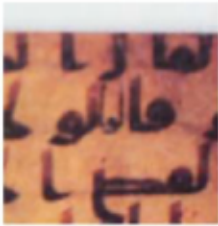
letters after this, and another on the line below and to the right. The verse would make

¹⁹⁵ ‘Umar and Makram, *mu’jam al-qirā’āt al-qur’āniyah, ma’a maqaddimah fi qirā’āt wa ashhar al-qurrā’*: v.1 436.

sense with or without the letter, which in this case serves its common function as a connector which is usually not translated. There are other recorded *qirā'āt* at this verse, but none at this exact location.¹⁹⁶ This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, page 55v, there is an insertion. The added text is *lām-wāw-'alif*. The verse

is Q6:7, and the text as written on this page initially was *وقالوا*,



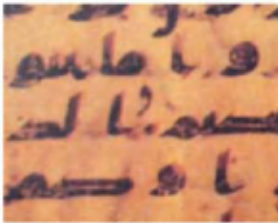
which according to today's standard consonantal skeletal text is missing the three elements that were added here. The result, then, is a consonantal skeleton that is in conformity at this point with today's standard: *وقالوا لولا* *wa-qālū law lā* ("and they said 'were

it not for..."). The insertion, which is squeezed into the standard space between the original *'alif* and *lām* uses a very narrow nib and hand; it is clearly post production and probably considerably later. The text as originally written would also make grammatical sense, but for the missing final *'alif* in the third person plural of *qālū*. As originally written, the verse would read, "and they said, 'it has not...'" It is therefore unclear whether this original variation was overlooked because it made grammatical sense or for some other reason. There are other recorded *qirā'āt* at this verse, but none at this exact location.¹⁹⁷ This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., v.2 88.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., v.2 71.

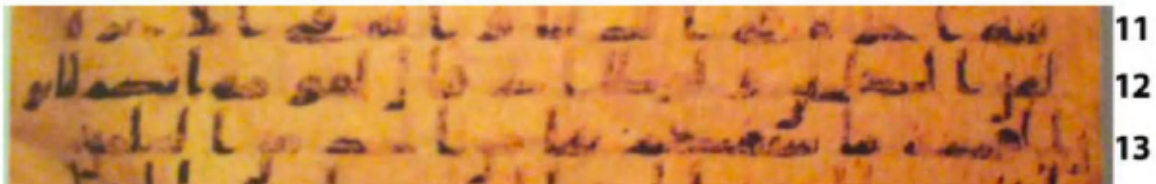
On M^{san}, page 94r, there is an insertion above the main text at line 17. It is the *wāw* (“and”) that today begins Q9:107. The insertion was made with lighter ink, a much narrower nib and in a different, less formal, script style. These factors suggest the passage of time between original production and the addition of this letter. As is often the case with this conjunction, the verse makes grammatical sense with or without it. This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.



On M^{san}, 168v, there is an insertion at the end of line 14. The inserted word, the *anna* (“that”) of Q22:70, extends into the margin and is written with a different ink than the main text of the page. The verse prior to the addition would read, “Do you not know? Allah knows that which is in the heavens;” with the added *anna* it reads, “Do you not know that Allah knows that which is in the heavens.” This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



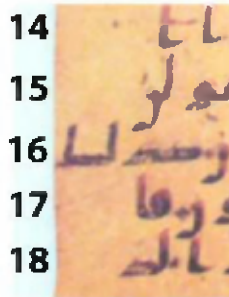
On M^{san}, there is an insertion extending into the margins at the end of line 12 and the beginning of 13. The inserted text, the *lata’tūna* (“you are committing”) of



Q29:28, is written in a bunched fashion and pushes to the edge, with the final *nun*

appearing at the beginning line 13. This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

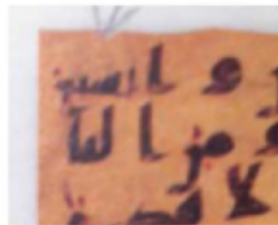
On M^{san}, 204r, there is a post-production insertion at the end of line 16. It is the



final *lām-kāf* of *كذلك kadhālīka* (“thus”) of Q30:59. The insertion appears to have been made with a very slightly narrower nib and in a different hand than the rest of the page. The verse would make grammatical sense with or without the added letters, with similar meaning, since *kadha* (“thus”) is a synonym/abbreviation of *kadhālīka*. This insertion has brought the CST of the page into

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 205v, there is an insertion at the end of the first line of text. The



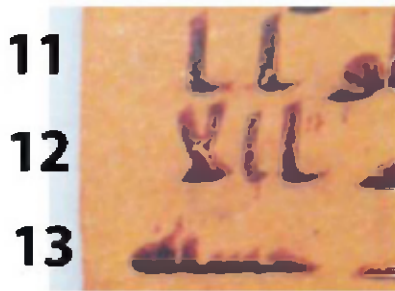
inserted word, *اسبغ asbagha* (“he bestowed amply”) of Q31:20,

is written with a very narrow nib and is bunched into this space. It is a hapax legomenon, occurring nowhere else in the Qur’an. The verse makes grammatical sense with or without the inserted word. As first written it reads “Do you not see

that Allah has subjected to you that which is in the heavens and that which is in the earth? And upon you are his blessings outward and inward;” as amended it reads, “Do you not see that Allah has subjected to you that which is in the heavens and that which is in the earth and he has bestowed amply to you his blessings outward and inward.”

This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

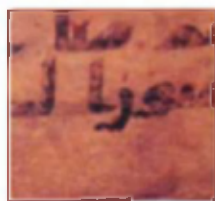
On M^{san}, 241r, there is an inserted *'alif* near the end of line 12. It is the initial *'alif* of *illā* (“except”) of Q42:23. The correction is made



with a narrower nib and a slightly lighter ink, and the height of the *'alif* is about 20% shorter than that of others on this page. Also, the slight backward curve of the inserted letter contrasts with the very consistent and straight upward extension of the

torso of all other *'alifs* on this page; therefore it is my opinion that this is not the work of the OS. This is not to say that a long time necessarily passed before this correction was made. This verse can be sensibly read with or without the added letter; assuming the *'alif* that now makes the previous word indefinite was intended by the OS as the initial *'alif* of *illā*, the verse without the insertion could read “I ask not of you reward, except,” while with the added letter it reads, “I ask not of you a reward, except.” This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 258v, there is an insertion near the middle of the final line of the page.



Squeezed into the space it now occupies and written with a darker ink and in a different hand than the rest of the page, it is the *nūn* of *mūminūn* (“believers”) of Q49:15. Although *mūminū* (“they believe”) is a word, in the context I cannot immediately think of a way this phrase could be read without the added letter.

This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 259r, there is an insertion at the end of line 17 and the beginning of 18. It is the الی *ilā* (“toward”) of Q50:6. It has been written in such a way that what is now the initial *'alif* of the definite article before the following word, which is at the end of



line 17, has become the initial *'alif* of *ilā*, with the *lām'alif* being now inserted in the left margin after this line, and the new definite article *'alif* then being written in the right margin of line 18. In this case, the verse can easily be read without the inserted word; the effect is simply to change the following word from a direct object to an indirect object. Thus, as first written, “Do they not behold the heaven above them?” and as corrected, “Do they not look toward the heaven above them?” This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 262r, there is an insertion at line 5. It is the *rā'* of رزق *rizq* (“a provision”) of Q51:57. In this manuscript, the *rā'* and the *zāy* are

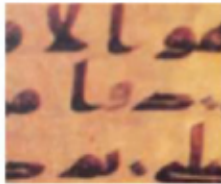


orthographically identical without diacritics. Originally, only one was written halfway between the *nūn* of *min* and the *qāf*. The added letter has been inserted into the first space. This appears the work of the OS, judging by ink, nib and hand.

This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 263v, there is an insertion near the end of line 4. It is the *wāw* of ذُو *dhū*

(“possessor of”) of Q53:6, which had first been written *dhā*. This

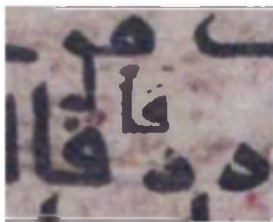


correction, representing a development of orthography, brought the CST of this page at this point toward today’s standard in regard to the *wāw*, but since the following *‘alif* was not erased but remains, as this page now stands its CST is still inconsistent with

that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, page 3 (recto), there is an insertion at the middle of line 3. It is either

the رِزْق of *rizq* (a provision) or of the following *qālū* (they said)



of Q2:25. If it is assumed that *rizq* was complete as this page was originally written, the verse would still make grammatical sense but with altered meaning: “as a provision.

‘If only we had been provided with this before,’” instead of

today’s standard “as a provision. They said, ‘This is that with which we were provided before.’” The correction was made with a narrower nib but in a similar style to the rest of the page. In facsimile, the ink looks similar, but this is difficult to judge without direct examination. This correction was clearly made after the time of production but it could have been done fairly soon after, judging by style. This insertion brings the CST of at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On M^{top}, 19r, there is an insertion at the end of line 9 and the beginning of line

10. It is the *‘alif-‘alif-nūn-‘alif-lām-lām* of ان الله اعلموا *a‘lamū inna allāhi* (“know [that] surely



Allah”) of Q2:196. This insertions appear to have been made with two nibs; the first three letters which are made in the left margin of line 9 appear possibly consistent with the ink and nib of the OS, but the latter three letters, in the right margin of the following line, have been written with a narrower nib and a lighter ink. In this case it appears that there were two separate instances of correction, with the phrase first reading *attaqū allāha wa-a’lamūhu shadīd al-iqāb* (“fear Allah and know him swift in retribution”), then *attaqū allāha wa-a’lamū annahu shadīd al-iqāb* (“fear Allah and know that he is swift in retribution”), and finally *attaqū allāha wa-a’lamū inna allahu shadīd al-iqāb* (“fear Allah and know that surely Allah is swift in retribution”). These insertions have ultimately brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 33r, there is an insertion extending into the margin at the end of line 9.



The added text, written with a very narrow nib and lighter ink (or pencil?), appears possibly even a modern insertion. It is (presumably) the word *ذنوبكم* *dhunūbikum* (“your [pl.] sins”) of 3:31. The verse makes perfect sense as first written, reading “Allah will

forgive you.” As corrected, it reads, “Allah will forgive your sins.” This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 46r, there is an insertion near the middle of line 9. It is the *'alif* of اذى



adhr (“abuse”) of Q3:186. As nib and hand match the rest of the page, but the ink has a different consistency, this may have been the work of the OS at some time after the first production of this page and with a different lot of ink. This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at

this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 122r, there is an insertion in the margin at the end of line 8. It is the



final *alif* of خاضوا *khāḍū* (“they discussed”) of Q9:69. Judging from ink, it appears that this insertion was not made at or immediately after the time of first writing. Also, the upward hook of the tail is unlike that of the other *'alifs* on this page and suggests a different hand. This insertion has brought the CST of the page into

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

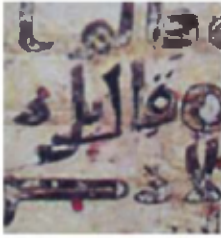
On M^{top}, 122v, there is an insertion near the end of line 8. It is the هو *huwa* (“it



is”) of Q9:72. The insertion has been made with a much narrower nib and in a different hand than the main text. Furthermore, it represents a different orthography of the *hā'*. This verse makes perfect grammatical sense without the insertion, reading *dhālika al-fawz al-'azīm* (“that is the great victory”). As corrected, *dhālika*

huwa al-fawz al-'azīm, it carries basically the same sense. This insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

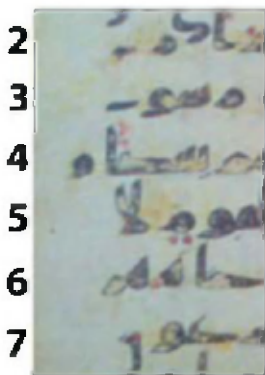
On M^{top}, 206r, there is an insertion in the latter part of line 15. The inserted



letter, the *lam* of قال *qāla* (“he said”) of Q21:56, has not been written in with a single stroke but rather drawn in, with a darker ink and hand. In this case it seems possible that there is an erasure underneath it, but this is not entirely clear so for now I am classifying this as a simple insertion. Assuming that the initial

tooth of *ba* was part of the original writing of the page, there are several lexical possibilities for how this phrase might have been read, but none are quite satisfactory. If the tooth was not original, it is easy to see that the text could have been read *qāla rabbukum rabbu al-samawāt wa-l-ard* (“Say: Your [pl] Lord is Lord of the heavens and the earth”), but spacing considerations do not seem to support the initial absence of the *ba* tooth. As corrected, this text reads “Say: But your [pl] Lord is Lord of the heavens and the earth.” The insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 218v, there is an insertion in the left margin at the end of line 4. It is the



waw that follows بعضا *bi'dā* (“a part”) of Q23:44. The *wāw* is written about half the height of other *wāws* on this page and in a different ink and nib, but with similar style and is possibly the hand of the OS. This is a conjunctive *waw*, and this verse can be read without it, though somewhat awkwardly. The insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 290r, there is an insertion extending into the right margin before line 6.



It is the *bā'*-*alif* of *باليمن* *bi-l-yamīn* (“with the right hand”) of Q37:93. One explanation for what happened here might

be the fact that the previous line also concludes with this sequence of letters, the final *bā'*-*alif* of *دارباً* *darabā* (“a hit”) that immediately precedes *bi-l-yamīn* in this verse.

Possibly the scribe after completing the first *bā'*-*alif* on the previous line and then looked back at the text from which he was copying and picked up the following line after the *second* instance of *bā'*-*alif*, omitting what had to later be inserted. The insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 311v, there is an insertion at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8. It is the second *alif* and the *mīm* of *إذاً* *idhā mā* (“when”) of Q41:20. The insertions are made with a darker ink and in a different hand and is thus apparently not the work



of the OS. Clearly, this verse was first written without the word *mā*, since *idhā* alone carries roughly the same meaning. Thus, the verse was first written *hattā idhā jā'ūhā* “until, when they reach it,” with the final *alif* of this *idhā* (which after correction became the *alif* of *mā*) and was corrected to read *hattā idhā mā jā'ūhā* (“until, when they reach it”). The insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point

with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 318r, there is an insertion near the beginning of line 8. It is the first *lām*



of *فَيُظَلَّلْنَ* *fa-yazlalna* (“then they will remain”) of Q42:33. The

insertion has been made in a darker ink, but the nib width and angle appear similar to that of the rest of the page. This was a

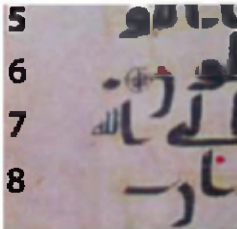
post-production insertion, but it is possible that it is the work

of the OS. The insertion has brought the CST of the page into

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 374v, there is an insertion in the left margin at the end of line 7. It has

been made with a very narrow nib and in a different hand; clearly



not the work of the OS. It is the *lām-lām-hā'* of *الله* *allāh* (“Allah”) of Q66:8. As originally written, could this verse have been read

ya-ayyuhā alladhīna amanū tūbū ilā atū bihi nnaṣūhā (“O you who believe, repent until you give by it [i.e. repentance] sincerely”)?

This is a bit awkward, and the exercise is merely to speculate about what was in the

mind of the scribe at the time of first writing that caused the *TI* to be written as it was. The insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of

F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 401v, there is an insertion at line 3. Written slightly over the verse

divider medallion, it is the interrogative *alif* that is the first letter of



Q90:7. As such, the verse makes sense with or without the added

letter. As first written, it reads, “He thinks that no one saw him,”

while as corrected it reads, “Does he think that no one saw him?”

The insertion has brought the CST of the page into conformity at

this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{caī}, 59r, there is an insertion near the end of the first line. The nib width, style, and ink color leave open the slight possibility that this is the work of the OS, but the upward curl of the tail of the *'alif* suggests a different hand. As first written, this page read, *تحمما* and as corrected it reads



تحمما. Neither is in line with the CST of F¹⁹²⁴. The reason for this insertion is unclear, and the CST of this page at this point remains out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

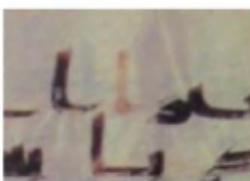
On M^{caī}, 109r, there is a superscript insertion near the beginning of line 5. It is presumably the *كان* *kāna* (“is”) of Q4:33, though the



nun is not visible. The verse makes grammatical sense, with similar meaning with or without the added word; as first written, *allāhu 'alā kulli shay' shahīd* (“Allah is a witness to everything”) and as

corrected, *allahu kāna 'alā kulli shay' shahīd* (“Allah is a witness to everything”). Assuming that the insertion at one point included a final *nūn*, this correction has brought the CST of the page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On M^{caī}, 290r, there is a post-production insertion at line 1. The inserted letter, now faded, is the final *'alif* of *متحيزا* *mutahayyizā* (“aligned”) of

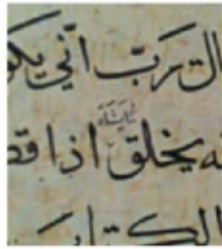


Q8:16. The correction has changed the word from an adjective to an adverb. This insertion has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an

issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On M^{ist}, 38v, there is a superscript insertion at line 6. The inserted text is the words ما يشاء *mā yashā'* ("what he wishes") of Q3:47. The verse makes grammatical

sense, with altered meaning, with or without the inserted words.



As first written, it reads "Thus Allah creates. When he decrees a matter, he says to it 'be,' and it is." As corrected, the verse reads,

"Thus Allah creates what he pleases. When he decrees a matter, he says to it 'be,' and it is." This page is not original to this codex but

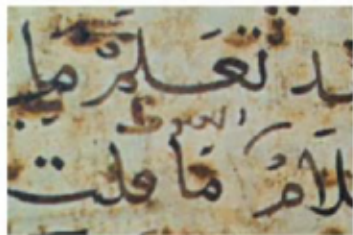
is dated by the editors of the facsimile edition to the mid-fifteenth

century AD / mid-ninth century AH.¹⁹⁸ Although later Qur'ans are not a specific focus of this dissertation, I have in the course of these studies had the opportunity to view a number of later Qur'ans and have found similar insertions to be not at all infrequent.

This insertion has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ist}, 91r, there is a superscript insertion near the middle of line 5. The added

text is the word الغيب *al-ghuyūb* ("the unseen") that ends



Q5:116. This is not an original page of this codex; a

footnote in the facsimile edition identifies it as having

the same origin as folio 38 above. The verse can be read

with or without the inserted word. In the former case,

innaka anta 'allāmu ("surely you are knowing") and in the latter, *innaka anta 'allāmu al-*

ghuyūb ("surely you are the knower of the unseen"). This insertion has resulted in a CST

that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

¹⁹⁸ A footnote in the facsimile edition states: "This page is among the missing leaves from this codex, and the gap has been filled by Da'ud b. 'Alī al-Kūlāni in the year 1437/841 in Mecca al-Makrīma in replacement, in accordance with the record of the other codex." (translation from Arabic mine) Akıkulaç, *Hız. Osman'a Nisbet Edilen Mushaf-ı Şerif (Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi Nüshası)*, 79.

On M^{ist}, 120r, there is a superscript insertion at the end of line 4. It is the *kum* of

ابناكمم *ibnā'ukum* ("your sons") of Q17:41. This page is listed as

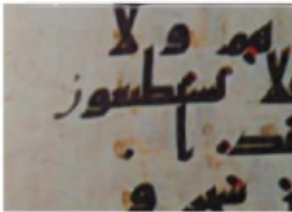


having the same origin as folios 38 and 91 above. The verse, though a bit awkward, can be read as first written: "killing sons (*ibnā*) and sparing your women." The verse as corrected flows better and accounts for the comparative nature of the phrase:

"killing your sons and sparing your women." This insertion has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴.

On M^{ist}, 233v, there is an insertion at the end of line 2. The added letter, clearly

not the work of the OS, appears to be the final *nūn* of



يستطيعون *yastajī'ūn* ("they are able") of Q21:40. However, the

final *nūn* of this word was already written as the first letter on the following line by the OS. Thus, the inserted letter has

had the effect of taking the CST of this page out of

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. The reason for this insertion is therefore unclear.

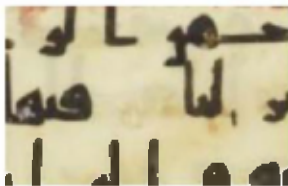
Chapter 4

Erasure

Erasure is the intentional removal of text from the page. Simple erasure usually leaves a gap. The most common method of erasure on parchment in the early centuries of Islam was to rub the skin with a pumice stone until the ink had been completely removed from the page at the location desired. Sometimes a shadow of the erased text has returned because chemicals in the ink remained on the page and reacted over time with the parchment to eventually yield a shadow which can be seen with the aide of ultraviolet light or even in some cases with the naked eye. However, even in cases in which the original text has not returned, occasionally features of the erased letter or letters can be discerned by the shape or positioning of the erasure marks themselves; if they are small and round and rest upon the baseline, for example, the range of possible letters that could have been erased may be reduced to those letters confined to such a space. Similarly, many erasures extend upwards in a line indicating either an *ālif* or a *lām*. Such features of erasures, taken into consideration alongside other factors, can sometimes give a rather clear picture of the nature of the change or what might have precipitated it.

On F327, 2r, there is an erasure at line 8. The erasure occurs after *وانزلنا wa-*

anzalnā (“and we sent down”) and before *فيها fihā* (“in it”) of



Q24:1. A gap about three times the ordinary spacing between letters or words on this page remains. In addition, it seems that the words from the beginning of this line have been re-

worked in some way, from *wa-qad* to the aforementioned *lanā*, as evidenced by the use of a narrower nib and a different hand. Erasure marks are seen in the gap noted above, as well as underneath the re-worked text, though the latter are more difficult to make out. A shadow of earlier writing can be made out from the beginning of the line, looking like *lan* or *lahu*, with another *lām* or *'alif* about 1.5cm further on as well. Some of the ink, in fact, remains from these including two extensions below the line below what appears to be *ṣabhā* of the TS. However, these appear to be separate instances of correction, both after the time of original production of this page with the erasure first mentioned being the final change, as evidenced by the 1.6cm gap which follows the *lanā* which appears to have been written narrowly as if to fit it into a tight space. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

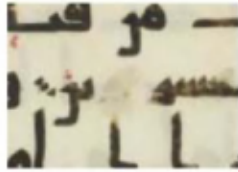
On F327, page 4r there are three corrections. The first two seem to involve two parts of the same word, نساين *nisā'ihin* (their (f.) women) in today's Qur'an, Q24:31, near



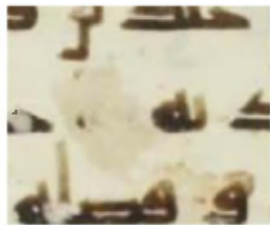
the middle of line 3. One is in the middle of the word, between *'alif* and the stem that serves as the seat of *hamza*, both of which remain but between which something has been rubbed out, leaving a gap of 1.8cm, on a page in which the standard spacing

between letters is .4cm, with one space measuring .85cm on line 7. The change must have taken place at some time after the line or page had been written, and appears to have removed between two and three letters, leaving a clear gap in the middle of the word. Nothing is written over the erasure, and the correction results in conformity of that part of the word with the currently accepted text. The second correction involves the first letter of the same word, just below and to the right of the first. It appears to

rub out a previous inferior ligature. Although there are a number of variations in this verse noted in the *qirā'āt* literature, there is no mention of variance noted at or around this instance of the word *nisā'ihin*.¹⁹⁹ The third correction on this page involves erasure with overwriting, and is discussed in the section dealing with that type of change. There are issues in the *qirā'āt* literature about this verse, but nothing that would shed light on this particular word.



On F327, page 11r, at line 4 there is an erasure leaving a gap of .95cm on a page in which the standard spacing is .4-.8cm.²⁰⁰ Erasure marks can be clearly seen. The erasure is between the *rā'* and *yā'* of *خسرین* *khasirīn* (“losers”) of Q41:25. This erasure is post-production. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. What was erased cannot be discerned, but the shape of the erasure is round and contains no upward or downward extenders.



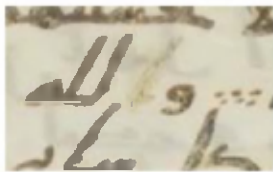
On F327, page 14r, at line 8 there is a rubbing out with pumice stone. The width of the erasure is one or two letters. The erasure takes place between *بولديه* *bi-walidayhi* (“toward his parents”) and *حسنا* *hsanan* (“kindness”) of Q46:15. Toward the left side of the erasure at the baseline, a spot of ink can be seen. Whether this belongs to what was originally written here cannot be discerned. More likely, it belongs to the text on the reverse of this page, which holding the sheet up to the light reveals to coincide with this mark. However, at the top left of this erasure,

¹⁹⁹ 'Umar and Makram, *mu'jam al-qirā'āt al-qur'ānīyah, ma'a maqaddimah fi qirā'āt wa ashhar al-qurrā'*: v.3 367-69.

²⁰⁰ There are several places at the ends of lines on this page in which the gap is as wide as 1.1-1.3cm, clearly in an effort to justify the margins.

there is a bit of ink that does appear to belong to something extending upward from the erased element. The resultant CST after this erasure, although grammatically sound, lacks the initial *'alif* that it has in F¹⁹²⁴, and therefore remains out of conformity with that of the latter. Nothing here replaces what was erased, and the resultant gap suggests the erasure took place after the line or page was originally written. The size of the erasure does not confirm, but does allow for, the possibility that the initial *'alif* of *احسانا* *iḥsanā* could have been on the page as originally written. In this case, it seems there is mention of these two words in the *qirā'āt* literature, and it appears likely that an *'alif* did indeed most likely stand here as originally written and its erasure here reflects an acknowledged alternate reading.²⁰¹

On F328, page 9r, at line 9, an *'alif* that stood between the *wāw* and *lām* of the **و**



wa-li-llāhi (“and to Allah”) of Q3:189, and the shadow of which remains, has been erased. The verse makes grammatical sense with or without the *'alif* here, assuming different vowelings on the word following. As corrected, the sense is “and to Allah belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth;” as it was

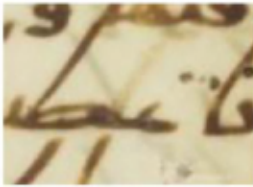
originally written it could be read “and Allah is the king (*malik*) of the heavens and the earth.” This erasure, at any rate, brings the CST of this page into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt*

²⁰¹ “*al-kūfiyūn (bi-wālidayhi iḥsanā) bi-hamza maksūra wa-iskān al-hā' wa-fatḥ al-sīn wa-alif ba'dihā wa-al-bāqūn (iḥsanā) bi-ḡamm al-hā' wa-iskān al-sīn min ḡayr mamz wa-lā alif al-kūfiyūn wa-ibn dhakwān (karahā) fī al-ḡarfayn bi-ḡamm al-kāf wa-al-bāqūn bi-fatḥhā.*” al-Dani, *al-taysir fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*: 161. “*yiqrā bi-ḡamm al-hā' min ḡayr alif wa bi-alif qabl al-hā' wa-iskānhā wa-alif ba'd al-sīn wa humā maḡdarān. fa-al-awal min: ḡasun yaḡsunu ḡsunā. wa-al-thānī min: aḡsan yuḡsinu iḡsanā.*” Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-ḡujja fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*: 326. And similar to the preceding appears in 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. al-Wajih (d. 740/1339) al-Wāsiṭī, *al-kanz fī al-qirā'āt al-'aḡḡara*, ed. Hana' al-Ḥimsī (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1998), 238. al-Isfahani, *al-mabsut fī al-qirā'āt al-'amma al-'aḡḡara*: 341. This last source gives the text (CST, at least) nearly as it now appears in this manuscript - however, the manuscript still lacks the long *'alif* following the *wāw* of *wālidayhi*, a long *'alif* that is written here in al-Isfahānī.

literature. Déroche has also noted this particular erasure. Among other things, he notes that this mistake is evidence of either a variant tradition, text-to-text transmission, or both, since the difference between *allāh* and *li-llāh* is orally dramatic; it is not the sort of error that would have happened under a scenario of transcription from recitation or memory.²⁰²

On F328, 16r, line 12, there is an erased upward extender mid-word. This is the

last word of the verse, the word *عظيما* 'azīmā (“great”) of Q4:93.

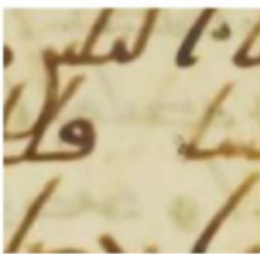


The erasure is nothing more than a shadow when viewed in facsimile, but on the page itself abrasions clear. This correction appears to have been the work of the original scribe. It is

interesting to note that the preceding word, *عذابا* 'adhābā (“punishment”) is lacking its middle 'alif and none has been added; in this manuscript it remains *عذبا*. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 20v, at line 11 there is an erasure between *نساء* *nisā* (“women”) and

فالذكر *fa-li-dhdhakar* (“then to the male”) of Q4:176. It appears



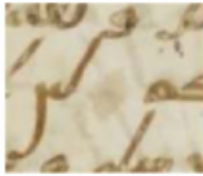
clear from the shape of the erasure that the removed item was an 'alif, and a gap remains indicating that this alteration took place post production. The resultant CST at this point is in conformity with F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was

found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

²⁰² Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads : a first overview*: 30-31; Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam: Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus*; Arabic section, 32.

On F328, 21v, at line 14 there is an erased round letter between *معكم* *ma'akum*

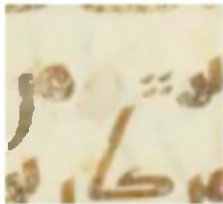
(“with you (pl.)”) and *لئن* *la'in* (“surely”) of Q5:12. The resultant CST



is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. The erasure has left clear abrasion marks, and a 1.2cm gap remains. What was originally written in this case cannot be said for certain, but it seems

reasonable to think that it was a conjunctive *wāw*, since such would make grammatical sense in this location, with the sense, “and surely.” No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 58v, there are two changes. The first is a case, at line 15, of a letter,



apparently a small *wāw* or similar, having been erased at the beginning of Q42:20. In this case, nothing replaces the erased letter, and the gap left by its absence remains. That a *wāw* was in fact the letter erased is the most plausible explanation here, since the conjunction would have made sense and is often used in such

a context - for example at the start of nearly half of the rest of the verses in this entire sura, viz. 6-8, 10, 14, 16, 25-32, 35, 37-39, 40-41, 43-44, 46, and 51-52. It is quite easy to imagine that the scribe made the simple mistake of here including the letter and did not catch the mistake until after the line or page was complete. The second change on this page is an erasure overwritten, and is discussed in the section dealing with this type of change. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

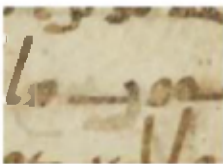
On F328, 62v, at line 1 there is an erasure dipping below line. Clearly what was



erased was *'alif maqsūra*, as the shape of the erasure matches that of this letter just a short way later on the line, as shown in this image. The erased letter follows *dhāl* of *الذكري* *al-dhikrā* (“the reminder”) of Q44:13. A gap remains from

this erasure that is about twice the width of what would be expected²⁰³ between the remaining letters, suggesting that it was a post-production correction. The resultant CT is at this point in conformity with F¹⁹²⁴. As it reads today, the phrase here begins with an interrogative *'alif*, and says “How can there be for them an admonition.”²⁰⁴ The reason for the original writing of an *'alif maqsūra* in this location is unclear. Certainly the word *الذي* *alladhī* (“one who”) could make sense following the previous words, especially if vowelling, which of course is not noted in this manuscript, were flexible and it could be read *'innī lahum alladhī darā* (“surely I am to them one who has knowledge”). No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 64v, at line 10, there is a small erasure that hangs below the line.



Erasure marks are clear. The erasure lies below the *tā'* of *السموات* *al-samāwāt* (“the heavens”) of Q46:3. This appears to be the correction of a slip of the pen at or near the time of original production. It would appear that what was first written was *nūn*,

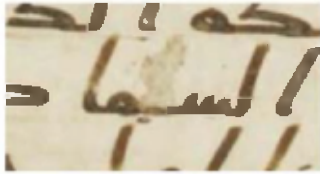
but the reason for this is unclear. Although there are many words ending in *mīm-wāw-nūn* in the Qur'an, none are in the vicinity of this correction, precluding the possibility

²⁰³ Spacing in this manuscript is not as strictly uniform as in some others, however an overall view of this line of text and this folio shows that this particular gap is noticeably wider than should be expected here.

²⁰⁴ Majid Fakhry, *An interpretation of the Qur'an: English translation of the meanings a bilingual edition* (Washington Square: New York University Press, 2004).

of parablepsis in this case. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 82r, in the middle of line 21, there is a mid-word erasure in the shape of



a *lām* or *'alif*, or possibly *lām'alif*. It occurs after the *sm* of

السما *as-samā* ("heaven") of Q21:104. Abrasion marks are

clear, and the parchment is thinned at this point as can be

seen when held to light. This erasure appears most likely to

be the correction at the time of original writing of a pen-slip. There is a mention of an issue surrounding the word *kitāb* in the *qirā'āt* literature, but nothing at *samā*.

On F328, 87v, at line 5, there is an erasure of a single letter before *wāw*. The *wāw*

is that following *ربهم* *rabbihim* ("their lord") of Q42:16. This



erasure is about the size of a single letter stem. Erasure marks are

clear, and a 0.9 cm. gap is left, with 0.3 cm. being the standard

spacing between letters on this page. What stood here originally

is not clear but the gap indicates this to be a post-production

correction. The resultant CST is at this point in conformity with F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 88v, line 13 there is an erasure leaving a 1.6cm gap. Erasure marks can

be clearly seen. This erasure is between *يحب* *yuhibbu* ("he loves")



and *الظالمين* *al-zalimīn* ("the wrongdoers") of Q42:40. That this is a

post-production erasure is clear from the gap. However, what was

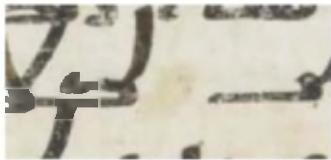
originally written here cannot be discerned or guessed. The

resultant CST is at this point in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

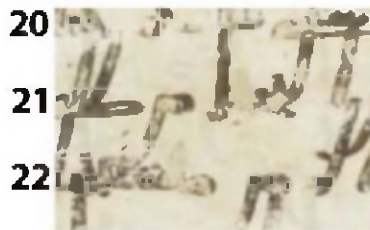
On F328, 92r, near the end of line 8 there is an erased alif or lam. Erasure marks are clear. This appears to be the work of the OS at the time of original production, since no gap remains and the following letters match the main text on the rest of the page. The erasure takes place between the *wāw* and *kāf* of *لا يبلوكم* *la-yabluwakum* (“to test you (pl.)”) of Q5:48. The CST at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F328, 94v, near the middle of line 3, there is a post-production erasure leaving a 0.9cm gap. The standard space between letters on this page is .15cm-.3cm. The erasure takes place following the word *يعقوب* *ya'qūb* (“Jacob”) of Q6:84. The erased letter was most likely a conjunctive *waw*, since this would have made sense in this context and appears to match the shape of the erasure. The CST as corrected here is brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F328, 95r, near the middle of line 21 there is a mid-word erasure of a letter stem. Then, again at line 22 there is a similar instance of erasure. Erasure marks can be seen on the page and in the facsimile. The first erasure is seen between *khā'* and *lam* of *النخل* *an-nakhli* (“the date palm (coll.)”) of Q6:99. The second is between the *mīm* and *shīm* of



مشتبيها *mushtabihā* (“alike”) of the same verse. In both cases here, it seems quite clear what has happened. In the former case, the word was originally written النخيل *al-nakhīl* (“the date palms”). In the latter case, the word was originally written متشبيها *muttashabihā* (“resembling each other”), following the form of the word in its subsequent occurrence in the same verse. In both cases, the resultant CST has been brought into conformity at these points with that of F¹⁹²⁴. However, it is notable that the long *ʿalif* is missing from the word الرمان *al-rummān* (“the pomegranates”) which as written originally, stands uncorrected as الرمن, out of conformity with F¹⁹²⁴. Ibn Masʿūd mentions a variant of *muttashabihā*, allowing for it to be written with a long *ʿalif* after the *shīn*, but mentions nothing about *mushtabihā* and nothing on *nakhīl*.²⁰⁵

On F330, page 11v, there is an erasure after the word الاليم *al-ʿalīmu* (“the painful”) of Q15:50. There is a letter-sized gap remaining where the erasure took place,



and in the gap is drawn a circle which does not appear to be intended as a letter. The *wāw* of verse 51 continues after this gap.

Later on the same page, at line 22, there is another erasure, apparently of an upward-extending letter such as a final *ʿalif* or, more likely, a *kāf*. The argument for the latter includes the



forward extension of the baseline that will be discussed in a moment and which is

observed in *kāfs* in several other locations on this page. The word after which the erasure occurs is الربيه *rabbīhi* (“his Lord”) of Q15:56. Thus, a prior *ʿalif* would yield the indefinite ربا *rabbā* (“a lord”),

²⁰⁵ Ibn Masʿūd, *qirāʾāt ʿabdallah b. masʿūd*: 107.

which seems impossible in this case, while a prior *kāf* would yield a much more sensible *ربك rabbaka* (“your Lord”). Following the erasure, there is a long baseline letter extension, but it is not clear what its purpose might be. It would not have extended forward from *س*, as this letter never extends in such a way in these manuscripts. Nor does it seem likely that it would be a backward extension from the following *ʿalif*, as it is not connected to the *ʿalif* at all and at any rate this would be highly unusual since such a backward extension from an initial *ʿalif* is not observed elsewhere. The *qirāʾāt* literature cites a variant at verse 56, but nothing that would shed light on either of these erasures.

On F330, page 22v, at line 12, there is a post-production erasure at the beginning

of the line, leaving a gap. Erasure marks can be seen in facsimile



and on the page. The shape of this erasure, however, does not give a clear indication of what was originally written here. This

erasure takes place before the word *حتى hattā* (“until”) of Q10:22.

The CST as corrected here is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. Ibn Masʿud notes a variant elsewhere in this verse, but

nothing involving or surrounding this *hattā*.

On F330, page 27r, at line 14, there is an erasure the size of one or two letters,

with nothing taking its place. The abrasions of the erasure can be



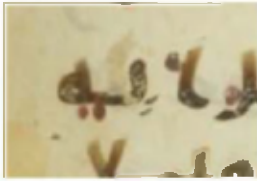
clearly seen on the page. The erasure follows the *قال qāla* (“he said”)

(here written without the long *ʿalif* as *qāf-lām*) *وقل فرعون wa-qāla*

firʿawnu (“and Pharaoh said”) of Q10:79. The CST as corrected here is

in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴, except for the missing *'alif* of *qāla*. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

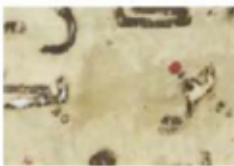
On F330, 28v, there is an erasure of *lām* mid-word, in the final word of line 9.



Erasure marks clearly seen and felt on the page. This erasure occurs after the *ya* of *آية* *'ayat* (“sign”) of Q10:97. It is not quite clear what happened here; it does not appear that the long *'alif* was originally written here, since a ligature that appears to be original connects forward to the final *tā' marbuta*. A plausible

scenario under this circumstance is that this was a correction made by the OS, with the original nib and ink, at or shortly after the time of original production. But for the absence of *hamza*, the CST as corrected here is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 36v, there is an erasure at line 17 leaving 2.5cm gap. Erasure marks are



clear. The erasure exists between the words *الذين* *alladhīn* (“those who”) and *يكفرون* *yakfurūn* (“they disbelieve”) of Q4:150. This is a rather larger erasure than would be required to remove a single letter and what was written originally cannot be discerned. The

word *هم* *hum* (“they”) would be grammatically possible in this location. This erasure brings the CST of this page at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

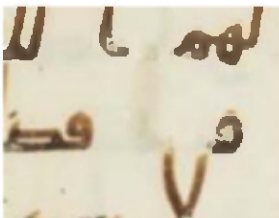
On F330, 38v, there is a post-production erasure at line 7, leaving a 2.2cm gap.



Erasure marks are clear, and appear to be in shape of *'ayn* followed by two teeth. Apparent erasure of a single tooth on the same line a few words earlier, just preceding *lām'alif*. This erasure occurs between the words *بلازلم bi-l-'azlām* (“with divining arrows”) and *ذلكم dhālikum* (“this is

for you”) of Q5:3. Although the shape of the letters erased can be discerned, it is not at this time clear what was intended here originally. The resultant CST as corrected here is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. There are variants in this verse mentioned in the *qirā'āt* literature, but nothing involving either of the words surrounding this erasure.

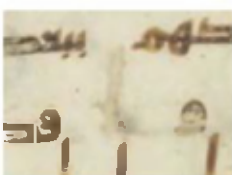
On F331, 10r, at the middle of line 8 there is an erasure of an *'alif*. Erasur



marks are clear in the shape of the letter. A total gap of 2.3cm remains, while an ordinary spacing on either side of an *'alif* on this page is about 1cm. The erasure is between *لذو ladhū* (“he is the possessor of”) and *فضل fadli* (“favors”) of Q2:243. It

is not clear what function the *'alif* that stood here was supposed to serve, as *dhū* is not followed by an *'alif*, and the superlative *afḍal* would not follow *dhū* in this way. The resultant CST as corrected here is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

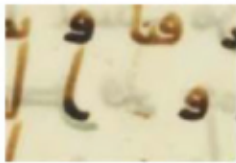
On F331, page 11r, at the middle of line 6, there is an erasure of an *'alif*. Erasur



marks are clear in the shape of the letter, and a gap of 2.6cm remains, while an ordinary spacing on either side of an *'alif* on this page is about 1cm. The erasure follows the *waw* of *لذو ladhū*

(“he is the possessor of”) of Q2:251. This erasure is identical to that mentioned above on 10r of the same manuscript, including the fact that it precedes the word *faḍl*. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F331, page 16r, one-third of the way through line 10, there is an erasure of an



'*alif*. Erasure marks can be seen on close direct examination, and traces of the ink from the original letter also remain. The erasure leaves a gap of 2.1cm, while an ordinary spacing on either side of an '*alif* on this page is about 1cm. This is the end of the word *dhū*

(“possessor of”) of Q8:29, and marks the third instance of removal of a long '*alif* from the end of this particular word in this manuscript. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F331, page 18v, two-thirds of the way through line 6, there is an erasure, with

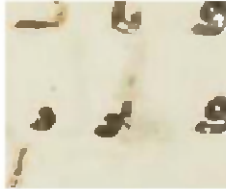


abrasion marks clearly visible when viewed in person. A gap of 1.4cm remains, with standard spacing between letters on this page being about 1cm, suggesting the removal of perhaps a single letter or stem. This erasure is between *مائة*

mi'at^{an} (“a hundred”) and *صابرة* *ṣābirat* (“steadfast ones”) of Q8:66, the latter word being written defectively in this manuscript as *صبرة*. Although what was originally written here cannot be discerned, one possibility would be *mīm*, rendering the word *مصبرة* *mu ṣābirat* (“persevering ones”). The CST as corrected, except for the absence of the long '*alif* already mentioned, brings the page at this point into

conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

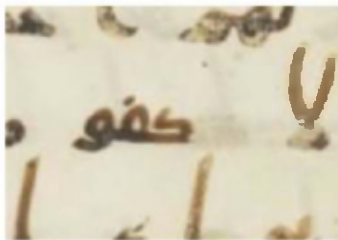
On F331, page 22v, at line 5 there is an erasure around an existing letter. It



appears that the top portion of a *lām* was erased, and possibly something preceding along the baseline. A 1.1cm gap remains preceding this letter, which is the *bā'* of *ويزروا wa-barazū* (“and they appeared”) of Q14:21. The standard spacing between letters on this page ranges from .5cm to 1cm depending upon the letters.

There is another change on this page, and erasure with overwriting, that is discussed in the section dealing with that type of change. The resultant CST here is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F331, page 32r, there is an erasure, with abrasion marks clearly visible, at the



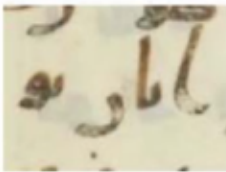
beginning of the word *كفورا kufūrā* (“they disbelieve”), the final word of Q17:99. A gap of 1.6cm is left in front of the word, as if a letter has here been erased after the time of the manuscript’s original production; standard spacing on the page is .8cm to 1.1cm. What was erased cannot be discerned. Could the letter that was have been

a *bā'*? There is another change on this page, an erasure with overwriting, which will be discussed in the section dealing with that category of change. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

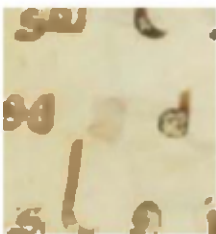
On F331, page 41r, two-thirds of the way through line 1, there is an erasure. The shape of the erasure is that of a short letter or pair of letters; it does not extend upward or downward from the baseline. Erasure marks are clear and can be seen by holding the page to light, which also reveals that the erasure has left two small holes in the page. The total length of the resultant gap is 2.5cm. Standard spacing between elements on this page is about 1cm. The erasure takes place after the *ra* of **الريا** *ar-ru'yā* (“the vision”) of Q48:27. The gap is the point at which a *hamza* stands in F¹⁹²⁴. Ibn Mas'ūd notes a variant in this verse, but not involving this word.



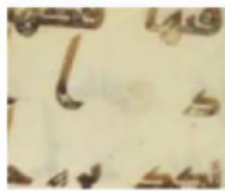
On F331, 44r, near the end of line 9 there is an erasure of a short letter stem or tooth and apparent overwriting. It is the word **ايان** 'ayyān (“when”) of Q51:12. The *ya* now preceding this nun uses a similar nib width and similar or identical ink, but the bunched spacing, as well as the height, angle and curve of the *yā*'-*alif* seem to indicate that this is the work of a different scribe. The resultant CST as corrected here is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



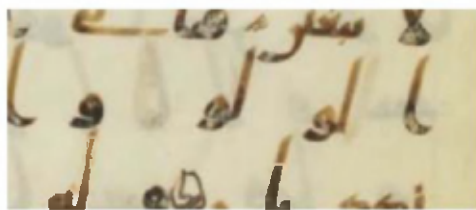
On F331, page 47r, there is an erasure of a single letter near the end of the penultimate line. Erasure marks are clear, and a gap of 2cm remains as nothing has replaced what was removed. Standard spacing between elements on this page is .7cm to 1cm. The erasure precedes the words **هو اعلم بكم اذ انشاكم من الارض** *huwa a'lamu bikum idh anshā'kum min al-ard* (“He is aware of you since he produced you out of the earth”) of Q53:32. The erasure appears to be in the shape of a *wāw*, and it



seems reasonable to presume that this was in fact the letter removed, since it would have made perfect grammatical sense in this location. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. The *qirā'āt* literature notes a variant at this verse, but not at this location.



On F331, page 48v, there are four corrections, all erasures. The first, an erasure of a single letter, is near the beginning of line 2. Abrasion marks are clear, a gap of 2.2cm is left indicating the correction was made at some time after the page had been written, and nothing is written over the top of the erasure. The text at this spot is the *dhū* (“possessor of”) of Q55:12. It would appear that the line in this manuscript originally read ذوا, and the interesting thing about this correction is that, instead of erasing the *ʿalif* to bring the consonants and long vowels in line with the now accepted text, the corrector actually erased the *wāw*, to leave instead ذ, which deviates from the eventual form of the consonantal text at this location, and leaves a



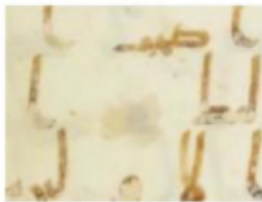
sizeable gap in the middle. The second and third corrections are at line 8, where two *lāms* appear to have been erased from Q55:22; the first erasure is the *lām* immediately preceding and linked to the word لولو, with the result that this manuscript by this correction has moved out of conformity with F¹⁹²⁴; the corrected text in this manuscript reads لولو منها *minhā a-lūʿlū*, while F¹⁹²⁴ reads منها اللولو *minhā al-lūʿlū* (“from them both [come] the pearls”). The second erasure here is seen between the word لولو (“pearls”) and the following words, والرجان (“and the coral”).

Erasure marks are clearly visible on the page, a gap is left in each case, 1.2cm and 2cm respectively, indicating a later correction, and nothing is written over the top of the erasures. In this case, it seems likely that the original scribe carelessly added an additional *lām* following the *lām-wāw* pattern of the word *لولو*. The fourth correction on



this page is at line 11, in which an *'alif* has been erased between the words *ذو* (“possessor of”) and *الجلل* *al-jalāl* (“majesty”) of Q55:27.

Again, erasure marks are clear, and a gap of 2cm remains, indicating this as a correction made after the page had been written. In this case, however, the removal of the *'alif* is in line with today’s accepted text at this point. Regarding verse 22, there is mention of a variant in the literature but not at this particular place. Regarding verse 27, Ibn Mas’ūd mentions *dhī al-jalīl* as an alternate reading;²⁰⁶ however this is not reflected in Jeffery’s edition of Ibn Mas’ūd.

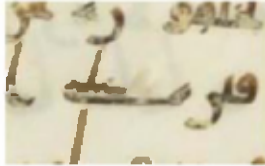


On F331, page 49v, there is an erasure at line 15, where the penultimate letter or word of the line has been removed. Erasure marks are clear, and this change was made after the time of original production of this manuscript since the change leaves a gap of 3.3cm unfilled. The erasure itself measures 1.5cm in length and is located between the words *اوليك* *ūlā'ika* (“those”) and the *المقربون* *al-muqarrabūna* (“the close ones”) of Q56:11. Judging from the shape and size of this erasure, it seems clear that what was here erased was the word *هم* *hum* (“they”), which would have made perfect sense in this context. Elsewhere on this page, there is an erasure that has been over-written; it is discussed in the section dealing with that type

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 161.

of change. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

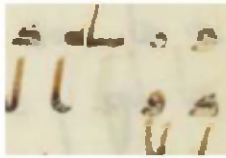
On F331, page 50v, there is an erasure at the middle of line 4, in the shape of



what appears to be an *'ayn*. The erasure occurs just in front of the existing *ayin* of *على* *'alā* (“notwithstanding”) of Q56:61. It is not clear what precipitated this instance of erasure. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F331, page 52v, there is an erasure of an *'alif* at line 11, leaving a 2cm gap.



Standard spacing between elements on this page is 1cm. This is yet another instance of an *'alif* being removed after the word *ذو* *dhū* (“possessor of”); this time it is that of F57:21. This is the fourth correction of this word in this way in this manuscript that I have

found. The resultant CST as corrected here is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, page 4v, there is an erasure near the beginning of line 11, leaving a gap



of 0.8 cm. The standard spacing on this page between letters is 0.2 cm to 0.3 cm. Erasure marks can be seen, and are tall enough that what was erased could have been an interrogative *'alif*. This erasure lies between *لكم* *lakum* (“to you

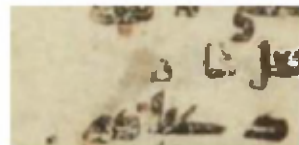
(pl.)”) and *لا* *lā* (“not”) of Q4:75. What was originally written here cannot be discerned apart from the above observations concerning erasure dimension and shape. The

resultant CST is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention of an issue at this verse in the *qirā'āt* literature, but not at this particular point.

On F340, 18v, at the end of line 9 there is a large gap that appears to be an erasure.²⁰⁷ It lies between the 'alif and nūn of **وانفسهم** *wa-anfusuhum* (“and themselves”) of Q32:27. The first two letters precede the gap, and the remainder of the word continues on the following line. The *wāw*-*'alif* appear to be written with a slightly narrower nib than the main text on the page. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. There is a mention of a variant in this verse in Ibn Mas'ūd, but not at this particular location.

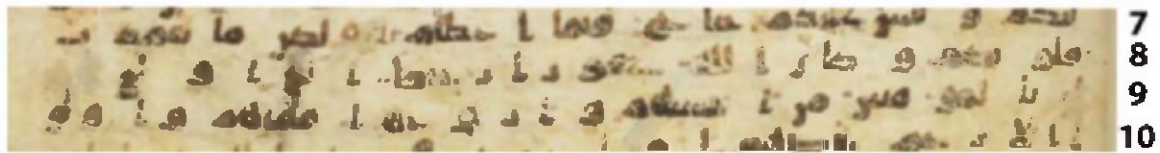


On F340, 19r, there is an erasure at end of line 2. Abrasions from the erasure can be seen. This is found between *zāy* and *wāw* of **ازوجكم** *azwājakum* (“your (pl.) wives”) of Q33:4. Although what has been erased cannot be discerned, it is not unlikely that there was a mistake caused by the multiple occurrences of **ما جعل** *mā ja'ala* (“he did not bring forth”) in this verse. This word follows the second of three. However, this does appear to be a post-production correction, as evidenced by the gap left at the end of this line. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



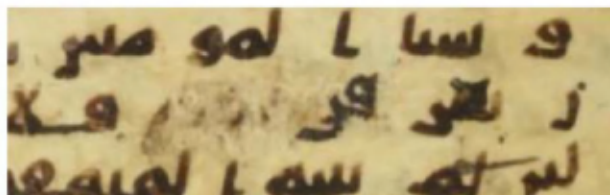
²⁰⁷ Though I do not know how I would have missed it, I have no record in my notes of having confirmed erasure marks when viewing this page in person.

Further down the page on 19r of F340, there are two more adjacent erasures at



end of line 8, leaving 1.2cm gap, and the beginning of line 9, leaving a gap about two-thirds that. This erasure lies between *qāla* (“first”) and *bi-l-mu'minīn* (“of the believers”) of Q33:6. Erasure marks can be seen. This erasure is post-production, and it appears that at least one word has been removed, though what that word was is not clear. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. Ibn Mas'ūd records a variant involving this text, mentioning *wa huwa āb lahum* (“and he is a father to them”), in other words, Muhammad who is the subject of this verse is the first among the believers and a father to them.²⁰⁸ It is not clear whether this mention sheds light on this erasure.

On F340, page 23r, is an erasure at line 12 and its resultant 1.7 cm gap. Erasure



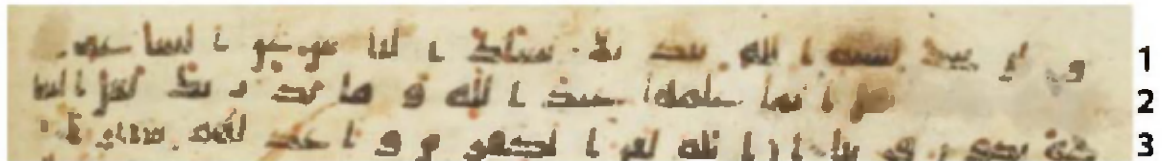
marks can be seen clearly on the page. Over-written on the erased area, with a different pen and ink, is the the *fā'-nūn* of the word *يعرفن* *yu'rafna* (“they are known”) of

Q33:59. There appears to have been some modification of the *'ayn* of this word as well. What was erased cannot be discerned. This is the second instance of alteration on this page; the other is mentioned in the section dealing with erasure and overwriting. The

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 141.

resultant CST is in conformity at this point with F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, page 23v, the end of the first line and the beginning of the second has been erased. Abrasion marks are clear, nothing replaces what was removed, and what



was erased cannot be discerned. The erasure occurs between the words *الساعة* *al-sā'a* (“the hour”) and *قل* *qul* (“say”) of Q33:63. A small bit of what was erased at the baseline can be discerned at the start of the erasure on the first line. This is the first of two erasures on this page; the other is mentioned in the section dealing with overwritten erasures. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 25r, there is an erasure leaving 0.9cm gap near the middle of line 12.

The standard spacing between letters on this page is 0.4cm to 0.5cm. This erasure lies between the *wāw* and *lām* of *و* *wa-lā* (“nor”) of Q34:22. Erasure marks can be seen on the page. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



Immediately following the *lā* is another instance of correction, an erasure that has been overwritten. This is discussed in the section dealing with that type of change. Whether the two corrections belong to a single round of revision is uncertain but should be considered. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 25v, there is an erasure on line 2, leaving .6cm gap. It appears that an 'alif was here, originally appended after the final *mīm* of *ثم* *thumma* ("then") of Q34:26. The erasure leaves a forward tail on the *mīm*, but the forward tail is standard for this particular script style. The reason for the original 'alif is unclear. Could the scribe have originally written *بما* *bi-mā* ("in that which")? The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

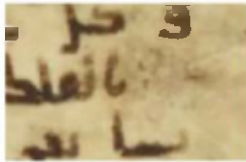


On F340, 27v, there are two erasures of 'alifs, leaving gaps at line 10. Erasure marks remain. The 'alifs first stood before and after the *lām*'alif of *لاجل* *hi-'ajal* ("an appointed time") of Q35:13. What happened here is fairly clear, as the phrase to which this belongs, *ويسخر الشمس والقمر كل يجري لاجل*, *wa-sakhkhara al-shamsa wa-l-qamara kullu yajrī li-'ajli musammā* ("and he subjected the sun and the moon, each one running to an appointed time") occurs elsewhere in the Qur'an, with slight variation. At Q31:29, it reads instead *ويسخر الشمس والقمر كل يجري الى اجل مسمى* *wa-sakhkhara ash-shamsa wa-l-qamara kullu yajrā ilā ajli musammā* ("and he subjected the sun and the moon, each one running toward an appointed time"). What appears to have happened here is that the scribe initially wrote the version of this phrase as it occurs in 31:29 here at 35:13. At some point later, the verse was altered to bring the CST into conformity with what is now standard here. The only oddity about this particular theory, however, is that the verse as first written on this page would have spelled *الى* *ilā* ("toward") as *الا* *a-lā* ("is it not?"). The difference, then, is the use of



li (“to”) versus *ilā* (“toward”). The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F340, 30v there is an erasure at the beginning of line 6. A 0.7 cm gap remains, and erasure marks can be seen on the page. This erasure lies between the words *fi* (“in”) and *al-fulki* (“the ark”) of Q36:41. What was erased cannot be discerned. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



There is mention in Ibn Mas’ūd and in Jeffery of an alternate reading at *dhurriyyatahum* (“their progeny”), the word that precedes this *fi*, but this is not much help in explaining the erasure at hand.

On F340, 39r, there is an apparent erasure of the first word on the page. Erasure marks are clear and clearly look intentional. A shadow of the *TI* can be seen, and reveals it to be *innā* (“surely”) of Q15:52. How this verse could be read in grammatically correct fashion without the erased word, however, is not clear. If this is indeed an intentional erasure, it takes the CST at this point out of conformity with that of



F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F340 43v, there are two large gaps of 3 cm and 1.2 cm respectively at line 3.

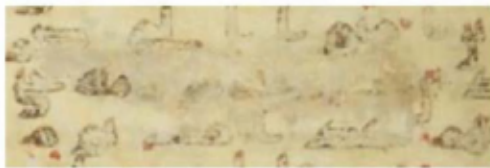


Erasure marks can be seen on close examination. Two ‘*alifs* and one *lām* of the line below have been extended upward to

apparently fill some of this space and make the gap less conspicuous. The first gap is

between the *ʿalif* and *lām* of الجبال *al-jibāl* (“the mountains”) of Q22:18, and the second immediately follows the *lam*, which stands alone. This erasure was post-production, but it may have been done by the OS soon after these lines were written, judging by the nib width and angle, as well as the ink, of the extensions. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 46r, there is what appears to be an erasure at line 8, leaving a lengthy



gap. However, what is erased is a section that would fit inside the remaining gap. The missing text now, when compared with F¹⁹²⁴, is كَفَرُوا فِي مِرْيَةٍ is

[lit. disbelieve] in doubt”) of Q22:55. The remaining text now reads وَلَا يَزَالُ الَّذِينَ مِنْهُ حَتَّى تَأْتِيَهُمُ السَّاعَةُ is grammatically viable, with the meaning “Those who are in him (or it) will not cease until the hour comes upon them.” Why this erasure was made is not clear. Was something to be written over it? The CST of the page as erased is now out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 56r, there is a post-production erasure leaving a large gap in the middle

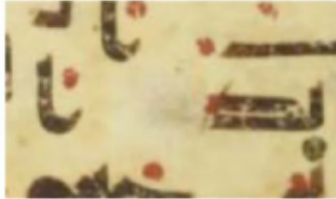


of line 12. The erasure lies between قَالَ *qāla* (“he said”) and مُوسَى *mūsā* (“Moses”) of Q10:81. What was first written here cannot be made out, but the size of the gap suggests it was 1-3 letters. The erasure brings the CST at this point

into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention in Ibn Masʿūd of a variant of the

word *sīhr bil madd al-al istifham* (“sorcery”) that occurs later in this verse, but nothing at this particular place.

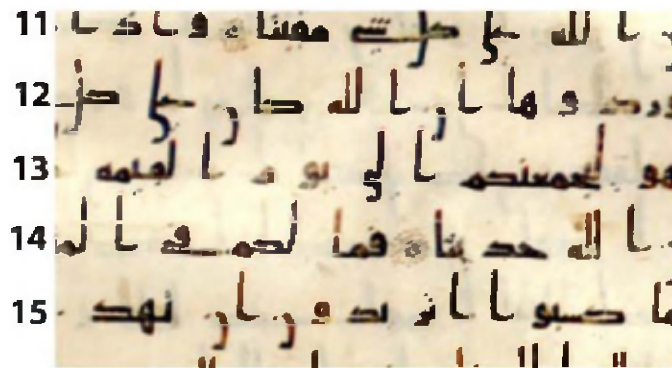
On F340, 62r, there is an erasure leaving a 1cm gap near the beginning of line 9.



this is not much wider than standard spacing on page, could have been done at time of original production. This erasure takes place after the word *يريد* *yurīdu* (“he wants”) of Q11:34. What was written here originally cannot be discerned. Although a gap is left, the spacing

between letters on the rest of this particular page is at times nearly this wide; the determination of erasure rests on the visibly identifiable erasure marks at this point on the page. The CST of the page as erased is taken out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 6v, there are erasures at lines 12 and 15. The first is an upward

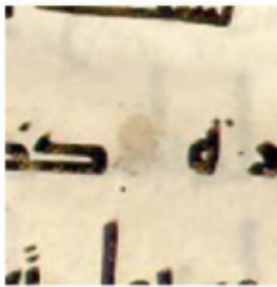


extender after the *dāl* of *ردوها* *ruddūhā* (“better than it”) of Q4:86. Erasure marks are clear in the shape of the erased letter. At line 15, there is a second erasure, over which is written the *tā-hā-dāl* of *تهدوا* *tahdū*

“you [pl.] guide”) of Q4:88. In this instance, it seems that what was erased had an upward extender, which can be discerned from the erasure marks. Judging from ink color, nib width, and hand, it appears at least possible this change was made by the original scribe, although the slight variation in the shape of the *hā* when compared to

others on the page, as well as a longer stem than usual on the initial *tā'*, and a rather odd departure from the 45° nib angle at the tail of the *dāl* would at least suggest otherwise. The resultant CST is in conformity at both these points with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention in the *qirā'āt* literature of a variant at verse 88, but nothing at this particular location, and nothing at verse 89. There are corrections in three other manuscripts at verses 89 and 90; taken together with verse 88, these three verses represent a section of the Qur'an that has corrections in four manuscripts. However, there is not yet an evident pattern among these as to the nature of the corrections or specific points being corrected.

On E20, page 7r, at line 11 there is the erasure of a single letter, apparently *wāw*,



between the word *كثيرة kathīra* (“abundant”) and the word *كذلك*

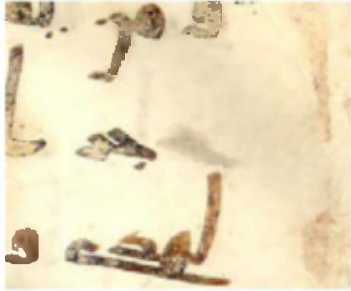
kadhālika (“thus”) of Q4:94. A *wāw* would have made grammatical sense here, rendering “abundant gains, and this is how you were before,” instead of “abundant gains. This is how you were before” as it stands in today’s text. So, it is

plausible that the letter was written and remained for some

period of time before being discovered and erased, since it is not specifically overwritten. However, the spacing at this point rather suggests that the mistake was made, the letter erased and then the writing proceeded from there with *كذلك kadhālika* (“therefore”), since in every other place on this page, *wāw* is followed by a uniform space before the next letter is written, a space that would not have existed between *wāw* and *kadhālika*. This is the second of three instances of change noted on this page; the other two are overwritten erasures and are discussed in that chapter. The resultant

CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. Ibn Mas'ūd records a variant at Q4:94, but not at this particular point.

On E20, page 8r, there is an erasure at the beginning of line 2, between the 'alif



and the *jīm* of *اجرا* *ajrā* (“a reward”) of Q4:114, the first letter of which is the final letter on the preceding line of text. The shape of the erasure suggests a *jīm*, a *ḥā'*, or a *khā'*, but none of these letters immediately makes sense here; although *حجر* *ḥajar* is a word (“stone”) it seems difficult to imagine a scribe considering it reasonable

that God would reward those seeking his favor with a great stone! The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention of a variant involving this word in the *qirā'āt* literature: al-Dānī reports, “*ḥamza wa-abū 'amrū (fa-sawfa yu'tihi ajrā)*,” that is, with a *yā'* in place of the *nūn*, changing the meaning from “we will give him” to “he will give him.”²⁰⁹ The same is reported in others.²¹⁰ Though in close proximity, these do not clarify the reason for this particular erasure.

On E20, page 10r, there is an erasure on line 7 between *خير* *khayr* (“better”) and



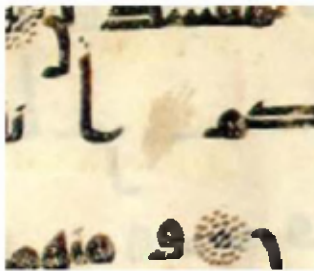
للذين *lilladhīn* (“for those [who]”) of Q7:169. The resultant gap is too wide to have been left at the time of original writing, as the spacing between letters is quite consistent throughout this page. This leads to the assumption that there was originally a single letter in this spot. The words in the line immediately above this location line up to show how the

²⁰⁹ al-Dani, *al-taysir fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 81.

²¹⁰ Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-ḥujja fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 128; al-Wāsiṭī, *al-kanz fī al-qirā'āt al-'ashar*; 147.

spacing in this case would place a single letter, in the preceding line an *'alif*, in such a space. The fact of the gap suggests erasure after the time of original writing of this page, but whether this was done by the first scribe or at a later time cannot be known. What was erased here cannot be discerned. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is a recorded variant in this verse, but none that affects this particular spot.

On E20, page 13v, there are several erasures that can easily be discerned in



facsimile. The first, on line 17, is between the words *عَمَلِكُمْ*

'amalukum (“your deeds”) and *انْتُمْ* *antum* (“you”) of Q10:41.

Nothing is written over the erasure, and because of the dimensions of the remaining space which is wider than normal between words or separable letters on this page, it seems certain that this erasure was made after the page

had been written. It is possible that the erased letter was a *wāw*, as this would have fit in the context, but what was actually erased cannot be said with certainty. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

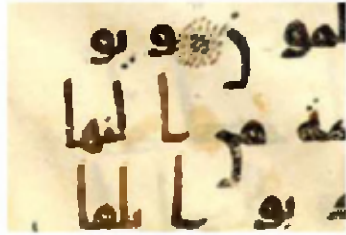
The next two alterations to page 13v of E20 are found on line 23. The first of



these is an erasure at the beginning of the word *كان* *kāna* (“it

is”) of Q10:45. What has been erased is unclear, except to say that the erasure had no descenders or ascenders. The resultant gap suggests that this erasure was made after the time of original production of this page. The resultant CST is

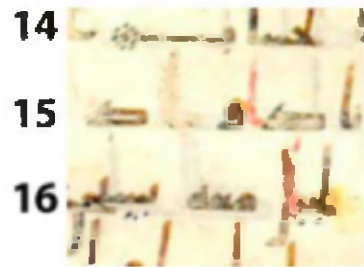
in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. The second alteration²¹¹ is found later in line 23, where there is an erasure between the words *من* (*min* “of”) and *النهار* *al-nahār*



(“the daytime”), and another erasure internal to the word itself, between the *'alif* and the *lām* of *النهار*. What has been erased cannot be discerned, however at least in the first instance, and probably in the second as well, it seems that the erasure took place at the time of original

writing, since the space between the *من* and its following *'alif* is that which would be expected in such a scenario. This having been said, the spacing between letters is not nearly as uniform throughout this manuscript as it is in some others, so conclusions drawn from this factor alone should remain tentative. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention in *Dānī* of a variant in this section of text, but it is not clear whether it sheds light on this erasure.²¹² The latter part of this verse is written over an erasure in F340, but there is no overlap with these words in that case.

On E20, 25r, at line 15, there is an alteration of the name David, the first of four



on this page, in similar fashion to that already mentioned on 48 (verso) in Q38:17. There is an erasure and re-location of the *'alif* in red ink. This is part of what was an apparent systematic re-working of this particular manuscript coinciding with a larger project

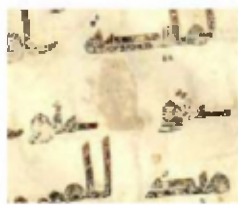
²¹¹ I do not find mention of this alleged erasure in my notes from my direct examination of the manuscript in St. Petersburg. It is possible that I simply missed it, but this detail bears mention,

²¹² *al-Danī, al-taysir fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 100.

of revising the graphic representation of the long vowels herein, as this is neither the first nor last change of this name. Of course, this is mentioned while other long vowel changes are not, since in this case it is a substantive change to the name itself. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 29v, there is an erasure at line 21 between the words *واعتوا* *wa-'ataw*

("they became insolent") and *اعتوا* *'utāwā* ("with haughtiness") of



Q25:21. Erasure marks are clear. A gap of 1.6 cm remains, whereas the standard space between letters on this page is 0.2-1.1 cm, suggesting a post-production erasure. The shape suggests that the erased letter may have been an *'alif*, which would suggest an

explanation for what happened here given the similarity of the words between which this erasure is made. However, no actual shadow of the erased text can be seen. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 32r, on line 20 there is an erasure of what appears to have been an

upward extension from the initial *nūn* of the word *نحن* *nahnu*



("we") of Q26:41. What was actually erased cannot be discerned apart from the shape of the erasure. It is not immediately clear what sensible meaning could have been rendered with a *lām* in this place instead of *nūn*, nor can it be discerned whether this

erasure took place at the time of original production or later. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention in the *qirā'āt* literature of an issue at this verse, but not at this particular word.

On E20, page 32v, there is an erasure at line 6 between the words ما *mā* (“what”)

and تعبدون *ta'budūna* (“do you worship”) of Q26:70.

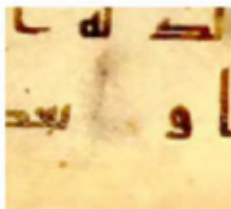


There are no signs of erasure that can be discerned in facsimile, but erasure marks can be seen clearly on direct examination of the page. The remaining gap measures 4.3 cm. The shape of the erasure includes a final *'alif* and it looks like two words were removed: two letters in the first, followed by a tooth connected forward to *'alif*. The CST of the page after this erasure is in conformity

at this spot with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 51r, there is an erasure one-third of the way through line 30, the

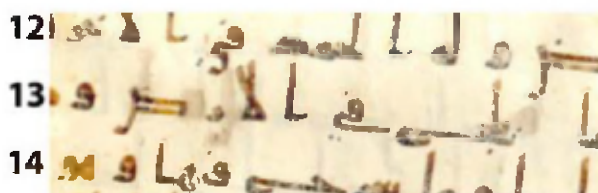
final line on the page. The erasure lies between واو *wa-bāw* (“and



they will incur”) and غضب *bi-ghaḍbi* (“anger”) of Q3:112. What was erased looks at first like an *'alif*, with possibly another letter before it. However, judging from the shape of the erasure along the baseline, it could also have been a *tā'*. Erasure marks can be

seen, and a gap of 1.7cm remains. The CST of the page after this erasure is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 48r there are several erasures at line 13, the beginning of Q34. The



first of these is the erasure in the shape of a small round letter just before the word يـ *yaliju* (“penetrates”) of Q34:2. Nothing is

written over the erasure, and the resultant gap of 1.7 cm suggests that the change was made after the line had been written. The fact of its close proximity to the following word suggests that the letter may have had a forward ligature to the word after it; had it been *wāw*, which would have made sense at any rate, it would have been separated a little more from the following word. The second change is an erasure of several letters underneath the latter part of *الارض* *al-ard* (“the earth”) just a bit further on the line. The first letter erased in this case appears to have been a final *lām* due to its descending tail. It is not clear what word this would have been part of, however, since there is no final *lām* in close proximity to this point, until the word *قال* *qāla* (“they say”) and then the word *قل* *qul* (“say”) of verse 3, and if neither of these can be seen as the culprits since in neither case do the words following them match with the shape of the erasure following the final *lām* we observe erased here. Therefore, the meaning of this correction remains for now a mystery. The CST of the page after this erasure is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

The next erasure on E20, page 48r is seen on the 6th line from the bottom of the



page. It is between the words *ساروا* *sa’aw* (“they go about”) and *في*

fi (“in”) of Q34:5. The erasure is in the shape of an upward

extending letter; perhaps the scribe at the time of initial writing

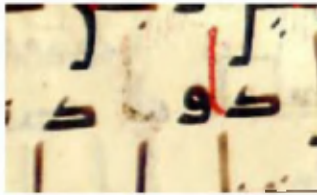
mistakenly began writing the *’alif* of *آياتنا* *ayātinā* (“our signs”) but

caught his mistake, and corrected it before continuing on. The

CST of the page after this erasure is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No

mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On E20, page 48v, there is an erasure at line 12, the second in this manuscript



involving the name of David of Q34:13. The long 'alif originally written between the wāw and the final *dāl* appears to have been rubbed out or erased, and a new long 'alif placed after the initial *dāl* instead. The CST of the page after this erasure is in conformity at this place with that of

F¹⁹²⁴. Corrections involving proper names, most commonly David and Abraham, are seen in many places in the manuscripts. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 52r, there is an erasure of a single letter at the beginning of Q35:39.



Erasure marks are clear and a gap of 1.1 cm remains between the verse divider and the first word. Probably what was erased here was a conjunctive wāw, as many other verses in this chapter and in the vicinity of this one (e.g. 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 42) begin with it. However, the shape of the erasure in this case is not clear enough to discern if what was written was a round letter. The CST of the

page after this erasure is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 52v, there is an instance of erasure of more than one full line of text. The erased portion begins after the second *illā* of Q36:15, at the end of line 16, and



continues through the entirety of line 17. The erased area is not over-written, and the verse picks up where it left off at the start of line 18 with the word *تكذبون takdhibūn* (“you are lying”). Thus, the remaining text preserves today’s standard consonantal form of Q36:15 at this point, but with a large space between the penultimate and ultimate words of the verse. From the shape of the erasure, it is actually quite clear what occurred at this point: as this verse contains two instances of لا, the scribe reached the second instance and mistakenly returned to the previous in his copying. Thus, the portion *بشر مثلنا وما انزل الرحمن من شيء ان انتم الا basharu mithluna wa-mā unzala al-rahmān min shay’ in antum illā* (“people like us and the Compassionate has not sent down anything. Surely you are only”) was first written twice on this page, and then continued to the completion of the page. The duplication of this phrase was not realized until later, when it was too late to erase and re-write the entire bottom third of the page, so only the duplicate portion was erased, and the resultant gap was allowed to remain. Elsewhere on this page, there are two instances of overwritten erasures; these are mentioned in the section covering that category of change. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On E20, page 53v, there is a post-production erasure at line 3 between *لهم lahum*

(“to them”) and *اتقوا attaqū* (“fear” (imper.)) of Q36:45. The



erasure is in the shape of a round letter, but what was erased cannot be discerned. A gap of 1.4 cm remains. The only sensible possibility for a letter of this shape in this context would seem to be the particle *fa* (“so”), but even this would have carried a

forward ligature to *ʿalif*, which was clearly not the case here, so what was removed must

remain a mystery for now. The resultant gap indicates that this erasure took place after the time of original writing. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 59r, there is an erasure resulting in a conspicuous gap in the middle of line 10, between the words معلم and مجنون of



Q44:14, the words as they stand today forming the *idāfa* meaning “a knowledgeable madman,” in context referring to the way that the Prophet's detractors were seeking to discredit him. The judgment of this as an

erasure is based largely upon the noticeable gap which draws attention; erasure marks appear to be visible in the facsimile, but this should be confirmed when possible via actual examination of the manuscript. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, page 59v, there is an erasure at the beginning of Q44:39, before the first word, لا *mā* (“not”). Erasure marks can be clearly seen in



facsimile. What has been erased cannot be discerned as the shape of the erasure mark is not precise. It suggests, however, some upward extension as well as downward hanging form. Nothing has been written over the erasure and a gap remains; therefore it seems clear that this erasure took place at some

time after the first writing of this line. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, page 65r, there is an erasure between the words قل *qul* (“say (imper)”) and لن *lan* ([future negation]) of Q48:15. Erasure marks can be



seen, but although the shape of the erasure extends upward and downward from the baseline, it is not entirely clear what was here removed. Nothing is over-written, and a gap remains, suggesting a correction after the time of original production of this page. In each of these cases I try to imagine, whether a

mistake or not, what it was that may have made “sense” to the original scribe causing him to write what he originally wrote. A grammatically sensible possibility at this point would be an interrogative *ʿalif*, rendering “Will you not follow us?” in place of the standard “You shall not follow us.” However, the shape of the erasure does not immediately suggest room for the backward tail of an *ʿalif*, so the meaning of this erasure for now remains obscure. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

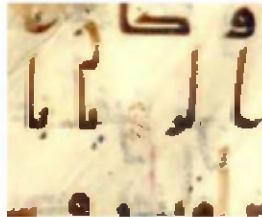
On E20, page 65r, at the penultimate line, there is another erasure, this time of a



small round letter, between *man yashā* (“whom He wishes”) and *law* (“if”) of Q48:25. Nothing replaces what was erased, and the resultant spacing between the words is not out of proportion with what is standard throughout the page. Although a *wāw* would make grammatical sense here, I don’t think *wāw* ever stood here as part of the text, because

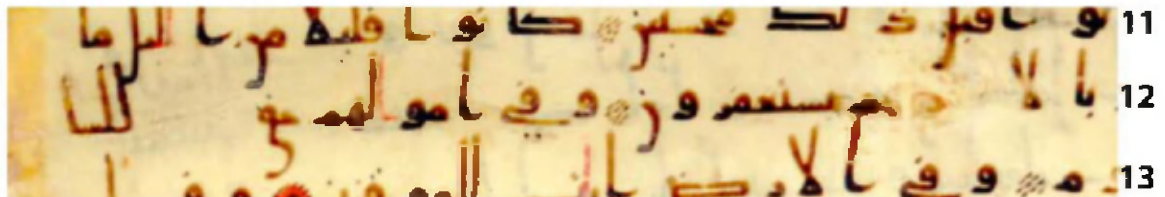
it would have been followed by a space as two lines above this location, where *و لو* is written with a standard space between the words. Therefore it seems most likely that this erasure may have been a correction of a mistake, perhaps a *wāw* or similar-shaped

letter, at the time of original writing. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On E20, page 65v, there is a faded out letter, what seems to be an erasure although abrasions are not apparent in facsimile, near the end of the third line. The now missing letter appears to have been wāw. It is the middle of the word *الرّيا* *al-riyā* (“the vision”) of Q48:27. The shadow of the missing letter remains, as does the gap it leaves on the page. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, 67v, there are two conspicuous gaps on line 12 that I believe to be erasures.²¹³ The gaps involve Q51:18-19. The first gap lies between the *lām’alif* of *وبالاسحار* *wa-bi-l-ashār* (“and at the break of day”) of verse 18 and the following word, the *hum* (“they”); the letters *sīn-ḥā’-’alif-rā’* appear to be now missing. There seems



to be a shadow of *rā’* but no trace of the other letters can be seen, although the gap would be the appropriate space for them. Erasure marks seem to be visible, however the resultant text seems to make no sense and so it is difficult to discern a motive for intentional alteration here. Fading of the text at this point from some other cause is a possibility but the rest of the page is well-preserved and it would seem odd that such could have happened randomly on this page without affecting any surrounding letters

²¹³ I have no mention in my notes from my time with the manuscript acknowledging erasure marks, but it is possible that I missed them.

such as the down-hanging *lām* of the line above; what happened here is therefore unclear. The second gap exists after the word *حق haqq* (“a share”) of verse 19 and before *للسائل li-l-sā’il* (“to the beggar”). The latter erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁰²⁴, the former, if it is indeed an erasure, has left the CST of this page at that point out of conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴.

On E20, page 70v, there is an erasure of what clearly appears to have been a *wāw*



between the words *مغلوب maghlūb* (“beaten”) and the following word *فانتصر fa-antaṣir* (“so help [me]”) of Q54:10. Erasure marks are apparent, and a gap is left, suggesting post-production alteration. The meaning of the phrase is “Surely I am vanquished, so help (*imper.*) [me]” A *wāw* in this location makes no sense whatsoever,

since it could not exist in front of the particle *fa*, so it is unclear what could have caused it to have been written in this location at all, much less without immediate recognition of the error by the original scribe. One additional observation here is that, although there is no indication of erasure or alteration, the *bā'* of the word preceding this erasure looks unusual; it seems to have been written with a narrower nib and different ink than the surrounding text and is similar but not quite like the other instances of this letter on this page. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁰²⁴.

On E20, page 73v, there is an erasure of what appears to have been an *'alif* after the *lām'* *'alif* and before the *kāf* of the word لاكلون *la-aklūn* (“they shall eat”) of Q56:52. As the word appears to have stood before the erasure, it would have read لا اكلون *lā akilun* (“they shall not eat”) - a complete negation in meaning. Erasure marks can be seen, and a gap remains indicating post-production alteration. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On E20, page 76r, there is an erasure near the end of the first line, the marks of which can be seen above the word كتباها *katabnāhā* (“we prescribed it”) of Q57:27, a long *'alif* of which has also been written in where a dagger *'alif* stands in today’s standard text. The form of the resultant word is odd, especially around the penultimate letter from which an upward extending arm appears to have been erased. The meaning of this erasure is not clear. If the red *'alif* is understood in the sense of a dagger *'alif*, this erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On E20, line 9 of page 80r, there is evidence of an erasure. The erasure is in the space between the words لايمان *li-l-īmān* (“to belief”) and the word يقولون *yaqūlūn* (“they say”) of Q3:167. Although the erasure goes right up to the edge of the following word, nothing is written over the erasure itself, and what was erased cannot be discerned, nor can it be discerned whether this action was taken by the original scribe



or at a later time. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

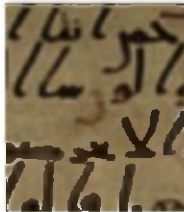
On E20, line 24 of page 80r, there is an erasure in the shape of a small round



letter. The location of the erasure is between the word شيا *shay'* ("at all") and يريد *yurīdu* ("he desires") of Q3:176. Because of the context, we may guess that the letter erased was a *wāw*, since this letter would have made grammatical sense in this location. This erasure has resulted in a

CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this particular point in the verse was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

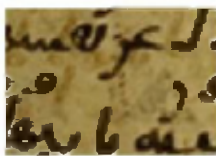
In image 026001B.BMP, there is a post-production erasure of a letter, apparently



nūn, between the لو *law* ("if") and شا *sha'* ("he [had] willed") of Q43:20. The original script remains in shadow, and matches the hand and nib width of the rest of the page. This manuscript has the appearance of being relatively early; its style of writing is very similar to that of BnF arabe 328. This erasure has resulted in a CST

that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 027004B.BMP, there is a large gap that is a likely erasure. It lies at the

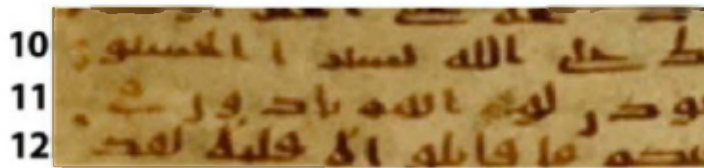


juncture between Q16:111 and the following verse. The gap is conspicuous on the page; there are no other open spaces like this, even between verses. Other verse divisions on this page are marked with a triangle formed of six dots or a medallion. This

erasure, if it is such, has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of

F¹⁹²⁴.

On 039016B.BMP, there is an apparent erasure at line 11. It occurs after the first



law (“if”) of Q33:20. A

shadow of the erased text and/or erasure marks remain, as does a gap. There

are also several issues in the surrounding text: The last word of line 10, the first word of the same verse, reads *يَحْسَبُونَ* *yaḥsabūna* (“they suppose”) in F¹⁹²⁴ but is here written with the final letter, a supposed *nun*, faded or erased, and also including the definite article, as *الحسابو*. Additionally, the word immediately preceding the *law* which is followed by the erasure is *يَوَدُّوْنَ* *yawaddū* (“they would wish”) in F¹⁹²⁴ is here written as *يودن* or something similar; the letters are of course un-differentiated by diacritics in this manuscript. There is comment on *yaḥsabūna* in Zamakhsharī²¹⁴ and Muqātil (*yaqūlu mā qātīlū ila rayā’ wa-samī’a min ghayr ḥasaba, thumma qāla - ‘azza wa jalla - [laqad kāna lakum fi rasūl allāhi uswat ḥasaba]*),²¹⁵ and also in Mujāhid (*inna ‘abd al-rahmān thanā ibrahīm nā adamu warqā’u ‘an ibn abi najīh ‘an mujāhid “[yaḥsabūna al-aḥzāb am yadhhabū] yaqūlu: yaḥsabūnahum qarīb”*);²¹⁶ the same is repeated in Ṭabarī.²¹⁷ Jeffery reports a variant in the reading of Zaid b. ‘Ali of *yas’alūna* elsewhere in this verse.²¹⁸ Ibn Mas‘ūd records a

²¹⁴ Abi Qāsim Jār Allah Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *tafsīr al-kashāf* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘refa, 2005), 852.

²¹⁵ Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *tafsīr*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ahya’ Al-Tawāt Al-‘Arabī, 2002), 483.

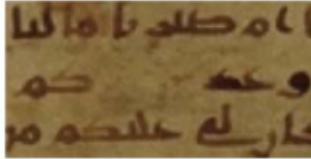
²¹⁶ Mujāhid b. Jabr, *tafsīr mujāhid* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiya, 2005).

²¹⁷ Abī Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *jāmi’ al-bayān ‘an tāwīl ay al-qur’ān (tafsīr al-ṭabarī)*, 15 vols. (Amman: Dār Ibn Ḥazm / Dār al-Aghlām, 2002). v.11 172.

²¹⁸ Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur’an: The Old Codices; the Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubai, Alī, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qur’anic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān*; 272.

variant of *yaḥsabūna*.²¹⁹ None of these, however, acknowledge the placement of the definite article on this word.

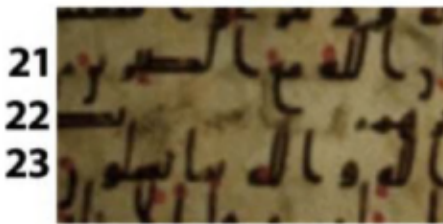
On 048025B.BMP, there is a gap, an apparent erasure, near the middle of line 11.



Erasure marks are not clearly seen from the facsimile. The gap occurs between the *dāl* and the *kāf* of *وعدكم* *wa'adakum* (“he promised you (pl.)”) of Q14:22. The gap is approximately eight to ten times the width of the standard

spacing between letters on this page. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this place with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 052033B.BMP, there is a post-production erasure and a resultant gap that

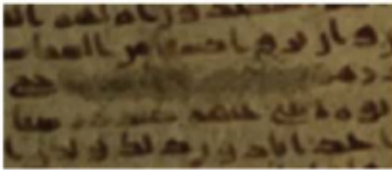


comprises about one-fifth of the total length of the line, in the latter part of the 22nd line of text. Erasure marks can be seen, and nothing has been written over what has been erased. The gap takes place between the *diyarihim*

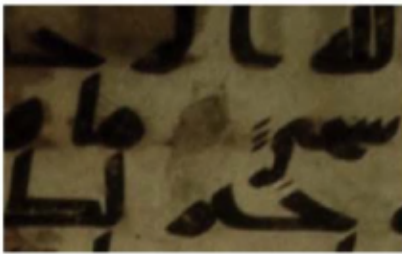
(“their homes”) and the *بئرا* *baṭarā* of Q8:47. Although a shadow of an *'alif* can be seen in the middle of the space, the entirety of what was written in this space originally cannot be clearly discerned. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

²¹⁹ Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*: 141.

On 057039B.BMP, there is a post-production erasure leaving a gap the length of several words, about one-third of the total length of the line. The erasure is located between the *fa-dharhum* (“so leave them”) and *حتى hattā* (“until”) of Q52:45. Erasure marks can be clearly seen. What has been erased in this case, however, cannot be discerned. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

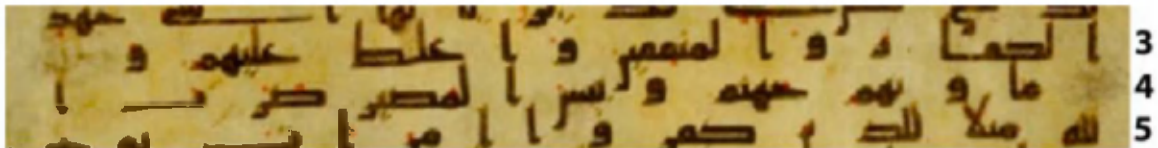


In 075061C.BMP, there is an erasure of a single letter, most likely a *wāw*, at the beginning of Q93:3. The gap remaining indicates this change took place after the time of initial writing. Nothing is overwritten, and the resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. That the letter erased was a *waw* is suggested not merely by the shape of the erasure but also by the fact that eight of the *sūra*'s eleven verses do begin with *wāw*, and that the letter would make sense at this point. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature, though Ibn Mas’ūd adds *ka* after *qala* at the end of this verse,²²⁰ but even this is not mentioned in Jeffery’s record of Ibn Mas’ūd’s reading.



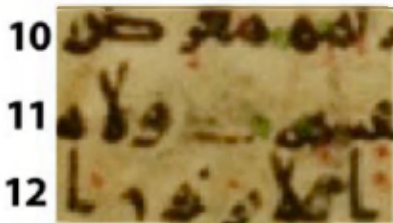
On 122131B.BMP, there is what appears to be an erasure at the end of line 3 continuing into the beginning of line 4. It is the space between *و عليهم و ‘alayhim wa* (“against them and”) and *ماوهم ma’wāhum* (“their refuge”) of Q66:9. A clear gap remains at both the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4; this is clearly a post production

²²⁰ Ibid.



erasure. What has been erased cannot be discerned. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 123135B.BMP, there is what appears to be an erasure in the middle of line 11.



A gap is left between *انفسهم* *anfusihiḥim* (“themselves”)

and *ولا* *wa-lā* (“and not”) of Q21:43. There is a shadow

remaining in this space in a shape that could have

been *dāl*, *dhāl*, *dād*, *dhād*, *ṭā*, *zā*, or *kāf*, but which, if

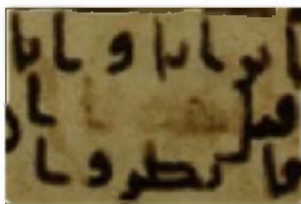
any, of these was actually in this space cannot be

determined, if it can be discerned at all, without direct examination of the manuscript.

This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 124139B.BMP, there is a post-production erasure between *قبل* *qablu* (“before”)



and *ان* *in* (“surely”) of Q27:68. A wide gap remains and a

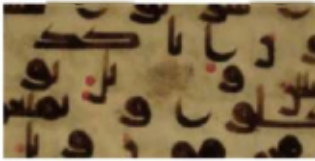
shadow of the *Ti*, including one *'alif*, can be seen, but what was

originally written or intended is not clear. This erasure has

resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that

of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

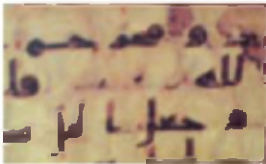
In 126148C.BMP, there is a letter erased between the first and second letters of



ويل *wayl* (“woe”) of Q77:45. This erasure is interesting both for the fact that the erasure occurs mid-word, was clearly carried out post-production since a large gap remains, and occurs in a more formal or monumental *kāfi* manuscript.

What was erased is unclear. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On M^{san}, page 61v, there is a large gap in the middle of a line of text, which



appears to be an erasure. The gap exists after the word الله *allāh* (“Allah”) of Q6:95. Erasure marks appear to be present, but cannot be seen for certain in the facsimile. However, it seems that erasure is the only possibility in this case as there is no

reason I can think that a scribe would have left such a gap. There appear to be some remnants of previous text in this space as well, but what was originally written here cannot be discerned. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There are no other recorded *qirā’āt* at this verse.²²¹

On M^{san}, page 76v, there is another instance of post-production erasure. The

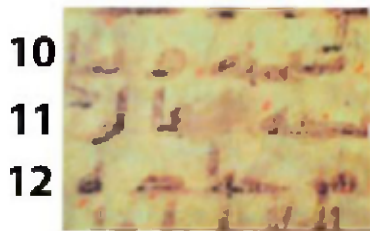


location is between the words جميعا *jami’ā* (“gathered”) and الذى *al-ladhi* (“whom”) of Q7:158, the latter of which follows the gap. Erasure marks can be seen, and seem to indicate at least two upward-extending letters. Nothing is over-written in the space and a gap remains. What was originally written here, beyond

²²¹ ‘Umar and Makram, *mu’jam al-qirā’āt al-qur’āniyah, ma’a maqaddimah fi qirā’āt wa ashhar al-qurrā’*: v.2 114-15.

the above-mentioned fact that it seems to have included two upward-extenders, cannot be discerned or surmised. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There are recorded *qirā'āt* variations at this verse, but none at this exact location.²²²

On M^{san}, page 128v, there is an apparent erasure near the middle of line 11.



Erasure marks are evident, and a gap remains. The

erasure is located between the words *الملائكة* *al-mala'ika*

("the angels") and *بالروح* *bi-l-rūh* ("by the spirit") of

Q16:2. What was erased cannot be discerned. The

resultant spacing between the two words is slightly

more than twice as wide as the standard spacing between elements elsewhere on the page, but does not seem quite wide enough for a letter the width of, for example, a *waw*.

It is difficult to imagine at this time what else may have stood in this place that would have made enough sense to the scribe to not correct it immediately at the time of writing, avoiding the extended gap. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is mention of a variant involving *mala'ika* in *al-Wasiṭi*.²²³

²²² Ibid., v.2 227.

²²³ "(yunazzil al-mala'ikati) bi-tā' maftūḥa badal al-yā' al-maḡmūma 'alā tā' nūḥ al-fā'il wa-fath al-zāy (al-mala'ikatu) bi-l-rafa..." *al-Wāsiṭi, al-kanz fi al-qirā'āt al-ashar*: 183.

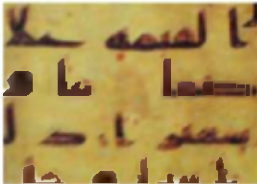
On M^{san}, page 140r, there is an apparent erasure at the beginning of line 7.



Erasure marks cannot be easily discerned from the facsimile, but it is almost certain that something has been here removed, as it is difficult to imagine any reason for such an indent of first word of text on this line. There is no other place in this codex where the beginning of a line is indented.

The gap exists just before the word *aw* (“or”) of Q17:68, with the preceding word, *al-barri* (“the land”) being the final word on the previous line. Thus, the resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

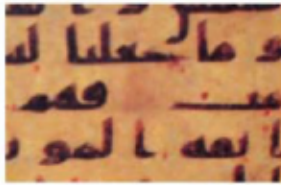
On M^{san}, page 141v, there is an erasure about the width of one letter two-thirds



of the way through line 8. A gap is left, and erasure marks can be clearly seen. The erasure is located between *wa-ṣummā* (“and deaf”) and *māwāhum* (“their dwelling”) of Q17:97.

Although what was originally written here cannot be discerned for certain, it seems the most likely candidate was *wāw*, since this conjunction would have fit in this spot grammatically and could have been easily missed until some time after the initial production of the manuscript was complete. The size and shape of the erasure does not perfectly match this letter but does allow for the possibility. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On M^{san}, page 160v, there is what appears to be an erasure near the beginning of

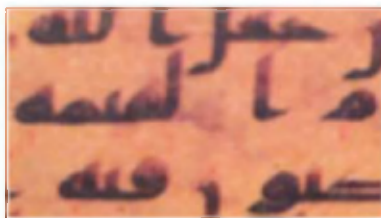


line 6. It is located between the *mitta* (متت) (“you die”) and the *fa-hum* (فهم) (“are they”) of Q21:34. Erasure marks appear to be present in the facsimile, and a gap remains. The erasure is about the width of a single letter. What was originally written at this location cannot be easily discerned. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On M^{san}, 185r, there is an erasure at line 19, the penultimate line on the page. The erasure lies between *nāqa* (ناقة) (“a she-camel”) and the *lahā* (لها) (“to her”) of Q26:155. A gap remains. What was originally written at this location cannot be discerned but it does appear from the facsimile that erasure marks extend upward and include a medial separation. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On M^{san}, 196r, there is an erasure near the end of line 3. It lies between the *’alif* and *lām* of *al-qiyāma* (القيامة) (“resurrection”) of Q28:72. The shape of the erasure is round and appears to drop slightly below the line, but what was erased cannot be discerned. A gap remains that is about twice the width of the standard spacing between letters on this page; this is consistent with the possibility that a letter stood here at first writing. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

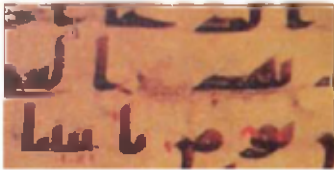


The shape of the erasure is round and appears to drop slightly below the line, but what was erased cannot be discerned. A gap remains that is about twice the width of the standard spacing between letters on this page; this is consistent with the possibility that a letter stood here at first writing. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

The shape of the erasure is round and appears to drop slightly below the line, but what was erased cannot be discerned. A gap remains that is about twice the width of the standard spacing between letters on this page; this is consistent with the possibility that a letter stood here at first writing. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 204r, there is an erasure near the end of line 2. It is the space between

بِهْد *bihād* (“guide”) and العمى *al-‘umī* (“the blind”) of

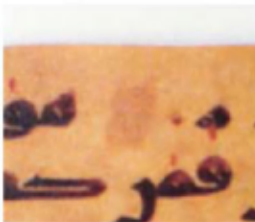


Q30:53. A gap remains that is about three times the standard spacing between letters on this page. What was first written cannot be discerned, but it does not appear

to have extended upward. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 219v, there is an erasure near the middle of line 1. this is the space

between verses 38 and 39 of Q35. Elsewhere on the page, the



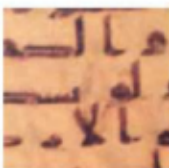
end of verse 40 is marked with an ornamented medallion; aside from this no other verse divisions can be seen on this page.

What was here erased cannot be discerned but spacing suggests it was a single letter. I believe that *wāw* is most likely

what was originally written. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 241v, there appears to be an erasure of a letter stem, leaving a gap, on

line 3. It is immediately before the بسط *basata* (“he spread out”) of



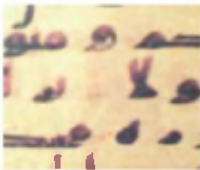
Q42:27. Erasure marks appear evident in the facsimile, but are not certain, however spacing also supports the erasure scenario here. Had it been a *yā'* or *tā'*, it would have changed this word in tense and/or

person. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 253r, there is an erasure leaving a gap just past the middle of line 4. The erasure, probably a single letter, lies between بِمَا *bimā* (“in that which”) and نَزَلَ *nuzzila* (“it was sent down”) of Q47:2. Erasure marks are clearly seen in the facsimile. It is possible that an *alif* stood here originally, rendering the word *anzala* (“he sends down”). This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On M^{san}, 254r, there is an apparent erasure near the middle of line 12. A gap remains that is about three times the standard spacing between letters on this page. This erasure follows لَوْلَا *lawlā* (“if only”) of Q47:20. It is possible that an *alif* stood here, rendering the text of the following word as first written انزلت. This is the second instance of an erasure in front of a form of *nazala* in this manuscript. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On M^{san}, 254v, there is an erasure near the end of line 6. It follows the مَا *mā* (“that which”) and preceding the word نَزَلَ *nazzala* (“he sent down”) of Q47:26. The gap here is twice the ordinary width between letters or words on this page. This is the third instance of an erasure in front of a form of *nazala* in this manuscript. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



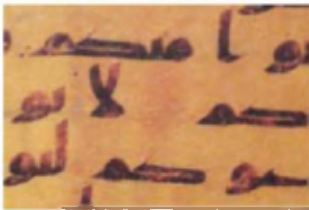
On M^{san}, 257r, there is an erasure two-thirds of the way through line 15. This



erasure lies between the words الله *allāh* (“Allah”) and رسوله *rasūlahu* (“his messenger”) of Q48:27. The length of the gap suggests at least one letter stood here originally. A conjunctive *waw* could not have made sense here because the verb *sadaqa* is in the singular. Could this have been a *lām*,

rendering “Allah has already fulfilled the vision to his Messenger in truth”? This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴.

On M^{san}, 270r, there is an erasure leaving a gap at line 3. The erasure precedes

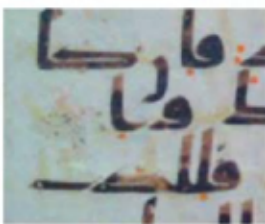


the لا *lā* (“you do not”) of Q57:8. What was originally written

here is not clear but an *‘alif* could have made immediate grammatical sense, rendering *ilā* and forming the second part of a *mā-illā* construct: “There is nothing for you except to believe in Allah, and the Messenger calls you to believe

in your Lord.” As corrected, it reads, “And what is up with you? You do not believe in Allah, while the Messenger calls you to believe in your Lord.” This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴.

On M^{top}, 66r, there is an apparent erasure at the end of line 9. Erasure marks



appear visible and include the shape of a letter tail, possibly a *nūn* looks to have been erased. In fact, it does seem that a *nūn* stood here; it is the fourth *‘in* of Q5:176, which includes, of course, a *nūn* in F¹⁰²⁴. It is not entirely clear why this erasure, if it is such, took place. The verse can be read, with interrogative

meaning, without the *nūn*: “and are they siblings?” instead of the now standard “and if

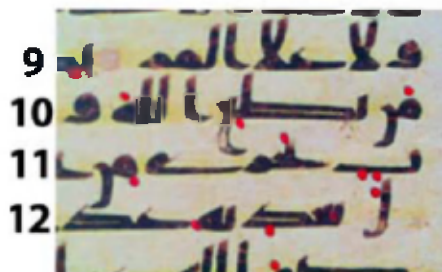
they are siblings.” This verse, which deals with inheritance, also contains an erasure at another part in F328. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 215v, there is an erasure at the end of line 5. It follows the *afānabiḥibikum* (“or shall I inform you [pl]”) of Q22:72. There is



something resembling a *wāw* in this erased area, but whether that is indeed what it is cannot be said for certain. The erased area is of such length to have allowed for more than one letter, but what was first written cannot be discerned. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 337v, there are two apparent erasures, one at line 9 and the other at line



12. The first is between the *rā'* and *yā'* of *marīḥ* (“sick”) of Q48:17. The erasure is the length and size of a single letter stem, but does not run completely along the baseline to connect forward; it is not clear what may have happened here but a gap several times the ordinary spacing

between letters remains. The latter erasure is before and/or under the *lām* of *yatawalla* (“he will inflict”) of the same verse. This may be an erasure overwritten, but I cannot be certain from the facsimile. If so, it appears the work of the OS. Both of these corrections have resulted in a CST that is in conformity at their respective points with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 348v, there is an erasure, or something, at the beginning of line 3. There



are now marks in the space in question, but they do not appear to be letters. The previous line of text ends with the *تولى* *tawallā* (“he turned”) of Q53:29, and the verse continues near the left side of the above image with the

following *عن* *‘an* (“from”) that is the next word of this verse in F¹⁹²⁴. This erasure, if it is such, has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. However, if these marks are letters, the page would be here out of conformity with F¹⁹²⁴.

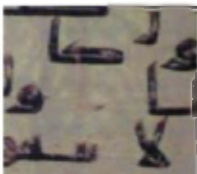
On M^{top}, 386r, there is an apparent erasure at the end of line 9. A shadow of what



was erased, which includes at least two upward extending letters, appears visible. The erasure follows the *ثلثي* *thuluthā* (“two thirds”) of Q73:20, and a gap remains. The following line begins with *الليل* *al-layl* (“the night”). This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that

of F¹⁹²⁴. There is a correction elsewhere in this verse, an insertion, in 132172B.BMP.

On M^{cal}, page 320r, there is a post production erasure. It occurs between the *قريباً*



qaribā (“near”) and *وسافراً* *wa-safarā* (“and a journey”) of Q9:42. A gap remains. There is a shadow of the erased letter; the appearance is of an *‘alif*. The verse would make sense with or without the erased letter; as originally written, the conjunctive *wāw* was instead *او* *aw*

(“or”), for a reading of “near or a short journey” instead of the current “near and a

short journey. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On M^{caj}, page 354r, there is an apparent erasure. Erasure marks can be clearly



seen from the facsimile, and a conspicuous gap remains. It

immediately follows the initial **وما** *wā-mā* (“and nothing

[but]”) of Q10:36. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an

issue at this particular point was found in the *qirā'āt*

literature.

On M^{caj}, 359r, there is an erasure at the end of line 11, following the *'alif* of the *ā*



idh (“as”) of Q10:61. The erasure is rather long,

suggesting the possibility of multiple letters having

stood here as first written. As the text now stands, the

dhāl is now absent; the following line begins with the

next word, **تَفِيضُونَ** *tufiḏūna* (“you persist”). Thus, this

erasure has resulted in a CST that is out of conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{caj}, 422r, there is an apparent erasure at line 7. It appears that what was



here erased may have been the letter *fā'*. This erasure

immediately precedes the word **لَنَا** *lanā* (“for us”) of Q12:88.

The width of the gap that remains is about 30% greater than

the standard spacing on this page. This erasure has resulted

in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at

this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

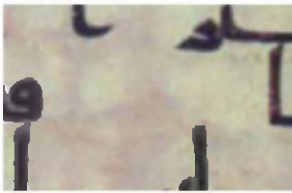
On M^{caī}, 434v, there is an erasure near the beginning of line 1. It immediately



precedes the word *yashā* (‘‘he pleases’’) of Q13:26. I make the judgement of erasure based upon what appears to be erasure marks and also by spacing. This is the widest gap between letters or words on this page. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that

of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

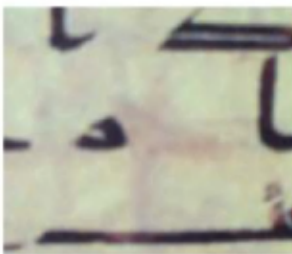
On M^{caī}, 612r, there is an erasure near the middle of line 11, the penultimate on



the page. A gap remains that is more than three times the standard spacing between words on this page. The erasure lies between the words *arsalnā* (‘‘we have sent’’) and *qablaka* (‘‘before you’’) of Q25:25. There is an erasure overwritten at this exact point, namely, the final two letters

of this *arsalnā*, in F340, an important correlation. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On M^{caī}, 624r, there is an erasure on line10. Erasure marks can be seen in

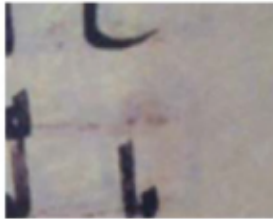


facsimile, and appear to take the shape of a *jīm/hā/khā*. The erasure lies between the ‘*alif* and *rā*’ of *arjih* (‘‘leave him’’) of Q26:36. The gap that remains is about twice as wide as the standard spacing between letters on this page; there is one location on the page where another gap exists nearly this long, but it is clearly so to avoid a downward-hanging

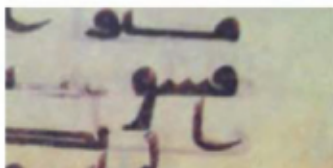
nūn from the line above. There is no such circumstance here that would require such a

concession; this appears to be a post-production erasure. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On M^{caī}, 865r, there is an erasure at the beginning of line 5. A gap is left; this erasure is post-production. This appears to be a single letter erasure; it lies between the *dāl* and *hā'* of وحدة *waḥda* ("single") of Q43:33. There is mention in the *qirā'āt* literature of a textual issue at this verse. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There are variant readings listed for this verse, mainly involving the word *ma'ārīj*;²²⁴ none seem to speak to this particular word.

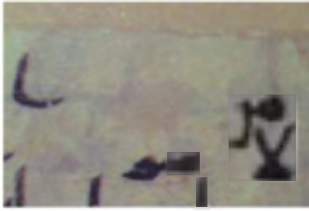


On M^{caī}, 910v, there is a probable erasure after the first word of line 5. A gap remains, as do traces of ink along the baseline. The erasure follows the word فسق *fasaqa* of Q49:6. In F¹⁹²⁴, this word is written فاسق *fāsiq* ("a sinner"), and so the CST of this particular word remains out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature. There are variants recorded for this verse, but no issue noted at this particular point in the *qirā'āt* literature.



²²⁴ Abu 'Alī al-Hasan b. Ahmad (d. 377 AH) al-Fārisī, *al-ḥujja li-l-qurrā' al-sab'a* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya), v.3, 375; Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-ḥujja fi qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 321; Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*: 153.

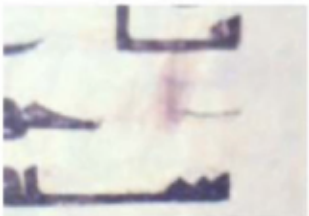
On M^{caī}, 938r, there is an erasure leaving a gap near the middle of line 1. Erasure



marks can be seen in the facsimile. The erasure follows *من* *man* (“who”) of Q54:26. The gap left is about four times the standard spacing between letters or words on this page. There is another gap on line 2, below this and to the left, following the last word of the verse, *الاشهر* *al-ashir*

(“arrogant”). There is a variant reading of this verse,²²⁵ but it is not at or around these words; there are 8 *mahḍufāt* listed elsewhere in this sura (*al-Qamr*).

On M^{caī}, 972r, there is an erasure at the beginning of line 6. Erasure marks can be



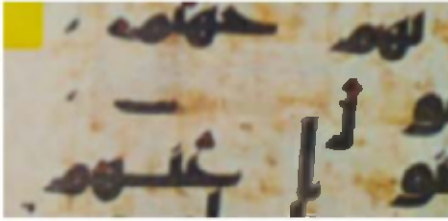
seen and a gap remains. The erasure lies between the *'alif* and *kha* of *ولاخواننا* *wa-li-akhwāninā* (“and to our brothers”) of Q59:10. What was first written here cannot be discerned. This erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is a recorded variant of

this word in Ibn Mas'ūd: *wa-li-akhwāninā alladhīn tabū'ū al-īmān min qabli wa-alif bayna qulūbnā wa-lā taja'ala fihā ghumrā li-lladhīna amanū*.²²⁶

²²⁵ al-Ansari, *al-iqna' fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*: 466.

²²⁶ Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*: 164; Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an: The Old Codices; the Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai, Alī, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qur'anic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān*: 100.

On M^{ist}, 145r, there is a lengthy gap at the end of line 4. Erasure marks cannot be



easily made out from the facsimile, but erasure is presumed. A horizontal mark along the baseline appears to be serving as a space filler. The gap follows يحلِفون *yahlifuna* (“they swear”) of Q9:96.

The following word, *lahum* would have easily fit in this space, however it is written at the beginning of the following line. This presumed erasure has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

Chapter 5

Erasure Overwritten

Often, writing in Qur'an manuscripts covers an erasure, and this is referred to as erasure with overwriting. Erasure with overwriting can be the result of a range of situations. In some cases, it is evidence that a scribe made a mistake, realized this mistake immediately and was able to stop and correct the item before continuing on with the writing of the rest of the page. In such a situation, it is usually the case that no gap is left; the writing continues in the same spacing, hand, pen, and ink color over the top of what has been erased. In other cases, it is evidence that a change was made at some time after the page was originally produced. Factors helping to determine how long after time of production such a change was made would include any variations in ink, nib width, hand, and spacing. Sometimes what is overwritten is either stretched out, indicating that the TS is shorter than what it replaced, or bunched together, indicating that it is longer than what it replaced.

The third change on page 4r of F327 involves the entirety of line 13 after the first two words, which has been rubbed out with a pumice stone, re-written, and this



apparently more than once. The altered section is found in the middle of Q24:33: خيرا: *khayran wa 'ātūhum min māl illāhi lladhī* وءاتوهم من مال الله الذي ءاتكم ولا تكروها فتيتكم على البغاء

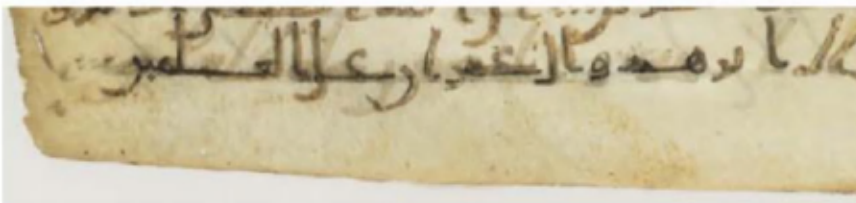
'atākum walā tukrihū fa-tayatikum 'alā al-bighā'i [if you know that in them] "is goodness, then give to them from Allah's wealth that He gave to you, and do not force your slave girls into prostitution" [if they wish to be chaste]. What can be discerned of the resultant CST of the TS, itself considerably faded, appears to be in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. However, the replaced portion is bunched, suggesting that the original text, if in scale with the rest of the writing on the page was shorter than the resultant text by about one-third. Judging from nib width and style, it appears that there have been at least two, and possibly three, episodes of alteration to the written text of this line. It is possible that the first instance of alteration was carried out by the original scribe, since at least the first 4cm of the superior text appears to match the original nib width, style, ink color, and permanence of the rest of the page. The superior text after this first 4cm, however, or the remaining 12.5cm of the line, is written with a slightly narrower nib. Finally, in the middle section of this, an even narrower nib is used and in this place the ink clearly appears to have different qualities. The skin of the page, particularly at this center area, is worn so thin that it is extremely delicate and has several holes. The appearance of this line is therefore one of multiple instances of correction. In this case, there are two reported *qirā'āt* variations contained within the section that has here been rewritten: the words *atākum* and *al-bighā'i (in)*, which may be read in five different ways.²²⁷ None of these readings, however, would justify a large-scale erasure as seen here, if any erasure at all. No further mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 3r, at line 2, the final quarter of the line has been erased and over-written with a smaller nib and darker ink. It is also in a different hand, most

²²⁷ 'Umar and Makram, *mu'jam al-qirā'āt al-qur'āniyah, ma'a maqaddimah fi qirā'āt wa ashhar al-qurrā'*: v.3 371-71.



notably in that it lacks Hijāzī's characteristic backward slant and even leans a little forward, but also for the shape of the *kāf*, which is quite different from all others on this page. In this location on the page, there has been some liquid damage, and thus with a cursory examination it is difficult to discern whether the text beneath this over-writing was actually erased. The liquid damage affects other portions of the page, and in the first line of text immediately above this the text is visible but clearly diminished or faded, though elsewhere on the page the text seems relatively unaffected by the liquid damage. The superior text in this case is the word *فكيف* *fa-kayfa* ("but how") of Q3:25, and the word does appear somewhat stretched to fill the space when considered alongside the general scale of the rest of the writing on this page. The page is elsewhere modified, however the nib widths appear different in the

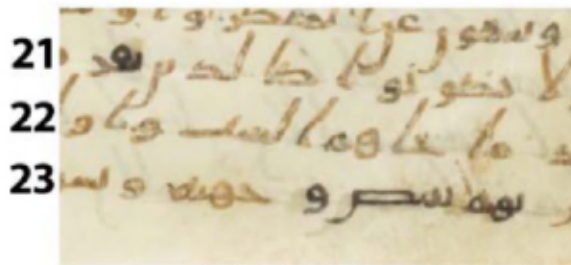


two locations so it is unlikely they were done at the same time. The second

instance of over-writing on the page occurs on the very last line, where the words *إبراهيم* *ibrāhīm wa-āl 'imrān 'alā al-'ālamīn* ([the family of] "Abraham and the family of 'Imran over everyone") of Q3:33 are over-written in a different hand and text angle, with a different and darker ink, and with a narrower nib. The *TS* includes a full long 'alif in the name *'imrān*, where a dagger 'alif stands in F¹⁹²⁴. It also appears to convert an 'alif *maqsūra* to an upright 'alif; F¹⁹²⁴ has the former. The altered portion here measures 15.5cm in length. This line was examined with black light and a magnifier, but

nothing conclusive could be discerned about the underlying text. Déroche does not note erasure marks (*grattage*) at this location.²²⁸ No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 4v, there are two instances of change. The first, at line 21, involves the *ta-fa* of *تفرقوا tafarraqū* ("they fell apart") in Q3:105, these two letters having been



over-written in very dark ink and in a different style or hand. The second, at line 23, involves the *yawma tabyaddu wa* ("the day they turn white" plus the initial *wāw* of the next word) of the following verse, which are likewise

over-written, possibly by the same scribe as the case above it, since the ink, nib width, and style appears to match. In this case also, the words seem slightly elongated, but not severely so. When examined under a magnifying glass, it is clear that the skin has abrasions indicating the intentional erasure or removal of something underneath. Déroche notes erasure marks in the latter case but not the former.²²⁹ On line 23, there remains a slight shadow of some of the *Ti*, the latter which appears similar to the *TS*, so it is difficult to discern what precipitated this erasure. Both of these scribal changes have resulted in a CST that is in conformity at their respective points with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue in either place was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

²²⁸ Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam: Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus: Arabic section*, 12.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, Arabic section, 18.

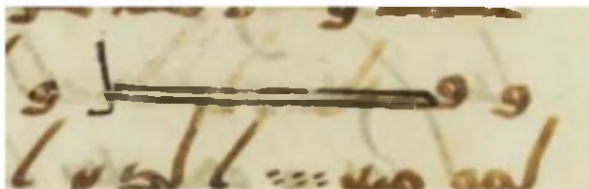
On F328, page 5r, at line 18, the final three letters of ~~يسجدون~~ *yasjudāna* (“they



perform prostration”) of Q3:113 have been written with a narrower nib and slightly darker ink over an erasure, in somewhat elongated form. Erasure marks are evident.²³⁰ The altered length is 2.7 cm in length. In this case, a shadow of the original text

has returned, in which the *waw-nun* at least can be seen as having been previously written about 1cm to the right of their eventual position. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F328, page 8r, at line 13, there is an erasure and overwriting at Q3:171. The *TS*



is the *dād-lām* of *فضل* *fadlin* (“favor”).

Erasure marks can be clearly seen,²³¹ including the shapes of some of the letters of the *TI*, which included four upward-extending letters, the first of

which has left a yellow shadow and is preceded by a short tooth. The correction is made in a different hand and at a sharply different angle (forward slant), with a much narrower nib and in a darker ink, and the *dād* is quite elongated. The length of the *TS* is 5.3cm. In only one other place on the page does this length of space contain as few as five letters, and even this occurs only with an elongation at the end of line 11; throughout the rest of the page (except for across verse divisions), this length of space

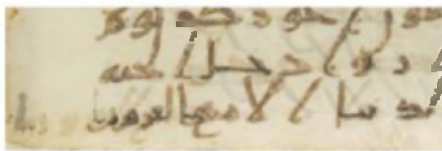
²³⁰ Déroche notes them as well; *ibid.*, Arabic section, 19.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, Arabic section, 29.

always contains between seven and eleven letters. Together, these factors suggest that this correction was made after the time of original writing, and that the correction varies from what was originally written, the latter likely having been longer. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 8v, the last part of penultimate line, and last section of final line:

contains erasures that have been overwritten.



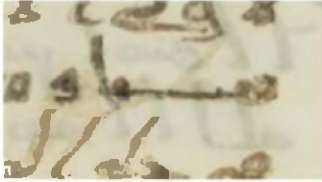
The *TS* is the *khā-lām* of ادخل *udkhl* (“he is removed”) of Q3:185, the *nūn-yā-'alif* of الدنيا *al-dunya* (“the world”), and الغرور *al-ghurūr*

(“deceptive”) of the same verse. Erasure marks can be seen,²³² and the *TS* is the work of a different scribe as evidenced by a different hand (script angle), nib, and ink. The latter part of this correction is different from others in which an insertion causes the text to extend into the margin to make room for an omitted word. In this case, the earlier text of the last line extended into the margin. It is unclear why the *TI* extended into the margin rather than continuing on the following page. The final word here does complete the verse, and this is worth considering as a factor, but why the *OS* would have felt the verse could not be completed on the next page would then also be unclear. The following verse begins in ordinary fashion at the top of the following folio. Is it possible that the extension into the margin of the *TS* could be evidence of an earlier instance of correction, an insertion that lengthened the text, and a subsequent shortening, returning it to the length of the original line? These corrections have all

²³² Déroche notes them in the first and third case but not the second, *Ibid.*, Arabic section, 32.

resulted in a CST that is in conformity at their respective points with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at these points was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 9r, the first word of line 13 has been erased and over-written. In



this case, the erasure marks²³³ reveal clearly that the earlier text was different from the *TS*, including a medial *tā'* or *zā'* followed by a *wāw*. The *TS* is the *قيما و qiyamā wa* ("standing and") of Q3:191. The correction is written in a very unusual way, such that the letters would hardly be

discernible apart from a prior knowledge of the verse; the *qāf* is in particular very indistinct. The correction is written with a forward slant in contrast to the backward slant of the rest of the page. The ink is similar but slightly darker. The nib width is similar to that used on the rest of the page. Allowing for a rather irregular letter formation at the beginning of the *TS*, this correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

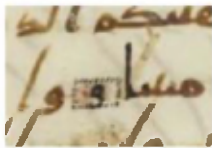
On F328, page 10v, there are very clear instances of correction at line 16, two places at line 17, and two places at line 18. Erasure marks are clear in all cases.²³⁴ All of the corrections on the page involve Q4:12 and appear to have been made by the same scribe, but likely not the OS, after the first writing of the page. The correcting scribe wrote with a narrower nib, darker ink, and an upright angle contrasting the backward slant that was used by the OS. These corrections are the *wāw* of *ولد و ladun* (child)

²³³ Déroche, curiously, does not make note of this erasure, *ibid.*, Arabic section, 33.

²³⁴ Déroche only notes erasures under *kalala* and *wa-lahā*. *ibid.*, Arabic section, 38.

parchment beneath has been abraded, indicating erasure.²³⁶ The *'alif* preceding the correction is somewhat obscured at its base, with no clear separation between it and the word *جميعا*. In fact, it appears to have the remnant of a forward ligature or letter form, while lacking a clearly distinguishable backward tail that is distinctive to the *'alifs* elsewhere on the page. It is difficult to tell much more detail here, however, since the over-written word masks the base at this point. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 16v, at line 13, there is an erasure²³⁷ that has been overwritten. It is a



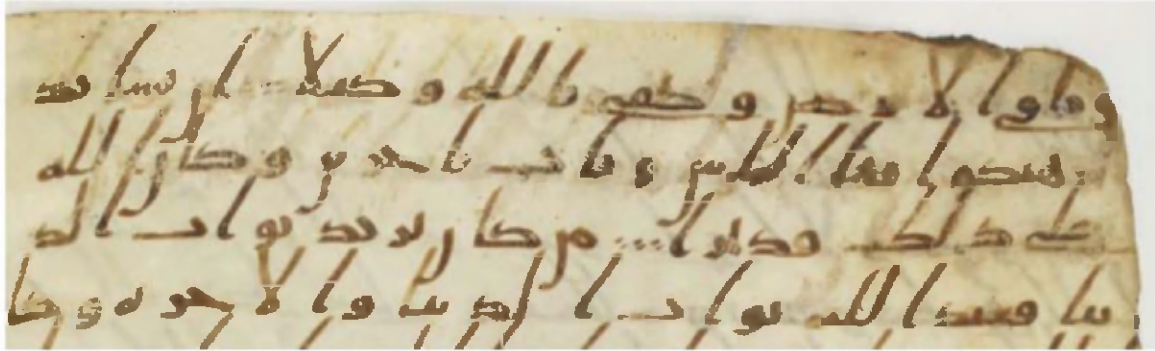
post-production correction and the work of a different scribe as evidenced by darker ink, a narrower nib, and a different hand with a more vertical angle. The TS here is the *'alif* of *مبيناً* *mubīnā*

("clear"), the final word of Q4:101. A shadow of the erased letter remains, and appears to be an *'alif* as well. The purpose of this modification of the page, therefore, is unclear. The following *wāw*, surrounded by a rectangular box formed of dots, is the verse divider and appears to be part of this correction. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 18v, two full lines have been erased and over-written. The TS is *كفى بالله وكيلا ان يشا يذهبكم ايها الناس ويات باخرين وكان الله على ذلك* *kafā bi-llāhi wakīlā in yashā' yudhhibkum ayyuhā al-nās waya'ti bi-ākharīna wa-kāna allāhu 'alā dhālika* ("...Allah suffices as guardian. [133] If He wished, O people, He would wipe you out and bring another

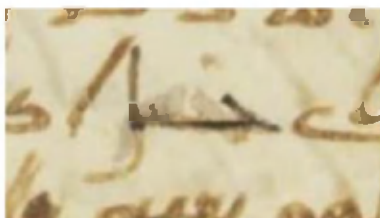
²³⁶ Déroche notes as well, Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam: Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus*; Arabic section, 50.

²³⁷ Déroche notes as well, *ibid.*, Arabic section, 57.



[people in your place]. And Allah is [powerful] in this matter” of Q4:132-133. The altered portion begins about 7cm from the beginning of the first line on the page, continues through the end of line one, the entirety of line two, and ends about 5.5cm into line three. That the *TI* was different can be discerned by the shape of the erasure; for example, the beginning of the erased portion extends upward and appears to have been a *lām*. Similarly, the final letter of the erased portion clearly hung far below the line and appears to have been a *nūn*. This instance of change clearly appears to have been a correction at the time of original writing, as hand, ink color, nib width, and scale all appear consistent with the rest of the page. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. Certainly the explanation here is simple scribal error, the conservation of materials, and the investment of effort already as this is the second side of the page to have been written. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 23v, at line 23, there is a correction of the word حتى *hattā* (“until”)



of Q6:44. The correction was made after the time of original writing and stands out clearly on the page, having been made with a narrower nib and darker ink, as well as with a vertical angle that contrasts with the backward slant characterizing the

surrounding script. Abrasion marks indicating erasure can be seen. The result of this change is conformity with the now accepted consonantal skeletal text. The most interesting feature of this change is that the erased word appears to have been *حسن* *ḥasan* (“pleasant”), a word that would have made good sense in this context, e.g. “So when they forgot that which they had been reminded of, We opened to them the doors of every *pleasant* thing. When they rejoiced at what they had been given, we struck them ...” as compared to the text of F¹⁹²⁴, “So when they forgot what they had been reminded of, We opened to them the doors of every thing, *until* when they rejoiced at what they had been given, we struck them ...” This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F328, page 30r, the final two words on the page have been erased and over-

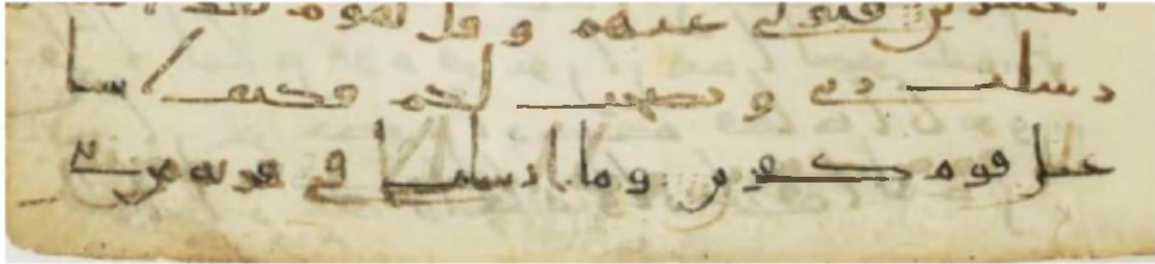


written. The erasure marks are clearly seen with the naked eye. The corrected length is 4.5cm, and the corrected text is all but the initial four letters of *الارض*

وجعلنا *al-ārḍi wa-jaʿalnā* (“the earth, and we brought forth”)

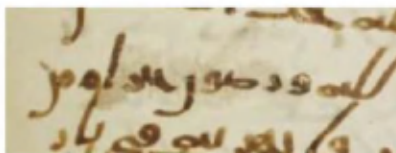
of Q7:10. This does not seem to be the work of the original scribe, but it is possible. Particularly in the case of the word *جعلنا*, the letter forms, being more angular and stiff, do not appear to match the distinctive and flowing hand of the rest of the page. Also, the nib width looks very slightly wider on that final word. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F328, page 34r, the final word on the penultimate line, and the entire final line, has been erased and over-written with clear alteration of at least the orthography,



and possibly more. The T5 is written in a different hand, nib, and ink than the original. The corrected portion is the *سأ على قوم كافرين وما أرسلنا في قرية من نبي* *sā ‘alā qaḥm kāfirīna wa-mā arsalnā fi-qarya min nabī* (“[How would I grieve] over a disbelieving people / We did not send a prophet to any city”) of Q7:93-94. Erasure marks can be clearly seen, reflecting the backward slant of the original hand. These marks, following closely the shape of the previous text as they do, seem to indicate the same words throughout the T1, albeit with a different hand. It seems most reasonable to consider that this was a restoration of faded text, but it looks more like erasure when examined closely so it is very difficult to say what precipitated this event. Except for the upright *‘alif* at the end of its first word, which is an *‘alif maqsūra* in F¹⁰²⁴, this correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā‘āt* literature.

On F328, page 43v, on the 9th line, there is a segment measuring 4cm in which

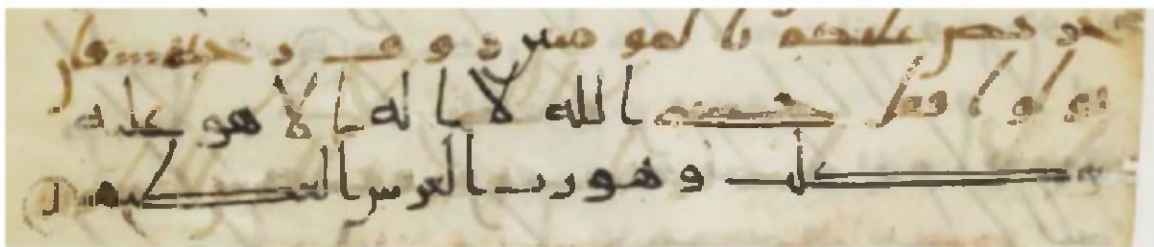


the parchment has been severely abraded in the shape of a previous word, and over-written. The TS here is *ورضون غير ام* *wa-riḍwān ghayr ām* (“and good pleasure better, or”) of Q9:109. The nib width of the

TS is similar but not identical to that of the rest of the page; it appears not to be the work of the OS, especially judging by the shape of the *nūn*. The ink appears darker, but it is hard to say for certain that this is not due to the different retention properties of

the abraded parchment. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. This correction is somewhat important since this very portion of text has been corrected also in two other codices considered in this dissertation, F330 and E20. Though there are several recorded variant readings at this verse, there is no mention of an issue at this particular point in the *qirā'āt* literature.

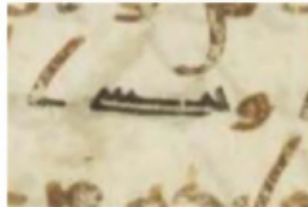
On F328, page 44v, at the end of the *sūra*, there is over-written text on three consecutive lines. Erasure marks underly the TS, which is the *مؤمنين* of *ين*



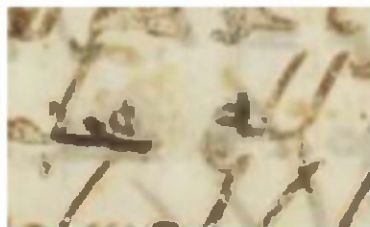
mu'minīna (“believers”) of Q9:128 and the *الله العظيم* *allāhu lā ilāha illā huwa 'alayhi tawakkaltu wa-huwa rabbu l-arshi l-'azīm* (“Allah, there is no God but He, in Him I put my trust. He is the Lord of the great throne”) of verse 129. The *tā'-wāw* of *توكلت* is not clearly visible as part of the TS, though a slight shadow can be discerned. Shadows of the TI remain here, and *رب العرش العظيم*, as well as a shadow of *الله* *لا اله الا هو* can be made out in a more compact form, in the erased shadow of this verse.

In fact, although the spacing is quite different, it is hard to make out any significant deviation from the over-written text in the shadow of what preceded it, and thus difficult to discern what precipitated this instance of erasure and re-writing. Assuming the aforementioned *tā'-wāw* was written on the page by the corrector and is simply faded now, this correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature, but

there is mention in the *maṣāḥif* literature of an issue beginning at verse 128 and continuing through the end of verse 129.²³⁸



On F328, page 50r, at line 24, there is a correction involving an erasure and over-writing. The TS, written with a narrower nib and a darker ink, is the *yunshī* يُنشِي (“he generates”) of Q13:12. In this case, it appears quite clear that the previous word was different and began with a small round letter, though it ended with a hanging letter which may have been the same *ʿalif maqsūra*, albeit with a different orthography than that of the correction itself, but more likely it was a *qāf*, since the other *ʿalif maqsūras* on the page all have the same characteristic backward facing tail. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.



On F328, page 56v, there is an instance of a rubbed out and over-written portion.

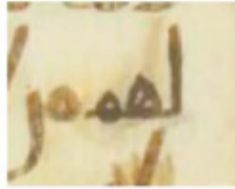
The TS is the *hā-mīm-khāʾ* of the *allāha mukhlisā* الله مُخْلِصًا (“Allah, sincerely”) of Q39:11. The nib width of the superior text is similar to that of the rest of the page, but the ink is darker. The orthography is slightly different, with the *hāʾ* of الله raised above the baseline.

However, in other regards it is not clear that the correction was not made by the OS, albeit apparently at a later time due to the clearly different ink. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an

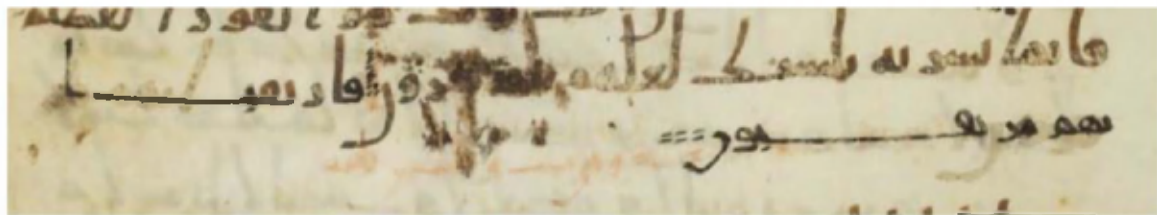
²³⁸ Abu Bakr ʿAbdallah b. Sulaymān b. al-ʿAsīʾath al-Sijistānī Ibn Abī Dāʿūd, *kitāb al-maṣāḥif* (Beirut: Ghurās, 2006), 221-25.

issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, page 58v at line 18 there is an erasure and overwriting. The TS is the second لهم *lahum* ("to them") of Q42:21, and is written in a different ink, with a different hand, and a different nib than the rest of the page. Erasure marks can be seen. What was originally written at this point looks like *lahu*. This is the one of two erasures evident on this page; the other is, not over-written and has already been mentioned in the chapter on erasures. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F328, page 63r, parts of the final verse at the end of the *sūra* 44 have been erased and over-written. The corrections have been made with a different hand,

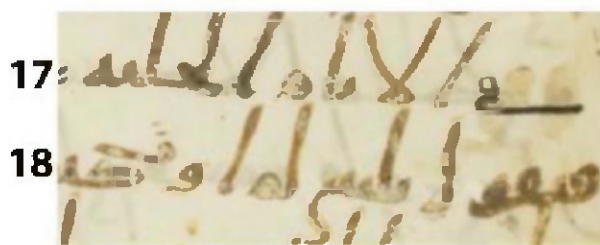


blacker ink, and narrower nib. The TS, the vertical line of dots of the verse division, the initial *fā'* of Q44:59 and the *ب انهم مرتقبون* (*b innahum murtaqibūna* ("... surely they are watching attentively") of the latter part of the same verse, and the final six dots signifying the end of the *sūra*, in this instance has an unusual character, in places being bunched up, and at others being quite elongated. The clear shadow of previous letters can be seen on the page since the erasure lines were very precise; the shadow of other letters such as those of *انهم* that can be seen under the elongated letter stem on the penultimate line, are not shadows from the other side of the page but the discoloration

of the erasure marks themselves. It is not immediately clear why this text was corrected; what can be discerned from the shadows left by the erasure marks appears to indicate the same letters as the text that lies above it, albeit with a quite different scheme of spacing. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 69v, when I examined the manuscript in person I made note of an erasure overwritten near the middle of line 10, in which the TS is *wāw-bā'*. However, this is a rare case in which I cannot see evidence of this erasure in the facsimile in order to present and discuss it here; therefore, I merely make mention of it.

On F328, page 69r, there has been a modification to the page at the beginning of



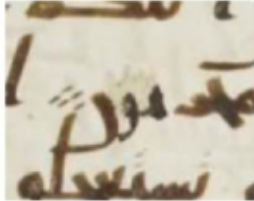
line 17. The corrected text is the *fi* في

("in") of Q69:24. Erasure marks can be clearly seen and appear to indicate the *fi* as well as a single letter preceding, possibly a *wāw*. This

correction, having a darker ink color, a narrower nib, and a different hand, was made at a time after the initial writing of the page. There is a second correction on the line following, just a few centimeters to the left of the first, where the *tā'* of *اوت* has been added in at its appropriate place but above the line which had clearly already been written past that point as there was insufficient space to fit this letter into the gap. In this case, however, ink, nib, and style clearly show that the correction was made shortly after the time of original writing. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 71v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the end of line



4. Erasure marks can be clearly seen. The TS, which is the *mīm-*

wāw of المجرمون *al-mujrimūn* (“the wicked”) of F10:50, is written

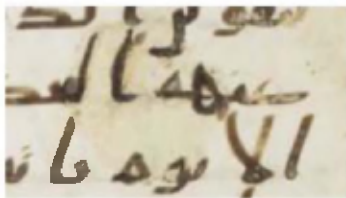
in darker ink and a narrower nib, and is squeezed in. What was

originally written here cannot be discerned. Was the *wāw*

omitted by the OS? The resultant CST is in conformity at this

point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 74r, near the beginning of line 4 there is a place on the page that



appears to be an overwritten erasure. Analysis here is

complicated by apparent liquid damage at this place on

the page as well; there are, however, some erasure marks

within this water-damaged area along the baseline. It is

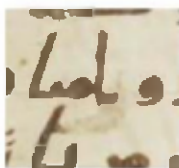
difficult to say exactly what happened here. The affected

text is the *nūn-hā'-mīm-'alif-lām* of عنهم العذاب *'anhum al-adhāb* (“from them punishment”) of Q11:8. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention

of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 75r, there is a post-production erasure and overwriting near the end of

line 13. The TS, an *'alif*, is written in a similar ink but a different hand



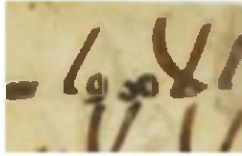
with a more upright angle than the main text of this page. Erasure

marks are clear and the shape indicates with near certainty that a

nūn was what stood here originally. It is the final letter of تسخروا

taskharū (“they mocked”) of Q11:38, which was first written *تسخرون* *taskharūn* (“you (pl.) mocked”). The change brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F328, 75v, a *wāw* and possibly also the *rā’* preceding it has been written over an erasure near the beginning of line 1. The new text is written



in a different hand and scale, as well as with a narrower nib, but the ink appears nearly identical in color and intensity as that of the rest of the page. It is the last letter of *الامر* *al-amr* (“the

decree”) and the conjunctive *wāw* following it, of Q11:44. The change brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

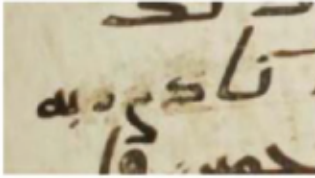
On F328, 79v, there is an erasure overwritten near the beginning of line 22. It is an area that has been affected by liquid damage, but erasure marks are also evident here. A darker brown ink has been used



for these three letters, but the hand is not terribly divergent from that of the main text. The *TS* is the *ḥā’-mīm-nūn* of *الرحمن* *al-rahmān* (“the Compassionate”) of Q21:26. What was written

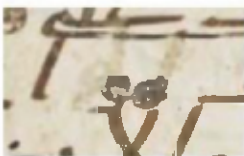
first here cannot be discerned. The change brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F328, page 81v, there are is a change at the end of line 10. There are signs of



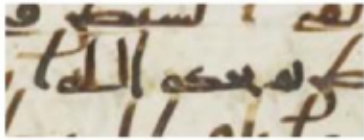
rubbing, but whether the rubbing was intentional, i.e. erasure, or merely wear to the page, cannot be determined. However, as the rest of the page appears in good condition and nowhere shows the sort of wear that would require restoration of writing, and as the page opposite at this location (82r) shows no corresponding signs of abrasion, it appears that this is an intentional change. The over-written text is *dāl-'alif maqsūra-rā'-bā'-hā'* of نادى ربه *nādā rabbahu* ("he called to his Lord") of Q21:83. This change does extend somewhat into the margin of the page, but not so severely as to indicate that the superior text is necessarily longer than was the original, although this would appear possible from the length of the rubbed area compared to the final text. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 83r, there is an erasure that has apparently been overwritten at line 12.



Two upward-extenders have been erased. It appears the first originally fell right into the current *hā'*. A second *wāw* appears to have previously factored into this picture as well. The TS here is the هو *huwa* ("it") of Q22:11. The change brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

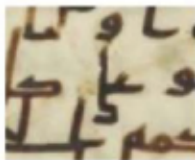
On F328, 85r, there is an erasure overwritten at line 6. It is written in darker ink, and a different angle and less confident hand, and is



thus the work of a different scribe. Erasure marks can be seen along baseline. What was written earlier cannot be discerned, except that no upward extenders

were erased. The TS is *ثم يحكم الله* *thumma yaḥkimu allāh* (“then Allah establishes”) of Q22:52. This change brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

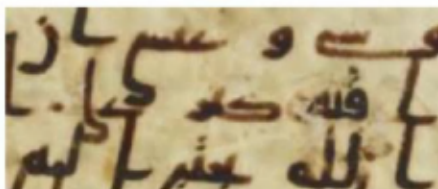
On F328, 87r, there are three erasures that have been overwritten. The first is near the middle of line 8, where a *lām'alif* has been converted to *lām-*



'alif maqsūra. Yellow marks show the clear outline of the previous letters. This alteration appears possibly the work of the OS. It is the *على* *'alā* (“over”) of Q42:9. The second two are at line 18. The first of

these is the *فيه* *fihī* (“therein”) of Q42:13; the next is *على* *'alā* (“over”) of the same verse,

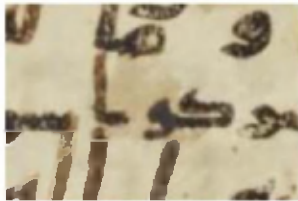
which has been modified just as the same word



above at line 8. Erasure marks can be seen under both of these, also with a different hand and darker ink. All these changes bring the CST at their respective points on this page into

conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at these points was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

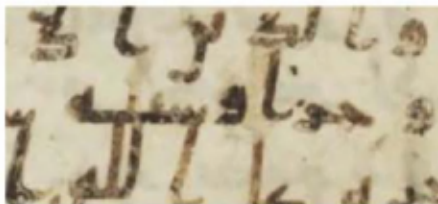
On F328, 87v, at line 16 there is an erasure that has been overwritten. The TS is



the *waw* and the tail of the *'alif* of *شركوا* *shurakāū* (“associates”) of Q42:21. Erasure marks are clear. This correction appears to be post-production and the work of a different scribe, judging by the different nib, ink, and hand.

The upward stroke of the *'alif* appears original, with only its tail belonging to the TS. Although it is not completely clear what was first written here, it is worth noting that this verse appears twice in F328²³⁹, and at its other appearance on 58v, this word is written *شركا*, that is, without the *wāw* that now exists as the penultimate letter of this word. Is it possible that the TI here also was first written in this way, and later corrected by addition of *wāw* as seen here? The CST of this point in 87v is in conformity with with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 88v, at line 12, there are three instances erasure, two of which have



been overwritten. These appear to represent at least two separate instances of revision, judging from ink, hand and nib. The first is the penultimate letter the first *سَيِّئَةً* *sayy'a* (“evil”) of Q42:40. There is an erasure and overwriting

immediately prior to this point, with the TS being a *wāw* and *lām* that are in reverse order to the way they appear in F¹⁹²⁴. Could the original writing of what is now rendered *sayy'a* have read *اسبيلة* *asbila* (“way”)? No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

²³⁹ As it is a composite codex.

On F328, 90r, there is an erasure overwritten at line 12. It is ~~حسنا~~ *ḥasanā* (“fair”)

of Q5:12. The *TS* is written in a different hand and with darker ink.



At line 14, there is overwriting of a least a *mīm*. It is the ~~بما~~ *bimā*

(“on account of”) of Q5:13. Both of these changes are post

production, both appear to be the work of a different scribe on

account of ink color and nib, though they could be the work of

the OS. However, both appear to belong to a single the same episode of correction. As corrected, the CST is in conformity at this point on the page with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this particular point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 93r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 24 at end of

line, the very edge of page. The features of the overwritten part

suggest it could be the work of the OS. At least two upward

extenders were here erased. The *TS* is the ~~حسابك~~ *ḥā'-sīn* of

ḥisābika (“your account”) of Q6:52. The remainder of the word

has been lost because of damage to the edge of the page. The next

line picks up with ~~عليهم~~ *'alayhim* (“to them”). As corrected, and excepting the missing

text from page damage, the CST is now in conformity at this point on the page with that

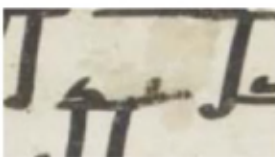
of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F328, 94r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 6. This does

not appear to be the work of the OS. Two upward extenders

have been erased, and an erasure also drops below the

baseline. The *TS* is the ~~عدل~~ *'ayn* of *'adl* (“an equity”) of Q6:70.



What specifically was erased cannot be discerned. As

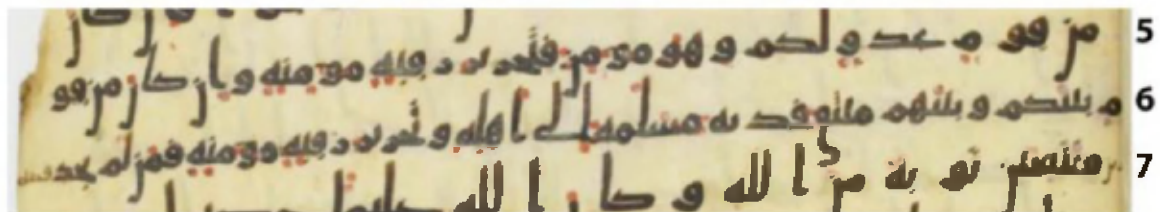
corrected, the CST is now in conformity at this point on the page with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F328, 95r, there is an erasure overwritten at line 3. The erasure is only at the baseline; it does not extend upward and thus the top part of what is now *lam* is outside the erased area and thus apparently part of the original writing of this page, notwithstanding the fact that it leans forward at an angle uncharacteristic of the rest of the page.

The nib, hand, and ink of the overwriting on the erased area is, however, clearly different from that of the main text. The TS is قل *q-l* (“say” or “says”) that is the first instance of this word in Q6:93. The CST of the word as written is out of conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴ due to the absence of the long medial *‘alif*. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, page 4r nearly two complete lines of text have been erased and overwritten. The affected area begins on line 5, after the first five letters, about 4.3cm after the beginning of the line. The erased and re-written portion continues through the remainder of line 5 and the entirety of line 6. Erasure marks are quite clear on the parchment. The TS is quite bunched, an indication that the preceding text was shorter than what replaced it. The nib width and style appear to match that of the rest of the page. The ink is slightly lighter but this appears due to the different quality of the distressed parchment onto which the superior text was written, since the tail of



the *qaf* which drops below the erased area appears to match the ink of the main text.

The final word on line 6 is, however, written extending into the margin, with a different and very much narrower nib, a different ink and style, and finishes in the margin just before the start of line 7. Without knowing what is written, one might presume that these last marks would be marginal notes, but they are in fact part of the verse. The TS is *عدو لكم وهو مومن فتحرير رقبة مومنة وان كان من قوم بينكم وبينهم ميثق فدية مسلمة الى اهله وتحرير رقبة شهرين* *adū^{un} llakum wa-huwa mu'min^{un} fa-tahrīru raqabatⁱⁿ mu'minatⁱⁿ wa-in kāna min qawmⁱⁿ baynakum wa-baynahum mīthāq^{un} fadiyat^{un} musallamat^{un} ilā ahlihi wa-tahrīru raqabatⁱⁿ mū'minatⁱⁿ fa-man llam yajid fa-ṣiyamu shahrayni* (“...who are your enemies but he is a believer, then free a believing slave, but if he [i.e. the one killed] is from a people with whom you have a covenant, then pay the blood money to his relatives and free a believing slave. But as for he who has no means, he should fast two months...”) of Q4:92, a verse dealing with the accidental killing of a believer and its remedy. The final words *فصيام شهرين fa-ṣiyāmu shahrayni* (“he must fast two months”) belong to the second instance of correction, that is, the very narrow nibbed writing mentioned above. As to an explanation for this change, it appears that the original writing must clearly have been a case of haplography caused by parablepsis that was discovered by the OS soon after the page was first written. The phrase *ان كان من قوم in kāna min qawm* (“if he is from a people”) occurs twice in close proximity; at the time of original writing, the scribe must have finished writing the first occurrence of the phrase, which was then to be followed by *عدو لكم adū lakum* (“an enemy to you (pl.)”), but instead in his copying skipped to the point after the second occurrence of the phrase, beginning with the words *بينكم وبينهم baynakum wa-baynahum* (“between you (pl.) and them”), and on to the completion of the page. This explanation accounts for the later need to fit about 40%

more text into this space, which seems to match what we observe to have taken place here. There is a recorded variant reading at this verse, but it does not fall within the text that has here been corrected,²⁴⁰ and at any rate it seems clear what has precipitated this correction.



On F330, page 10r, there is an erasure at the beginning of line 7. This change appears to be the correction of a mistake made at the time of original writing; the ink, nib width, and style of the superior text match the rest of the page. This is the *rā'-dād* of *الارض al-ard* (“the earth”) of Q18:14. Erasure marks can be clearly seen on this page, but what has been erased cannot here be discerned. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, page 10v, several lines down from three insertions that are mentioned under the section dealing with that type of change, there is a third and much larger instance of correction, an erasure and overwriting that begins halfway through line 9, and continues 7.8cm into line 10. The resultant text is bunched and extends into the margins, but it does appear to be the work of the OS and using the same nib and ink;



it appears somewhat lighter and less brown in color, but as with the earlier correction in this codex, the extension of a *qaf* outside the erased area reveals the ink to be similar

²⁴⁰ Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*: 102.

or identical to that of the rest of the page. The TS is *فلا ينظر ايها ازكى طعاما فلياتكم برزق منه* *fa-l-yanzur ayyuhā azkā ṭa'ām^{an} falya'tikum bi-rizq^{an} minhu wa-l-yatalaṭṭaf wa* (“then let him see the purest food and let him bring a provision from it and let him be gentle, and”) of Q18:19. The word *ṭa'ām* appears to have been written by the correcting scribe without its medial long *'alif*, and the latter part of *falya'tikum* extends so far into the margin and is so bunched that it is difficult to make out. Aside from these two points, the rest of the CST of the TS is clearly now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, page 13r, at line 19, beginning 9cm from the start of the line, the text has been erased and overwritten. The TS is written with a narrower nib, is bunched and



extends into the margin. The rubbing from the pumice stone, combined with the passage of time, and possibly also the acidity of the ink, has caused the wearing through of this already delicate page throughout most of this line, but some of the TS can still be discerned. This, as much as it can be made out, is the *لعلكم تهتدون وعلمت وبالنجم هم يهتدون* *la'alakum tahtadūna wa-'alāmātⁱⁿ wa-bi-nnajmi hum yahtadūna a-fa-man* (“that perhaps you may be guided / And the landmarks, and by the stars they are guided / So is he who”) of Q16:15-17. This portion appears to have been corrected more than once; the first time by the original scribe after the page had been written due to the fact that at least part of what extends into the margin looks consistent with the rest of the page. The second correction is seen across most of the rest of the corrected area, and is

characterized by a much starker black ink rather than the brown of the main text. The nib used in the latter case was somewhat narrower. Interestingly, a single upward extension of a *lām* or *ʿalif* remains near the start of the corrected section whose nib width and very light brown ink matches neither the main text of the page or the main part of the correction. The clear bunching of the TS and its extension into the margin indicates that what was replaced was of slightly shorter length. To the extent that the TS can be made out, it appears that its CST is in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

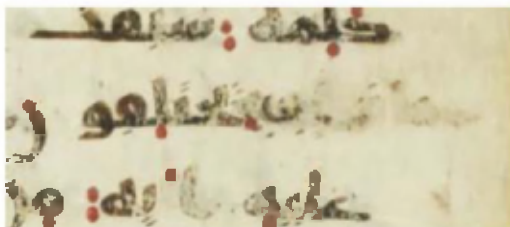
On F330, page 17r, two-thirds of the way through line 6, a word apparently



beginning with *lām* has been erased and replaced with ما *mā* (“of what”). This is the third *mā* of Q16:96. The over-writing matches the style, ink, and nib width of the rest of the page, but at 1.1cm it appears clearly shorter than what it replaced,

and a conspicuous gap of about 3cm remains following it before the next mark, the dangling tail of the *qāf* from the line above. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F330, page 22v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at the



beginning of line 4, though a good portion of even the TS has now faded away. The previous line ends with فيما *fmā* (“concerning that which”) of Q10:19. The first readable word here on line 4 is the

تختلفون *taḥtalifūn* (“they differed”) of the same verse. A shadow of what was erased reveals that originally, *taḥtalifūn* stood as the first word of this line, that is, immediately following the *ḥimā* and omitting the *fihi* that is between these words in F¹⁹²⁴. Then, something that has also now been erased was added extending more than 1 cm into the margin; this looks like *mīm* or *fā* but also has something in front of it in the shape of either a *jīm/ḥā/khā* or two short letter stems. After this, it appears that the first several letters of *taḥtalifūn* and what preceded it in the margin were erased, then *taḥtalifūn* rewritten in compressed form to the left, leaving a gap preceding it. We might presume that this gap would have been for the writing of *fihi*, but such does not ever appear to have been written here; in all cases and revisions it appears that this manuscript omits the *fihi* (“concerning it”) that the verse is held to contain today. Thus, this change leaves the manuscript at this point out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

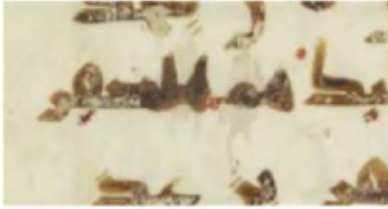
On F330, page 29v there is an erasure of about 1.5cm, extending below the line.



This erasure is overwritten. The nib width, style, and ink color indicate that this was a correction made by the original scribe at or near the time of original production of the page. The word here is the final *tā'* of *ازوجك التي اتيت* *azwājaka allāi'ātayta* (“your wives whom you have given”) of Q33:50, a verse dealing

with the division of the spoils of war and clarifying that the special exceptions in marriage and spoils applied only to the Prophet himself and not to the believers generally. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F330, 37r, on line 3 there is an erasure and overwriting. The TS is the هم الكافرون



the words هم الكافرون *hum ul-kāfirūn* (“they are the unbelievers”) of Q4:151. In this case, although the correction was clearly made after the line had been written, and erasure marks can be easily seen, it is difficult to say whether the change was made by the

OS, as the correction itself is rather messy. The ink color is similar but the ink quality seems to vary from that on the rest of the page. It is difficult to discern the actual nib width of the corrected section. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 38v, line 2, the word ليغير *li-ghayr* (“instead of”) of Q5:3 is written in



darker ink with a similar nib width but a somewhat different, more angular hand over an erasure. The TI cannot be discerned, but the spacing of this word indicates that the length was similar. This correction may have been made soon after the original production of this page. The CST as it

now stands is in conformity at this point on the page with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this particular point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, page 48v, on the penultimate line the final *nūn* of the word منهن

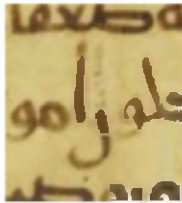


minhunna (“of them (f.)”) of Q33:51 has been written over the top of an erasure, apparently having originally been written as منهم *minhum* (“of them (m.)”). Although erasure marks cannot be clearly made out from the page, a shadow

of the previous letter can be made out. The correction is written with a very narrow nib

and in a different ink and style, so clearly at some time after the original writing of this page. The CST as it now stands is in conformity at this point on the page with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is a recorded variant at this verse,²⁴¹ but it is not at or around this word.

On F330, 50v, there is an erasure overwritten at line 19. The T \mathcal{S} is the final *nūn* of the first instance of *ياكلون* *ya'kulūn* (“they devour”) of Q4:10. The T \mathcal{I} was an *'alif*. Erasure marks are clear. The effect of this change was to modify the case of the word from the perfect (“those who devoured the property of orphans unjustly”) to the imperfect (“those who devour the property of orphans unjustly”). The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There are recorded variants at this verse, involving the first portion of the verse which includes the two occurrences of the word *ya'kul* which includes this *ya'kulūn*,²⁴² as well as the *wa-sa-yaṣlūna sa'irā* of the end of this verse.²⁴³

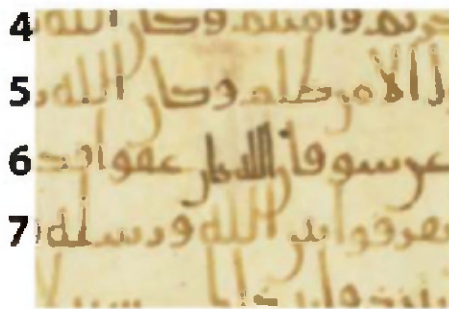


²⁴¹ Ibid., 142; Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an: The Old Codices ; the Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai, Alī, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qur'anic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān*; 76.

²⁴² “*wa-man ya'kul amwāla al-yatāmā zulmā fa-innamā ya'kul fī baḥnihi nārā wa-sawfa yaṣlī sa'irā.*” Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*: 100; Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an: The Old Codices ; the Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai, Alī, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qur'anic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān*.

²⁴³ Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-ḥujja fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*: 120; al-Fārisī, *al-ḥujja li-l-qurrā' al-sab'a*: 69.

On F330, page 55r, there is what appears to be a correction at line 6, at which



point the words الله كان *allāhu kāna* (“Allāh is”) of

Q4:149 are bunched in in a manner that is out of scale with the rest of the writing on the page.

Signs of rubbing can be seen on the parchment in this place, but the abrasions of an erasure are

not as clear here as in other instances. The

correction here appears to be the work of the original scribe and was probably made soon after the original writing of the page. Elsewhere on this page, at line 13, the third and fourth letters of the line, a *lām-mīm* appear to be written over an erasure, with a narrower nib and a blacker ink. The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā āt* literature.

On F330, 57v, at line 16, a portion of the latter half of the line appears to



overwrite an erasure. The erasure or

erasures²⁴⁴ have resulted in a wearing

through of the page at this point, the only such place on this page. The ink of the TS is

darker than that of the main text. The TS

here is الله كانوا *qulnā lahum kānū qira* (“we said to them ‘be [monkeys]’”) of Q7:166,

with the two letters following this erasure being the final two letters of “monkeys,”

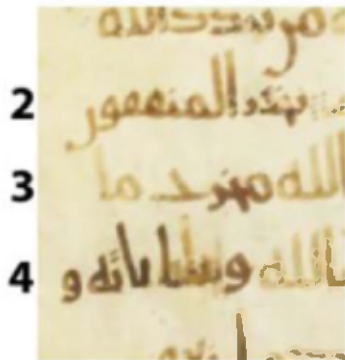
however the TS is itself also indistinct due to fading and page damage at this point.

From what can be discerned, then, it appears that the change has brought the CST of

²⁴⁴ The complete wearing through of the page by erasure is relatively uncommon but has been observed in other cases that showed evidence of multiple rounds of revision.

this folio at this point into conformity with with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

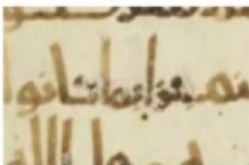
On F330, page 65r, there is an erasure and overwriting at line 2 and another at line 4. The former is the *dhāl-rā'* of *يَحْذَرُ* *yaḥdharu* (“they fear”) of Q9:64, and appears not



to be the work of the OS. The latter is a rather messy correction of the word *آيَاتِهِ وَ* *ayātihi wa* (“His signs, and”) of Q9:65. In a very unusual way, the underlying text has been only incompletely erased, and then instead of writing the correction over the top of the erasure, the correction is written to the side of it, leaving the observer to wonder if there is an extra word placed in

the middle. The resultant CST at the location of the correction at line 2 is at this point brought into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴; this appears not to be the case with the location of the correction at line 4. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F330, 67r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 3. The *TS* is written with a similar nib width and ink (though a bit darker).

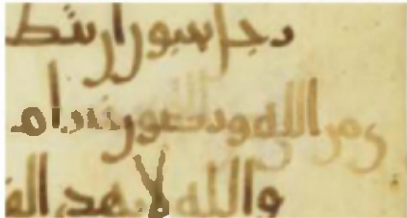


The resultant text is somewhat bunched, showing that this change was post-production and suggesting that what stands here now is longer than what it replaced. This is possibly the work of the OS. One upward extender was part of the text that was

erased. Erasure marks are clear, but what was erased cannot be discerned. The *TS* here is *جَزَاءَ بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْفُرُونَ* *jazā'a bimā k* (“[as] reward for that which [they used to]”) of Q9:95. The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴, but for the

lack of *hamza* at the end of the first word. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

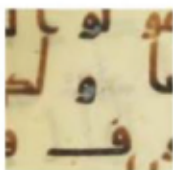
On F330, 67v, at line 8 there is an erasure and overwriting that inserts a portion of text that was omitted at the time of first writing.



The TS, which now extends into the right margin, is *ā min allāhi wa-riḍwān^m khayr* (“[fear] of allah and a good pleasure better”) of Q9:109. A shadow of what has been erased remains,

and in particular the tail of the *ʿalif maqsūra* and the upward extenders of *allāh* can be seen in the erased portion. This correction is clearly the work of the OS. The appearance is that *wa-riḍwān* was originally absent; the scribe realized the mistake soon after producing the page and made the correction. The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. This portion of text has been corrected in two other manuscripts, F328 and E20, and there are recorded *qirā'āt* variants at this verse that have been mentioned already.

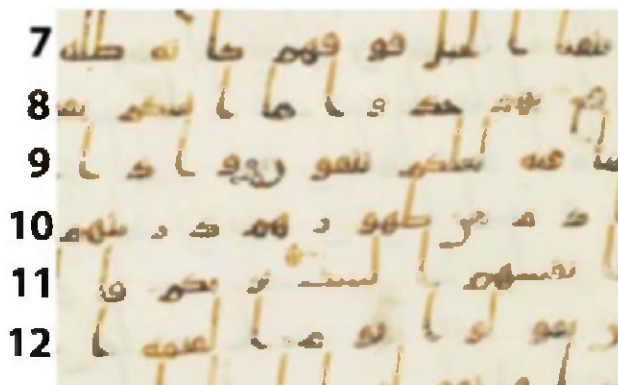
On F331, page 3r, at line 5, the *wāw* just before *lākin* is written over an erasure 2.2cm in width and 1.2cm tall. The *wāw* is .5cm wide by .9cm tall. This



appears work of original scribe, as ink, hand, and nib match the rest of the page. This is the conjunctive *waw* of *و لكن* *wa-lākin* (“but”) of Q2:154. What was written here first is not clear, though the erasure is

wide enough to accommodate two or three letters. The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F331, page 12v, there is some mark on lin 9 in the space between Q7:171 and



7:172. What is written, with a small nib and in dark grey ink, is unclear, however the original writing of the page at this point is in harmony with the consonants of today's Qur'an. At line 8, however, there is an erasure and over-writing, apparently by the original scribe.

The portion written over the erasure is the *yā-nūn-kāf-mīm* of ما اتينكم *mā ataynākum* ("that which we have given to you") of Q7:171. It appears to be a correction at the time of writing or shortly thereafter since nib and ink seem to match the rest of the page. Finally, on line 12 of this page, there is an erasure over which is written the *yā* of يوم *yawma* ("day") of Q7:172. Here also, nib and ink seem to match the rest of the page. Erasure marks are clear and the shape of the erasure suggests an *ʿalif*; this also appears to be a correction similar in nature to those seen elsewhere on this page. The CST as modified in these places has been brought into conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F331, page 13v, there is an erasure on the penultimate line, over which is



written the *aladhīna* ("they [whom]") of Q7:194. This correction appears to have been made by the original scribe and probably at or near the time of the manuscript's original production. What was erased cannot be discerned. The CST as

modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

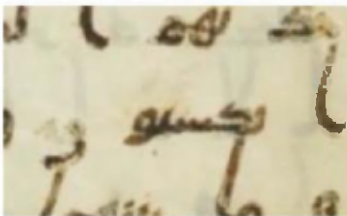
On F331, page 22v, at line 11, there is an erasure that has been overwritten.



Erasure marks are clear; it appears work of original scribe, as ink, nib, and style match the rest of the page. What was erased cannot be discerned; the *TS* is the first *lā* لى (“to me”) of Q14:22.

This correction brings the CST of this page at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

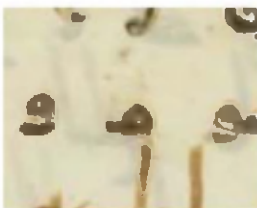
On F331, page 26r, near the beginning of line 15, there is an erasure that has



been overwritten. The *TS* here is *yaksibūn* يَكْسِبُونَ (“they profited”) of Q15:84. This appears to be work of original scribe at or near time of first production. Erasure marks can be seen to have almost worn through the page when page is held to light, and marks extend upward but not

the full height of a *lām* or *'alif*. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F331, page 28r, near the beginning of line 2, there is an erasure that has been



overwritten. The *TS* is the final *mīm* of *al-yawm* اليوم (“the day”) of Q16:27. Erasure marks can be seen and verified by holding up to light, and extend upward but not to the full height of an *'alif* or *lām*. This appears to be work of the OS at or near time of page's production. The CST of this page at this point is now in

conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this particular point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

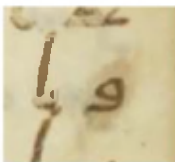
On F331, page 29v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the beginning of line 19, the last line of the page. The erasure lies between and under *فيه و* *fihī wa* (“about it, and”) of Q16:64. The erasure extends upward to the full height of *alif* and also below the baseline, with a total height of 1.9cm. This appears to be work of original scribe. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F331, page 31r, at the beginning of line 17, there is an erasure that has been overwritten. The TS is *الاتس* *al-ins* (“the men”) of Q17:88. The erasure is in three parts and extends in total to about 4.1cm. What was written originally cannot be discerned. It appears work of original scribe at or near time of first production. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



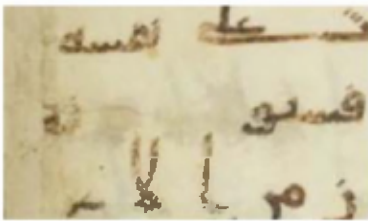
On F331, page 32r, at the beginning line 16, there is an erasure that has been overwritten by *wāw*. Erasure marks are clear. It is the *waw* of the second occurrence of *وإحق* *wa-bi-l-ḥaqq* (“and in truth”) of Q17:105. The style of the *wāw* is very different from the rest of the page; neither do ink or nib match; this is clearly not the work of the OS. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F331, page 36r, at the end of line 2 there is an erasure that has been overwritten. Erasure marks are clear. The TS here is the *tā'-dāl* of *تدعى* *tud'ā* ("it is called") of Q45:28; the remaining two letters of the word are completed on the following line. The change appears possibly the work of the original scribe. However, the resultant gap between the preceding word and this one, at 1.4cm, is now wider than the approximately 1cm that is standard on this page. The length of the erasure is about 2.7cm, and the shape suggests an initial letter *jīm/ḥā'/khā'* for the *Tl*. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

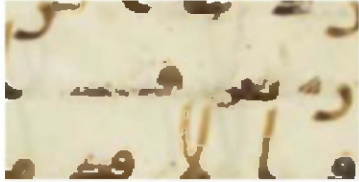


On F331, page 39v, there is a post-production erasure in two parts measuring about 5.1cm in length at the end of line 9. The total length of the resultant gap is 4cm. The remaining part of the erasure leaves a large gap in the line. Most of the erased area is not over-written. Pumice stone abrasions are clearly visible. The TS is the *yā'-wāw* of the word *فسيوته* *fa-sa-yū'ūhi* ("he will grant him") of Q48:10, however, the next line does not complete the word but picks up with the subsequent word, *اجرا* *qirā* ("a reward"). Therefore, we might assume that the marks at the far left edge of this page after the gap were once the letters *تيه*. It is unclear, however, what the correcting scribe's motive would have been in leaving such a gap in the middle of this word. It seems clear from the length of this erasure compared to what replaces it, that what was erased was of slightly greater length. What was first written here cannot be discerned. The CST of this



page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this particular point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F331, page 49r, there is an erasure and over-writing measuring 5cm in length



at the middle of line 4. Abrasions of the erasure can be clearly seen. Here, the nib width is similar to that of the rest of the page, and the ink color is similar also but slightly darker, so it is unclear whether this correction is the work of the original scribe. The TS is the word

يعرف *yu'rafu* (“they are (or will be) known”) of Q55:41. The corrected word at first appears somewhat elongated, but when compared with the spacing after *rā'* elsewhere, and with the elongation of final *fā'* elsewhere such as in 48 (verso) which appears to be in the same hand, it does not look out of proportion, so the TI was probably of similar length. The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F331, page 49v, there is a change near the end of line 8, an erasure of a



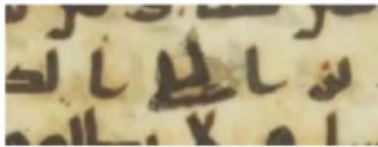
vertical letter. The word here is the *dhī* (“possessor of”) of Q55:78. It appears that what has taken place in this instance is the erasure of the vertical *'alif* and its replacement with an *'alif maqsūra*, in accordance with the eventual standard orthography of the *'alif* in this

situation. This correction was made after the time of original writing, since a narrower nib appears to have been used, as well as darker ink. Elsewhere on this page, there is an erasure that is not overwritten; it is discussed in the chapter on erasures. The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There is a

recorded variant reading for this word in al-Wāsiṭī, *dhū*, which is not represented in either the original or corrected form on this particular page.²⁴⁵

On F331, 53v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten, apparent work of the OS, at line 15. I noted this erasure when examining the manuscript in person, but cannot find it in the facsimile and my notes were not detailed enough to describe it further at this time.

On F340, page 3r, there is a correction near the middle of the second line. The TS is apparently the *ilā* الی (“toward”) of Q4:49, although it has been disastrously executed with an extra vertical line that looks something like a second *lām*. Erasure marks are clear on this page, and the correction appears to have been carried out by a later scribe as the pen and darker ink used are different from the rest of the writing on the page. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.



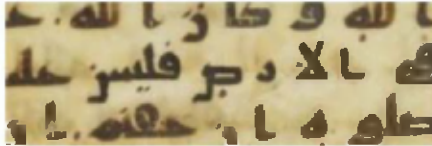
On F340, page 5r, there is an erasure at line 11 that has been overwritten. The ink of the overwriting is significantly darker than that of the rest of the page, including the portions that extend beyond the erased area, but the hand and nib appear to be those of the OS. The TS is the final *kāf* of *عندك* ‘*indika* (“with you”) and the following *قل* *qul* (“say (imper.)”) of Q4:78. In this case, it is fairly clear what has happened. This is the second of three occurrences of the *من عند* *min ‘inda* (“from”) in this verse; the other two are followed by *الله* *allāh* (“allah”). Most likely, the OS wrote *allāh*



²⁴⁵ al-Wāsiṭī, *al-kanz fī al-qirā’āt al-‘ashar*; 246.

here originally because of an eye skip, then he or another came back to correct it upon realization of his error. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, page 7v, there is a portion of text at line 3 that on close examination



appears to have been written by a different scribe

than the original. Although erasure marks are difficult to discern, erasure and overwriting seems to be the reasonable explanation. The ink

of the portion in question is clearly darker and more black, contrasting with the dark brown ink of the rest of the page. This is *الارض فليس* *al-ard fa-laysa* (“the land, there is not”) of Q4:101. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, page 8r, there is an erasure and over-writing at the end of line 9. The



nib used is narrower and the ink darker. Erasure marks are clear. The correction extends somewhat into the margin.

The TS is the word *خوانا* *khawwānā* (“treacherous”) of Q4:107. What was first written here is not clear. The CST of

this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

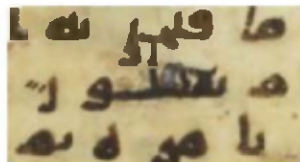
On F340, page 12r, there is an erasure and over-writing. The erased letter or



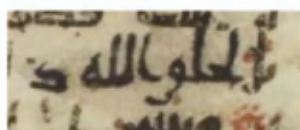
letters appear have left a gap, and the small stem with ligature forward has been added. This takes place in the middle of the word *اخرين* *akharīn* (“other”) of Q5:41, with the erasure and resultant gap existing between the *rā'* and the

nūn, the *yā'* being the tooth added after the erasure. What was erased cannot here be discerned. The CST as modified has been brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

F340, 13r, there is a post-production reworking of the text, apparently over an erasure, near the end of line 4. The TS, written with a narrower nib, darker ink, and less steady hand, is the first four letters of *يَعْلَمُونَ* *ya'qilūna* ("they understand") of Q 30:24. What was first written here cannot be discerned. It is possible that the initial letter is part of the TI. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F340, page 13v, there is an erasure and over-writing. The TS is the *لِخَلْقِ اللَّهِ ذَلِكَ* *li-khalq illahi dhālika* ("of Allāh's creation") of Q30:30. The correction has been made with a narrower pen and by a different scribe. Erasure marks are clearly seen; what was originally written is not clear. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

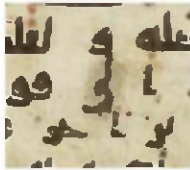


On F340, page 14r, there is an erasure and overwriting of a little more than one-quarter of the line. The TS is the words *خَلَقَكُمْ ثُمَّ رَزَقَكُمْ ثُمَّ* *khalaaqakum thumma razaqakum thumma* ("He created you, then provided for you, then") of Q30:40. The correction is made with a different pen and ink, and different



hand, than the rest of the page. Erasure marks are clear. The superior text extends somewhat into the right margin. What was erased cannot be discerned. It is worth noting that there have been several corrections noted elsewhere in this dissertation involving forms of the word *rizq* (“provision”). The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

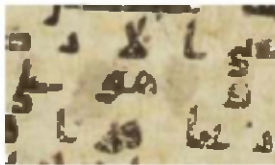
On F340, 14v, there is an erasure and overwriting near the middle of line 4.



Erasure marks are clear. The TS is written with a narrower nib, in a different hand, and with different ink than the main text. It is the *lām-’alif maqṣūra* of الی *ilā* (“to”) of Q30:47. What was first written

here cannot be discerned. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

Also on F340, 14v, at line 12 there are two erasures leaving gaps 1.1 cm and 0.5



cm, respectively, suggesting that what was first written was longer than the word now here. These have been overwritten or altered with a different hand, nib and ink. The TS is هو *huwa* (“he”) of Q30:50. What was first written here cannot be

discerned. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F340, 15v, there is an erasure and overwriting at line 11. This is now a very



messy portion of text, and, judging by features such as nib width and inks, it appears to involve more than one round of revision. In particular, the *wāw* written in at end

of corrected portion, has a different hand, ink, and nib. It is also outside the erased area.

The *TS* here is *السموات بغير عمد تروى* *al-samāwāt bi-ghayri ʿamadⁿ taraw* (“the heavens without pillars [you see]”) of Q31:10. As far as can be discerned considering the present condition of the page, the *CST* at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

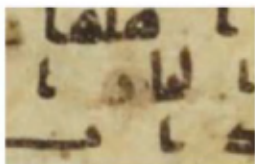
On F340, 16v, near the middle of line 7, the *ʿalif* of *allāh* is written over erasure.



The *TS* is written in a different hand and ink, with a narrower nib and at sharper angle at bottom of letter than other *ʿalifs* on this page. This is the second *allāh* of Q31:22. What was first written here cannot be discerned, but the spacing is now

somewhat too wide at this point, so it is likely that the *ʿalif* replaces two or three letters, or a wider letter. The *CST* of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 18r, there is an apparently post-production erasure that has been



overwritten with *waw* two-thirds of the way through line 14.

Erasure marks are clear. The *TS* is the *rāʾ* of *النار* *al-nār* (“the fire”) of Q32:20. The script style and nib width are similar to the main text of the page; the ink color looks different but it is

difficult to say if this is to be attributed to the different texture of the skin where the erasure was made. What was written first cannot be discerned. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, page 20v, there are at least two instances of altered text. The first, an

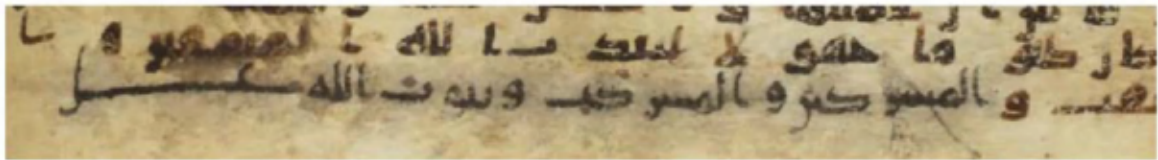


erasure and over-writing, is at line 3 and the superior text is the عهدوا of the word عهدوا

'ahadū ("they covenanted") of Q33:23. Erasure marks can be seen, and the over-written text is made in a different and and with darker ink. The second alteration is the words ان شا in shā' ("if He wishes") of verse 24. It appears that the erasure in this latter case also affected the word immediately above its location on the page, and so the جز of ليجزى lli-yajziā ("that He [might] reward"), and possibly the yā' as well, appear to have been re-written over this erasure as well. This correction was made in a different hand and different ink, most likely the same as the correction at line 3. This change at line 5 also leaves a gap, suggesting that what it replaced was longer than the current text. The CST of this page at these points is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature, but the *maṣāḥif* literature does show a variant involving verse 23, with the variation recorded being a long 'alif after the initial 'ayn of 'ahadū.²⁴⁶ This presents one possible explanation for the correction at that word in this manuscript, but does not shed light on the correction at lines 4 and 5.

²⁴⁶ Ibn Abī Dāūd, *kitāb al-maṣāḥif*: 219-20.

On F340, page 23v there is an erasure and overwriting of nearly an entire line of text at line 16, the last line on the page. The TS, written in a different pen, different ink



and in a different hand, is the *المشركين والمشركت ويتوب الله على* *al-mushrikīn wa-l-mushrikat wa-yatūba allāh ‘al(a)* (“the male associators and the female associators, and [that] Allāh [might] pardon”) of Q33:73. The *‘alif maqsūra* that would be at the end of this line cannot be discerned; perhaps the scribe intended it but as it would ordinarily have a hooked tail to distinguish it from the orthography of the final *lām*, it appears absent in this case. What was erased on this line cannot be discerned. The remainder of the verse is completed on the following page, beginning with the word *المؤمنين* *al-mūminīn* (“the believers”). This is the second alteration on this page; the other is a simple erasure and is mentioned in the section dealing with erasures. Assuming that an *‘alif maqsūra* was indeed intended at the end of this corrected section, the CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F340, 24v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the middle of

line 7. The erasure lies between the initial *‘alif* and the *sīn* of



واسألنا *wa-asalnā* (“and we made”) of Q34:12. It is not entirely

clear what letter the mark that is the TS is intended to represent, since the surrounding CST, *‘alif-sīn-lām-nūn-‘alif*, is that of F¹⁹²⁴. That is to say, if the TS is intended to be a letter, it

would take this page at this point out of conformity with F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 24v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the end of line

14. The TS is the لِسَابِ *li-sabā* (“of Sheba”) of Q34:15. It is written

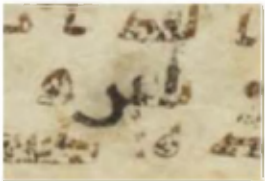


with a different nib, a much darker and blacker ink than the brown of the main text, and in a clearly different hand. What was first written here cannot be discerned. The CST of this

page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 24v, there is another erasure that has been overwritten, near the

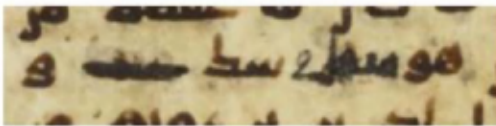
beginning of line 15. Similar to the other two erasures



overwritten on this page, the TS here is written with dark black ink, in contrast with the brown ink of the page, and with a different hand and narrower nib. Erasure marks can be plainly seen. The TS is the *yā'-nūn* of يَمِينِ *yamīn* (“right”) of

Q34:15. The CST of this page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 25r, there is reworking of the text involving erasure with overwriting,



insertion, and crossing out of text at line 10. In

what appears to be a separate instance of

correction, there is also an insertion of the

word فِي *fi* (“in”). The overwritten portion appears to be مِنْهَا *minhā* (“concerning it”) of

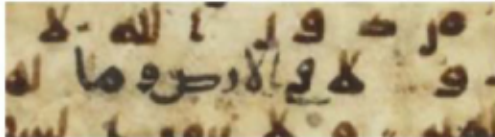
Q34:21. After شَكِّ *shakk* (“doubt”), there was clearly another word, which has been

crossed out (possibly after partial erasure) with a horizontal line. The next word after

this begins with the *wāw* that follows. The result of these various revisions at this point is a CST that is at these points in conformity with F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

Further down the page of F340, 25r, there is another instance of erasure that has

been overwritten. The TS here is في الارض وما

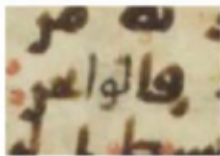


fī al-ard wa-mā (“on earth, and not”) of Q34:22. The appearance of this group of words is one of possibly more than one

occasion of correction; the ink, nib and hand of the *fī* is somewhat different from those of *al-ard wa*, which is also different from that of *mā*. Furthermore, there is an erasure before *lā* that has already been discussed in the section on erasures. What was erased in these places cannot be discerned. Because of the *mā-min* grammatical construction, it is probable that the *mā* was to be found somewhere in the *TI*, even though we see it here rewritten. The text resultant from these changes have left a CST that is at this point on the page in conformity with F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 26r, there is an overwritten erasure at line 2. Erasure marks were

observed. The TS, which is written with a very thin nib, and blacker



ink than the main text of the page, is the *lām-wāw-'alif* of *qālū*

(“they say”) of 34:35. The *TI* was most likely only *lām*, rendering

the verb rather in the past tense, “they said.” The correction

brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

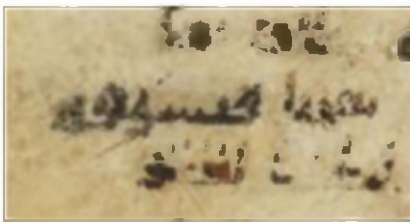
On F340, 26r, there is a second erasure that has been overwritten two-thirds of



the way through line 14. The *TS* is the *'alif-mīm-'alif* of *وقالوا ما* *wa-qālū mā* (“and they say [this is] nothing but”) of Q34:43. Erasure marks can be seen, and the *TS* is written by a different scribe in a fine nib with blacker ink than the main text.

Probably the *TI* here was either *ما* or *ل*; in the first case the 3rd plural would have been written without final *'alif*; this has been seen elsewhere in the manuscripts with later corrections by inserted *'alif*. If the latter case, the negation *mā* would have been omitted at first writing. The correction brings the *CST* at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, page 27r there is an instance of correction at the end of line 14, where

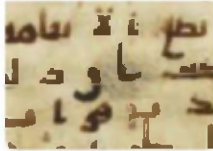


the word *فاسقناه* *fa-suqnāhu* (“and we drive them”) of Q35:9 is written over an erasure. The word as revised is very strangely written, appearing to have not only an extra tooth but also an extra *waw* after the *sīn*, which carries a *damma* in today's standard

text. The correction is written by a different scribe and in a different ink color and consistency. It is unclear what was erased but the fact that the resulting word extends into the margin suggests that what preceded it may have been shorter. The *CST* of this page at this point appears not to be in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴ due to its extra tooth and other features. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

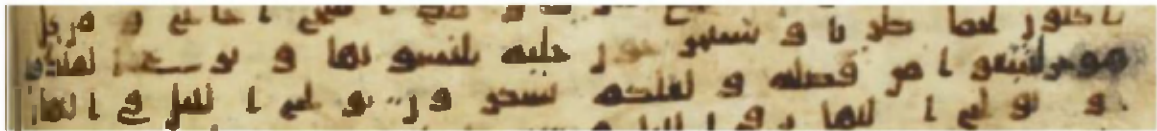
On F340, 27v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 5. It is the ان

inna (“indeed”) of Q35:11. The *TI* is not the work of the OS; the ink and the hand are clearly different, particularly the dimension of the letters and the shape of the *ʿalif* with its forward angle and upward curving tail. What was first written here cannot be



discerned. The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 27v, there is an overwritten erasure at the beginning of line 8. The *TI*, the *fihi mawākhira lita-* (“in it ultimately you might [seek]”) of Q35:12, is

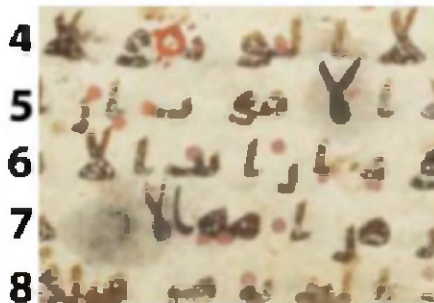


written with blacker ink and a different nib, though the *mīm-wāw* looks like it uses a wider nib. The first word, *fihi*, has been inserted in the left margin of line 7. What was first written here cannot be discerned, but it was clearly shorter than the *TS*. The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 28r, there are two erasures that have been overwritten, apparently by

the same corrector. The *TS* of the first, at line 5, is

the *lamalif* of الاموات *al-amwāt* (“the dead (pl.)”) of Q35:22. The *TS* of the second is the *illā* (“except”) of Q35:24. Both these have been written over erasures with blacker ink and in a very different hand. These corrections bring the



CST at their respective points into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 28r, there is an erasure and overwriting at the end of line 10. The TS is



the *'alif-mīm-'alif* of *السماء* *as-samā' mā'* (“the sky water”) of Q35:27. This correction extends slightly into the margin but appears to be the work of the OS. It is likely that this was first written as a single *'alif*; the scribe realized the omission of the word *mā'* (“water”), erased an initially extended *'alif* to make

space, and then wrote in the TS. The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 28r, there is an overwritten erasure at lines 12 and 13. Erasure marks can be seen. The TS, written in blacker ink and a different hand, is *ات والاتعم* *āt wa-l-an'ām* (“[the beasts] and the cattle”) of Q35:28, and extends into the margins. Apparently

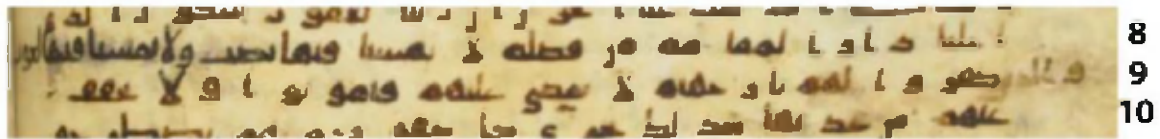


the portion *wal-an'ām* (“and the cattle”) was omitted by the OS; this was noticed some time later and corrected. The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 28r, there is a correction at the beginning of line 14, immediately below the final portion of the previous correction mentioned. It is the **العلماء** *al-'ulamā'ū* (“the learned ones”) of Q35:28, but this is not how it has been corrected in this manuscript. The *TI* includes a *wāw* where one stands today; this has been erased and a forward ligature extended from the *mīm* to the final *'alif*, the *TS* thus rendering the word **العلماء** *al-'ulamā'* (“the learned ones”). This correction takes the CST at this point away from conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

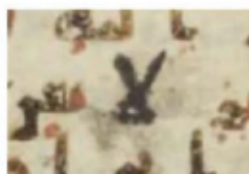


On F340 28v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at the end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9. Erasure marks can be seen. This change, the *TS* of which



is **ولا يمسنا فيها لغوب والذين** *wa-lā yamassunā fihā lughūb^{un} wa-alladhīna* (“and no weariness will touch us in it, but they who”) of Q35:35-36, is written with darker ink and a different hand, and is clearly longer text than what was first written in this space, as it is bunched and extends into the margins. What was first written here, however, cannot be discerned. The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 30r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 4. It is the first



لا *lā* (“not”) of Q36:23. The *TS* is written with blacker ink and in a different nib. Erasure marks are clear, but what was first written here cannot be discerned. Could it have been an alternate

negation such as لَا *mā*? The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 31r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at the beginning of



line 6. The T \mathcal{S} , which is the final five letters of

لَا تَنْفُسِهِمْ *li-'anfusihi* ("to themselves") of

Q13:16, is stretched out, suggesting that what

was first written here was longer. Also, the

lām of *al-baṣīr* on the following line has been extended upward in order to make the remaining gap after this correction less conspicuous. This change is possibly the work of the OS. The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 39v, the first two-thirds of line 13 have been erased and overwritten.

Erasure marks are clearly seen. This is almost certainly the work of the OS. The T \mathcal{S} ,



which begins with the *waw* written in the margin at the end of line 12, is $\text{وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا إِلَّا}$

$\text{وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ وَإِنَّ السَّاعَةَ لَأْتِيَةٌ فَاصْفَحْ}$ *wa-mā baynahumā illā bi-l-ḥaqqi wa-inna as-sā'ata la-atīyat^{un} fa-*

asfahi ("and what lies between them except in truth, and surely the hour is coming, so forgive") of Q15:85, and is severely bunched into the space, indicating that it is longer

than what was first written here. What was first written cannot be discerned, but it

might be guessed that the first part, *wa-mā baynahumā*, was initially omitted, since the

following portion would sensibly complete the *mā-illā* grammatical construction,

rendering the verse “We have not created the heavens and the earth except in truth,” rather than today’s, “We have not created the heavens and the earth, and what is between them, except in truth.” The correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On F340, 46r, there is an erasure that has been at least partly overwritten at lines 3 and 4. The affected text is *والقسية قلوب* *wa-l-qāsiyati qulū* (“and the hard (of heart)”) of



Q22:53, with the next three letters (completing the word “heart”) appearing original. Erasure marks can be seen. A puzzling feature of this particular apparent erasure is that the shadow of text that seems to remain matches, except for a missing long *‘alif*, the CST of F¹⁹²⁴. The *qāf-lām-wāw* of *qulūbihim* begins line 4, and appears to be overwriting of an erasure. Much of even the main text of this page is faded.

On F340, 53r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten, the apparent work of the OS, at the end of line 13 and into 14. Erasure marks are clear, and the page has been

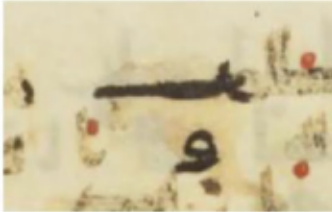


worn through in places by this action. The *Ti* is *كانوا مهتدين وأما نرينك* *kānū muhtadīna wa-immā nuriyannaka* (“are [not] guided, and whether we show you”) of Q10:45-46. The

correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 54r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the middle of

line 1. Erasure marks can be seen. It is the *tā'* of ظلمت



zalamat (“he did wrong”) of Q10:54. The *wāw* immediatly

below this on line 2 looks similar in the facsimile, but on

direct examination appears to be only restoration after

water damage. The correction brings the CST at this

point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found

in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 67r, the second half of line 8 has been written over an erasure. This

appears to be the work of the OS; the ink here is a bit blacker than rest of page, but the



style is a very good match, as is the nib. The TS here is ببة فى الارض الا على الله رز *bbatiⁿ fi al-*

ardi illā 'alā allāhi riz (“[beast] in the earth but that its [sustenance] is provided by Allah”) of Q11:6. What was first written here cannot be discerned. As much as can be seen,²⁴⁷

this correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No

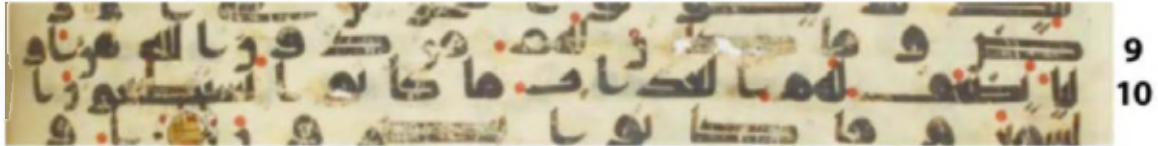
mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature. It is worth noting

that this correction contains the word *rizq*, a word that has been corrected in several

other places throughout these manuscripts.

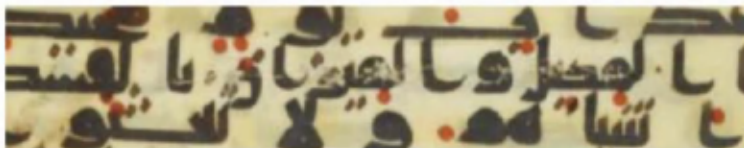
²⁴⁷ The word *'alā* has been mostly lost due to fragility of the page at this point.

On F340, 68v, the final third of line 9 and most or all of line 10 has been written over an erasure. This also is probably the work of the OS; the ink is somewhat blacker



than that of the rest of the page, but the match is very close and the hand appears identical. Erasure marks difficult to discern, but can be clearly seen on close examination. The *TS* is *dūn allāhi min awliyā'a yudā'afu lahum al-'adhābu mā kānū yastaṭfūna* (“apart from Allah protectors; their punishment will be doubled; they cannot [hear]”) of Q11:20. This correction brings the *CST* at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 74v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 2. The portion written over the erasure cannot be entirely noted from the facsimile but erasure marks



can be seen on close direct examination. The portion written over the erasure is *al-mikyāla wal-mīzāna bi-l-qis*

mikyāla wal-mīzāna bi-l-qis (“the full measure and the full weight in [justice]”) of Q11:85. This is again almost certainly the work of the OS at or near the time of first writing, judging by the very similar ink and nib. The page has been worn through by this erasure and the text is a bit bunched, indicating that what was first written was shorter than the *TS*. The *CST* as corrected is at this point in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 76v, there is an erasure and overwriting involving nearly two full lines of text that appears to be the work of the OS. The erasure begins after the first two or three letters of line 9, continues through the end of line 10. The page has



been worn through in parts of this corrected area. The *TS* here is *كلا لما ليوفينهم ربك اعمالهم* *kullān lammā la-yūfiyannahum rabbuka a'mālahum innahu bimā ya'malūna khabīr^{un} fa-astaqīm kamā* (“your lord will pay them all in full for their works / surely he is informed of what they do / so be upright as”) of Q11:111-112. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There are multiple recorded *qirā'āt* variants at verse 111 that overlap with this section of text: *wa-'in kull^{an}* (“and surely all of them”),²⁴⁸ *lammā* (“for that which”),²⁴⁹ *limā la-yuwaffinahum* (“in that which we will fulfill to them”),²⁵⁰ *mā* (“that which”),²⁵¹ and a number of other variants recorded in the codex of Ubayy b. Ka'b.²⁵²

On F340, 76v, the last three letters of penultimate and first two letters of final line on page similar. Erasure marks were observed on direct examination of the page.

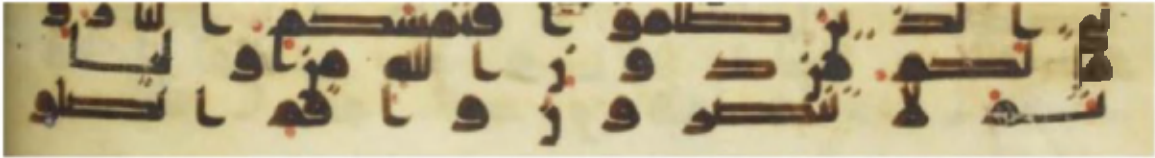
²⁴⁸ al-Fārisī, *al-ḥujja li-l-qurrā' al-sab'a*; 420, al-Ansari, *al-iqna' fi qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 410,

²⁴⁹ al-Fārisī, *al-ḥujja li-l-qurrā' al-sab'a*; 420; al-Ansari, *al-iqna' fi qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 410.

²⁵⁰ Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-ḥujja fi qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 191.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an: The Old Codices; the Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abi Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai, Alī, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qur'anic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān*; 137.



This appears not to be the work of the OS, because the hand is considerably different, with a very sharp angle at the letter bases and most notably at the base of the *'alif*. Slightly blacker ink, but close match in style and nib. This is the final five letters of اوليا ثم *awliya thumma* (“[supporters], therefore”) of Q11:113, but the stem of the *yā'* is placed at an angle rather than upright, raising some question as to whether the scribe who wrote the *TS* intended it to be read as such. Apart from that consideration, however, this correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 79r, the first two-thirds of line 4 is written over erasures, apparently the work of the OS. Even with the resultant stretching out of the *TS* to fill a gap

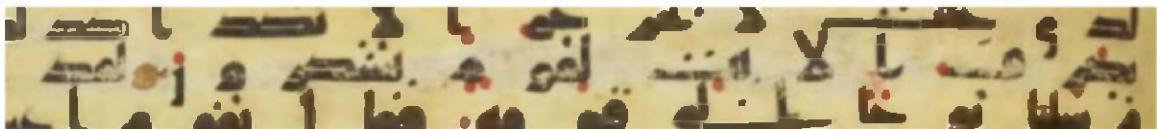


originally occupied by a longer portion, wide gaps remain; in two places it appears that *alifs* from the following line have been extended upward to diminish the visual effect of the open space. The *TS* here is واتقوا اخر *wa-attaqā' ajr^{un}* (“and they fear (i.e. Allah), a reward”) of 3:172. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On F340, 80r, the first word of line 10 has been written over an erasure. Erasure marks are clear, and this does not appear to be work of the OS. The TS is the first three letters of *تعودون* *ta'ūdūn* (“you will return”) of Q7:29. The gap between the *wāw* and the following *dāl* is filled by an ink mark that looks like a letter, not only because of an ink color that seems consistent with that of the remaining TS, but also because it is spaced perfectly as a letter would be spaced in this position, and without it the space would be far too wide. However, there is no letter intervening here in F¹⁹²⁴. I do not know how to account for this, so merely describe it as such. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 83r, there is an overwritten erasure at line 6; only the final letter of the line is not written over an erasure. This appears to be the work of the OS. The TS here is



نصرف الآية ليقوموا يشكرون لقد *naṣarifu al-'ayāti li-qawmūn yashkurūna la-qad* (“we make plain the signs to a people who give thanks / we have”) of Q7:58-59. What was first written here is not clear, but since the corrected section is preceded by the word *kadhālika* (“thus”), and the very same word occurs in the preceding verse, it is not unlikely that the OS initially continued here with a repetition of the phrase beginning with *nukhrīju* (“we bring out”) of verse 57, before realizing the mistake. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 91r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at the end of line 9 running through the beginning of 10. This is apparently the work of the OS. The TS here

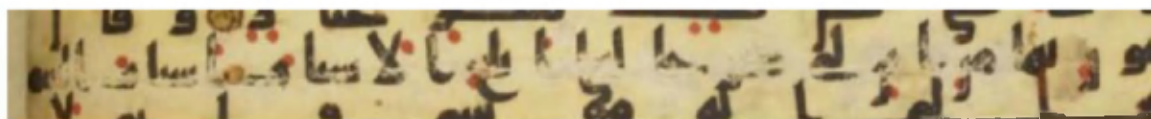


is everything but the final *ʿalif maqṣūra* of *ذَٰلِكَ هُدَىٰ ٱللَّهِ يَهْدَىٰ dhālika hudā allāhi yahdī* (“this is guidance from Allah [by which] he guides”) of Q39:23. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On F340, 93r, two words have been written over an erasure at line 10. Erasure marks can be seen. The nib, ink, and hand of the TS, the *ṣīn-rā-fā-wāw* of *ٱسْرَفُوا asrafū* (“they were excessive”) of Q39:53, seems to match page that of the rest of the page; this is likely the work of the OS. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.



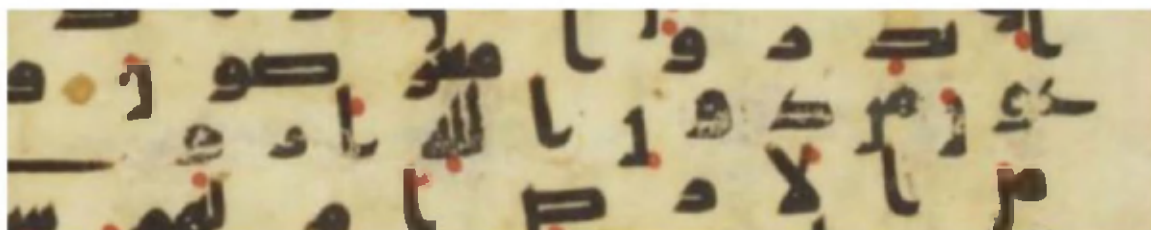
On F340 97v most of line 8, after *ʿayn-wāw-nūn*, has been written over an erasure. The TS is *يَا هَامَانَ بِنِي لِي صَرْحًا لَعَلِّي ٱبْلُغَ ٱلسَّمَٰوَاتِ yā-hāmānu bni lī ṣarḥan llaʿalī*



ablughu al-asbāba asbāba al-samāwāt (“O Haman, build me a tower that I may reach the pathways. The pathways of heaven”) of Q40:36-37, however, the final two letters, *waw-ta*, are either absent or trapped in the binding due to their far extent into the left margin. Erasure marks are clear. The TS is bunched but appears work of original scribe.

Due to my inability to confirm the presence of the final letters, and also due to fading of the TS around the *ṣād*, it is not possible to say whether this change has resulted in a CST that is at this place in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 100v, the first half of line 12 has been written over an erasure. It is unclear if this is the work of the OS; the style is not terribly dissimilar, but the nib is a



little narrower, the ink a different shade, and the hand appears considerably less confident. My opinion is that it is not the work of the OS. This is the *عون من دون الله ارو* *ūna min dān allāhi arū* (“[you call upon] apart from Allah, [show me]”) of Q46:4. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this particular point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 106r, most of line 11 after first few letters is written over an erasure. The page has been worn through at points by this erasure. The TS, the *من المنظرين الى يوم*



قال وحده *min al-munzarīna ilā yawmi al-waḡti al-ma'lūmi qāla rabbi bimā' aghwa* (“among the reprieved ones until the appointed day. He said, my lord since you [misguided me]”) of Q15:37-39, is bunched, indicating a post-production erasure and a shorter earlier text at this point, but this does appear to be the work of the OS. As far as

can be discerned from the TS that survives, this correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, 110r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the end of line



3. The TS, the *نار نور على* *nār^{un} nūr^{un} 'alā* (“a fire, light upon”) of Q24:35 (the so-called “light verse”), is written with a darker ink and in a different hand than the main text. This is a post-production correction

and almost certainly not the work of the OS. What was first written here is not clear. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 115v, there is an overwritten erasure at the end of line 7, and an

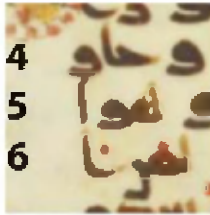


insertion at the end of line 9. Both are written with a slightly narrower nib and in a different hand than the main text of the page; the shape of the *waw* and the two *'alifs* written without tails being the main distinguishing features. The TS in the first case is

the *lām-wāw-'alif* of *قالوا* *qālū* (“they say”) of Q25:18. The inserted *'alif* at line 9 is the final letter of *نسوا* *nasū* (“they forgot”) of the same verse. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, 119r, there is a possible insertion at the end of line 5. It is the *'alif* of *الذي*

alladhī (“who”) of Q25:62, which is now the last letter of this line;



the *lām-dhāl-'alif maqsūra* is written at the start of line 6. Though it is similar in ink color and nib width, it is suspected as a post-production insertion because of its shape. All other *'alifs* on this page have a tail; this has none. The CST of this page is at this point

now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, 112v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at the end of line 9.

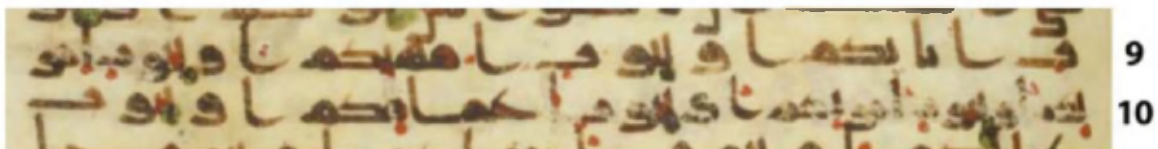


The *TS*, *عليهم 'alayhim* (“against them”) of Q24:58, written with a

different ink and possibly a different hand, is somewhat bunched. What was first written here cannot be discerned. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with

that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 113r, the end of line 9 and beginning of line 10 have been erased and overwritten. Erasure marks are clear. The *TS* is bunched, suggesting a post production change, with what was first written here being shorter than the current text.



The features of this change leave open the possibility that it is the work of the OS. The *TS* is *بيوت اخونكم او بيوت اخونكم او بيوت اعممكم او بيوت* *buyūti ikhwānikum aw buyūti akhwātikum aw buyūti a'māmikum aw buyūti* (“your brothers’ houses or your sisters’ houses or your paternal uncles’ houses or your [maternal uncles’] houses”) of Q24:61. Although, as in most cases, the *TI* cannot be discerned here, the frequent recurrence of the word *buyūti*

(“houses”) here makes an initial scribal omission of one segment of this verse likely; it would also explain the bunched nature of the corrected portion. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

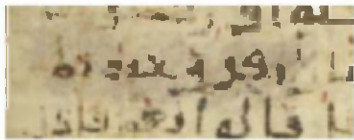
On F340, 116r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 1. Erasure



marks were clearly seen, roughly in the shape of the State of Virginia, when I looked at this page in person. The TS is the base of the final 'alif and the single tooth preceding it, of *ارسلنا* *arsalnā* (“we sent”) of

Q25:20. There is an erasure at this exact point in M^{ca}, an important correlation to note. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On F340, 121v, lines 3, there is an overwritten erasure. The TS is the *ان قد وجدنا* *an*



qad wajadnā (“that we have found”) of Q7:44. This correction appears to be the work of the OS. The TS itself is partially faded, but as much as can be discerned of its

CST is at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, 121v, 9 and 10, and contain overwritten erasures and an insertion. The

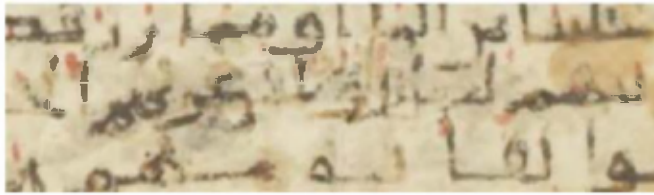


TS is *الاعراف رجالا* *al-a'rāf rijāl^{an}* (“of the ramparts to some men”) and *تستكبرون* *tastakbirūn* (“your self-exaltation”) of Q7:48. Of this, it is interesting to note that the very word from which this sura derives its name, *al-a'rāf*, appears to have been

omitted from this verse at the time of its first writing, and as corrected, it now exists as a superscript insertion in its place. These corrections could be the work of the OS, but

the curve and angle of the *lām'alif* on line 10 is not the same as other occurrences of this letter combination on this page. These corrections bring the CST at their respective points into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, 121v, there is an apparent overwritten erasure at line 13. The changes involve Q7:51. There is an erasure that has been overwritten, the TS is غرتهم *gharrathum*



(“it deludes them”). The ink here is possibly different from that of the rest of the page. As to the space in between, it is difficult to discern entirely what is going on.

This correction bring the CST at this points into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, 2r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at the middle of line 13.



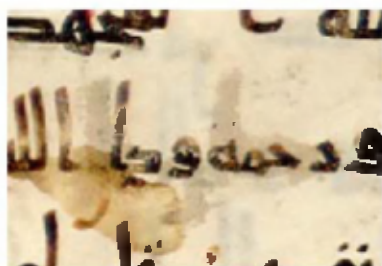
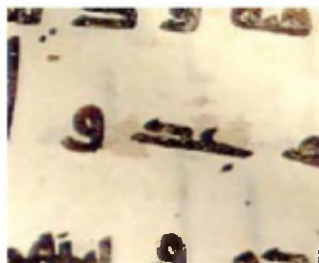
The TS is ثم *thumma* (“then”) of Q20:97. Erasure marks

are clear and include the shape of a letter with a backward tail. However, the shape of the erasure does not appear to be *fi*. The gap remaining from this

correction and preceding the TS is 1.3cm, and following

the TS there is an erasure of an *'alif* leaving a gap measuring 2.3cm. The standard gap between letters on this page is 0.4-1.1cm. The *thumma* of the TS has the appearance of being the work of the OS. There is a third small erasure with a slight backward tail 1.9cm after the erased *'alif*. This correction bring the CST at this points into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

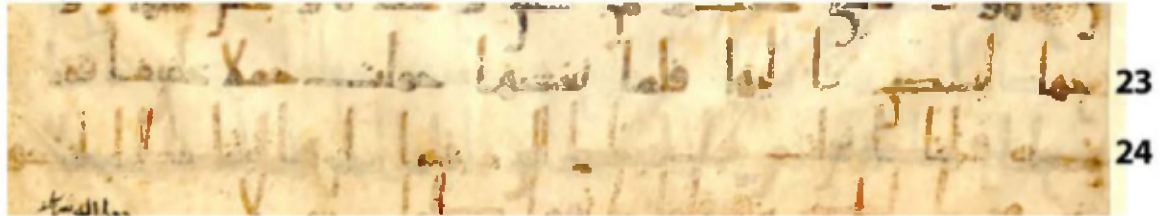
On E20, page 7r, there is an erasure near the beginning of line 4. The over-written word is عدو *‘adū* (“enemy”) of Q4:92. This is the first word of the lengthy erasure and over-writing contained in BnF 330 (discussed above) in which a case of haplography appears to have caused a portion of this verse to have been initially skipped in the writing of that manuscript. As this is the very location of the beginning of that error, we might presume that a similar situation almost happened here, but the scribe realized the mistake after only writing the first few letters of بينكم *baynakum* (“between you (pl.)”), then erased and returned to the correct spot with the word عدو. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.



On E20, page 7r, an erasure is to be found at line 16. Erasure marks are clear and the length of the correction is 3.6 cm. The *TS* here is رحمة وكان *rahmatan wa-kāna* (“mercy, and He is”) of Q4:96. It is not immediately clear what has happened at this point, though in this place it appears likely that this correction is the work of the original scribe. The erasure marks suggest two upward extending letters have been erased. It is possible the *TI* was also a case of haplography caused by parablepsis, in which the scribe at first writing skipped رحمة and went directly to كان, as both these words follow waw in today’s Qur’an, and the scribe immediately realized the mistake and corrected it before continuing on with the production of this page. The

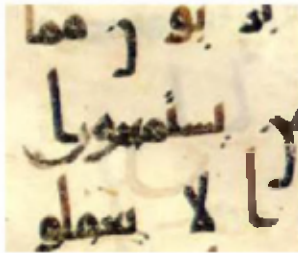
result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 10v, there is an erasure and over-writing of a little more than one full line of text, beginning with the final 4.5 cm of line 23, and continuing through the entire length of line 24, the penultimate. Erasure marks are clear in facsimile and



were confirmed by direct examination. The TS here is all but the final two letters of *khafifān fa-marrat bihi fa-lammā athqalat dda'awā allāha rabbahumā la-'in ataytanā ṣālihān la-nakūnanna* (“light, and she carried on. When she became heavy, she called on Allāh, their Lord, “if you give us a righteous [one], then we will be”) of Q7:189. It is difficult to say what could explain the erasure of this line of text. The distinctive *lām'alif* immediately preceding it would seem to preclude the possibility of haplography, as there is no other *lām'alif* in the immediate vicinity, though there is one each in both the prior and subsequent verses. This change appears to be the work of the original scribe, judging from nib width, ink color, and hand. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 13v, there is the erasure and over-writing at line 18, of the *ayin* in

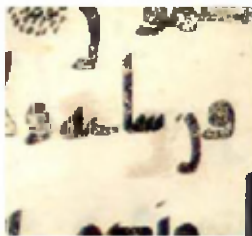


its final form, that is, its tail, of at the end of the word *yastami* (“he listens”) and its replacement with a medial

form *ayin* followed by the addition of the plural ending *waw-nun* to render the now standard *yastami’un* (“they listen”) of Q10:42. This alteration appears clearly to have

been done after the time of original writing, since the ink, hand, and nib look different from the original, and the addition of letters has been bunched together to fit the already defined space before the following *alif*. This correction is interesting for the fact that the word *man* (“he who”) which precedes this word ordinarily suggests a singular object, while the object in fact turns out to be plural in today’s standard text. The fact that the original scribe initially wrote this verse in a way that made more grammatical sense may give a clue about the development and standardization of the Qur’an as written text. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On E20, page 20v, there is an erasure that has been over-written on line 3. The



overwritten text is *sā’atan* (“an hour”) of Q7:34. This

change has the appearance of being the work of the original scribe. What was erased cannot be discerned, although part of the erasure under *sīn* hangs below the line in the same shape as the *nūn* which immediately precedes it. There are no upward

extending erasure marks. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On E20, page 23r, at line 21 there is an erasure overwritten to modify the word

فأصبحوا *fa-aṣbahū* (“they lay prostrate”) of Q7:91. The length of the

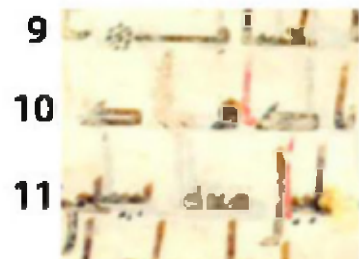


TS is 1.3cm. It is unclear what was originally in this place, but the change appears to have been made with a different, narrower pen, and the shape of the *waw* is more angular than other instances of that letter on this page. The bunching of the resultant letters (the

over-written portion being the letters *يحو*) indicates that perhaps what originally held this place was only one or two letters. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, at line 10 of page 25r there is an erasure and overwriting. It is the name

David, the first of four on this page, in similar fashion to

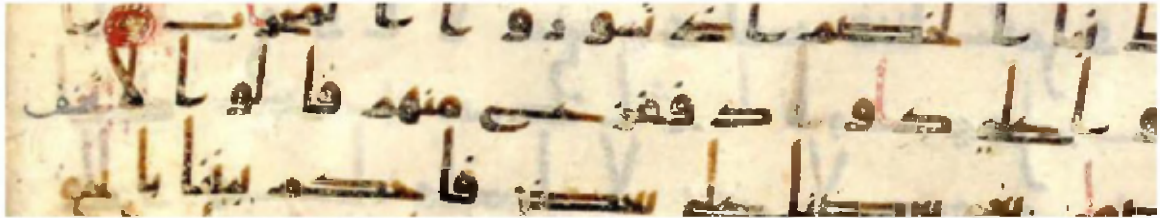


that already mentioned on 48v in Q38:17. There is an erasure and re-location of the *'alif* in red ink, leaving a 1.6 cm gap. This is part of what was an apparent systematic re-working of this particular manuscript coinciding with a larger project of revising the graphic

representation of the long vowels herein, as this is neither the first nor last change of this name. Of course, this is mentioned while other long vowel changes are not, since in this case it is a substantive change to the name itself. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

Further down on E20, page 25r, at the end of line 15, there are more instances of change. The first is another conversion of the name of David of Q38:22 from داود to داود

by the erasure of one *ʿalif* and the addition of another in red, leaving a gap of 1.6 cm between the final two letters. The second change is seen at the end of the line, where the word *تخف takhaf* (“he was afraid”) has been added with a different

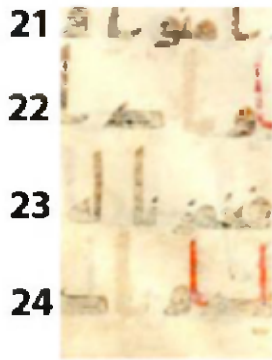


ink and, at least in the case of the final letter, a different pen and hand. The next line begins with *fāʾ*, and so this letter is duplicated in the manuscript as corrected, reading *قالوا لا تخف فإخمسان qālū lā takhaf fa-khaṣmān* (“they said, ‘do not be afraid (juss.), for we are two adversaries...’”), if the second *fāʾ* is read as a particle,²⁵³ a perfectly viable though non-standard reading. There is a shadow that could be a previous long *ʿalif* directly underneath the over-written *fāʾ* at the end of line 15. It is impossible to discern for certain from the facsimile, however, whether this represents an earlier writing on this side of the page, or simply a shadow of an upward extending letter from the opposite side, but it is perfectly positioned to allow for the possibility of an earlier writing in the form of *تخا*, which with the *fāʾ* of the following line would have represented the verb as imperfect active form I, to render “They said, ‘You are not afraid; we are two adversaries...’” - a much less sensible reading, given the context, but not impossible.²⁵⁴

On lines 22 and 24 of E20, page 25r, there are two more instances of change involving erasure and insertion, and both changing the name of David to its current

²⁵³ W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language (Volume 1)*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt, Ltd., 1999), 290-91.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 81-87.



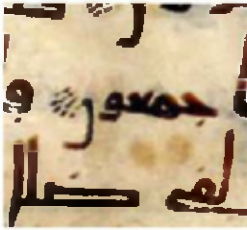
standard Arabic form. The first is yet another alteration of *داود*, this time of Q38:24, to *داويد*. This is identical in its features to the two already discussed above. Erasure marks of the previous *'alif* can be clearly seen, and a gap of 1.5 cm is left, while the new, red ink *'alif* before the *wāw* is wedged in. The second change, in similar fashion, is seen at line 24, leaving a 1.3 cm gap. Clearly the original scribe who wrote this page either was copying from another manuscript in which David's name was spelled *داويد*, or the name as it was originally written on this page reveals that the name was, at some early stage or in some locales, consistently vocalized differently from what has since become standard. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 25v, there is an erasure and over-writing. The TS is the *اولوا* of *اولوا* *اولوا*



("the possessors of") of Q38:29. The new text has been written with a narrower nib and with red ink, in contrast with the dark brown or near black ink of the rest of the page. The page is touched up with red ink elsewhere in a number of places, but in all other locations it involves only insertion of long *'alif*. In this case, what has been erased is not entirely clear but a shadow of *lām'alif* can be discerned. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 33r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the middle of line 13. It is a reworking of the last three letters of the word *ajma'ūn* (‘‘all together’’) of Q26:95. These letters are written with a finer nib, darker ink, and different hand than the rest of the page. Erasure under these letters seems certain but I have no notes from my direct examination of this particular page confirming them. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.



On E20, 36r, there is an erased *'alif* that has been overwritten in red by a forward ligature at the baseline connecting the letters previously before and after the erased letter. The *'alif* originally sat between the *jīm* and the *ta* of *ji'tukum* (‘‘I would bring to you’’) of Q26:30. The small tooth following the erasure (currently dotted as *ya*) is part of the original text on the page. This alteration would have taken the CST at this point into conformity with F¹⁹²⁴ but for the two dots underneath. It is unclear when these were added but they do not appear to be the work of the OS. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

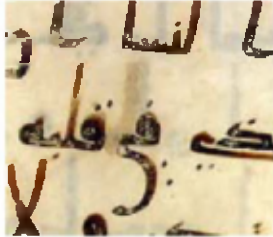


On E20, page 37v, at line 7, there is an erasure under the letter *wāw* of *wa-allāhu* (‘‘and Allāh’’) of Q28:28. The erasure marks are clear and are in the shape of *lām'alif*. As the over-written text appears to be from the original time of writing, it seems that this was an instance of correction of a slip of the pen that was caught and corrected immediately. This is the second alteration to be seen on this page; the other, an insertion, is discussed in the section on ‘‘insertions.’’ The result of this



revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

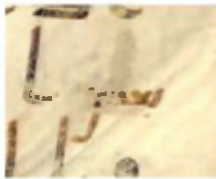
On E20, page 46r, there is an erasure of an upward extending letter, and some



portion of the baseline, on line 15. The text as it stands now is the *في قلبه* *fi-qalbihi* (“in his heart”) of Q33:32. Although it cannot be said with certainty what took place in this location, it seems likely because of the similar shape of *fā'* and *qāf* that there was a slip of the pen at the time of original writing; the scribe began to write *قلب* *qalb* (“heart”) but then recognized

his omission of *في* *fi* (“in”) before going further, erased the error, and then continued on with the writing of the rest of the page. This theory would adequately account for the fact of the erasure at the baseline between the two words, and that the spacing is not irregular. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 49r, there is an erasure at the beginning of line 20 under the word

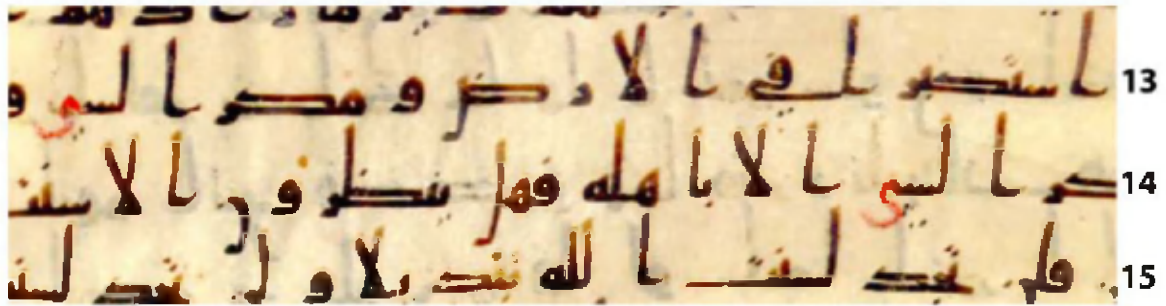


بعض *ba'din* (“some”) of Q34:31. The *TS* is here written with a narrower nib and in a different hand than the rest of the page, and judging from the spacing and the fact that the over-written word extends into the margin, it appears to replace a shorter word.

From the shape of the erasure, it can be seen that an upward extending letter was part of the earlier text. Elsewhere on this page, there is what appears to be a modification of text without clear erasure; this is discussed in the section dealing with that type of change. The result of this revision is a CST in

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

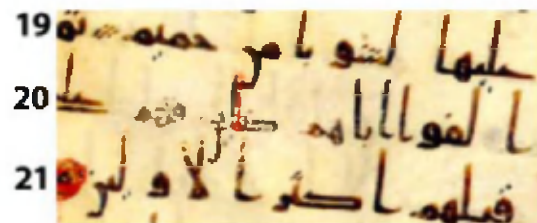
On E20, page 52r, at lines 13 and 14, there is an erasure of an upward extending letter, certainly 'alif in two instances of the word *سى say* ("evil") of the verse



Q35:43, and its replacement in red ink by *yā'*, bringing the CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. The red ink that was used for the writing of the *TS* is ubiquitous in E20 as has already been mentioned. Elsewhere on this page, there is an erasure of more than a full line of text that is not overwritten; this is discussed in the chapter on erasure. There is mention in the *qirā'āt* literature of an alternate reading involving this word as an indefinite noun, *say^{an}* ("an evil thing");²⁵⁵ either word works in the context. The result of this revision, however, is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, page 56r, on line 20, there an erasure and over-writing. The text at this

point has been revised at least twice.

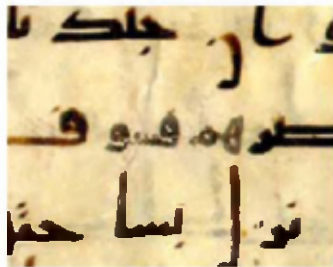


Erasure marks measure 7.3 cm. The *TS* is *اباهم ضالين فهم* ("their fathers in error / So they") of Q37:69-70. However, prior to reaching this final point, the phrase was

²⁵⁵ Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-hujja fi qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 302; Ibn Mas'ūd, *qirā'āt 'abdallah b. mas'ūd*; 144.

written without the long 'alif of خالين, the 'alif being written in after later. The text in both first and second rounds of revision is somewhat bunched into the space, suggesting that what it replaced was somewhat shorter in length. The TS is written with a different ink, in the first case dark brown and in the second red, and with a narrower nib. The result of these two rounds of revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 57v, there is an over-writing of the *hā'-mīm-fā'-sīn-wāw* of وايد، رهم



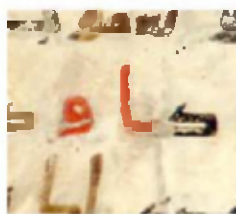
وايد، رهم *wa-absirhum fa-sawfa* ("and look at them, that they

will be") of Q37:175, following an apparent erasure. The resultant text is in conformity with the consonantal text standard today. The TS is written with a narrower nib, a different hand, and a different (lighter) ink than the rest of the page. What has here been replaced cannot be

discerned, but the bunching of the superior text suggests that it was shorter in length. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 58r, there is an erasure followed by over-writing of two letters in

red ink at line 4. The TS is the 'alif-wāw of داود *dāwūd* ("David") of

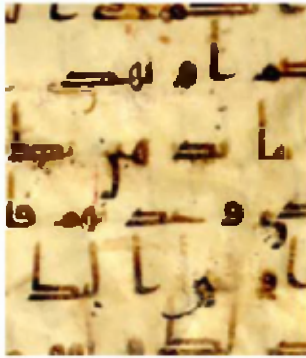


Q6:84. The result is a consonantal text in conformity with today's standard text. What was erased cannot be discerned, though it does not appear that the erasure extends high enough immediately after the initial *dāl* to allow for the possibility of an

'alif, regardless of whatever else may have been written in that location. The erasure would allow for an 'alif, however, to have existed beneath where the *wāw* is now written.

As to dimension, the spacing of the letters is right for the rest of the page; they are neither extended nor bunched, so what lay underneath was likely two or three letters. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 62v,²⁵⁶ there is an addition of the *'alif maqsūra* of تَهْدَى *tahdā* (“you



guide”) of Q43:40, where it had apparently been left out at the time of original writing. The addition is made with a very narrow nib and a different style and ink. The resultant text is in conformity with today’s standard. It is unclear from the facsimile whether there has been an actual erasure here; it appears possible that the entire word represents an over-writing in two stages, with possible

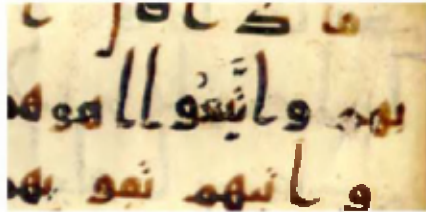
erasure marks lying underneath the length of the word. A second alteration occurs three lines below this, immediately before the word إِلَيْكَ *ilayka* (“to you”) of Q43:43.

What stands in this place in F¹⁹²⁴ is أَوْحَى *ūhiya* (“was revealed”), but although the *'alif maqsūra* appears evident in the TS, it is not completely clear whether the rest of the word was written here by the correcting scribe. Something has been erased, and the long *'alif* that appears to have originally completed what was first written has been replaced with the *'alif maqsūra* that occupies this position in F¹⁹²⁴. As an additional observation, there seems to be the distinctive double-horned shape of a medial *'ayn* jutting out above the rounded cap of the later *'alif maqsūra*, and before that the angular

²⁵⁶ This is one of the pages that I did not view in person, since it was away on exhibition at the time of my visit.

shape of a *jīm/hā/khā*. An in-person examination of the page will perhaps yield more clarity on the nature of this erasure.

On E20, page 63v, there is an erasure and over-writing near the beginning of line



10. Erasure marks can be seen, and the TS uses a darker ink and different hand. The over-written text is all but the final two letters of *واتَّبَعُوا أَمْرَهُمْ* *wa-attaba'ū ahwā'ahum* (“and they followed their desires”) of Q47:16. The *shadda* with *fatha* and the

damma, found nowhere else on this page, suggest revision at a time when written forms were more developed, though whether these were added at time of writing of these words over the erasure cannot be said for certain. What was erased cannot be discerned, except for the observation that there appear to have been no upward or downward extending letters erased. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, page 64r, there is an erasure in the shape of an *alif* under the *nūn* of

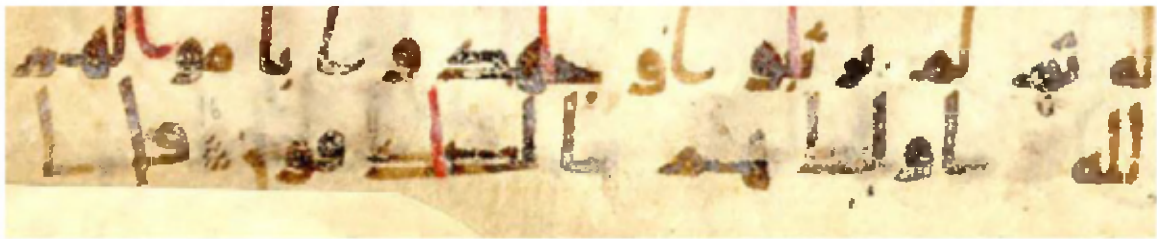


تَدْعُونَ *tud'awna* (“you are called upon”) of Q47:38. Being a one-to-one letter change, spacing alone does not give a clue as to whether this modification was at the time of original writing or later. The *nūn* written over the erasure is of similar color (light brown) ink to the main text, but was made with a slightly narrower nib, and a less confident hand than the other *nūns* on the page, giving some evidence that this alteration was made at some point after original production of this page. The verse is

grammatically correct as it stands in today's standard, with the *nūn* in this location,

representing the sound plural “[they] are called upon,” but it would also be grammatically correct in the form in which it appears to have been originally written on this page with *ʿalif* (the inflectional plural ending) in this location, “[they] are called upon.”²⁵⁷ The result of this revision, however, is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, page 66r, there is an apparent erasure and over-writing. The TS represents two rounds of revision; in final form it is اوليك هم الصادقون اولاك هم الصادقون قل ا اولايكا هم الـصادقون قل ا (“they are the truthful ones. Say”) of Q:49:15-16. The second



revision is the red *ʿalif* in *al-sādiqūn* that is represented in F¹⁹²⁴ by a dagger *ʿalif*. The revised portion is in a similar color ink and nib width but with a different, more angular hand as can be seen most clearly in the tail of the *ʿalifs*, which is squared off rather than curved as elsewhere on the page. Erasure marks can be seen underneath the length of this text, but the marks are indistinct and appear to give little clue as to what was removed. But for the inserted red *ʿalif* as mentioned above, this correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

²⁵⁷ W. M. Thackston, *An Introduction to Koranic & Classical Arabic* (Bethesda: Ibex Publishers, 2000), 20-21.

On E20, page 68v, there is an erasure of an *'alif* at line 9, over which is written the

wāw at the beginning of the phrase *وما التاهم من عملهم*



من شئ (“and we shall not deprive them of their work

in any way”) of Q52:21. Erasure marks can be seen.

Taken as an interrogative, the verse as apparently originally written would make grammatical sense:

“Shall we not deprive them...” The long *'alif* in the

middle of *التاهم*, represented in F¹⁹²⁴ by a dagger *'alif*, was also added later in red ink. It

is possible that the erasure and over-writing was done by the OS, since nib width, style,

and ink are similar to that of the rest of the page. On this the matter of spacing gives no

clue, since it is a single letter substitution. The second erasure is another *'alif*, this time

between *لغو* *laghū* (“talk”) and the word *فيها* *fihā* (“in it”) of Q52:23. Erasure marks can be

seen on the page, and a gap remains; this was clearly an alteration that took place at

some time after the line was written. With the *'alif* in place here, the word *laghū* changes

from an indefinite noun into a third person plural verb, but while this is viable as a

word, it does not work grammatically as it forces the separation of the phrase “They

will exchange therein a cup” from what follows, and leaves the indefinite noun at the

end of the verse without a predicate. Therefore, it is not immediately clear why the *'alif*

existed in this location.

On E20, page 72v, an *alif* is erased in Q55:78, converting *لأ* to *ذئ* *dhī* (“possessor

of”). Erasure marks are clear. The resultant *'alif maqsūra* was

written in red ink. Elsewhere on the page are several instances

of additions in red ink of long *'alifs*, but this is the only one

involving an erasure, which is necessary in such a conversion.



The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. This word in 55:78 was corrected in the same way in F331, 49v.

On E20, page 74v,²⁵⁸ there is an erasure that is over-written with red ink. The TS



is the *جنت* *jannatu* ("garden") of Q56:89. Erasure marks can be seen, and this correction is somewhat more messy than most; the appearance is almost one of more than one instance of correction. What has been erased cannot be discerned,

although a shadow of an upward extending letter can be seen. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

Two lines down on the same page, page 74r of E20, there is another erasure and

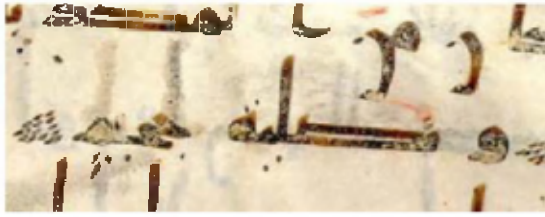


over-writing. The new text is *من* *min* ("from") of Q56:93. In this case it appears quite possible that what was originally written in this spot was the subsequent word, *حميم* *hamīm* ("hot water"), this feature combined with the fact that the ink, pen, and hand of the new text, and the fact that the next line begins with the

word *hamīm*, suggest that this was a correction made by the original scribe at the time of initial production of this page. The verse would make grammatical sense with or without the *min*, however, this correction results in is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

²⁵⁸ This page was presented to me by the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in a sleeve labeled page 83, however it has page 74 written on it and the latter appears to be its correct folio number. Presumably, page 83 was misplaced in the sleeve for page 74; however this could not be confirmed since that folio was out on exhibition at the time of my visit.

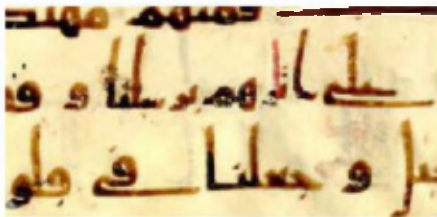
On E20, 74r, on the following line there is yet another erasure and over-writing.



The TS is the entirety of Q56:94: *وتصلية جحيم wa-taṣliyatū jahīm* (“and burn in hell”). What has been erased cannot be discerned. There are clear indications of at least two upward extending letters

toward the end, but none of the other verses in proximity to this one have two upward extenders in such a configuration, so this does not appear to be a case of haplography. Nib width, ink color, and hand all suggest that this change was the work of the original scribe. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

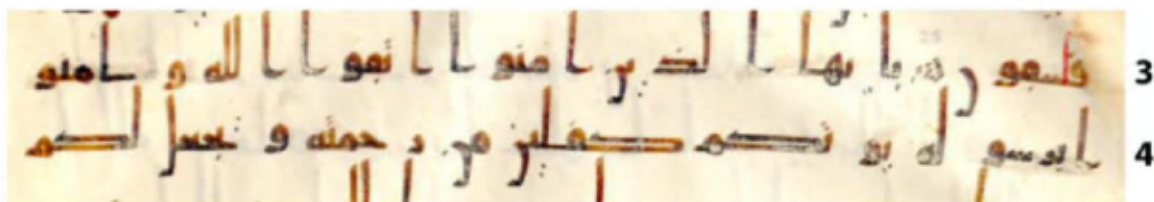
On E20, page 75v, there has been some sort of alteration of the text of Q57:27.



The altered portion is *اثرهم يرسلنا athārhim bi-rusulnā* (“in the wake of our Messengers”). Although the resultant text has clearly been modified in some way, the nature of this alteration is not clear. Erasure of some sort is

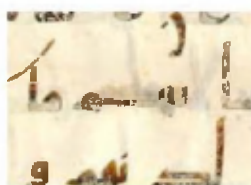
presumed but the marks are not so clear from the facsimile, so direct observation would be required to confirm this. The text is slightly more bunched than the generally compact hand of the rest of the page, and the hand is somewhat less fluid but not altogether different. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On the same page, 75v of E20, there are other erasures overwritten on lines 3 and 4. There is an erasure under *يا ايها ya-ayyuhā* (“Oh you who”), another under all but the final two letters of *امنوا برسو amanū bi-rasūlihi* (“believe in his



messenger”), and a third erasure is under the *ta-waw* of *yū'tikum* (“[that] he [will] show you (pl.)”) of Q57:28. That the *TS* is in a different hand is once again most clearly seen by the sharp angular shape of the base of the *'alifs*, which elsewhere on the page are curved. The result of these revisions is a *CST* in conformity at these points with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, 76r, the final three letters of *nisā'ihim* (“their women”) of Q58:2



are written over an erasure. Nib width, ink color, and hand suggest this was a correction made by the first scribe at or near the time of original writing. The text of what has been replaced here cannot be discerned. The result of this revision is a *CST* in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

Finally, on the same page, there is another instance of change at line 15. The *TS*



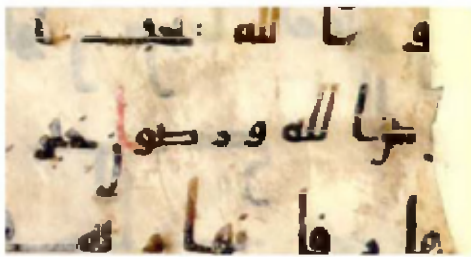
is *min al-qawli wazūr* (“a lie”) of Q58:2.

Erasure is clear. What has been erased cannot be discerned, but the erased text appears to have had only one upward extending letter (which also may have extended downward) near the beginning of this

section. The over-written text is somewhat bunched, though not terribly so, suggesting that what existed earlier may have been shorter in length. The nib width of the corrected text is slightly narrower than that used on the rest of the page, and the corrected text is somewhat bunched; both suggest that the change was made after the

time of original writing. However, the hand and ink color appear to be that of the original scribe, so I judge this to have been a change made shortly after the time of original writing. The T5 is at this point in conformity with F¹⁹²⁴. There is one additional instance of change on this page, an insertion without erasure; this has been discussed in the chapter on insertions.

On E20, 77v, there is an erasure that is overwritten at line 10. This correction is



just over 7 cm in length. The over-written

portion on the page is *من الله ورضوانه* *min allāh*

wa-riḍwānin (“of Allah and good pleasure”) of

Q9:109, with the *ʿalif* of the final word in red.

The line prior ends with the word *على*, so the

word *تقوى* would also be on the current line though the edge of the page has been lost at

this point. The T5 here is in a different hand, a narrower nib, and a darker ink than the

rest of the page. Erasure marks can be seen. What was erased cannot be discerned.

Erasure and overwriting of this section of text exists in two other manuscripts at this

verse, F328 and F330, as mentioned already. The result of this revision is a CST in

conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. Variant readings of *asasa bunyānahu* (“he

finds his building”) and *ḥuruf*, words of this verse that in the first case precede this

text and in the second follow it, are mentioned in al-Ansarī,²⁵⁹ in Khalawayhi,²⁶⁰ the

word *anḥār* (“rivers”), which also follows this section, in Ibn Masʿūd,²⁶¹ the word *huruf*

²⁵⁹ al-Ansari, *al-iqnaʿ fi qirāʾāt al-sabʿa*: 407.

²⁶⁰ Ibn Khalawayhi, *al-hujja fi qirāʾāt al-sabʿa*: 337-39.

²⁶¹ Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾan: The Old Codices; the Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abi Dāwūd Together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubai, Alī, Ibn Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qurʾanic Authorities which Present a Type of Text Anterior to that of the Canonical Text of Uthmān*: 45.

again in al-Isfahani,²⁶² as well as in al-Wāsiṭī.²⁶³ There is, however, no mention in the *qirā'āt* literature of any issue involving any portion of the verse that has here been corrected.

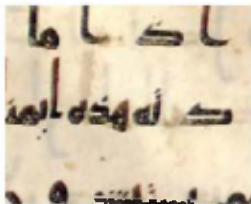
On E20, page 80r, there is an erasure and over-writing near the middle of line 6.



Abrasion marks can be clearly seen in facsimile. The over-written text is the *يوم التقى yawm-al-taqā* (“the day of meeting”) of Q3:166. The correction was made with a smaller nib than the original, but the ink is very similar in color and consistency to that of the rest of the page.

The writing style is also similar, though the scale is a bit smaller and in particular upward extenders are nearly a third shorter. What was erased cannot be discerned. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, 16v,²⁶⁴ there is an erasure involving the words *زادته هذه zādathu hadhihi*



(“this increased his”) of Q9:124. At the end of this correction, an *'alif* has been inserted in brown ink, with a narrower nib and a different hand with a sharp angle at the base. Erasure marks are clear after the *dāl* and after the *dhāl*. In the latter case the erased letter was an upward extender, most likely an *'alif*, and it

appears to have been erased at or near the time of original writing, since the pen, ink, and hand match that of the rest of the page. In the former case, it is not easy to guess

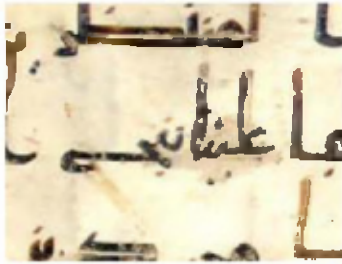
²⁶² al-Isfahani, *al-mabsut fī al-qirā'āt al-a'imma al-'ashara*; 196,

²⁶³ al-Wāsiṭī, *al-kanz fī al-qirā'āt al-'ashar*; 169.

²⁶⁴ Listed as page 23v in its electronic facsimile, by a process of elimination I presume its actual folio number to be 16v. As folio 16 was away on exhibition at the time of my visit, I was unable to confirm this presumption.

what was erased. This correction brings the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On E20, page 28r,²⁶⁵ there is an erasure and over-writing of the words علينا ننج

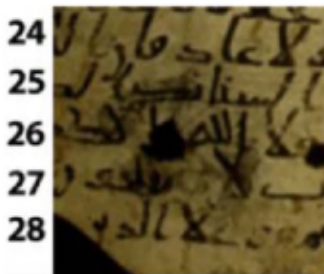


alaynā nunji (“upon us that we should deliver”) of Q10:103. In this case, the top portions of the two upward ascenders, viz. *lām* and *'alif*, have not been erased but remain from the time of original writing. However, it appears that the baseline of the text has been entirely reworked. The nib used in writing the TS is much

narrower, and the ink is clearly different. The resultant text is also somewhat bunched when compared with the rest of the page, although this feature is mitigated slightly by the fact that the modification was done with such a narrow pen. What has been erased cannot here be discerned. The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. There are recorded variant readings of *nunji al-mū'minīn*,²⁶⁶ as well as the earlier instance of *nunji* in this verse.²⁶⁷

On 027004B.BMP, on lines 25-27, there is what appears to have been a reworking

of the text. The affected text is اللسنتكم *ulsinatukum*



(“tongues”) of Q16:116, which is written here اللسناتكم.

There is no dagger *'alif* in the text today at that point. It is not clear what could be the reason for its writing in this way here, unless the *'alif-lām* were taken as the definite

²⁶⁵ This page was not seen in person, as it was out on exhibition during my visit.

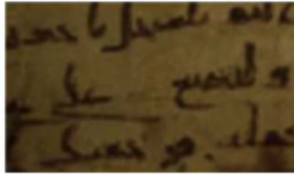
²⁶⁶ al-Ansari, *al-iqna' fī qirā'āt al-sab'a*; 409.

²⁶⁷ al-Fārisī, *al-ḥujja li-l-qurrā' al-sab'a*.

article and the word read *al-sanā* “the splendor,” but this would not seem to fit in the context. This correction leaves the CST at this point out of conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On 029006B.BMP, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the bottom

of the page. This is between the *ليتصنع* *li-tuṣna’a* (“in order to

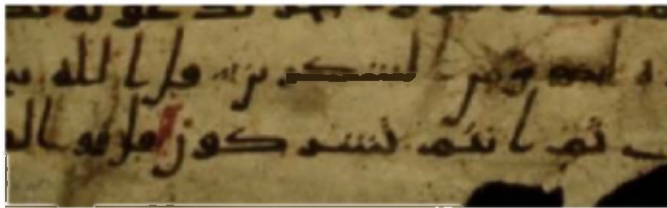


be reared”) and *على* *‘alā* (“before”) of Q20:39. A gap remains.

The result of this revision is a CST in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point

was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

On 032009C.BMP, there are what appear to be two erasures that have been



overwritten at lines 27 and 28,

the final two lines of the page.

The TS in the first case is itself all but the final *nūn* of *لنكون من*

lanakūnanna min (“then we will

be among”) of Q6:63. The TS here is indistinct and but it appears at least possible that

the correcting scribe wrote all of the CST as it exists in F¹⁰²⁴. The TS in the latter case is

the *qāf-lām-hā-wāw-alif* of *قل هو القادر* *qul huwa al-qādir* (“say: he is the powerful one”) of

Q6:64. This correction appears to also result in a CST that is in conformity with that of

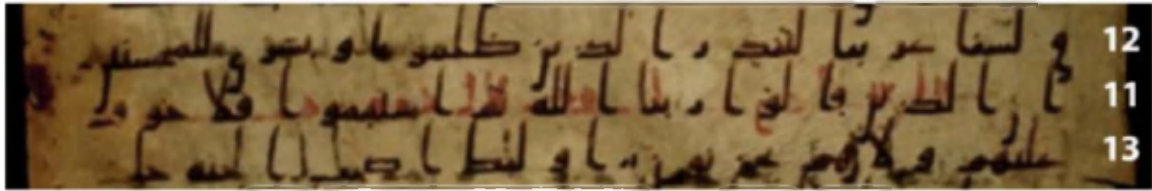
F¹⁹²⁴.

On 036013B.BMP, line 11, there is an possible overwritten erasure. The TS is *الذين*

اللذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم استقاموا *alladhīna qālū rabbunā allahu thumma astaqāmū* (“those who say our

lord is Allah and then make themselves upright”) of Q46:13. I judge this a possible

erasure based upon a shadow of other letters underlying the current text. It is possible



that the shadow is from the reverse side of the page or transferred ink from the opposing page in the codex. However, the shape of the letter shadows suggests this might not to be the case, but that a previous text on this line has been replaced with the current one. The CST as it now stands here is in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 038015B.BMP there is an apparent erasure and overwriting at line 15. The TS

is لهم على ذنب فاخاف *lahum*



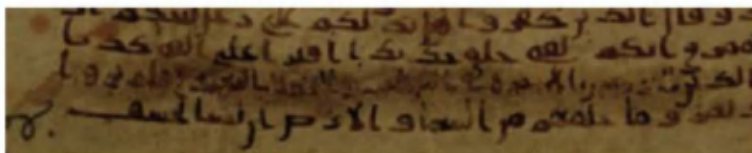
'alayya dhanb^{un} fa-akhāfu

("they accuse me of
guilt, so I fear") of

Q26:14. Erasure marks appear to be present, but the TS is indistinct in this location. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 045022B.BMP, there is an erasure and overwriting of most of the penultimate line of the page. Erasure marks can be clearly seen. The TS, the لا يؤمنون بالآخرة في العذاب

لَا وَالضَّالِّ الْبَعِيدِ أَقْلَمُ يَرَوْنَ



yū'minūna bi-l-akhirati fi

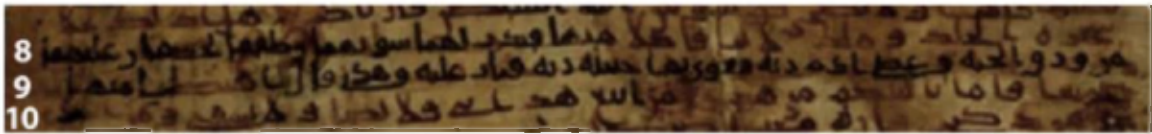
al-'adhābi wa-al-dalāli al-

ba'īd a-fa-lam yaraū ("the

[who] don't believe in the hereafter will be in punishment and far in error. Have they not looked") of Q34:8-9, appears to be written in a similar ink and nib width to the

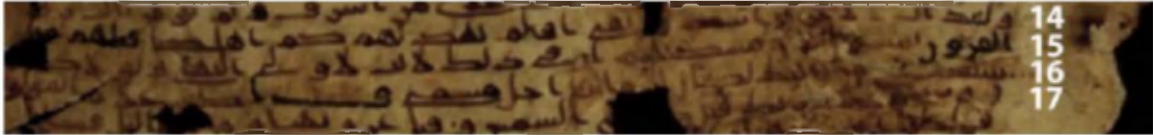
script of the rest of the page. It is difficult to say much about the TS, including the degree to which it conforms with F¹⁹²⁴, since the TS itself is now not completely visible but has worn off the page in many places.

On 046023B.BMP, there is an erasure and overwriting of approximately one and a half lines of text, on lines 8 and 9. The TS is the *منها فبیت لهما سوتهما وطفقا یخصفان علیهما* *minhā fa-badat* من ورق الجنة وعصی ادم ربه فغوی ثم اجتبیه ربه فتاب علیه وهدی قال



lahumā saw'atuhumā watafiqā yakhsifāni 'alayhimā min waraqi al-jannati wa-'asā adamu rabbahu fa-ghawā thumma ajtabahu rabbuhu fa-tāba 'alayhi wa-hadā qāla (“from it, then their shameful parts became clear to them and they fastened on themselves the leaves of paradise, and Adam disobeyed his lord and so he went astray. Then his lord favored him, and he relented towards him, and guided [him]. He said”) of Q20:121-123. It is written in a very similar hand, and similar nib width, though with darker ink. It seems likely that this change was made by the original scribe, but not completely certain, since the shape of some of the letters (*rā'*, *'alif*) is somewhat different. The replaced text is slightly bunched, suggesting that what was written originally was shorter than the current text.

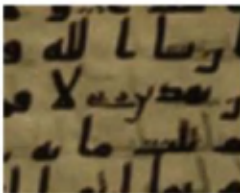
Later on the same page, 046023B.BMP, there are two additional instances of erasure and over-writing. The first is seen at the end of line 14 and beginning of line 15. The TS here is *قبلاهم من القرون* *qablahum min al-qurūn* (“before them among the generations”) of Q20:128. In character, this change appears similar



to the replaced text on lines 8 and 9. Erasure marks are not easily seen in facsimile. The second erasure and over-writing is two-thirds of the way through line 16. The TS here is the *fā'*-*alif* of فاصبر *fa-aṣbir* (“so bear”) of Q20:130. At this location erasure marks can be observed. The resultant text involves a greatly elongated baseline, suggesting that a portion of text, possibly a word, was here removed. In both of these cases, it seems likely that the changes were made close to the time of original production of this manuscript, possibly by the original scribe.

On 049026B.BMP, there is what appears to be an erasure and over-writing, at

line 23. The TS, the *yā'*-*nūn*-*rā'*-*bā'*-*alif maqsūra* of يهتدين ربي



yahdini rabbī (“my lord will guide me”) of Q18:24, is written with

a very narrow nib and in a smaller scale than the main script of

the rest of the page, though the hand is not terribly dissimilar. It

is bunched into the space, indicating that it replaced something

shorter. The resultant CST is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On 050030B.BMP, there is a rather conspicuous case of erasure and over-writing.

The TS is written in a darker ink than that of the rest of the page, and erasure marks

can be seen. The new text is the

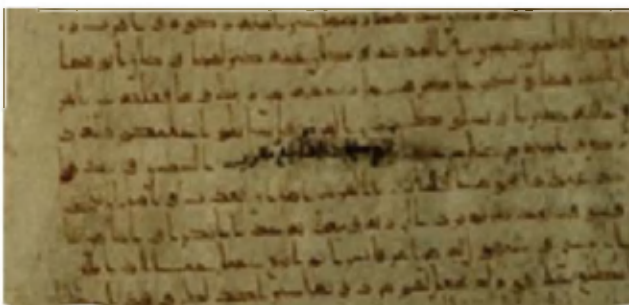
شى سببها فاتبع سببها حتى اذا بلغ مغرب

shay sababā fa-atba'a ḥatta idhā

balagha maghriba (“thing a way /

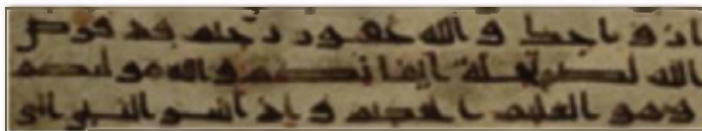
so he followed a way / until when

he reached the setting”) of



Q18:84-86. The subject here is Dhu-l-Qarnayn. The relatively low resolution of this image does not permit a very detailed analysis of the script or a clear analysis of the hand of the altered portion, except to say that the rest of the page is written in a very careful hand with even spacing and extremely straight and even lines of text, while the altered portion, which rises in a slight arc above the main line, gives the impression of a very different personality and level of attention to such details. There is mention in the literature of two variant readings at verse 85, *fa-atba'a* and *thumma atba'a*.²⁶⁸ It is within the realm of possibility that this correction could have been tied to this issue, although it is difficult to imagine why so much text would have needed correction to address an issue at one or two words. As to present conformity with the CST of F¹⁹²⁴, it is not really possible to make such a judgment at this point in time.

On 055037B.BMP, there is an erasure and over-writing. The TS is the *تحلة ايمانكم و*



tahillat aymānikum wa (“the
absolution of your oaths”) of
Q66:2. The nib width, ink
color, and style of the TS

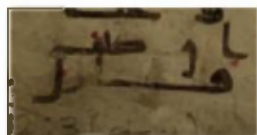
appears consistent with that of the rest of the page, suggesting an alteration made by the original scribe at or near the time of original production. The one exception to this is the medial *ḥā*, which has no curve, is written at a slightly steeper angle, and extends below the line, an orthography not seen in the medial *ḥā* elsewhere on this page. Furthermore, this letter appears somewhat darker. The possibility of a second and non-contemporaneous instance of correction at this point thus seems a possibility. With the exception of the medial long *ʿalif* (which is today written as a dagger alif only), the CST

²⁶⁸ al-Ansari, *al-Iqnaʿ fī qirāʾāt al-sabʿa*; 423.

of the TS is in conformity at this point on the page with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 070053C.BMP, there is an erasure that has been overwritten. The TS is the

word قال *qāla* (“he said”) of Q12:4. Erasure marks seem evident



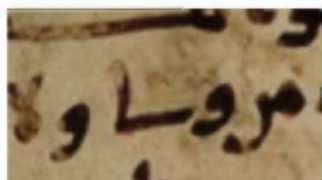
from the facsimile, including what appears to have been a final *lām* midway along the stretched baseline ligature between the

qāf and the *'alif* of the TS. The purpose of this correction is not

clear. It is possibly the work of the OS, but this cannot be said for certain. The resultant CST of the page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

On 071054B.BMP, there is what appears to be an erasure overwritten. The TS is

ostensibly the *wāw-lām-'alif* (?) of *من ولي ولا* *min walīyyin* (“a



guide”) of Q13:37, but hardly looks like it could be this consonantal formation. It looks much more like *من وا ولا*,

but this would be nonsensical, and why a page would have

been corrected to read this way is not at all clear. Yet, the way in which this text was applied to the page was not tentative but with apparent great confidence, and so the reason and meaning must remain unclear for now.

On 073056C.BMP, there is an erasure that has been overwritten. The TS is the *إن*

alā inna (“is not surely”) of Q24:64. Erasure marks seem



evident from the facsimile, and evidence of the TI in the form of small amounts of remaining ink can still be seen.

This looks like the work of the OS. The resultant CST of

the page at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁰²⁴.

On 118116B.BMP, there is an overwriting that probably lies over an erasure near



the middle of line 9. That the text has been revisited is clear, but erasure marks cannot be clearly seen in the photograph. The TS, the *لتخرج* *li-takhrij* (“in order that you bring out”) of Q14:1, seems to be altered in some way with

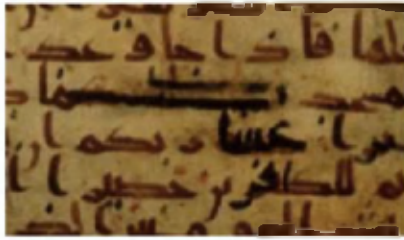
darker ink. The result is that the first two letters are raised above the baseline. This is not an inappropriate or unusual way to write this word, but it is different from the style of the page and represents the only instance on this this page of 19 lines where any letter is elevated above the baseline. This formation of the word would suggest a space issue, as the word would be of slightly greater length if written in the prevailing style. The nib used appears similar to the original nib, and apart from the above mentioned positioning of the letters, the hand could be that of the original scribe. Erasure marks cannot be discerned from the photograph, so it is possible that this is an overwriting



without erasure. The main part of the final *jīm* is faded out, and the tail of that letter takes a rather unusual shape. It is possible that the original scribe realized a mistake after the page was written and had to slightly squeeze in the correct text. Higher on the page (line 5), there is what appears to be another instance of

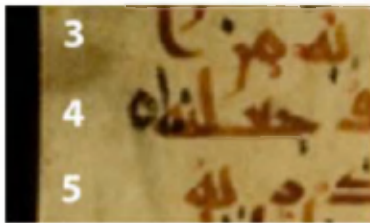
change, as evidenced by a significantly narrower nib; it is the word *لن* *li-man* (“to whom”) of Q13:42. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

On 119120B.BMP, there is what appears to be at least one instance of erasure and



over-writing. The affected word is the *kamā* (‘‘like’’) of Q17:7. The over-written *kāf* is extended over a wide space, suggesting that what it replaced was longer. The *kāf* is written in darker ink and with a wider nib, and its top tail stands vertical rather

than at the 45 degree angle of the other *kāfs* on this page. Elsewhere on the same page,



there is a change at the end of line 4, at which point it

appears that the long *‘alif* was added to the *جعلناه* of

Q17:2. One line above this, there is an alteration

involving *الحرام الى المسجد al-harāmi ilā al-masjid*

(‘‘sacred, to the mosque’’) of Q17:1. It is unclear from

the photograph whether there has been an erasure here. The over-written letters are

the final *mīm* of the first word, the

word *الى* itself, and the final *dāl*. In

particular, the correction of *الى*,

even after this change, is virtually

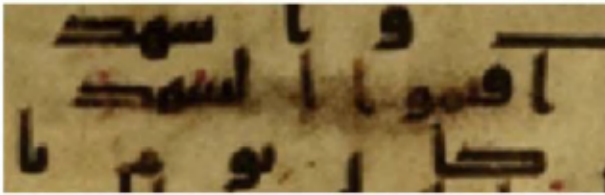
illegible. It does appear that what

was, and still is, underneath, includes an initial *lām*, possibly the particle *lām*. No

mention of an issue at these particular points was found in the *qirā‘āt* literature.



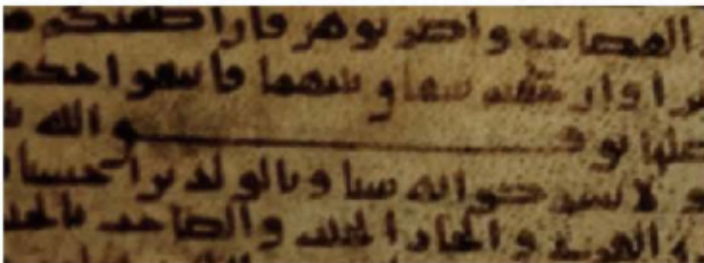
On 122129B.BMP, there is what appears to be a correction at the second line. The



affected text is اقيموا الشهادة *aqimū al-shahada* (“they give witness”) of Q65:2. The ink of the changed text appears similar to that of the rest of the page, as does the hand, though

the nib width may be slightly smaller. It is possible that this change was made close to the time of original writing. What lay underneath cannot be discerned. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

In 133174B.BMP, there is a lengthy extension of the baseline between the *fāʾ* and



qāf of يوفق *yuwaffiq* (“he will reconcile”) of Q4:35, a verse here dealing with Allah’s response to a desire for reconciliation between a husband and wife after

arbitration by relatives. The extension stands out starkly in the very middle of the page, which nowhere else departs from the standard spacing as it does here. While it is not possible to make a certain judgment concerning erasure by looking at the photograph, there is a shadow particularly in the latter half of this section. I feel certain that direct examination of the manuscript will reveal that an erasure and over-writing has here taken place. If so, this change would have been after original production of the manuscript, and would have removed some portion of text. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirāʾāt* literature.

In 133175B.BMP, there is an instance of erasure and over-writing involving more than two full lines of text. The changed section includes most of Q4:89 and more than



half of 4:90. Erasure marks are clear, and the resultant text (itself now faded in many places) is bunched, suggesting that what was replaced was shorter than the section as it now stands. The over-written text is:

تَتَّخِذُوا مِنْهُمْ أَولِيَاءَ حَتَّىٰ يهَاجِرُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَإِن تَوَلَّوْا فَجَنِّدُوهُمْ وَأَقْتُلُوهُمْ حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمَهُمْ وَلَا
تَتَّخِذُوا مِنْهُمْ وِثْيًا وَلَا نُصِيرًا إِلَّا الَّذِينَ يهَاجِرُونَ إِلَىٰ قَوْمٍ بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ مِيثَاقٌ أَوْ جَاءُوكُمْ حَصِرَتْ
صُدُورُهُمْ أَن يَقْتُلُوكُمْ أَوْ يَقْتُلُوا قَوْمَهُمْ وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَسَلَطَهُمْ

[do not] ... take any companions from them, until they emigrate in the Way of Allah. Then should they turn back, seize them and kill them wherever you find them; and do not take from them any companion or supporter; except for those who seek refuge with a people with whom you are bound by a compact, or come to you because their hearts forbid them to fight you or fight their own people. Had Allah wished, he would have made them dominate you ...²⁶⁹

Much of even the TS is now faded, making it difficult to say whether the resultant CST in this case is completely in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴ or not. However, from that portion of the TS which remains intact, it does appear that this alteration was made by the original scribe since the hand appears identical with that of the rest of the page. One feature of the replaced portion is the recurrence of the phrase *لَا تَتَّخِذُوا مِنْهُمْ* *tattakhadhū minhum* (“do not take from them [as]”) following the negative *lā*, and the

²⁶⁹ Fakhry, *An Interpretation of the Qur'an: English translation of the meanings a bilingual edition*; 94.

first instance of this word marks the beginning of this replaced portion of text. It seems clear that what happened here is a case of homoioarcton due to parablepsis: the scribe, after writing the first *lā tattakhadhū minhum* accidentally resumed the writing after the second instance of *lā tattakhadhū minhum*, and, having realized the mistake after completion of the page, had to erase all the way back to the beginning of the first instance of *tattakhadhū*, which had been at the beginning of a new line, and in the interest of space, place this word extending into the margin of the line above and then proceeded to insert the corrected (longer) portion into the remaining space. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

In 133176B.BMP, there is an extension of the space between 'ayn and *fā* of



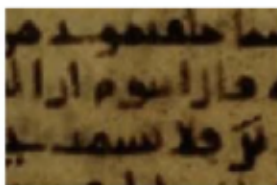
استضعفوني

astadafūnī

("deemed
me weak")

of Q7:150. In addition to the extension, the formation of the final two letters does not suggest a *nūn-yā'*, and furthermore there appears to be an erasure in the middle of the

following word. Erasure marks are not evident from the



photograph underneath the long baseline extension, but I

suspect that direct examination will reveal such since the

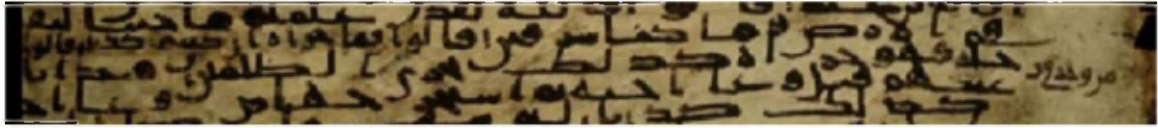
extension is so anomalous on this page. This page contains

other untouched variations, such as *ابنوم* instead of today's

standard *أَبْنُ أُمَّ*, *abna'umma*, of Q7:150. No mention of an issue at these points was found

in the *qirā'āt* literature.

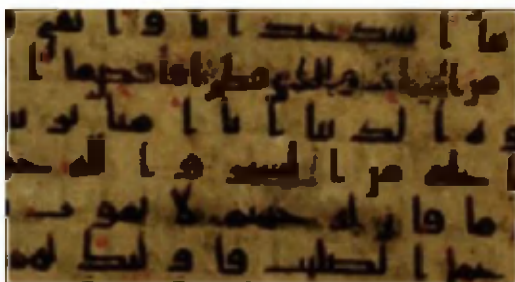
In 140205B.BMP, there is an erasure and over-writing of about one-half of one line of text. The TS here is *لو فما جزوه ان كنتم كذابين قالوا جزوه من وجد في ر* (“[they said] ‘what is the penalty of it, if you are liars?’ They said, ‘the penalty of it is that in



whoever's [bag] is found”) of Q12:74-75. The TS is bunched, and part of it is written into the margin, indicating that what it replaced was shorter in length. The hand of the replaced text appears to be that of the original scribe, with the exception of the final few words, which are written in the margin on the following line; the ink color in this case is lighter, and the hand is not severely different but is enough so that it seems a possibility that this is the work of someone other than the original scribe. Is this a case of two instances of revision? The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā'āt* literature.

In 128157B.BMP, there is a re-working of *البيّنات والذی فطرنا فاقض* *albayyināt wa-*

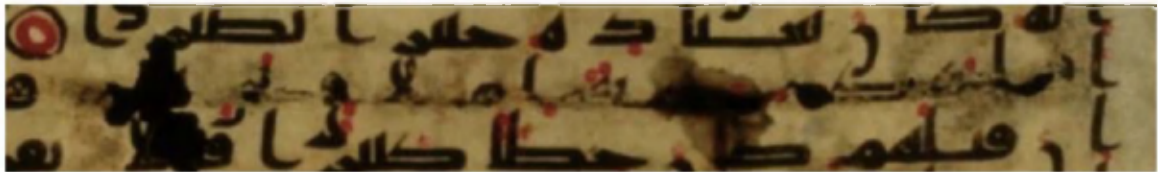
lladhī faṭaranā fa-aqḍi (“the proofs of him who created us so decide”) of Q20:72, apparently over an erasure. The resultant consonantal skeletal text at this location is in conformity with today's standard, except for the long *'alif* of the first word,



which is only a dagger *'alif* in F¹⁹²⁴. What was previously written in this space is unclear, but the TS is here slightly bunched suggesting that what it replaced may have been a little shorter. Three lines down from this, there is another possible instance of erasure and over-writing; it affects the words *فان له جهنم لا* *fa-inna lahu jahannam lā* (“surely to

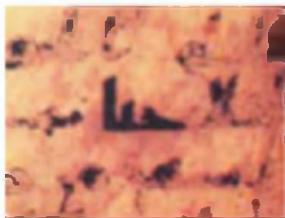
him is hell, not”) of verse 74. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature.

In 132171C.BMP, there is a section of text that appears to have been erased and over-written. It is *اولدكم خشية املق نحن نرزقهم* *awlādakum khashyata imlāqⁿ nnaḥnu*



narzuqhum (“your children in fear of poverty; we will provide for them”) of Q17:31. What preceded the over-written text at this point cannot be discerned. The parchment at this line is worn through, possibly from the weakening of the page by the abrasion of the erasure. No mention of an issue at this point was found in the *qirā’āt* literature. It is notable that this correction involves the word *rizq*, as several other corrections involving this word have already been noted.

On M^{san}, page 9v, there is an erasure and over-writing. Erasure marks can be seen. The TS is the *جانا* *janā* of *جاناح* *junāḥ* (“offense”) of Q2:240.



The correction has been made with a similar width nib, but a darker ink and in a different hand. The final letter of the word, which is part of the original text on the page, has what appears to be a short upward tooth at the beginning of it.

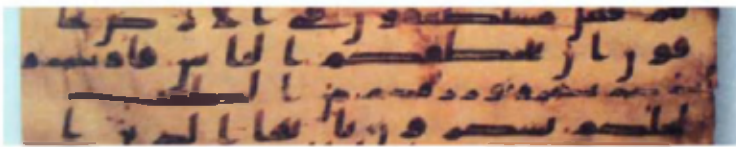
There is a possibility that the earlier text was written without the medial *’alif*, though the spacing would seem to be too wide if this had been the case. There is a recorded variant of this word: *fa-in kharajna fa-lā junāḥ ’alayhin* (“so if they [f.] go out, then there is no impurity upon them [f.]”).²⁷⁰ This contrasts with the the transition from the third

²⁷⁰ Ibn Mas’ūd, *qirā’āt ’abdallah b. mas’ūd*: 93.

person plural to the second plural that occurs in F¹⁰²⁴: “so if they [f.] go out, then there is no impurity upon you [pl.]” Although the variant reading coincides with the overwriting in this manuscript, it does not appear to be relevant as a motive for the scribal change since the word *jundh* has the same form in both readings. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁰²⁴.

On M⁵⁰¹, page 81v, at lines 13 and 14, there is an erasure and over-writing of

nearly one full line of text.



The TS is the *وايدكم*

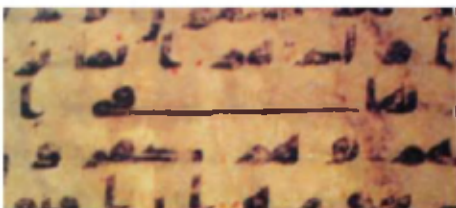
wākum wa-

ayyadakum bi-naṣrihi wa-

razaqakum min (“[he gave you a shelter] and strenghtened you with his support and provided for you from”) of Q8:26. The TS is written with a narrower nib and is quite bunched, indicating that what it replaced was shorter. However, the hand is sufficiently similar to allow for the possibility that this alteration was made by the original scribe, albeit with a different pen. What was originally written here is unclear. This is yet another instance of an erasure involving the word *rizq*.

On M⁵⁰¹, page 92v, there is an uncharacteristically long tail on the word *في* *fī*

(“in”) of Q9:85. There are no other instances of



fī on this page, but there are at least two on the

reverse side of the same leaf. These are written

in the same style, but are each less than one-

third the total length of this one. It is not clear

whether an erasure has taken place here and erasure marks are not evident from the facsimile. However, the lengthening is quite visually striking and uncommon in this

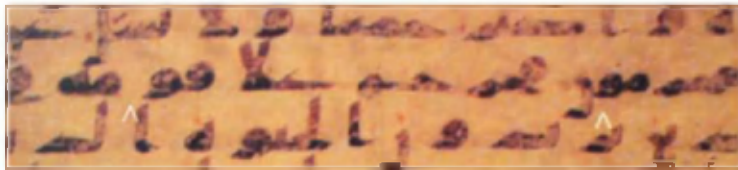
codex, so erasure and overwriting near the time of original production, judging by the matching style and nib width, seems at least a possibility. Direct examination of the manuscript would be required to confirm this.

On M^{san}, 167r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten on lines 5 and 6. The TS is *بيع وحلوت ومسجد يذكر فيها اسم* *biyatm wa-ṣalawāt wa-masājidu yudhkaru fihā asm*



(“churches, synagogues, and mosques in which is mentioned the name”) of Q22:40. The TS is somewhat bunched but not severely so. The nib, hand, and ink look to be consistent with that of the rest of the page. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 196v, there is an instance of erasure that has been overwritten at line 3.



The TS is the *mīm-nūn* of *المجرمون* *al-mujrimūn* (“the criminals”) of Q28:78. A narrower nib and darker

ink is used in the correction, and the spacing also indicates a post-production correction. An example of the standard spacing after a *waw* can be seen a little further down the line in the middle of the word *قومه* *qawmihi* (“his people”). The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 199r, there is an erasure overwritten at line 7, and another at line 10.



The TS in the first case is the final *nun* of *منزلون* *munzilūn* (“we are the senders-down”) of Q29:34. It appears that this *nūn* was first written as an *ʿalif*. Three lines down from this, the *fā-qāf-ʿalif* of *فقال* *fa-qāla* (“so he said”) is written over an erasure as well. A darker ink, narrower nib, and a possibly different hand used in this case. What was first written

cannot be discerned, but it is reasonable to guess that the word as first written might have been a simple *qāla* (“he said”). In both these cases, the CST as corrected is now in conformity at these points with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 203r, there is an apparent erasure that has been overwritten near the



end of the penultimate line of the page. The TS is the *qāf-bāʾ* of *قبل* *qabla* (“before”) of Q30:43. Erasure marks can be seen in the facsimile, and the correction was made with a darker ink and similar-width nib, in a hand that is not very dissimilar with the main text of the page. This could be the work of the OS.

What was erased cannot be discerned. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 233r, there is an alteration at the end of the first line. It is the *ʿalif* of *أو*



aw (“or”) of Q40:26. Though the orthography of this page does include a tail on the final *mīm* that extends straight out along the baseline, the final *mīm* of the preceding word, *دينكم* *dīnakum* (“your [pl.] religion”), has been

extended longer than other instances of this letter on this page, such that it appears to link forward to the *'alif* that has been written in. It seems that erasure marks may be present but this cannot be said for certain. What was written here originally was possibly simply the *waw* that stands here now, rendering the meaning “your religion, and” instead of “your religion, or” as it now reads. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 242v, there is an erasure on the first line at the juncture between the

words *اوليا* *awliyā'a* (“companions”) and the following



هم *yansurānahum* (“they help them”) of Q42:46. It is

difficult to discern exactly what has happened here, but

shadows of letters in this space remain. Parts of the *TS* are

now faded, but assuming that there are two teeth in front of the *ṣād* of the latter word, the CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{san}, 254v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the middle of

line 2. The *TS* is the final *nūn* of *يتدبرون* *yatadabbarūn* (“they



ponder”) of Q47:24. Erasure marks can be seen. The correction

has been made with a darker ink, a slightly narrower nib, and in

a different hand than the main text of the page. It appears that

an *'alif* was first written here, a reading that would have also

made grammatical sense. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 65r, there is a now-faded apparent erasure and overwriting at the beginning of line 12. The *TS* here appears to be the *lām-lām-hā'-qāf-dāl* of **لله قد** *allāhi qad* ("Allah have already") of Q4:167. The initial *'alif* of *allāh* appears absent even from the text as corrected, rendering "surely those who disbelieve and prevent [others] from the path to Allah have already gone far astray," rather than the now standard text which says "path of Allah." The *TS* appears to have been written with a slightly narrower nib and has mostly been rubbed or faded off the page by now, giving the initial appearance of a simple erasure. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On M^{top}, 67r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the beginning of line 1. The *TS* is the *shīm-hā'-dāl* of **شهادا** *shuhadā'a* ("witness") of Q5:8. Erasure marks can be clearly seen. What was first written here cannot be discerned. This has the appearance of being the work of the OS. The correction, if such, has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴. An unusual feature of this erasure is that there appears to be a similar erasure on the reverse side of this folio at the same location, discussed below. Still, it has the clear appearance of an erasure.



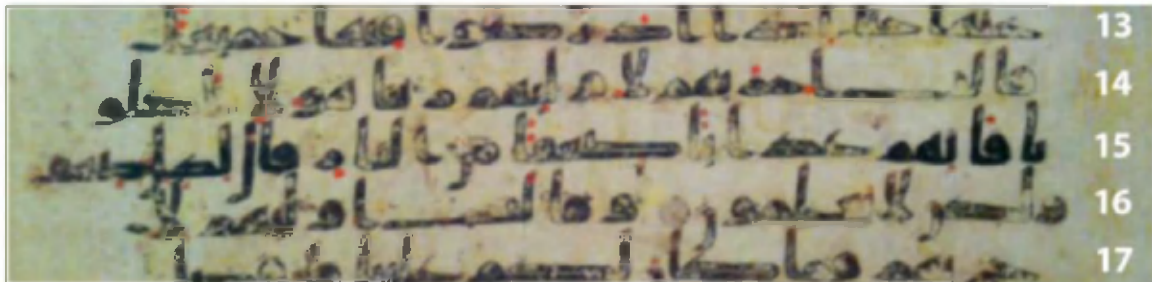
On M^{top}, 67v, there is another apparent erasure that has been overwritten near



the end of the first line. The TS here, now mostly faded, is *بعد* *ba'd* (“after”) of Q5:12. As mentioned above, this is the reverse side of same spot on the page as the correction involving Q5:8. The correction, if it is a correction, has resulted in a CST in conformity at this

point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{top}, 95v, there are corrections at the beginning and end of line 15. Erasure marks are not clear from the facsimile. The TS is, in the first case, the *nūn-ʿalif-fā-ʿalif-tā-hā-mīm* of *اضلونا فاتهم* *aḍallānā fa-atihim* (“they led us astray, so give them”) of Q7:38, and in the latter case *قال لكل ضعف* *qāla li-kulliⁿ dīfuⁿ* (“he said, to each a double”)



of the same verse. The final word extends into the margin; it is possible that either *dīfuⁿ* or *li-kulli* was omitted at first writing of this page. This correction has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

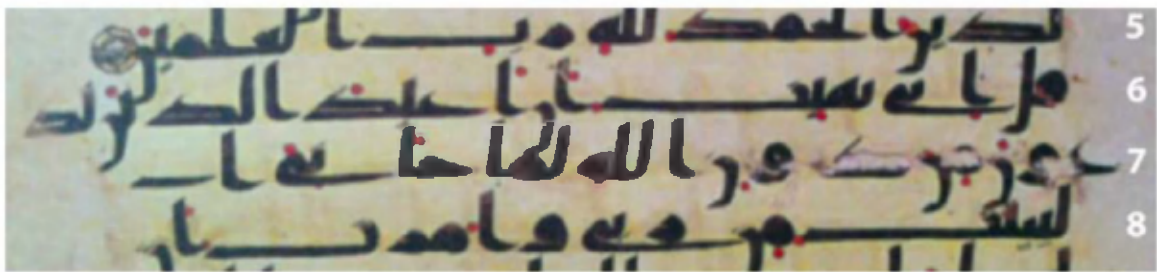
On M^{top}, 211v, there is an overwriting of a probable erasure at the beginning of



line 12. The TS is the *ʿalif-lām-qāf-hamza-mīm* of *القائمين* *al-qā'imīn* (“those who stand up”) of Q22:26. This is clearly not the work of the OS. What was first written here cannot be discerned. It is possible that this is a simple

overwriting, since the top parts of the first, second, and fourth letters appears to belong to the TI. Was another word re-worked into this one? Restoration is also a possibility, but the extension along the baseline preceding the *ya* looks like it does not fit on this page. This correction has resulted in a CST that is out of conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴, since the latter has a full long medial 'alif.

On M^{top}, 308v, there is an erasure overwritten that includes a marginal insertion at lines 6 and 7. The TS is the *تدعون من دون* *tad'ūna min dūn* ("you call upon apart from")



of Q40:66. Erasure marks seem clear under this text on line 7. The first two letters of this portion extend into the margin of line 6, as does the 'ayn on line 7. This correction has the appearance of being the work of the OS, and it has resulted in a CST that is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{cai}, 18r, there is an erasure overwritten at the end of line 8. The TS is the *حَتَّى*

hattā ("until") of Q2:109. In F¹⁹²⁴, this word is written with an 'alif *maqsūra*. What was erased here hangs below the line but is not in the shape of an 'alif *maqsūra*, of which there is an example on the line immediately below. The shape of the erasure is much more in the shape of a final *nūn*. The correction appears not to be the work



of the OS, judging by the sharp angle at the base of the final 'alif. What precipitated this correction is not clear at this point in time.

On M^{caī}, 124r, there is an apparent erasure that has been overwritten at line 5.



The TS is the *lām-wāw-kāf-mīm* of اعزلوكم *a'tazalūkum* ("they leave you alone") of Q4:90. Erasure marks seem clear under these letters, which are written in a darker ink than the rest of the page and stand out when the page is viewed as a whole. What was erased cannot be discerned,

but it appears to have contained one upward extending letter as well as something descending below the line. Although a correction at this particular word has not been noted in the other manuscripts I looked at for this dissertation, it is worth noting that Q4:88-90 contains corrections in a total of five of the manuscripts: M^{caī}, E20, F330, F340, and 133175B.BMP. In other words, this particular area is one of several that has had a high concentration of corrections. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

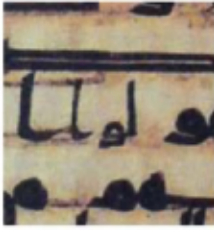
On M^{caī}, 183v, there is an erasure or erasure overwritten at line 4. The TS here is



the latter half of the word الحوريين *al-hawāriyin* ("the disciples") of Q5:111. There is a very long gap between the *rā'* and the *ya* of this word, about three times the width of the standard spacing between letters on this page. Erasure marks appear to be visible but it is difficult to make fine judgments from this facsimile. Otherwise, the writing of the TS mostly has the appearance of being the work of the OS. The CST as corrected is not in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴,

as the latter is written with a medial *'alif*.

On M^{cai}, 197v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten near the end of line 9. The TS, the *lām-wāw-'alif* of ليقولوا *li-yaqūlū* (“so that they say”) of



Q6:53, is written with a very fine nib and is clearly a post-production correction and probably not the work of the OS. Erasure marks seem evident, but what has been erased cannot be discerned. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with

that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{cai}, 211r, there is an erasure that has been overwritten at line 12, the final line of the page. The TS here is تكن *takun* (“there is”) of Q6:101. The word as now written has the appearance of being the work of the OS. Erasure marks that look to be in the shape of a final *nūn*



can be seen in the gap that remains after the word as it is currently written. This gap is more than two times the width of the standard spacing between letters on this page. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point

with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{cai}, 227r, there is an apparent erasure that has been overwritten at line 11, the penultimate on the page. The TS is the *bā'-wāw* of تقربوا *taqrabū* (“you [pl.] approach”) of Q6:152. It is written in a



darker ink and erasure marks may be visible. The features of the writing are not inconsistent with those of the rest of

the page, and this is likely the work of the OS. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ca1}, 316v, there is an erasure that has been overwritten. The TS is the *wāw-*



nūn-'alif-nūn-yā'-ṭā'-fā'-wāw-'alif of

يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُطْفِئُوا *yurīdūna an yutfi'ū*

("they want to put out") of Q9:32.

Erasure marks are evident. The

correction is clearly not the work of the OS, and the TS is stretched to fill this space in such a way as to suggest that what was first written here was longer. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ist}, 309v, at line 12, there is an erasure that has been overwritten. The TS is

the *عن* 'an ("from") of Q34:12. Erasure marks can be seen, and the



properties of the TS distinguish it from the main text of the page; it

has darker ink, less distinct edges, the nib angle (most clearly seen

at the very end of the tail of the *nūn* as compared with that of the

same letter just above and to the left of it), and the hand is clearly

different. What was first written here cannot be discerned. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ist}, 342r, there is a possible erasure that has been overwritten at line 2. The

TS is presumed to be the *sīn-lām-nūn-'alif* of رُسُلِنَا

rusulnā ("our messengers") of Q40:51. There is a

darkening of the page at this point that could

alternately have been caused by rubbing and does

not look entirely like other erasures I have seen. As

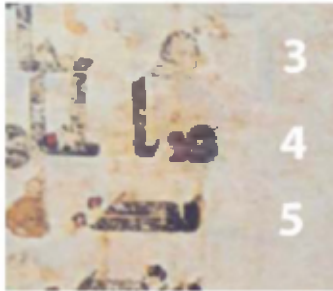
it appears now on the page, the individual letter

stems are indistinct, and the upward extender of the *lām* is not clear, though there is a



thin upward extending shadow. It cannot be said conclusively that the CST of this page is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{1st}, 377r, line 4, there is an apparent erasure that has been overwritten. The



TS, the *mim-alif* of **يوم الخلود** *yawm al-khulūd* (“the day of immortality”) of Q5:34, is written with a darker ink and different hand. Also, there is something that looks like an additional letter stem after the *mīm*. Erasure marks seem evident, most clearly seen in the space above the *mīm*.

That this differs from what was first written here is also evident from the spacing; this page typically has a quite wide space between non-linked letters; typical spacing can be seen between the *wāw* and *jīm* immediately above this point. This is the space that would be expected between this *mīm* and *ʿalif* if these had been written at the time of first writing. The CST as corrected may or may not be in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴, depending upon whether there is an additional letter stem.

Chapter 6

Overwriting without apparent erasure

Sometimes the text is seen to have been altered in some way without any evident erasure. This sort of change is in some respects similar to insertion except that, rather than elements standing apart from the original text, it rather involves modification or overwriting of existing letter forms. This category is perhaps the most tentative when it comes to the clear classification of a re-working as “change,” since it often looks almost as if someone has simply attempted to restore a portion of text that has faded with time.²⁷¹ However, in light of all the other things that we see going on in these manuscripts, and also the rather targeted nature of some of the touching up of the text which often only concerns itself with restoration of certain words or areas on a page the entirety of which has become faded, I feel it is important to include these for consideration here.

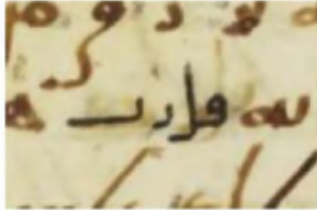
F328, page 3v contains three visible alterations, in none of which cases are



erasure marks immediately evident, and in every case some shadow of the underlying text can still be seen. At line 9, the first four letters, *الحبر* of *al-*

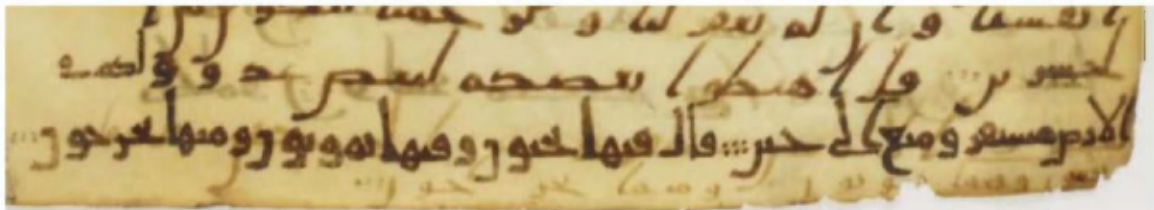
²⁷¹ One recurring feature of overwriting in several of these codices is that text located near the edge of the page, particularly the bottom and outer edge, is overwritten without apparent erasure much more often than text in the interior areas of the page. Overwriting of the text in these outer-edge and bottom-edge areas can be seen on dozens, perhaps hundreds of pages in these codices. For this reason, I have excluded from mention here these instances unless there is some other feature giving the appearance that the motivation was the targeting of a specific item of text, rather than a simple general restoration of the page.

mihrāb (“the sanctuary”) of Q3:37 have been faded and over-written with a very thin nib, a somewhat darker ink, and text at a more vertical angle. The CST as corrected is not in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴, because the latter contains a medial



long *ʿalif* which is absent here. Four centimeters later on the same line, there is a similar instance that may have been done at the same time, with the result of *عندها* *ʿindahā* (“in her possession”) of the same verse. Likewise two-thirds of the way through line 11, the words *قال رب* *qāla rabb* (“he said ‘Lord’”), written defectively without the long *ʿalif*, of verse 38 are the result of a revision with the same hand as the above two corrections. The CST as corrected is not in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F328, page 30v, part of the penultimate line and the entire final line has been written by a different scribe and in a very different, more vertical and formal (B.Ib),²⁷²

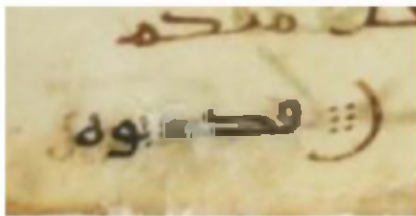


script style than the main Hijāzi text. The TS, which is quite crowded, is *ولكم في الارض* *wa-lakum fī al-arḍi mustaqarr^{un} wa-mata^{un} ilā hīnⁱⁿ qāla fīhā taḥyāna wa-fīhā tamūtāna wa-minhā tukhrajūna* (“yours on the earth will be a dwelling place and enjoyment for a while / He said, ‘In it you shall live and in it you shall die and from it you shall be brought out’”) of Q7:24-5. It may be mentioned that the initial part of this portion may not belong to the same round of

²⁷² Alain George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (London: SAQI, 2010), 150.

correction as the rest, since the traits of its writing are different from the rest of the TS. Also, the verse makes grammatical sense without these words, reading “the earth is a dwelling place” instead of “in the earth you will have a dwelling place.” This having been said, the story of this correction is most likely told by the fact that there is a shadow of a previous line *after* what is currently the final line on the page, and this former final line was too near the edge of the page. When the page began to wear at the edge in a way that infringed upon the text itself, we can presume that this erasure and condensation of the final two lines into a single line well within the margins was executed in order to restore the integrity of the text. The CST as corrected is in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

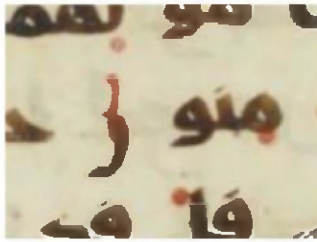
On F328, page 32v, the final word of the page at the bottom left corner, is written



with a different hand and in darker ink. There is no visible evidence of intentional rubbing. Perhaps the natural fading of the ink over time has here been remedied. The over-written portion is كذبوه of فكذبوه *fa-kadhabūhu* (“but they accused him of

lying”) of Q7:64. The *ba* of this word is specified by an inferior dot that appears to have been made with the same pen at the time of the over-writing, making it the only instance of such a diacritic of any letter on this page, save three *nūns*, and suggesting that this alteration or restoration was carried out at a later time when these clarifying marks had come into use in Qur’an manuscripts.

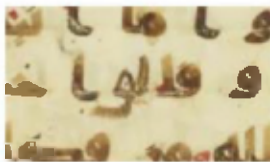
On F330, 28r, at line 5 there is an *ʿalif* added in red ink immediately on top of a *nūn*. The latter is not erased. This appears to have been an



attempt to convert the former letter without erasure. It is the *yūminū* ~~يؤمنون~~ *yūminū* (“they believe”) which was originally written *yūminūn* ~~يؤمنون~~ *yūminūn* (“they believe”). This correction was made with a narrower nib and in a different hand; I

judge it to be the work of a later scribe. The text as altered matches the CST of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F330, page 39r, there is an unusual letter formation at line 15. While erasure is not absolutely clear, erasure seems to be a possibility. For

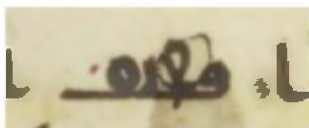


now, however, I am categorizing this as correction without erasure. The *lām-wāw* of the *qālū* ~~قالوا~~ *qālū* (“they said”) of Q9:59, appears almost certainly not to be the work of the OS. The CST

as corrected is brought into conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, page 4r, there is a very unusual situation in which it appears the word

kayfa ~~كيف~~ *kayfa* (“how”), the first word of Q4:62, was actually



misspelled as *qāf*. The text almost looks as if it has been corrected to the nonstandard *qāf* that is now seen in the manuscript. Certainly there is no indication that a *kāf* ever

existed at this point, and it would hardly have fit in the space now occupied by the *qāf*. Additionally, it appears that immediately over this spot, a blot of ink was spilled and rather quickly wiped away; the outer ring of this spill can be seen around its edges where the ink had already dried before it was wiped.

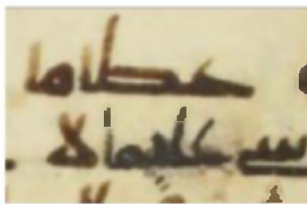
On F340, page 13r, there has been a re-working of the text at the word **يعقلون**



ya'qilūn (“they understand”) of Q30:24. This appears to have been done with a different pen and darker ink than the original. The affected section is the **عقل** of that word. Though erasure of the underlying text cannot be completely ruled

out, erasure marks are not clearly evident. What was beneath it cannot be discerned. The CST as corrected appears to be in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On F340, page 23r there is some alteration to the text on line 2. The portion that

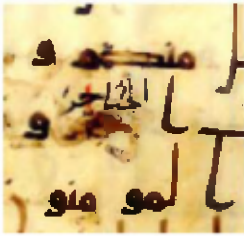


appears to have been modified is the **علي** of the word **عليما** *'alimā* (“knowledgeable”) of Q33:54. In examining the page, there are no clear indications of erasure by abrasion although there is some spreading of ink at this spot underneath the existing letters. The text of these letters

appears written with a narrower nib and a different ink. A side observation near this correction is that the *ya* of **عظيما** *'azimā* (“great”), directly above this word, is written with a long *'alif*, an observation that would seem to bear upon the question of a period during which these letters may have been used to designate each other.²⁷³ There is another change on this page; it has been discussed in the chapter on erasure.

²⁷³ Small, *Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts*: 53-55.

On E20, page 49r, there is a correction on line 13, in which it appears the word



الحناجر *al-ḥanājir* (“the throats”) of Q33:10 is ultimately written a

little over baseline of the main text. Some ink from what was previously written in this location remains. There is water damage on the page, that seems possibly to have touched this section, but this is certainly not the spot most severely affected,



and nowhere else in the water damaged area is an attempt at restoration observed. Another feature here is that the restoration results in an additional *ʿalif* which makes the text now read *ويلفت القلوب الحناجر*, an impossible formulation. The

CST as corrected is thus not in conformity at this point with that

of F¹⁹²⁴.

On E20, page 53r, there is an instance of what appears to be restoration of faded



text, done with red ink. It is the *بين* *bayna* (“between” / in

construct with following word “in their possession”) of Q34:31,

of the phrase *لن يومن بهذا القرآن ولا بالذي بين يديه*. Instances of

addition, usually long *ʿalif*, or restoration of letters with red ink

can be seen elsewhere on this page. Red ink is also used for the

large medallion ten verse dividers. An interesting feature of this particular spot is that

there appears to be the shadow of the brown ink of the rest of the text on the page

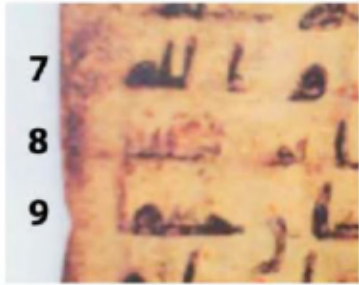
underneath the red *بين*, in the shape of a round letter. Is it possible that *في* occupied this

location on the page prior to its fading or erasure and the placement of *بين*? It would

have been possible in this context, rendering “in their hands” instead of the standard

“in their possession.” This is the second instance of alteration on this page discussed, the other, an erasure and overwriting, is mentioned in that chapter.

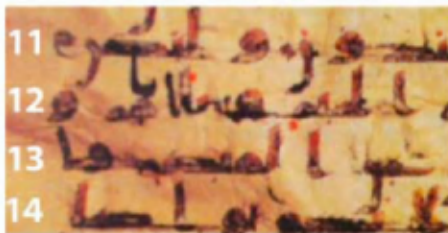
On M^{san}, page 20r, at the end of line 8, there is what appears to be a reworking of



the text. The location is the middle of Q3:67, at the word *ibrahīm* (“Abraham”), with the first three letters having been unaffected and the *hūwa* following being the first word on the next line. What stands here now, however, seems to contain at least two upward stems and possibly some extraneous dots or markings above and

below the line, looking to have been written with a much narrower nib and lighter or more faded ink than the rest of the page, and does not look at all like the *هيم* *hīm* we would here expect to see. What has happened here is not immediately evident. There are no recorded variations in *qirā’āt* at this verse.²⁷⁴

On M^{san}, page 22v, there is an alteration in the latter part of line 12. The affected



location is Q3:104, and the *TS* appears to be *ويايامرو*, a combination of letter forms that does not make immediate sense. The place in the verse is today’s *wa-yā’murūna* (“[and] commanding”). The modifications of this section

are made with a darker ink and narrower nib, and do not bring the CST at this point into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴, but rather result in several additional or extraneous marks, notably an additional long *’alif*, and also an additional stem followed by *’alif*,

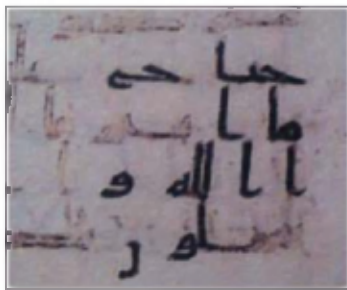
²⁷⁴ ‘Umar and Makram, *mu’jam al-qirā’āt al-qur’ānīyah, ma’a maqaddimah fi qirā’āt wa ashhar al-qurrā’*: v.1 415-16.

written as superscript. Erasure marks cannot be clearly discerned in the facsimile. There are other recorded *qirā'āt* at this verse, but none at this exact location.²⁷⁵

On M^{top}, 381v, there is an apparent erasure at the end of line 10 that has been overwritten, or some other form of alteration of what was first written. Erasure may be present but are not clear. The TS is the first *hum* (‘‘they’’) of Q70:32. The extension of the baseline between the *hā'* and the *mīm* is unusual in this manuscript. The most indistinct part of the TS now is the area between the letters. What, if anything, was first written here cannot be discerned. The shape and other features of both *hā'* and *mīm* indicate that they are the work of the OS. The CST as corrected appears to be in conformity at this point with that of F¹⁹²⁴.



On M^{cai}, 44r, there are markings on the page that are either selective restoration or correction without erasure at lines 9 through 12. All are from Q2:233. The TS is, first, the second *janāh* (‘‘impurity’’) of the verse; second, the *mīm*-*alif*-*alif* of *mā ataytum* (‘‘what you promised’’); third, the *alif*-*alif*-*lām*-*lām*-*wāw* of *wa-attaqū allāha wa-a'lamū* (‘‘and fear [2nd. pl. imper.] Allah, and know [2nd. pl. imper.]’’); and finally, the word *ta'malūn* (‘‘you [pl.] do’’), the first three letters of which are now themselves faded. The ink of the TS is much darker and stands out starkly on this page. It is not clear if what was first written at these spots differed from what is now written, but the selectivity of this revisitation of the page raises the



²⁷⁵ Ibid., v1, 432.

question. Excepting the now faded first three letters of the final line, the CST as corrected appears to be in conformity at these points with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ca1}, 395r, there are many portions of the page that have been either

corrected without erasure or selectively restored. The TS



is large portions of Q11:95 through verse 98. For

simplicity, I will give the meanings only of the restored

portions: “therein / away with Midian / as Thamud was

away / and we certainly sent Moses with,” and “clear,”

and “Pharaoh and his dignitaries,” and “command of

Pharaoh was just,” and “he will precede,” and “the day of

resurrection, so,” and “he will lead them [into] the fire,” and “evil.” The CST as

corrected appears to be in conformity at these points with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{1st}, 3v, there is an overwriting of text without apparent erasure at the end of

line 7. The TS, written with a darker and blacker ink than that



of the main text, is the *hā'-dāl* of *يَهْدِي yahdī* (“he guides”) of

Q2:26. The final *yā'* is written at the beginning of the following

line on the page. What was first written here is not clear. The

resultant CST of the page at this point is now in conformity

with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{1st}, 89r, there is an apparent overwriting or re-working of text that affects

lines 8 and 9. The first is what appears to be an overwriting of the



lam of *قِيلَ qīla* (“it is said”) of Q5:104. The TS is written with a darker

ink, and it is not quite clear what was intended here. The presumed

medial *yā'* is now indistinct. No erasure is immediately evident. The

tail of this *lām* hooks upward and then appears to drop down the line 10, having descended through the gap between the *wāw* and the 'alif of والى *wa-ilā* (“and to”) of the same verse. Is this one letter or two?

Chapter 7

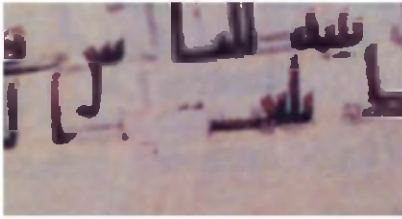
Selective covering

The phenomenon of selective covering is an interesting feature that in the manuscripts considered in this dissertation, I have found in only the Cairo *Muṣḥaf Sharīf* and the Istanbul Museum *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*. I have made the decision to include covering as a category of intentional change because of its widespread occurrence in these two codices, and for the fact that the covering in the cases I mention appears²⁷⁶ to be selecting text rather than merely strengthening the page: it is applied with apparent precision in mostly horizontal strips, not above the line or below, but directly over portions of text. As in the case of erasure, it is often but not always difficult to discern at least some of the features of what lies underneath a covered portion. Unlike erasure, it seems much more likely that what lies underneath might be discovered by removal of the material that has apparently been applied to these pages. I hope that the opportunity may arise to learn more about this matter.

Despite my mention of selective covering as a category of change, I am not exhaustively discussing all instances in this chapter but leave this to a future work. Instead, I give a few representative examples. To give a sense of the scope of the phenomenon in this manuscript, I merely mention that I have found something in the range of 500 that I consider worth cataloguing because they appear to possibly cover portions of text selectively rather than to address issues of page strength.

²⁷⁶ Despite the fact that I mention this as a possible category of intentional change, it must be freely acknowledged that this theory may be completely disproven on direct examination. In this dissertation and on these two particular manuscripts, to which I have not had direct access, I am working from the appearance of the facsimiles only.

On M^{caī}, 26v, at line 12, the letters after the *ʾayn* and through the end of the word



of what in F¹⁹²⁴ is *yalʿanuhum* (“he curses them”) of 2:159. The edges of the material that covers this portion of text can be seen in the facsimile. A small portion of what lies underneath can be seen at the top edge of the tape. The

presumed letters under the tape would be the *nūn-hā-mīm* of this word. The spacing looks about right for these letters.

On M^{caī}, 32v, the text between *wa-kulū* (“so eat [3rd. pl.]”) and *hattā*



(“until”) of Q2:187 has been covered. The edges of the material that now covers the text can be seen in the facsimile. The word *wa-ashrabū* (“and drink [3rd. pl.]”) stands here in F¹⁹²⁴; the two upward extenders that are

visible here would be consistent with such text on this page as well.

On M^{caī}, 33v, there are numerous covered portions. The covered text, according



to that of F¹⁹²⁴, is: Line 1 - *jīm-wāw-hā-mīm-nūn-ḥā-yā-thā* of *wa-akhrijuhum min haythu* (“drive them out from where”) of Q2:191; Line 5 - *nūn-qāf-tā-lām-wāw* of *fa-in-qātalākum* (“and if they fight you”) of the same verse; Line 6 - *wāw-hā-mīm-kāf-dhāl-lām-kāf* of *fa-aqtulūkum kadhālika* (“then you kill them (imper.)”) of the same verse; line 7 - *fā-alif-nūn-alif* of *فان*

انتهوا *fa-in-tahaū* (“and if they desist”) of Q2:192; Line 8 - *ghayn-fā'-wāw* of غفور *ghafūr* (“forgiving”) and *hā'-yā'-mīm* of رحيم *rahīm* (“merciful”) of the same verse; Line 10 - *lām-dāl-yā'-nūn-lām-lām-hā'* of الذين الله *al-dīn li-llāh* (“the religion belongs to Allah”) of Q2:193; Line 11 - *'ayn-dāl-wāw* of عدون *'udwān* (“enmity”) of the same verse; Line 12 - *hā'-rā'* of بالشهر *bi-l-shahr* (“in the month”) of the same verse.

On M^{caī}, 69v, there is a covered portion at line 4. According to F¹⁹²⁴, the covered



text would be the *dhād-'alif-'alif-rā'* of بعضا اربابا *ba'dā arbābā* (“a part as lords”) of Q3:64. The edges of the material that now covers this portion of text can be seen in the facsimile. The two upward extenders can be seen at the top edge of the tape.

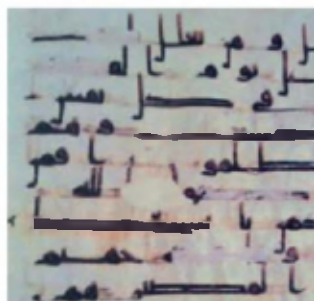
On M^{caī}, 86v, there are two covered portions. At the start of line 11, what in F¹⁹²⁴



is سنلقى *sanulqī* (“we will cast”) of Q3:152 is covered. At the next line, the last on the page, only the *wāw-'alif* of كفروا *kafarū* (“they disbelieve”) of the same verse remains visible. The edges of the material that now covers these two portions of

text can be seen in the photograph.

On M^{caī}, 90v, there are several covered portions. According to F¹⁹²⁴, the covered



portions would be: on line 1 the *yā'tī* (“he brings”) of Q3:161; on line 2, the *yā'-mīm-tā' marbuta* of القيمة *al-qiyāma* (“judgment”) of the same verse, and on line 8 the *māwayahu* of the following verse.

Chapter 8

Selective covering overwritten

One factor that caused me to consider selective covering as a category of change was the presence of selective covering that had been overwritten, and in particular the presence in these manuscripts of selective covering overwritten in which the *T5* is clearly either longer or shorter than the presumed *T1*. Additionally, there are many hundreds of places in these two Qurʾans, *M^{caī}* and *M^{san}*, that have been taped over with no overwriting, and then there are other places such as the examples to follow, at which someone felt it important to write in the text over the top of the tape. It is not clear whether *S2* in these cases was the same party that applied the tape to these pages, or another. As in the previous chapter, what follows here is not a complete survey of the instances of this particular category in these manuscripts, but just a representative sample. This having been said, the instances of selective covering overwritten are far fewer than the instances of selective covering that have not been overwritten, which are extremely numerous in these two codices.

On *M^{caī}*, 159r, there is a covered portion that has been overwritten. The *T5* is the

yāʾ-wāw of *يُورِي* *yuwārī* (“he buries”) of

Q5:31, the *qāf-ʿalif* of *قال* *qāla* (“he said”) of

and the *kāf-wāw-nūn-mīm-thāʾ-lām* of *اكون*

akūna mithla (“I am like”) of the same



verse. The overwriting is clearly not the hand of the *OS*, and the ink is darker. Its script

appears to have been drawn in rather than written with a nib in a single stroke. There is no evident damage to the page to be seen on the reverse side in the facsimile that would appear to warrant a repair at these places. The CST of the TS is now in conformity at these points on the page with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

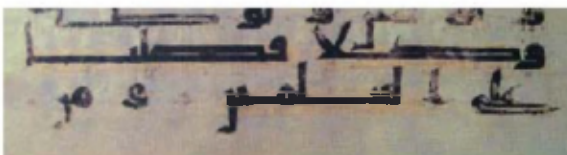
On M^{ca1}, 160r, there is an apparent covering that has been overwritten at line 12,



the last line on the page. The edges of the material that obscures what lies underneath can be seen in the facsimile. The

TS is the *dhād* of the second instance of *الارض* *al-ard* (“the earth”) in Q5:33. The unusual thing about this point is that the *ra* is omitted, rendering *من الارض*. The first instance of the word in this verse, five lines above this correction, is written, unaltered, and including the *ra*. Why the page was left with the script reading this way at this particular point, and what was first written here, I cannot guess. This correction leaves the CST of the TS out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

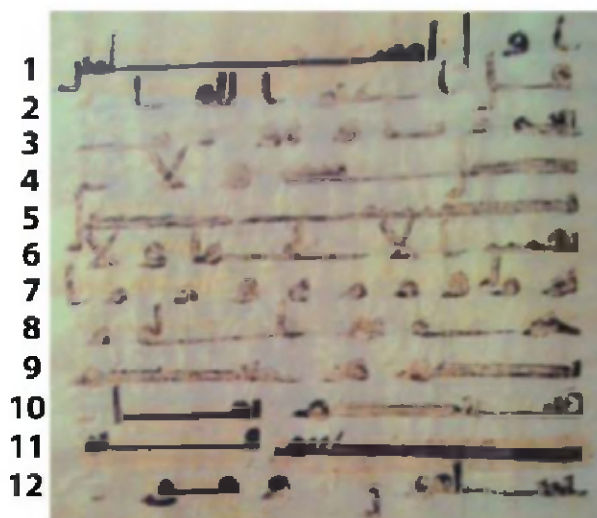
On M^{ca1}, 206r, the final line of the page, there is a portion that has been



overwritten, possibly over a taping or erasure. The TS, which does not appear to be the work of the OS, is the *كلا فضلنا* *kullā faḍalnā 'alā al-'alamīn*

(“all of whom we have blessed above the whole world”) of Q6:86. The CST of the TS at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

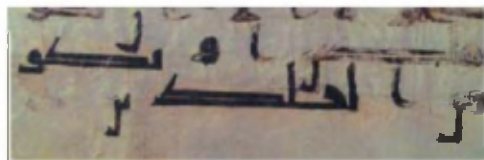
On M^{caī}, 231r, there are several instances of covering that has been overwritten



at lines 1 and 10-12. The *TS* in these cases is everything but the initial 'alif of *المسلمين* *al-muslimīn* ("those who submit") of Q6:163, the 'alif-lām-lām-hā'-alif of *الله ابغى* *allāhi abghī* ("Allah I seek") and the words *بما كنتم فيه* *bimā kuntum fīhi* ("in that which you used to concerning it") of Q6:164, and finally the *هو* *huwa* ("he [is]") of

Q6:165. The edges of the material that covers what was first written can be discerned most clearly on line 11; in the other cases, the same is presumed, but room must be left to revise this opinion pending consultation of higher resolution photographs or the original manuscript. In all these cases, the CST of the *TS* at these points on the page now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

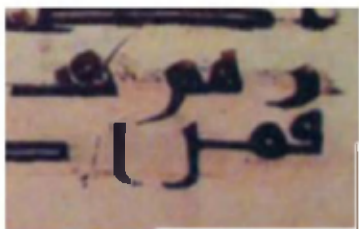
On M^{caī}, 235r, there is an apparent covering, or possibly erasure, that has been



overwritten at lines 11 and 12. The *TS*, written in darker ink and a different hand, is the *ta-kaf-waw* of *تكونا* *takūnā* ("you become") and everything but the initial 'alif of *الخالدين* *al-*

khālidīn ("the immortals"), the last word of Q7:20. A gap remains at the end of the final line. In both these cases, the CST of the *TS* at these points on the page now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{cai}, 239v, there is an apparent covering, or possibly erasure, that has been



overwritten at lines 11 and 12. The TS here, which is written in a clearly different hand than that of the OS, is the *rā'-hā'-mīm* of *النار هم* *al-nār hum* (“the fire, they”) of Q7:36, and the *fā-man* (“so who”) and the initial *'alif* of the following word of Q7:37. The CST of the TS at

these points on the page now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{cai}, 373r, there is a covered portion that has been overwritten. Edges of the



covering can be seen in facsimile, and the darker ink and different hand of the TS indicate that this is not the work of the OS. The TS is the *mīn* (*مبين* *mubīn* (“clear”)) that is the final word of Q11:7. The CST of the TS at this point is now in conformity

with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{cai}, 406r, there is a covering at line 6 and a covering that has been overwritten at lines 11 and 12. The covering occurs immediately prior to the *'alif* of



what today is *ra'ā* (“sign”) of

12:24. As now written in this manuscript, it is simply *rā-'alif*. A gap remains, but what, if anything, lies under this tape cannot be discerned.

The portion at lines 11 and 12 that has been covered and overwritten is

the *astabaqā* (“they raced”) on line 11 and *qamīṣahu* (“his shirt”) on line 12.

In this later case, an extra letter or letter shadow, apparently a *wāw*, remains. The edges

of the tape can be seen in facsimile. The CST of the *TS* at lines 11 and 12 point is thus not completely conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ca}, 421r, there is a covered portion that has been overwritten. The *TS*,

which is written in a different hand and darker ink than the



main text of the page, is the **كظيم** *kazīm* (“concealed”) of

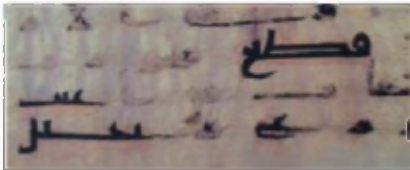
12:84. The edges of the tape can be discerned in the

facsimile. What lies underneath cannot be discerned. The

CST of the *TS* at this point is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ca}, 428r, there are three portions that have been taped and overwritten.

Edges of the covered areas can be seen in facsimile.



The *TS* is the **قطع** *qīṭa'* (“plots”), the final three

letters of **اعنب** *a'nāb* (“grapes”), and finally the word

نخيل *nakhīl* (“date palms”) of 13:4. All have been

written with a darker ink and in a different hand than the main text of the page. It is

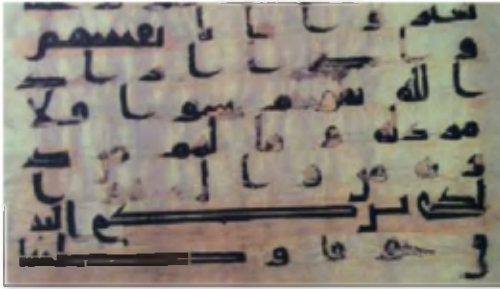
not clear whether the *TS* of all three has been written by the same corrector, as the nib

width appears to vary. What lies underneath at these points cannot be discerned. The

CST of the *TS* at these locations is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ca}, 430r, there are three portions that have been covered and overwritten.

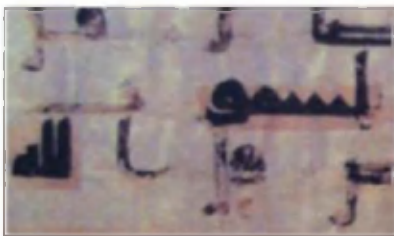
The *TS*, not the work of the OS, has been written with a darker ink and a different hand



than the main text over a covering whose edges can be seen in facsimile. The TS is the *nūn-fā'-sīn-hā'-mīm* of *بأنفسهم* *bi-anfusihim* (“in themselves”) of Q13:11, the *الذي يريكم* *alladhi yurīkum* (“he who shows you”) and

وطمعاً *wa-ṭama'ā* (“and hope”) of Q13:12. What lies under the covering cannot be discerned. The CST of the TS at these locations is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

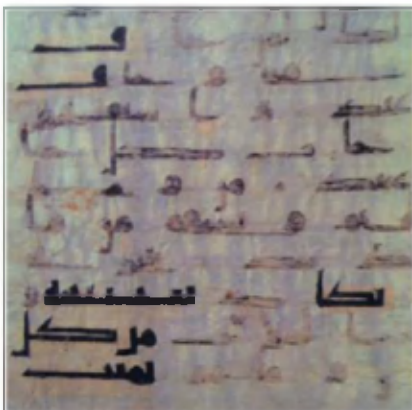
On M^{ca1}, 431r, there are two covered areas that have been overwritten. The edges



of the mask can be seen in facsimile. The TS is the *lām-sīn-mīm-wāw* of *السموات* *as-samawāt* (“the heavens”) and the *lām-lām-hā'* of *الله* *allāh* (“Allah”) of Q13:16. What lies under the covering cannot be discerned. The TS is written in a darker ink and

different nib than the main text of the page. The CST of the TS at these locations is now in conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

On M^{ca1}, 443r, there are several places at which text has been covered and



overwritten. The TS of these are the *fā'* of both instances of the word *خاف* *ḥāfa* (“he feared”) of Q14:14, the *yā'-kāf'-alif* of *يكاد* *yakād* (“he is able”), the entire word *يسيفه* *yusīfuhu* (“he swallows it”), *من* *min* *kulli* (“from every”) and finally the word *بميت* *bimayyit* (“dies”), all from the same verse. I have categorized this as selective covering overwritten

because I believe I see the edges of a covering material at lines 4 and 10. The quality of the image does not permit me to make a confident judgment on this particular case.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and future directions

We do not know every detail about the mechanisms or primacy of the written form in the early transmission of the Qur'an. What we do know is that we have Qur'an manuscripts dating roughly to the half century after the Arab conquests, and many Qur'an manuscripts of likely origin within the following two centuries. We also know that these manuscripts have signs of both the development and increasing precision of a written orthography of Arabic, as well as a process over time of movement toward a standard that was not entirely complete during the time period represented by the manuscripts I have considered. This movement toward a standard is not a foreign concept within the Muslim tradition, which reports campaigns of variant suppression or individual instances of suppression, but the longer time period until the establishment of a complete standard that is suggested by the material in the preceding pages raises interesting questions about this process.

Whether made at the time of original production to immediately correct a mistake, or soon after to correct an error not earlier noticed, or at some date farther in the future to bring one variant manuscript into harmony with another considered by the corrector to be more authoritative, or for a variety of other reasons, intentional change is a reality in all manuscript transmission. Because there are different circumstances that can lead to alterations of a handwritten page, the existence of a change can mean different things. The manuscripts considered in the preceding pages

were for the most part²⁷⁷ produced with a great deal of care; the production of a book by hand was a costly endeavor owing both to labor and materials, and the Qur'an by its very nature was material to be taken seriously. The cost and care of production is indeed one reason that these corrected manuscripts still exist; instead of being discarded or destroyed and then re-made when found wanting, they were preserved and brought into conformity with a perceived standard.

Clearly what has been demonstrated in this dissertation is a process of standardization of the Qur'an over a period of time. Important questions raised include: In what ways was the Qur'an transmitted during this period? How great a role did orality play in its transmission, and how strong was the oral tradition? How was the Qur'an written down at first (i.e. text-to-text transmission, dictation from memory, or dictation from a previously written manuscript)? How meticulous were the original scribes in faithfully copying the pattern text?²⁷⁸ Who was correcting the manuscripts? When were they corrected? What was the authority of the correctors? What standard was being applied by the correctors? How do the reports of the early campaigns of standardization in the Muslim historical accounts, such as that of the caliph 'Uthmān, reconcile with what appears to be a longer period of time during which manuscripts do not appear rigorously uniform? In absence of an early voweled script, and in light of the kinds of changes observed in the manuscripts examined in this dissertation, what kinds of textual issues would such campaigns have been addressing and over what time period can these be considered to have taken place? In particular, the theory of a single

²⁷⁷ Déroche notes that one of the five scribes on F328 appeared to have been writing "strenuously." Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads: a first overview*: 20, 62.

²⁷⁸ Déroche has made the very important observation that the team of scribes who produced F328 were 1) clearly copying from a pattern text and yet 2) exhibit variation and a degree of liberty with the orthography of their transcriptions that were not found in the exemplar. He further states, "the relationship of the copyists with the original was not one of subservience, but ... they were enhancing the *rasm* according to their own views while transcribing it." *Ibid.*, 23, 26.

written standard by 656 AD / 35-36 AH seems inconsistent with what is seen in the manuscripts. In fact, the evidence of these manuscripts seems far more consistent with the statement of Wansbrough that, “it is of course neither possible, nor necessary, to maintain that the material of the canon did not, in some form, exist prior to that period of intensive literary activity [i.e. in the third/ninth century], but establishment of a *standard text* such as is implied by the ‘Uthmanic rescension traditions can hardly have been earlier,” and “Fixed terminology, like reference to the ‘Uthmanic rescension as *imām*, or to *muṣḥaf* as codex, in contrast to the plural *maṣāḥif* not as codices but as variants, can also not be dated earlier than the beginning of the third/ninth century.”²⁷⁹

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In this dissertation I have looked at instances of intentional change across nearly three thousand handwritten pages of Qur’anic text. In part my purpose in casting the net so wide was to allow general features of change in these manuscripts to emerge. I also wished to see if meaningful correlations might become evident between two or more manuscripts. In the end, the scribal changes I have described in the preceding pages have represented a wide range of causes and circumstances, from simple scribal error corrected near the time of writing and/or at the hand of the original scribe, to longer time intervals and apparent motives (such as standardization) driving the perceived need for correction. Following is a list of some of the major observations that can be made from the changes discussed:

1. Corrections involving the addition, removal, or exchange of textual elements in Qur’an manuscripts are not uncommon. Corrections proliferate in these ten early Qur’ans and also in the fragments. One frequent type of correction involves the addition or removal of the long vowels that served as *matres lectionis* but whose

²⁷⁹ Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*: 44-45. (emphasis mine)

orthography followed a process of standardization; however this type of correction (discussed by others and for the most part not mentioned in this dissertation) does not represent the full scope of corrections in Qur'an manuscripts.

2. Corrections were sometimes but not always made by the original scribe. There are numerous examples of corrections that were clearly executed after the passage of a period of time.

3. Corrections generally demonstrate movement toward a standard²⁸⁰ and tend to bring the CST toward conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴; however there are examples of corrections that take, or leave, the CST out of conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴.

4. Corrections are sometimes targeted or selective: for example, the CST of a word may have been brought into conformity with that of F¹⁹²⁴ in one location on a page, while instances of the same word elsewhere on the same folio were allowed to remain out of conformity with the CST of F¹⁹²⁴.

5. Stylistically, there is a wide range of ways that corrections were made. In some cases, great care was taken to match the features and style of the original text of the page; at other times little such care was taken and the only concern of the corrector is conforming the page to a standard, largely absent aesthetic concerns. At times, aesthetic concerns were relatively impossible to address due to available space or other factors.

6. There are examples of change at the same Qur'an passage in multiple manuscripts.

²⁸⁰ Alba Fedeli has noted this tendency as well: "It is an important fact that most of the deviations (22 of the 26 occurrences) have been amended to match the standard text." Fedeli, "Variants and Substantiated Qirā'āt: A few Notes Exploring their Fluidity in the Oldest Qur'ānic Manuscripts," 409.

7. There are some places in Qur'an manuscripts that appear to have undergone more than once round of correction, as evidenced by wearing thin of the page and the presence of two or more different nibs, hands, and/or inks in the TS.

8. Most of the manuscript changes noted in this dissertation do not coincide with issues acknowledged by the *qirā'āt* or other secondary literature. Some of them coincide with Ibn Abī Dāūd's *kitāb al-maṣāḥif*.

9. Though I did not return to the manuscripts to look more closely, it is worth noting that none of the evident changes I have described occurred at locations in the Qur'an around which some of the most well-documented disagreements involving full words circulated: the *huwa* ("he") of Q57:24,²⁸¹ the second *min* ("from") of Q9:100,²⁸² and the *fa-ṣiyāmu thalāthati ayyāmin mutataḥī'āt* ("then three successive days of fasting") of Q5:89.²⁸³

One test of whether scribal changes are solely attributable to an attempt to remedy human error or slips of the pen, rather than to draw divergent manuscript traditions into conformity or to address specific issues can be to note whether the changes discussed in the preceding pages are dispersed more or less evenly across the larger text of the Qur'an itself. What I have found is that they generally are not. There are large portions of the Qur'an that are absent any correction that I have noted in any

²⁸¹ Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur'ān : the problem of tawātur and the emergence of shawādhidh*; 105.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 96.

of these manuscripts. There are also points of convergence. Specific Qur'anic loci with high concentrations of corrections or corrections in multiple²⁸⁴ manuscripts:

Q3:33, dealing with Adam, Noah, the family of Abraham and the family of 'Imran, has non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts: F328 and M^{san}.

Q4:88-90 contains corrections, some of which overlap, in five manuscripts: F330, F340, E20, M^{cai}, and the Sanaa fragment 133175B.BMP. It should be noted that this particular portion is not represented in the surviving leaves of F328.

Q4:92 contains overlapping corrections in two manuscripts and contains a covered portion in a third: F330, E20, and M^{cai}.

Q4:101 contains non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts: F328 and F340.

Q5:12 contains non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts and a covered portion in a third: F328, M^{top}, and M^{cai}.

Q9:109 contains a single portion of text, of 6 words, parts of which have been corrected in three different manuscripts, with the words *wa-ridwāniⁿ khayruⁿ* being the portion of overlap of all three: F328, F330, and E20.

Q13:12 contains non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts: F328 and M^{cai}.

Q14:1 contains non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts: M^{cai} and the Sanaa fragment 118116B.BMP.

Q14:22 contains non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts: F331 and the Sanaa fragment 048025B.BMP.

²⁸⁴ These correlations represent later analysis of the corrections that stood out when I looked at the pages. It was hardly ever initially clear what passage of the Qur'an was in front of me; identifying the particular passage and portion of text in each case has been one of the most time-consuming tasks of this dissertation. So, the correlations were not skewed as I did not, for example, return to a particular point in any manuscript looking for a correction that I had noted in another manuscript, although such may be a fruitful avenue of further inquiry.

Q25:20 contains corrections at the very same point in two different manuscripts: F340 and M^{ca}.

Q33:50 contains non-overlapping (but close) corrections in two separate pages that contain the same verse but are now bound into a single codex: F330 (29v and 48v).

Q34:12 contains non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts: F340 and M^{ist}.

Q42:21 contains overlapping corrections in two separate pages that contain the same verse but are now bound into a single codex: F328 (58v and 87v).

Q48:27 contains non-overlapping (but close) corrections in two manuscripts: F331 and M^{san}.

Q49:15 contains non-overlapping corrections in two manuscripts: E20 and M^{san}.

Q56:78 contains the exact same correction (one of orthography) in two manuscripts: F331 and E20.

The above correlations are the more significant when it is borne in mind that most of the volumes considered in this dissertation are partial codices and represent only a portion of the Qur'anic text; in other words, the possibility remains in some cases that an instance of correlation among three manuscripts might have been a correlation among four or five, but for the fact that this particular section is missing and thus could not be examined. We cannot speak about what we do not have before us.

CONCLUSIONS

The changes I have noted in Chapters 2 through 8 can be considered alongside what we already know about the history of this period. First, the Muslim historical tradition written beginning in the late 8th century, preserves a narrative of the sequence of events of the Prophet's life, death, and succession, as well as the early establishment and expansion of the Arab / Islamic empire during this period. The

Qur'an as a physical entity plays prominently in this history. We are told, for example, that Mu'āwīya' ordered his troops to lift copies (or a copy) of the Qur'an on their spears in his battle against 'Alī at the battle of Ṣiffīn, that this had not been the first time such an action had been taken, and that the Qur'an borne in this manner had such a powerful effect as to turn the dynamic of the encounter and force 'Alī into arbitration.²⁸⁵ The Muslim traditions do make much of the early preservation of the Qur'an in writing, and a serious concern with the elimination of discrepancies among what were certainly unvowelled and largely unpointed Qur'an *maṣāḥif* is famously evidenced in the reported standardization campaign of the third caliph 'Uthmān which resulted in authoritative copies being sent to the various capitals. In other words, the early history according to Muslim sources suggest real concern with the Qur'an as a physical object and with the form of the written text as a vehicle of transmission and preservation.

In contrast to the Muslim historical tradition, or at least alongside it, we have a growing scholarship on the Qur'an manuscripts that seems to be demonstrating a certain degree of fluidity in the early decades or even centuries of its written transmission. This has been seen, for example, in Elisabeth Puin's study of the *TI* of one of the early Sanaa palimpsests.²⁸⁶ It also seems to be born out through the scribal

²⁸⁵ Maria Massi Dakake, "Ṣiffīn, Battle of," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, trans. G. R. Hawting, vol. XVII, Series in Near Eastern Studies (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 207.

²⁸⁶ Puin, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣan'ā'"; Elisabeth Puin, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣan'ā' (DAM 01-27.1) Teil II," in *Vom Koran zum Islam*, ed. Markus Groß and Karl-Heinz Ohlig (Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2009); Elisabeth Puin, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣan'ā' (DAM 01-27.1) Teil III: Ein nicht-ummanischer Koran," in *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion 1*, ed. Markus Groß and Karl-Heinz Ohlig (Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2010). For high quality image of such palimpsests, see Ramsey Fendall, *Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Sam Fogg, 2003), 6-11. See also Marcus Fraser and Will Kwiatkowski, *Ink and Gold: Islamic calligraphy* (London: Sam Fogg, 2006), 14-17.

changes that have been listed in this dissertation, across a wide range of manuscripts and over a period of time.

A major finding of this dissertation is the fact of many apparent textual issues that are not represented in the *qirā'āt* literature or other Islamic historical material dealing with variants in the Qur'an.²⁸⁷ The discovery of a number of changes that appear to be addressing textual issues that are also testified to in this literature serves to reinforce the credibility of the literature in the textual details that it does record, and this is a rather exciting finding. At the same time, the existence of so many changes in these ten manuscripts and one group of fragments that appear unknown to these other sources indicates a striking deficiency of these sources for addressing the matter, and indeed their deficiency in accurately representing the true parameters of variance with which the early transmitters and correctors of the written Qur'an were dealing.²⁸⁸ A striking implication of these manuscripts and changes is their meaning when held up against the concept of the existence of the so-called "companion codices." There is not one of these²⁸⁹ manuscripts that has reached us without corrections, nor is there one manuscript of which I am aware that is even a near-perfect match to the reported readings of any one of the companions.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Fedeli, in her analysis of the Chester Beatty manuscript Is 1615 I in Dublin, has also come across variants that do not match any known (i.e. acknowledged in the sources) variant. Fedeli, "Variants and Substantiated Qirā'āt: A few Notes Exploring their Fluidity in the Oldest Qur'anic Manuscripts," 408.

²⁸⁸ Déroche offers one interpretation based upon his larger observation of Qur'an variants and canonical/non-canonical forms in the manuscripts; "An analysis of the situation of the variants during the second/eighth and early third/ninth centuries shows that the compilation and canonisation of their *Isits* is comparatively late and probably based on later copies." Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads: a first overview*; 31.

²⁸⁹ i.e. these ten codices and one collection of fragments, taken now as 11 discrete entities although some contain pages from multiple original source codices.

²⁹⁰ Rather, *Muṣḥafs* are associated with various companion codices by the relative degree of their similarity to those codices. Altıkulaç, *al-Mushaf al-Sharīf Attributed to 'Uthman bin Affān: The Copy At al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo*, 83-157.

The occasional ineptitude of scribes in antiquity and late antiquity has been well-documented.²⁹¹ Nor is this phenomenon limited to antiquity; significant scribal error and correction can be seen even in some extremely formal and ornate Qur'an manuscripts of more recent centuries: One large and highly decorated Qur'an acquired from the library of Tipu Sultan in 1806 and with ownership dates of 1615 and 1685 AD, Cambridge University Library shelf number Nn.3.75, has many instances of correction, a surprising feature considering the obvious expense and care with which the entire book had been produced.²⁹² In light of this, is it really possible to make much of irregularities or changes in Qur'an manuscripts? Is this not just admitting what we already know to be true about scribes, while telling us very little about the text itself? The answer to this last question, I believe, is "no" for the following reasons: 1) Many of these manuscripts show great care of production and general competence, 2) There are examples of places where alternate readings appear to have existed that cannot be attributed to transcription error, 3) There is correspondence in several cases, such as a portions of text that contain corrections in multiple manuscripts, and 4) Passage of time appears to have been a factor in some cases in which a grammatically sensible or viable reading that is out of conformity with F¹⁹²⁴ seems to have been first written.

Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman have noted the various circumstances which appear to have occasioned instances of intentional change in the transmission of New Testament manuscripts: 1. changes involving spelling and grammar, 2. harmonistic

²⁹¹ Bart D. Ehrman and Daniel B. Wallace, *The reliability of the New Testament : Bart D. Ehrman & Daniel B. Wallace in dialogue* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011). 22-23.

²⁹² I saw this codex in person and examined a number, but not all, of its pages, noting the curious presence of these corrections, apparently by the original scribe, which sometimes extend to the margin. Two months later, Alasdair Watson made mention of the same in his paper delivered to the annual meeting of IQSA, noting that these changes run into "the tens," Alasdair Watson, "The King's Mushafs: A Glimpse at Some of the Qur'ans from Tipu Sultan's Royal Library," in *International Qur'anic Studies Association Annual Meeting* (Baltimore2013).

corruptions (i.e. altering a passage to make it harmonize with one elsewhere), 3. addition of natural complements and similar adjuncts, 4. clearing up historical and geographical difficulties, 5. conflation of readings, 6. alterations made because of doctrinal considerations, and 7. addition of miscellaneous details.²⁹³

Keith Small, whose doctoral dissertation applied and adapted New Testament textual criticism to fifteen early Qur'ans that were found to contain the same seven verses from Sura 14, has noted various reasons for scribal variants that have been observed in Greek New Testament manuscripts: orthography (the name of God, numerals, proper names, variable spellings), grammar (gender, case, person, number, preposition, grammatical form, substitution of one conjunction for another), and negligence (non-uniform spelling, and copyist mistakes).²⁹⁴ He also acknowledges intentional stylistic and dogmatic variants in these manuscripts.²⁹⁵

It seems likely that several of the factors listed above were operative in the manuscripts of the Qur'an that I have studied in this dissertation, and that variance due to some of these causes in early written Qur'ans was what, in part, was being addressed when scribes later revisited these pages to make the changes that have been catalogued above. Small finds that the majority of variants in Qur'an manuscripts are likely to have been unintentional, "There are many different kinds of inadvertant errors of sight and hearing. There is an apparent concern for accuracy in scribal habits in that many of these were corrected. Also, these were usually easily detected and evaluated because they often resulted in a word form that was nonsensical or had clearly repeated letters

²⁹³ Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 259-71.

²⁹⁴ Small, "Mapping a new country: textual criticism and Qur'ān manuscripts," 28-58.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 95-97.

or misplaced punctuation.²⁹⁶ This finding seems to hold true in a general sense regarding the changes catalogued in this dissertation; a good number appear to have been made by the original scribe.

In the area of orthography and Qur'an manuscripts, Small notes common variants involving 'alif, yā', and *hamza*, including the missing medial 'alif, dagger 'alif, and he cites the observations of Puin, Beeston, Blau, Thackston, and Noja-Noseda on these subjects. However, Small notes what I have also found to be the case: the orthography of the 'alif, for example, is not consistent across the manuscripts.²⁹⁷ This also is consistent with the findings of this dissertation; as I have discussed in the chapters above, there are indeed instances of the same word occurring two or more times on a single page, and being corrected in one instance but allowed to remain in the other. Small also lists reasons for changes in Qur'an manuscripts: grammatical corrections, haplography (letters missing from words, or missing words), transposition of words, conflation of words, different words, and addition or omission of words and phrases.²⁹⁸

There are many features of manuscripts to be studied, and there are many angles from which to consider text that is spoken or written, in order to understand the circumstances of its composition and transmission. The small aspect I've chosen to work with here is one that has to do with the desire to keep a discrete written document in conformity with an external oral or written standard that is considered by the revisor to be of greater authority. As we have seen, a process of following a standard was clearly one function carried out at the time of initial production of a new Qur'an manuscript: A copyist would make a mistake, realize the mistake, and correct it

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 95.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 105-06.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 59-94.

immediately. However, at other times revision appears to have occurred at some later date. There could be various proximate reasons for this, and individual corrections may be better explained by one or the other, or maybe several, of these:²⁹⁹

1) A careless scribe did not check his own work, or worked too quickly, resulting in errors at time of writing that were not recognized immediately

2) A scribe did not have access to an authoritative text from which to copy (e.g. copy made from a non-standard copy)

3) A scribe was incompetent (such as mechanically reproducing without understanding Arabic, for example)

4) The text (oral or written) used as standard in production of a given manuscript was later superseded and the copied manuscript was then brought into conformity with the new standard at some later date

5) Written Arabic developed: Standards of and new innovations in representation, spelling, and notation caught up with the already existing manuscripts, which were then superimposed *post facto* via corrections

6) Hostile or incompetent correction: A manuscript in later hands gets “corrected” when there was nothing to correct, in order to give the later impression that a text of actual integrity had originally contained an error.³⁰⁰

7) Political or theological expedient: A word or phrase that serves as a proof text is clarified. This would range from well-meaning meddling, i.e. to shore up loopholes that may have been realized by the religious community after the fact through their own consideration or through the clash and hostile encounters with outside critics

²⁹⁹ This is the possible range. Acknowledging all of these possibilities should not be taken to imply that I feel any specific factor was operative in these Qur’ans.

³⁰⁰ I find this to be an unlikely scenario, but the task of a scientist is to note every possible source of error.

or polemicists; to actual tampering of a more base nature, i.e. for justification of a particular desirable economic policy or for the validation of a particular ruling party or dynasty.³⁰¹

As has already been mentioned, some scholars have suggested that the sources, Muslim and non-Muslim, as well as archaeological, are telling for what they do not include in the way of extensive or early mention of the Qur'an. The non-mention of key features such as the *qibla*,³⁰² as well as the non-mention of the Qur'an as such until relatively late³⁰³ must be considered for what they say about the timeline and features of its actual status and development *vis-à-vis* the later recorded historical accounts.

John Burton argued that the accounts of the variant *masāhif*, rather than being accurate historical reports, themselves came about in part to fill a legitimizing function for the various *madhāhib*: "We had supposed that the *Fiqh* had derived from the Qur'ān. We now observe how a particular Qur'ān derived from a particular *Fiqh*."³⁰⁴ His theory dealt with traditions and secondary accounts concerning alternate Qur'ans rather than directly with manuscripts, the latter presumed to have been successfully standardized and non-conforming Qur'ans destroyed during the campaign of 'Uthmān, a campaign that, if historical, there now seems reason to believe not to have been as universally successful in obliterating variants as the traditions indicate. If Burton's thesis of pious tinkering with and back-projecting hadith about Qur'an manuscripts in support of a

³⁰¹ David Powers, as was mentioned in the introduction, made a good case for such a motive in one correction of F328. Powers, "The Islamic Law of Inheritance Reconsidered: A New Reading of Q. 4:12b,"; Powers, *Muhammad Is Not the Father of Any of Your Men*,

³⁰² Bashear, "Qibla musharriqa and early Muslim prayer in churches,"; Gibson, *Qur'ānic Geography: A survey and evaluation of the geographical references in the Qur'ān with suggested solutions for various problems and issues*,

³⁰³ As cited earlier, Hoyland, "Epigraphy,"; Raven, "Sīra and the Qur'ān,"

³⁰⁴ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*; 34.

chosen *madhhab* is true, then it would not be a distant leap to consider the possibility that written Qurʾans might have been drawn into such an activity as well.³⁰⁵

Watt, discussing Bell's approach in proposing his chronology of the Qurʾan, finds Bell's method to be based upon several assumptions, one of which being that the passages of the Qurʾan were at least sometimes committed to writing [i.e. in the lifetime of the Prophet] and another that the text was 'revised' by Muhammad himself, including possibly "by way of additions - and perhaps also of deletions."³⁰⁶ The first of these assumptions is not contrary to Muslim tradition and, Watt argues, the second is not strictly speaking contrary to Muslim beliefs either since these beliefs at some point came to include the notion of abrogation. Watt concludes that "It is almost certain that no one other than Muḥammad would have presumed to make such 'revisions',"³⁰⁷ and at this point he would appear to diverge from the opinion of Burton who allows for the possibility, in the service of an exegetical purpose by proponents of particular *madhāhib* as discussed above.³⁰⁸

There can now be no doubt that manuscripts of the Qurʾan have undergone some alteration, and that simple standardization of orthography or the "technology" of written Arabic is insufficient to explain every instance of this alteration. Neither do the early Muslim historical, exegetical and *qirāʾāt* literature seem to fully account for the

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 31. A feature suggesting a similar dynamic at work in manuscript would be any sign of variance at points in the text where there has been disagreement among the *madhāhib*. Of course, this explanatory dimension is one of several that I consider in explaining the changes discussed in this dissertation. An interesting feature would have been any alteration at Q2:158 giving textual credence to the historical account of ibn Masʿūd's version, in any of the manuscripts here under consideration. This is not seen, but this does not rule out the possibility of crediting such a dynamic for any of the other instances of change.

³⁰⁶ William Montgomery Watt, *Early Islam : collected articles* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 28.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 29.

³⁰⁸ Burton, *The Collection of the Qurʾān*.

range. The possible reasons for this circumstance are not clear. Were the authors and compilers of this material unaware of the range? Were they not considering the manuscripts? Much work remains to be done on the issue of intentional change in Qur'an manuscripts.

Until now, it has been acceptable to speak of a process of canonization in regard to such sources of authority as *Ṣiḥaḥ* (the six authoritative hadith collections), with the term applying most appropriately to the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875), carrying as they do the greatest unquestioned authority inside Sunni Islam of any textual source today but which reached this level of authority only gradually and as a result of a process of negotiation within the Muslim community fueled by their utility in serving three important needs beginning in the fifth/eleventh century: as a measure of authenticity in debates and polemics among the scholars of the emerging Shāfi'ī, Ḥanbalī, Mālikī, and, eventually, Ḥanafī schools, as a reliable reference for jurists who lacked in themselves the requisite skills for hadith evaluation, and as standards of excellence in their own right that served as models in the emerging science of hadith criticism as scholars from the fifth/eleventh to the seventh/thirteenth century sought to systematize the study of the Prophet's words and deeds. This culminated in a protective shield around these two works that made them nearly, though not completely, unquestionable: "The authority of the canon as a measure of authenticity ... was an illusion conjured up in the dialogic space of debate and exposition. It vanished outside such interactive arenas. Scholars directed the compelling authority of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* only against others, and within the closed doors of one school of law or theology, they had no compunction about ignoring or criticizing reports from either collection. ... Beginning at the turn of the fourth/tenth century and climaxing in the mid-seventh/thirteenth, a set of predominantly Shāfi'ī scholars

created a canonical culture around the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* that recast the two books' pre-canonical culture around those of their authors according to the exigent contours of the canon."³⁰⁹

However, the authority of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of course comes from the *umma*'s general consensus that, even though committed to writing more than two hundred years after the events they describe, these sources still faithfully convey the words and deeds of the Prophet, whose life is considered the perfect model for faith and practice. The Qur'an, of course, is not understood by Islamic tradition in the same way. Scholars have thus generally refrained from speaking in terms of canonization when it comes to the Qur'an even while pursuing lines of thought that freely consider a process of formalization over some period of years or centuries, some theories even placing parts of the Qur'an in the centuries preceding the Prophet's own lifetime. Presumably, the reticence to refer to a canon has been in deference to the traditional narrative concerning the immediate, i.e. within the Prophet's lifetime, recognition and perfect preservation of the very words of the revelations from the very beginning.

The material evidence in the form of manuscripts presents some challenges to the traditional narrative, suggesting a process of standardization of written Qur'ans over a longer period of time.

³⁰⁹ Jonathan A. C. Brown, *The Canonization of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim : the Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon*, *Islamic History and Civilization* (Leiden; Brill, 2007), 6–7.

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