EARLY QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS, THEIR TEXT, AND THE ALPHONSE MINGANA PAPERS

HELD IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

BIRMINGHAM

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing

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November 2014

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ABSTRACT

The Special Collections of the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham hold seven early Qur'ānic pieces on parchment and papyrus dating from the seventh century. Alphonse Mingana purchased them from the antiquarian dealer von Scherling in 1936. Through investigation of the private correspondence of Mingana and archival documents, this research provides new information about the origin and history of the fragments, whose reception has been influenced by the European cultural context at the beginning of the twentieth century, in contrast with the public image proposed in catalogues, official documents and previous studies.

Furthermore, this research is an attempt to initiate an alternative perspective in analysing and editing the physical objects and texts of early Qur'ānic manuscripts by applying digital philology, thus using XML-encoded expressions to transcribe all of the richness of manuscripts in reconstructing the history of their transmission. This perspective interprets the process of the making of the manuscript text and the context in which the manuscript was written, thus editing its mobile and multi-layered text, differently from previous examples of the edition of early Qur'ānic manuscripts.

To Sergio Noja

(1931-2008)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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PLATES

CHAPTER 1

EARLY QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS AND THE MINGANA COLLECTION

INTRODUCTION

> You did not answer my question as to the rumour that you have
> a very curious manuscript of the Qur'an in your collection.
> That interests me more than all the rest, and I am anxious to learn something about it
>
> Arthur Jeffery, Letter to Alphonse Mingana, 27 January 1933

1.1. ACCESSING EARLY QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS: THEIR SCRIPTS, TEXTS AND HISTORY IN PREVIOUS STUDIES

This research is an attempt to study the early Qur'ānic manuscripts now held in the Department of Special Collections of the University of Birmingham (Mingana Collection), i.e. Manuscript Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572 (Min1572) and 1563 (Min1563), Christian Arabic Additional 150 (Min150) and Papyrus Mingana Arabic 107 (P.Min107), 115 (P.Min115) and 156 (P.Min156). These artefacts are neglected witnesses in the study of the transmission of the Qur'ānic text from the beginning of Islam, as is evident from the fact that the content of the latter four witnesses has been (re)discovered only recently, as part of this research project conducted from 2011 to 2014.[1] On the other hand, the former two witnesses are mainly known from the concise and imprecise information published in the *Catalogue of Islamic Arabic Manuscripts of the Mingana Collection*,[2] apart from an article published in 2011 in which Gerd Puin[3] used MS Min1572 to build a database of ortho-epic writings in the Qur'ānic text, based on manuscript evidence, and a further article published by Dutton in 2014 in which he mentions a random example of a grammatical variant extracted from MS Min1572.[4]

Therefore, the survey of previous studies on the object of this research, i.e. the analysis of

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[1] MS Min150 in Fedeli, Alba. 'The digitization project of the Qur'ānic palimpsest, MS Cambridge University Library Or. 1287, and the verification of the Mingana-Lewis edition: where is salām?' *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 2, 1, 2011, pp. 100-117, and the papyri in Fedeli, Alba. 'The Qur'anic Manuscripts of the Mingana Collection and their Electronic Edition'. *International Qur'anic Studies Association* website. Electronic resource posted on 18 March 2013: http://iqsaweb.wordpress.com/2013/03/18/qmmc).

[2] Hopwood, Derek, ed. *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of manuscripts: now in the possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham and preserved at the Selly Oak Colleges Library. Vol. IV. Islamic Arabic Manuscripts.* Zug, Inter Documentation Company, 1985 (after earlier editions, Hans Ludwig Gottschalk, Alfred F. L. Beeston, John Spencer Trimingham and Derek Hopwood, eds., 1948, 1950 and 1963).

[3] Puin, Gerd-R. 'Vowel Letters and ortho-epic writing in the Qur'ān' in Gabriel Said Reynolds, ed., *New Perspectives on the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān in its historical context 2.* London, Routledge, 2011, pp. 147-190.

[4] Dutton, Yasin. 'Old light on a new problem: the kalāla verses revisited'. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 59, 1, 2014, pp. 357-376. See section on the textual analysis of MS Min1572.

the early Qur'ānic manuscripts from the Mingana Collection, can focus only on studies on early Qur'ānic manuscripts. These studies seem to have increased in recent decades, with a great new interest in Qur'ānic manuscripts and their variants and emendations thus revealing the possible emergence of a new sub-discipline in Qur'anic studies, as underlined by al-Azmeh.[5] This renewed interest is part of a tradition in Qur'ānic textual history, whose founder is Theodor Nöldeke with his *De origine*, published in 1856.

Although Qur'ānic textual history based on the study of early manuscripts is inevitably and inextricably intertwined with studies of the origins of the Qur'ānic text based on literary sources, only studies exploring the textual history of Qur'ānic manuscripts have been considered in the following survey of the previous literature.

1.1.1. Qur'ānic manuscript studies: a chronology (1856 - 1999)

The Islamic tradition is steeped in the awareness of textual criticism as analysis of variant readings, in that there are a significant number of works dealing with variant readings of the Qur'ān, attributed to the beginning of Islam. This literature regards the consciousness of the presence of variant readings in the oral tradition of the transmitters of the Qur'ānic text (the so-called *qirā'āt* tradition[6] structured around the repetition of the expression 'someone read - *qara'a* - so and so') and also in the written tradition of Qur'ānic manuscripts (the *maṣāḥif* literature[7] witnessing the expression 'I have seen a manuscript reporting so and

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[5] al-Azmeh, Aziz. *The emergence of Islam in late antiquity: Allah and his people.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p.484, note 314.

[6] See for example Nasser, Shady Hekmat. *The transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur'ān. The Problem of Tawātur and the Emergence of Shawādhdh.* Leiden, Brill, 2013.

[7] See for example Jeffery, Arthur. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān. The old Codices. The Kitāb al-maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd together with a collection of the variant readings from the codices of Ibn Ma'sūd, Ubai, 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and other early Qur'ānic authorities which present a type of text anterior to that of the canonical text of 'Uthmān.* Leiden, Brill, 1937, in his 'Introduction'.

so').

The Islamic Tradition narrated episodes of Qur'ānic manuscripts corrected on the basis of a transmitter's reading, uniting oral and written transmission in this awareness of textual criticism. Moreover, the *maṣāḥif* literature intertwined with the readers' tradition, in that the work of the readers has been anticipated by personal notes taken during the process of transmission of readings.[8] The technical term indicating such annotations is *nusḫa*, as underlined by Bergsträsser and Pretzl: 'The correspondent expression *lahu* (i.e. pupil) *'anhu* (i.e. master) *nusḫa* is as important as the rare expression *kataba l-qirā'ata 'an'*.[9] Such a phrase has been interpreted by Schoeler within the mechanism of the transmission at the beginning of Islam as 'He (i.e. pupil) had a book with the notes taken during the teaching on the basis of the master (*lahū 'anhu nusḫa*)'.[10]

The existence of notes taken for personal use is recorded by the Islamic tradition, as several episodes reported in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm seem to suggest, e.g.:

> Muḥammad b. Isḥaq said: I have seen some *maṣāḥif* (i.e. codices of the Qur'ān), that the copyists considered as the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn Mas'ūd and among them there was not a single *muṣḥaf* that coincided with the other one. Many *maṣāḥif* were written on parchment which had been already used several times. Moreover, I have seen a *muṣḥaf*, more than two hundred years old, which included the *Fātiḥa* of the Book.[11]

This *maṣāḥif* literature constitutes a preamble to the emerging literature of readers and

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[8] Schoeler, Gregor. *The genesis of literature in Islam. From the aural to the read*, (in collaboration with and translated by Shawkat M. Toorawa), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009 (orig. pub. as *Écrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l'islam*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), pp. 34-35.

[9] Nöldeke, Theodor, Friedrich Schwally, Gotthelf Bergsträßer and Otto Pretzl. *The History of the Qur'ān*, ed. and tr. Wolfgang H. Behn. Leide, Brill, 2013 (orig. pub. as *Geschichte des Qorāns*, second rev. ed., 3 vols, Leipzig, T. Weicher, 1909-1938), III, pp. 205-206.

[10] Schoeler, *From the aural*, p. 35.

[11] Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, (ed. Riḍā' Tağaddud). Tehran, Maṭba'ah-i Dānishgāh, 1971, p. 29.

readings, thus attesting to the existence of variant readings in the first exemplars of the Qur'ānic text.[12]

However, the interpretation of these reports of variant readings as sign of awareness of textual criticism and of the history of the Qur'ānic text at the beginning of Islam is considered without foundation by Morteza Karimi-Nia. According to the Iranian scholar, none of these reports from the Islamic Tradition constitute a historiographical literature on the Qur'ānic text, and the first work on the history of the Qur'ān by a Muslim scholar should be considered to be *Tāriḫ al-Qur'ān,* published by the Iranian religious scholar al-Zanjānī in 1935, clearly influenced by the work of Theodor Nöldeke.[13] Moreover, in his survey of studies on Qur'ānic historiography by Muslim scholars, Karimi-Nia supposes that the study of the history of the Qur'ānic text is a Western discipline whose roots lie in the work of Nöldeke, and that the definition of Qur'ānic historiography applied to Muslim works before Nöldeke is an anachronism.

In considering the specialization in Qur'ānic manuscript studies within the discipline of Qur'ānic historiography, European scholars began to explore the sources of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text as soon as trading in Qur'ānic manuscripts started with respect to European countries and libraries. It is worth noting that palaeography has distinguished scholars' approach to the analysis of the oldest Qur'ānic fragments, whose beginning in 1780 can be attributed to Adler's work on the description of a few fragments held at the Royal Library of Copenhagen.[14] To these fragments Adler assigned the fortunate

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[12] Schoeler, *From the aural*, p.34.

[13] See the survey of studies on Qur'ānic scholarship in the Muslim world in Morteza Karimi-Nia, 'The Historiography of the Qur'an in the Muslim World: The Influence of Theodor Nöldeke'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 15, 1 (2013), pp. 46-68.

[14] Adler, Jakob Georg Christian. *Descriptio codicum quorundam cuficorum partes Corani exhibentium in bibliotheca regia Hafniensi et ex iisdem de scriptura cufica Arabum observationes novae*. Altona, 1780.

definition of Kufic, although incorrectly used, as later underlined by Silvestre De Sacy in his *Mémoire sur l'origine et les anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes*, which he read in a public session on 5 April 1785.[15] In his history of the Arabic writing, Silvestre de Sacy referred to the manuscript evidence, i.e. 'aujourd'hui même la plupart des manuscrits coufiques de l'Alcoran', considered as a source to be explored from a palaeographic and philological point of view.

Furthermore, in 1830, Lindberg wrote a letter 'à M. le Chevalier P.O. Brönsted, conseiller d'état, sur quelques médailles cufiques dans le cabinet du Roi de Danemark, récemment trouvées dans l'île de Falster, et sur quelques manuscrits cufiques'.[16] The content of this letter was critically reviewed by Silvestre de Sacy because of the lack of knowledge of previous studies about the origins of Arabic writing.[17] Nevertheless, Lindberg's letter aroused great interest because of its reference to some variants featured in the Qur'ānic manuscripts he had described, as commented on by a member of the eighth section of the *Bulletin Universel des Sciences et de l'Industrie*, in the section on archaeology and numismatics in 1831:

> L'auteur (i.e. Lindberg) insiste sur l'importance de la découverte qu'il prétend avoir
> faite dans ces manuscrits de l'indication de variantes dans le texte même, surtout par
> des points de diverses couleurs, pour désigner des prononciations vocales

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[15] Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine Isaac, 'Mémoire sur l'origine et les plus anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes'. *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1808, 50, pp. 247-349 (Repr. in François Déroche – Sergio Noja Noseda, *Le manuscrit arabe 328 (a) de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*. Lesa – Paris, Fondazione Ferni Noja Noseda – Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998, vol. 1. *Sources de la transmission manuscrite du texte coranique, I, Les manuscrits de style ḥiǧāzī*, pp. XXVII-LXXXI), pp. 247-349.
[16] Lindberg, Jakob Christian. *Lettre à M. le Chevalier P.O. Brönsted, conseiller d'état, sur quelques médailles cufiques dans le cabinet du Roi de Danemark, récemment trouvées dans l'ile de Falster, et sur quelques manuscrits cufiques*. Copenhague, Aux frais de Schubothe, libraire: De l'imprimerie de Fabritius de Tengnagel, 1830.
[17] According to De Sacy, Lindberg was not aware of what had already been done 'dans la connaissance de l'histoire et des vicissitudes de l'écriture arabe', in Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine Isaac. 'Review of Lettre à M. Bronsted, sur quelques médailles cufiques dans le cabinet du Roi de Danemark, récemment trouvées dans l'ile de Falster, et sur quelques manuscrits cufiques ; par J. C. Lindberg. Copenhague, 1830'. *Journal des savans*, 1830, pp. 630-632.

différentes... Adler n'avait point expliqué cette bigarrure.[18]

After these first approaches to the palaeographic aspect of Qur'ānic manuscripts, it was in 1855 that Theodor Nöldeke completed his work on the origin and composition of the *sūras* which was published in Latin in 1856, i.e. *De origine et compositione surarum qoranicarum ipsiusque qorani*.[19] The scholar wrote the first part about the origin of the Qur'ānic text, listing the chronological order of the *sūras* and the second part about its composition and collection,[20] concluding his *De origine* by mentioning 'the first exemplars of the Qur'ān that have not been destroyed', it being possible that 'nowadays it exists in Africa or Asia a Qur'ān which disagrees with the vulgate'.[21] In the same period, the young scholar Michele Amari devoted his efforts to achieve his 'sad' catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the Royal Library in Paris, thus collecting data for analysing the chronology of the Qur'ānic text and drawing up the history of its writings and transmission.[22]

These two scholars, who marked the beginning of Qur'ānic manuscript studies in Europe, were associated because of the prize awarded by the French Academy in 1859 with regard to the topic suggested by the *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*:

Faire l'histoire critique du texte du Coran : rechercher la division primitive et le

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[18] 'Compte rendu de Lettre à M. Bronsted, sur quelques médailles cufiques dans le cabinet du Roi de Danemark, récemment trouvées dans l'ile de Falster, et sur quelques manuscrits cufiques; par J. C. Lindberg. Copenhague, 1830'. *Bulletin des sciences historiques, antiquités, philologie*, 17, 1831, pp. 176-177.

[19] Noeldeke, Theodorus. *De origine et compositione surarum qoranicarum ipsiusque qorani scripsit - Commentatio in concertatione civium Academiae Georgiae Augustae, IV. Junii MDCCCLV ab amplissimo philosophorum ordine praemio regio ornata*. Gottinga, Officina Academica Dieterichiana, 1856.

[20] The source for details that Nöldeke mentioned on 'the first Qur'āns', i.e. the first manuscripts, such as for example the absence of vowels and diacritical signs, is Silvestre de Sacy, 'Mémoire'.

[21] Noeldeke, *De origine*, p.101: 'Sed tamen priores Qoràni non omnes deleti videntur esse. [...] Etenim 'Uqba ibn 'Āmir, vir et doctrinae et fortitudinis laude insignis, post 'Oṯmânum Q. conscripsit, qui erat على غير تأليف عثمان, in cujus extrema parte, se hunc Q. ipsum scripsisse, dixit. Itaque fieri potest, ut etiamnunc in Asia vel in Africa exstet Qorànus, a vulgari discrepans. والله اعلم'.

[22] D'Ancona, Alessandro. *Carteggio di Michele Amari, raccolto e postillato coll'elogio di lui, letto nell'Accademia della Crusca*. Torino, Roux Frassati e C., (Società Tipografico – Editrice Nazionale), 1896 - 1907, vol. 3, p. 170.

caractère des différents morceaux qui le composent ; déterminer, autant qu'il est possible, avec l'aide des historiens arabes et des commentateurs, et d'après l'examen des morceaux eux-mêmes, les moments de la vie de Mahomet auxquels ils se rapportent ; exposer les vicissitudes que traversa le Coran, depuis les récitations de Mahomet jusqu'à la recension définitive qui lui donna la forme où nous le voyons ; déterminer, d'après l'examen de plus anciens manuscrits, la nature des variantes qui ont survécu aux recensions.[23]

This subject is representative of the new interest in textual criticism[24] based on old manuscripts which grew up in the 19th century, due to the presence of Qur'ānic manuscripts in several European libraries and institutions. In fact among the three winners, Michele Amari had access to the manuscripts of the royal library acquired through Asselin de Cherville in 1830,[25] whereas Theodor Nöldeke was able to use – after the publication of his 1856 *De origine* - the manuscripts of the libraries of Gotha, Berlin, Wien, Leiden, and of a private collection.

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[23] Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres. 'Actes académiques du 1er janvier 1857 au 31 décembre 1860. § 3. Prix décernés et prix proposés par l'académie. Sujets et jugements des concours depuis l'année 1857 jusqu'à l'année 1860'. *Mémoires de l'Institut Impérial de France, Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 23, 1868, pp.127-139, (pp.127-128).

[24] Reynolds interprets the critical study of the Qur'ānic text proposed by the competition as a mere identification of Qur'ānic passages and matching elements from Muḥammad's biography, i.e. 'The competition to which Nöldeke submitted his work involved the assumption that a critical study of the Qur'ān means matching individual passages ("morceaux") of the Qur'ān with elements of the Prophet's biography' (Reynolds, Gabriel Said. *The Qur'ān and Its Biblical Subtext*. Routledge, New York 2010, p.4). It is likely that Reynolds is not considering the last part of the text of the competition concerning the variant readings of the oldest manuscripts.

[25] Asselin de Cherville was agent du Consulat générale of France and Italy from 1806 to 1822, thus collecting Arabic manuscripts that were sold by his heirs to the Royal Library of France, see Déroche, François. 'De Fourmont à Reinaud, les péripéties de l'identification des plus anciens manuscrits du Coran'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, séance du 28 mai*, 143, 2, 1999, pp. 563-576 (p. 572). In his description of the results achieved when he was in Cairo, Asselin de Cherville also mentioned the Qur'ānic manuscripts now held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, i.e. 'Une collection considérable de feuilles du Coran, en caractères cufiques, sur peau de gazelle, depuis les premiers siècles de l'Islamisme, jusqu'à l'époque où ces caractères ont cessé d'être en usage, pour former une paléographie arabe. Je possède plusieurs feuilles du plus anciens manuscrit de cette espèce qui soit connu', in Asselin de Chervillé, Jean-Louis. 'Lettre de M. Asselin de Chervillé, Agent de Consulat général de France, au Caire, à M. Dacier, Secrétaire perpétuel de la troisième Classe de l'Institut, Caire, I Août 1814'. *Magasin Encyclopédique (ou Journal des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts)*, 3, 1815, pp. 82-89 (p. 86).

Thus, in his analysis of the manuscripts of the Royal Library to be submitted to the French Academy, Amari came to the conclusion that the variants of the Islamic tradition, i.e. the *qirā'āt*, are not featured by the 'kufic character',[26] since all editions different from 'Uthmān's edition 'seem to have disappeared',[27] and most of all because the *véritables variantes* transmitted by commentaries, concern vowels and diacritical points that have not been consistently executed in early Qur'ānic manuscripts. In his study of the manuscripts purchased by the Royal Library in 1830 (i.e. Arabic 324-383), Amari explored the orthography of their texts by comparing them with the 'present orthography'. Thus he concluded that orthographic variants of the early fragments were more numerous than the orthographic variants mentioned by Muslim scholars with reference to the oldest exemplars.[28]

The other scholar who won the Academy's competition was Nöldeke, who expanded his 1856 *De origine* by publishing the *Geschichte des Qorâns* in 1860, after having received the prize. In the latter work, Nöldeke added two sections about the *qirā'āt* and the history of the 'Uthmānic text in which he illustrated the history of the scripts used in early Qur'ānic manuscripts and analysed their variants and readings.[29] Nöldeke based his conclusions on the analysis of a few manuscripts to which he had access at that time, thus using them for making specific references to each witness:[30] the 'Kufic' manuscripts of the Library of Gotha (i.e. MSS 1-36), the Royal Library of Berlin (MS Berol. Or. Quart. 375, 379, 372 and 376), the

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[26] Amari, Michele. 'Bibliographie primitive du Coran. Extrait tiré de son mémoire inédit sur la chronologie et l'ancienne bibliographie du Coran' in Hartwig Derenbourg, ed., *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari. Scritti di filologia e storia araba; - di geografia, storia, diritto della Sicilia medievale; - studi bizantini e giudaici relative all'Italia meridionale nel medio evo; - documenti sulle relazioni fra gli stati italiani ed il Levante.* Palermo, Stabilimento Tipografico Virzì, 1910, pp. 1-22 (p.13).

[27] *Ibid,* p.14.

[28] *Ibid*, p.20.

[29] Nöldeke, Theodor. *Geschichte des Qorâns.* Göttingen, Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1860: this edition refers to the prize of the académie des inscriptions de Paris (i.e. 'Eine von der Pariser Académie des Inscriptions gekrönte Preisschrift').

[30] *Ibid*, pp. XI and 301.

University Library of Leiden, the Imperial Library of Wien and about forty fragments from the private collection of Wetzstein.[31]

At the end of the 19th century, another important manuscript purchased by Agnes Smith Lewis at Suez became the basis for a philological analysis of the text hidden in the *scriptio inferior* of its parchment leaves. This analysis produced a first work published by the owner in 1902 and a second study with the edition of the manuscript published in 1914 in cooperation with Alphonse Mingana, whose title (i.e. *Leaves from three ancient Qurâns, possibly pre-'Othmânic, with a list of their variants*) reflected the common presumption that non-'Uthmānic readings corresponded to pre-'Uthmanic readings, i.e. pre-'Uthmānic readings correspond to pre-'Uthmanic codices.[32] The 1914 edition generated a series of polemics and reactions that are emblematic of the reception of early Qur'ānic manuscripts and their analysis as well as of the situation of the Qur'ānic manuscript studies at the beginning of the 20th century. This palimpsest matches MS Mingana Christian Arabic Additional 150, which was identified in 2011 before starting this doctoral research and thus its literature and reception constitute one of the research questions investigated in the sections below.[33]

The polemics against authenticity and correctness of the readings of the 1914 edition of the Cambridge palimpsest by Mingana and Lewis underlined the necessity of verifying its variant readings,[34] thus expressing the beginning of an inevitable and revolutionary

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[31] It is likely that the consul Wetzstein had not yet sold the Bibliotheca Wetzsteniana II, which he sold to Berlin Library in 1862, and the collection gathered between 1860 and 1862, which he sold to Tübingen's Library in 1864. The 1860 edition was later expanded into two volumes published by Schwally, Nöldeke's former pupil, in 1909 and 1919. Schwally was able to use the personal copy of Nöldeke containing all his notes. In 1938, Pretzl completed the third volume of Bergsträsser, after the original author's death.

[32] About this overlap, see Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p.120.

[33] See history and palimpsestuous reading in the description and analysis of MS CaB.

[34] The verification of the 1914 edition was requested by several scholars after it was published as there were some doubts about the plausibility of certain variants (see e.g. Jeffery and Blachére, mentioned in Fedeli, Alba. 'Mingana and the manuscript of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, one century later'. *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 11, 3, 2005, pp. 3-7), but also because there had been no access to the manuscript itself for many years. See e.g. complaints

phenomenon: the facsimile reproduction of the sources of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text in order to verify the sources themselves. Within this cultural context must be placed a project like the facsimile reproduction of early Qur'ānic manuscripts published by Moritz in 1905, i.e. his *Arabic palaeography: a collection of Arabic texts from the first century of the Hidjra till the year 1000*, although the materials were collected with a palaeographical approach rather than with a philological purpose.

At the beginning of the 20th century the philological approach to analysing Qur'ānic manuscripts and their access through images merged with the study of the *qirā'āt* tradition and the *maṣāḥif* literature. This combination of circumstances inspired the project to create a critical apparatus of the Qur'ānic text, the famous *Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Koran*, whose founder was Gotthelf Bergsträsser in the 1920s and 1930s. His project of establishing a critical edition of the Qur'ānic text was based on the idea of collecting evidence from ancient Qur'ānic fragments scattered all over the world, as according to him the oldest 'Kufic Qur'āns' represented a stage of the evolution of the Qur'ānic text.[35] In 1930, he published his *Plan,* starting to collect manuscripts' photographs with his Leica camera for the project of the Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. In fact he wanted to verify the manuscripts themselves (erneute Nachprüfung) as 'we must create archives of photographs from the Kufic Qur'āns'.[36] In the same years, Arthur Jeffery was gathering an archive of variant readings transmitted by indirect tradition from commentaries and philological

by Léon, Henri M. 'Review of Mingana – Smith Lewis, Leaves from three ancient Qurâns possibly pre-'Othmânic'. *Islamic Review & Muslim India*, 3, 1915, pp. 239-250 (p.240): 'accordingly we applied to Dr. Agnes S. Lewis, the owner of the documents, for permission to inspect the same, and in reply to such request received a courteous reply from that lady regretting her inability, at present, to produce the documents in question, inasmuch as the same were detained in Germany, they having been sent to that country, prior to the war, for exhibition at Leipzig'. The verification of the 1914 edition is one of the research questions of this doctoral research.

[35] Bergsträsser, Gotthelf . *Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Koran*. München, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1930 (repr. in François Déroche - Sergio Noja Noseda. *Le manuscrit Or.2165 (f.1 à 61) de la British Library*. Lesa – London, Fondazione Ferni Noja Noseda and British Library, 2001, pp. LVII-LXIV), p. LXII.

[36] *Ibidem.*

works and, after he met Bergsträsser, their two projects interlocked to form the basis for studying the history of the Qur'ānic text and producing its critical edition,[37] in a period in which the available printed texts were Flügel's edition of 1834 and the Egyptian edition of 1923. The former edition was not furnished with a critical apparatus and explanation of the methodology used in reconstructing such a text, whereas the latter text reproduced only the Kufan reading of 'Āṣim through Ḥafṣ.[38]

The project was interrupted by the death of Bergsträsser in a mountaineering accident in 1933, so Otto Pretzl should have continued to gather the photographs as agreed with Jeffery.[39] Pretzl also completed Bergsträsser's contribution to the enlarged edition of Nöldeke's *Geschichte* and its third volume was published in 1938. This work has to be considered the cornerstone of the philological analysis of manuscripts, as it includes an entire chapter on Qur'ānic manuscript analysis. In fact several manuscripts were used and quoted, comparing their variants with the evidence from the *qirā'āt* literature, i.e. the manuscripts from Berlin (301, 303, 305-310, 313-317, 323, 325, 327-328, 331, 333, 335, 337-339, 341, 345-346, 348-352, 354-356, 359, 362-364);[40] Gotha (427, 433, 437, 441-443, 445-447, 451, 457-458, 460, 462), the British Museum, Fes, Marrakech (Ben Jūsuf), Paris (Bibliothèque nationale ar.328), Istanbul (Saray 50385, 50386 ; Saray Emanet 6 et 12 ; Saray Medina 1a et 1b ; Saray Sultan Ahmet 2) and Wien (Ser. nova 4742).[41] Two separate sections concern the

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[37] Jeffery, Arthur. 'Progress in the Study of the Koran Text'. *The Muslim World*, 25, 1935, pp. 4-16 (repr. in Ibn Warraq, ed. *The Origins of the Koran: Classic Essays on Islam's Holy Book*. New York, Prometheus Books, 2008, pp. 135-144), p.141.

[38] *Ibid*, pp. 136-137.

[39] *Ibid*, pp. 142-143.

[40] The reference is the catalogue by Ahlwardt, published in 1887. The section on Qur'ānic manuscripts 'in kufischer Schrift' includes MSS 300 – 368, see Ahlwardt, Wilhelm. *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, no. 1.* Berlin, A. W. Schade's Buchdruckerei (L. Schade), 1887, pp. 101-139.

[41] See Nöldeke, *History*, III, pp.249-273, in particular pp. 250-251, as the scholar describes his access to the manuscripts.

analysis of Lewis' palimpsest in describing its orthographic characteristics[42] and its non-'Uthmānic variants, although according to Bergsträsser-Pretzl some of the readings by Mingana and Lewis are unlikely and the text,[43] affected by a non-'Uthmānic transmission, is very close to the 'Uthmānic text.[44]

Moreover, the third volume of the *Geschichte* drew forth some hypotheses about the provenance of the manuscripts considering their attribution to particular readers, underlining the methodological problem of identifying the location of a manuscript on the basis of single variants[45] and concluding that manuscripts feature a typology of textual mix; this leads to the research question on text type in Qur'ānic manuscripts. The same conclusions were drawn by Jeffery and Mendelsohn in their analysis of the Samarqand Codex through Pissareff's reproduction. In fact, according to them the manuscript contains 'Iraqi readings as well as Medina readings thus expressing a mixed textual type'.[46]

The circumstance that changed the situation of textual criticism and manuscript studies at the summit of their development was the Second World War, which interrupted all of the projects related to manuscript analysis. It is worth mentioning the case of the presumed destruction of the photographic archive collected by Bergsträsser during bombing,

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[42] *Ibid*, III, pp. 53-57 (i.e. The Orthography of Agnes S. Lewis' Sinai Palimpsests).

[43] *Ibid*, III, p.53.

[44] *Ibid,* III, p.99, thus expressing his disagreement with the definition of 'possibly pre-'Uthmānic stated by Mingana and Lewis even in the title of their edition. Moreover, Bergsträsser (Pretzl) does not consider the script of the palimpsest as old as was proposed by Mingana and Lewis. See section below.

[45] *Ibid.*, III, p.270. The manuscript described as an example of textual mix is MS Saray 50386 (see Déroche, François. *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam. Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus.* Leiden, Brill, 2009, p.148). Similar problems concerning the location of manuscripts and readings have been stressed by Déroche, François. *Qur'ans of the Umayyads. A First Overview.* Brill, Leiden, 2014, p.34 regarding the provenance of the codex Parisino-petropolitanus from Syria according to Dutton on the basis of the Syrian readings of the manuscript.

[46] Jeffery, Arthur and Isaac Mendelsohn. 'The Orthography of the Samarqand Qur'ān Codex'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 62, 3, 1942, pp. 175-195 (repr. in Ibn Warraq, ed. *Which Koran? Variants, Manuscripts, Linguistics.* New York, Prometheus Books, 2011, pp. 367-403), pp.401-402. Their analysis was completed by Ibn Warraq, 'Some Additions to A. Jeffery and I. Mendelsohn, and Some Pages from the Samarqand Qur'ān Codex' in Ibn Warraq, ed. *Which Koran? Variants, Manuscripts, Linguistics.* New York, Prometheus Books, 2011, pp. 405-430.

although contemporaries seemed aware that this archive had not been destroyed, as confirmed by the fact that about sixty years later, Bergsträsser's archive reappeared.[47] The assumption that a bombing had dissolved Bergsträsser's plan symbolized the end of Qur'ānic manuscript studies and the end of any possible form of cooperation necessary for achieving results in this discipline. Thus Régis Blachère wrote in his *Introduction au Coran* in 1958, referring to a critical edition of the Qur'ānic text:

> Une œuvre de cette ampleur nécessite une collaboration internationale, une mise en commun de toutes les ressources en manuscrits existant dans le monde, une prospection de toutes les bibliothèques en vue de publier les traités en arabe sur l'exégèse et les « lectures », enfin un dépouillement méthodique des ouvrages parus, quelle qu'en soit la langue, relatifs au Coran. Après le bouleversement de la seconde guerre mondiale, qui n'entrevoit les insurmontables difficultés rencontrées dans l'accomplissement de cette œuvre ?[48]

Immediately after the Second World War, there were no more projects merging the evidence of the *qirā'āt* literature and of manuscript analysis, as the *Plan* by Bergsträsser and Jeffery did,[49] thus confirming the situation in manuscript studies as described by Jeffery in his *Materials*:

It is of course obvious that all the information we can gather regarding the text of these early codices is of the utmost importance for the textual criticism of the Koran. This in the absence of any direct manuscript evidence gives us our sole witness to the types of text

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[47] See Fedeli, Alba. 'Isolated Qur'ānic fragments: the case of the three papyri from the Mingana Collection' in Asma Hilali ed., *Proceedings of the Conference 'Fragmentation and Compilation. The Making of Religious Texts in Islam' (London, Institute of Ismaili Studies, May 2012 and May 2013)*, forthcoming.

[48] Blachère, Régis. *Introduction au Coran.* Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose, 1959, pp.196-197.

[49] The studies of Edmund Beck are an example of the direction undertaken by scholars in referring to the codices as they have been transmitted in commentaries; see Beck, Edmund. 'Der 'Uṯmānische Kodex in der Koranlesung des zweiten Jahrhunderts'. *Orientalia*, 14, 1945, pp. 355-373, pp. 355-373.

which 'Uthman's standard text superseded.[50]

The end of manuscript studies coincided with the absence of access to the manuscripts themselves, not only as a result of the photographs' destruction, but also considering the disappearance of manuscripts like the Lewis palimpsest. A new change occurred in the 1980s with the combination of two facts: firstly, the expansion of the cataloguing works undertaken by libraries in describing physical features of Arabic manuscript collections and secondly, the discovery of the manuscripts in Sana'a.

Among the catalogues, the fundamental work of Déroche published in 1983 has been the cornerstone in classifying the scripts of the Qur'ānic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France[51] in that it became the reference[52] for every future study dealing with Qur'ānic manuscripts. The palaeographical approach to early Qur'ānic manuscripts has a long tradition, within which the contribution of Adolf Grohmann[53] is outstanding, as he proposed a dating of early Qur'ānic parchments by a comparison with data from Islamic literature and script characteristics in dated papyri. Despite the limitations peculiar to the genre of catalogues itself, examples exist of catalogues that did not only publish palaeographical and codicological descriptions, as with the catalogue by Helene Loebenstein[54] who also listed the variants in the fragments in the Austrian National Library.

[50] Jeffery, *Materials*, pp. 14-15. Already quoted in Fedeli, Alba. 'Early evidences of variant readings in Qur'ānic manuscripts' in Karl-Heinz Ohlig and Gerd-R. Puin eds., *Die dunklen Anfänge. Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam*. Berlin, Verlag Hans Schiler, 2005, pp.293-316 (repr. *The Hidden Origins of Islam. New Research into its early History*, New York, Prometheus Books, 2010, pp. 311-334), in relation to the polemics against Lewis' palimpsest.

[51] Déroche, François. *Les manuscrits du Coran. Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983. (*Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Deuxième partie: Manuscrits musulmans, 1, 1*).

[52] Some minor additions to Déroche's classification have been made in George, Alain. *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy*. London, Saqi Books, 2010, pp.147-161 (i.e. 'Guideline to Déroche's script classification').

[53] Grohmann, Adolf. 'The problem of dating early Qur'āns'. *Der Islam*, 33, 1958, pp. 213-231.

[54] Loebenstein, Helene. *Koranfragmente auf Pergament aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Wien, Brüder Hollinek, 1982 (Mitteilingen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Neue Serie ; Folge 14).

Another catalogue by Gerd Puin of the Kuwait exhibition of Sana'a codices displayed to the academic world the first information about the new findings of the Great Mosque of Sana'a discovered in 1971-72. In this catalogue, the scholar presented the methodology applied in classifying the formless amassment found in the false ceiling of the Great Mosque of Sana'a,[55] while a few years later he published the first concise results on the content of the text and its variants,[56] concluding that the Sana'a manuscripts bear more variants than the *qirā'āt* of the Islamic tradition, which implies that the systems of the canonical readers are more recent than these manuscripts' variants.[57]

Among Qur'ānic manuscript studies, it is worth mentioning the work of Efim Rezvan on the analysis of St. Petersburg manuscript, i.e. Institute of Oriental Studies E20, in which the scholar proposed an analytic and systematic study of the content and script of this single witness.[58] In a series of articles published in the journal *Manuscripta Orientalia*, Rezvan drew attention to the manuscript's script and text, thus focusing on orthography, corrections, later changes and variants, proposing his hypothesis about the emergence of a struggle for achieving the standardization of the Qur'ānic text at the beginning of Islam.[59]

In the same year (1998), the first volume appeared of the Amari project to publish the *Sources de la transmission manuscrite du texte coranique,* bearing both images and edition of early Qur'ānic manuscripts, planned by Noja Noseda and Déroche with the aim of making

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[55] Puin, Gerd-R. 'Methods of Research on Qur'anic Manuscripts. A Few Ideas' in *Maṣāḥif Ṣanʿāʾ (19 March – 19 May 1985).* al-Kuwait, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, 1985, pp. 9-17.
[56] Puin, Gerd-R. 'Observations on early Qur'ān manuscripts in Ṣanʿāʾ' in Stefan Wild, ed., *The Qur'an as Text* . Leiden, Brill, 1996, pp. 107-111.
[57] *Ibid.,* p.109.
[58] Rezvan, Efim A. 'The Qur'ān and its world : VI. Emergence of the Canon : The struggle for uniformity'. *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 4, 2, 1998, pp. 13-54.
[59] *Ibidem.*

manuscripts accessible and thus continuing Bergsträsser's project.[60] Unfortunately, the project has realized only the publication of MS Bibliothèque nationale de France ar.328a and MS British Library Or.2165 (ff.1-61), whereas after a series of events and the death of Noja Noseda, it seems that now the *Corpus Coranicum* project is continuing a similar plan, thus inheriting the previous plans of the German scholars.

1.1.2. The impact of Qur'ānic manuscript studies

The first decade of the 21st century has seen flourishing activity in manuscript studies in coincidence with a new attention to manuscripts both within and outside academia that has shaped the public image of this discipline, to which the digital revolution has surely contributed. The study of the complex evolution of such a concept in its historical context is outside the scope of this chronological survey of previous studies, although it seems relevant to mention the exaggerated attention received by the article by Toby Lester which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1999[61] which has raised infinite polemics and consequences not only in the Yemeni press, but also in its political affairs.[62] In this matter, there was no academic position regarding the theories that Lester mentioned regarding the Sana'a manuscripts. The Sana'a palimpsest in particular has continued to be the object of polemics rather than of study whose results should have divulgated, particularly in the case of the articles published by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Aʿẓamī in the periodical *Impact*

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[60] In the introduction to the first volume of the series, it was stated that 'il nous a paru que la reproduction de l'original permettait à chacun de juger sur pièces', Déroche, François - Sergio Noja Noseda. *Le manuscrit arabe 328 (a) de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.* Lesa – Paris, Fondazione Ferni Noja Noseda and Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998 (*Sources de la transmission manuscrite du texte coranique, I, Les manuscrits de style ḥiǧāzī, vol. 1*), p. XX.

[61] Lester, Toby. 'What is the Koran?' *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 1999 (online resource, accessed on May 2010: http://www.theatlantic.com/past/issues/99jan/koran.htm).

[62] Among the several articles, al-Ayyām (from al-šarq al-awsaṭ), *wazīr al-ṯaqāfa: mā aktašifu lā yatanāqaḍu maʿa al-Qurʾān al-karīm*, 20 February 1999.

international.[63]

A'ẓamī has also published a work about the history of the Qur'ānic text.[64] Despite its marginal connection with Qur'ānic manuscript studies, it shows an interesting point of view in this discipline, since A'ẓamī describes the political and religious agenda promoted by non-Muslim orientalists in their work about Islam and particularly about the Qur'ān. Thus he criticizes the Orientalist approach in analysing manuscripts, in that scholars deform manuscript data, giving the example of Mingana and his 1914 edition of the Cambridge palimpsest. Contradictorily, A'ẓamī admits to not having inspected the original manuscript, while he explains the distortion of the manuscript's text caused by Mingana, thus revealing that the manuscript text and edition text are overlapping in his theory.[65]

Thus, the possibility of accessing original artefacts to verify the documents renewed the Bergsträsser proposal, which seems to be required in Qur'ānic studies today. An (un)expected episode[66] has reaffirmed the importance of Bergsträsser's plan for collecting an archive of photographed manuscripts. In fact his archive has reappeared, becoming the starting point of the *Corpus Coranicum* project directed by Angelika Neuwirth, who inherited Bergsträsser's microfilms from her mentor, Anton Spitaler.[67]

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[63] al-Azami, Muhammad Mustafa. 'Orientalists and the Qur'an: Erase, revise and fabricate'. *Impact International*, 2000, 30, 1, pp. 26-30; idem, 'Orientalists and the Qur'an: Hoping to reform, revise Islam'. *Impact International*, 2000, 30, 3, pp. 26-28; idem, 'Orientalists and the Qur'an: No desire to understand'. *Impact International*, 2000, 30, 1, pp. 23-25.

[64] al-A'ẓamī, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. *The history of the Qur'ānic text. From revelation to Compilation. A comparative study with the Old and New Testaments.* Leicester, UK Islamic Academy, 2003.

[65] See section below about MS CaB. The absence of this analysis in the scholar's work has already been underlined in Fedeli, Alba. 'Mingana and the manuscript of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, one century later'. *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 11, 3, 2005, pp. 3-7.

[66] Contemporaries have been awaiting the reappearance of the non-destroyed materials since at least the 1940s, see Fedeli, 'Papyri'. The web community was aware of the reappearance at least three years before academia, see e.g. google group's message posted on 30 March 2001:
https://groups.google.com/forum/#!msg/soc.religion.islam/aynoPWczSbs/yzD3NRpSPLwJ.

[67] Marx, Michael. 'The Koran according to Agfa. Gotthelf Bergsträßers Archiv der Koranhandscriften'. *Trajekte*, 19, 10, 2009, pp. 25 - 29.

In these public and sometimes polemical circumstances, the several studies about the text of early Qur'ānic manuscripts published in the last decade have become objects and references in numerous blogs trying to prove or refuse the authenticity of the Qur'ānic text. Recently, in fact, the number of studies about Qur'ānic manuscripts has increased enormously, so that several works about manuscript analysis have been published, as well as works in the wider field of Qur'ānic studies in which specific details from manuscripts have been used for confirming or describing other theories.

This is the case of *The Syro-Aramaic reading of the Koran* published by Cristoph Luxenberg in 2000.[68] The scholar proposes to decode some ambiguities of the Qur'ānic text by applying a graphic-linguistic methodology which according to him implies and confirms the existence of a Christian-Syriac *milieu* surrounding the writing of the first Qur'ānic copies, as well as the (supposed) existence of a Syriac lectionary[69] that has been later copied in Arabic. The basis of this theory are supposed to be the early Qur'ānic manuscripts written in *ḥijāzī* style, i.e. MS BnF 328a,[70] MS BL Or.2165,[71] the Sana'a fragments,[72] the Samarqand codex[73] and at a

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[68] The book was published in English in 2007; see Luxenberg, Christoph. *The Syro-Aramaic reading of the Koran. A contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran* (translated by Tim Mücke). Berlin, Hans Schiler, 2007 (orig. pub. as *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran. Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache*, Berlin, 2000).

[69] Luxenberg's theory has to be connected with Günter Lüling's previous theory about the pre-Qur'ān (or primitive Qur'ān), i.e. a research thesis published in 1970 and republished in 1993, then translated into English in 2003: Lüling, Günter. *A challenge to Islam for reformation. The rediscovery and reliable Reconstruction of a comprehensive pre-Islamic Christian Hymnal hidden in the Koran under earliest Islamic reinterpretations.* New Delhi, Shri Jainendra Press, 2003 (orig. pub. as *Über den Urkoran : Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion der vorislamisch-christlichen Strophenlieder im Koran*, 1993. A research thesis published in 1970, *Über den Ur-Qur'an : Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion vorislamischer christlicher Strophenlieder im Qur'an*). However, it must be noted that Lüling's work analysed the codex of 'Uthmān without any comparison and reference to the early codices and fragments.

[70] Luxenberg, *The Syro-Aramaic reading*, pp. 73-74.

[71] The manuscript of the British Library, i.e. the facsimile published in Déroche, François - Sergio Noja Noseda. *Le manuscrit Or.2165 (f.1 à 61) de la British Library*. Lesa – London, Fondazione Ferni Noja Noseda and British Library, 2001 (*Sources de la transmission manuscrite du texte coranique, I, Les manuscrits de style ḥiǧāzī, vol. 2, 1*), was mentioned only in the expanded edition of the English edition in 2007.

[72] Luxenberg cites the microfilm available since 1998 in a general way, without mentioning the precise manuscript or leaves. The only reference to a precise manuscript is given through the study of Gerd-R. Puin published in 1999, see Luxenberg, *The Syro-Aramaic reading*, p. 74, note 94.

[73] The facsimile published by Pissaref, e.g. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

few points the scholar mentions the manuscripts in general,[74] whereas references to precise points in the sources are rare.[75] Luxenberg's theory had a huge impact on the general public in a sensationalistic way, also raising some critique from academia.[76] Despite his innovative approach in Qur'ānic exegesis through Qur'ānic manuscripts, the arbitrary use and access to these witnesses together with the unsystematic modifications of diacritical marks from his passage from Syriac to Arabic script are the weak points of his graphic-linguistic approach.

Further examples of studies whose feasibility has been a consequence of the publication of original artefacts are the studies of Dutton, Rabb and Powers. In 2009, the latter scholar published a monograph about the Islamic abolition of adoption,[77] proposing a new interpretation of the law of inheritance based on a previous study of the witnesses of the Islamic tradition[78] and the analysis of the word *kalāla* as it has been read and corrected in MS BnF ar.328a.[79] Powers interpreted the first hand writing as reading the variants *kalla*, i.e. daughter-in-law instead of the obscure *kalala* and the feminine *wa-la-hā* instead of the masculine *wa-la-hu* in Q.4:12. Moreover he conjectured an alteration of verse Q.4:176 as a result of the alteration in the codicological structure of the quires. Although the innovative approach that shows the potential importance of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text and the necessity of comparing any theory related to the Qur'ānic text with early

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[74] Luxenberg mentions the oldest *ḥijāzī* and kufic manuscripts without specifying which witnesses are supporting his theory, e.g. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[75] In a later article published in 2007, Luxenberg states his purpose of verifying the traces of Syriac letters in early Qur'ānic manuscripts, i.e. the same corpus used in the Syro-Aramaic reading. However, in this later article Luxenberg admits to have used one Sana'a manuscript without defining it (die Sanaa-Handschrift), whereas in the Syro-Aramaic reading he mentions the Sana'a manuscripts, using the plural. See *Ibid.*, p. 394.

[76] See for example Hopkins, Simon. 'Review of Christoph Luxenberg, Die Syro-Aramäische Lesart des Koran. Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache'. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 28, 2003, pp. 377-380.

[77] Powers, David S. *Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men. The making of the last Prophet.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

[78] Powers, David S. 'The Islamic law of inheritance reconsidered : a new reading of Q.4 :12b'. *Studia Islamica*, 55, 1982, pp. 61-94.

[79] After initial access to the manuscript via the facsimile publication of MS BnF 328a in the Sources, Powers inspected the original artefact, also applying an infrared filter and ultraviolet light in imaging the parchment bearing the later correction to the text of the first hand.

manuscript data, Powers' hypothesis has some weak points. Thus, Dutton recently criticized this interpretation, which he considered to be a misreading of the manuscript's text supported only by confutations.[80] Apart from the arguments proposed by Dutton,[81] it should be noted that Powers has used the argument of corrections without describing such corrections in comparison with the scribal habits of MS BnF ar.328a. Moreover, Powers has not given any reference to the readings of the two verses as they appear in other manuscripts.[82]

Among the studies devoted to the analysis of manuscript text in the last decades, the studies of Dutton on the text of MS BnF 328a[83] and BL Or. 2165[84] have been focused on the identification of the readings expressed in such witnesses through comparison with the reading system formulated in the *qirā'āt* literature. The following study by Rabb[85] of MS BL Or.2165 traced the non-canonical readings that Dutton had not identified in his previous article. Apart from illuminating conclusions that the scholar reached in describing firstly the pre-Ibn Mujāhid *qirā'āt* landscape, secondly the fluidity of the readings in early Qur'ānic manuscripts and thirdly the identification of the non-canonical tradition of the Ḥimṣī reading in MS BL Or.2165, this study has shown the actual limits in trying to identify manuscript readings. In fact, Rabb has been able to recognize a few readings on the basis of

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[80] Dutton, 'The kalāla verses'.

[81] Dutton does not read the variants as suggested by Powers and, interestingly, he explains the variant *wa-la-hā* as a grammatical variant, corroborated by a similar grammatical variant in MS Mingana Isl.Ar.1572 (see section below). Moreover, Dutton criticizes the 'speculation' about the reason for the codicological anomalies of MS BnF 328a.

[82] For example Berlin manuscript (We.1913) reads Q.4 in its entirety, Istanbul manuscripts read Q.4:1-65 (Ist TIEM ŞE 54) and Q.4:1-102 (Ist TIEM ŞE 84).

[83] Dutton, Yasin. 'An Early Muṣḥaf According to the Reading of Ibn 'Āmir'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 3, 1,2001, pp. 71-89.

[84] Dutton, Yasin. 'Some Notes on the British Library's 'Oldest Qur'an Manuscript' (Or. 2165)'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 6, 1, 2004, pp. 43-71.

[85] Rabb, Intisar. 'Non-canonical readings of the Qur'an : Recognition and authenticity (The Ḥimṣī Reading)'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 2006, 8, 2, pp. 84-127 (p.108).

an unedited manuscript from the Vatican Library.[86] This raised an important question about the nature of the available data on the reading system that can be used to compare manuscripts and *qirāʾāt* literature.

A further study that should be mentioned within this approach in trying to identify reading systems is the complex and controversial analysis of the Sanaʾa palimpsest by Sadeghi, who published a first analysis of the scattered leaves of Sanaʾa palimpsest[87] and a second study on the entire part of the palimpsest held at Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt in cooperation with other scholars,[88] introducing the concept of text types in analysing Qurʾānic manuscripts. Without going into these complex and controversial studies in depth, the approach and methodology in accessing the manuscript and its text must be underlined, i.e. the use of stemmatics for detecting text types by using three texts, one of which is known only by indirect tradition,[89] whereas the nature of the images used for the segmented edition in the 2012 article, has not been declared by the scholar.[90]

A different methodology for the textual criticism of the Qurʾānic text was applied by Small in his monograph published in 2011. In fact, in his introduction the scholar states the use of reasoned eclecticism as his methodology.[91] The experiment seems to be challenging, although it retains all of the limitations of experiments. In fact, Small proposed to take into

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[86] *Ibid.*, p.110.

[87] Sadeghi, Benham and Uwe Bergmann. 'The Codex of a Companion of the Prophet and the Qurʾān of the Prophet'. *Arabica*, 57, 2010, pp. 343-436.

[88] Sadeghi, Benham and Mohsen Goudarzi. 'Ṣanʿāʾ 1 and the Origins of the Qurʾān'. *Der Islam*, 87, 2012, pp. 1-129.

[89] This is one of the unclear points in Sadeghi's analyses published in 2010 and 2012, i.e. the use of the (reconstructed) codex of Ibn Masʿūd and other (reconstructed) Companion codices on a level of equality with the manuscript codex of Sanaʾa in drawing stemmata of manuscripts and text types, see e.g. Sadeghi - Bergmann. 'The Codex of a Companion', p. 390. Moreover, it must be noted that the scholar did not use any phylogenetic software in completing such an analysis.

[90] In the first note of the 2012 article, Sadeghi thanked Christian Robin and the Ferni Noja Noseda Foundation for giving him 'their photographs and ultraviolet images of the Sanaʾa palimpsest (i.e. DaM 01-27.1), although he did not specify which kind of photographs he received and how he accessed the *scriptio inferior*. See Sadeghi - Goudarzi, 'Ṣanʿāʾ 1', p. 1.

[91] Small, Keith. *Textual Criticism and Qurʾān Manuscripts.* Lanham and Plymouth, Lexington Books, 2011, p. 5.

account not only the external, but also the internal evidence, which are 'considerations having to do with the habits, mistakes, and tendencies of scribes, or the style or thought of an author'.[92] However, the scholar selected an inevitably small portion of the text to be compared in twenty-two manuscripts, i.e. 102 words, thus making the use of internal evidence highly difficult, e.g. consideration of scribal habits. In fact, the selection is likely to exclude the identification of scribal habits.

It seems that applying methodologies of textual criticism and identifying the reading system of manuscripts through detecting and listing variants have been the main features of manuscript studies since their beginning; however, in recent years new attention has been drawn to the cultural context within which manuscripts have been produced, inferring such information from the manuscripts themselves. Although listing and describing the variants read in manuscripts remain probably the first outcome, it may not be the ultimate goal in reading and editing a manuscript's text.[93] Thus the study and inspection of the manuscripts and their texts leads to a reconstruction of the cultural and material environment in which artefacts were produced and texts were written, i.e. copied and/or written down.

The method of reading early Qurʾānic manuscripts to trace signs of the mechanism of the scribes' activity was questioned by Déroche in his analysis of the codex Parisino-petropolitanus in 2009. After a long and pioneering research in the field of palaeography and codicology since the 1980s, the scholar has also analysed the text of codex Parisino-petropolitanus, identifying the dynamics around its execution. He has recognized traces of

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[92] *Ibidem.*
[93] See the new approach in editing and analysing the Sana'a palimpsest in Hilali, Asma. 'Was the Ṣanʿāʾ Qurʾān Palimpsest a Work in Progress?' in David Hollenberg, , Christoph Rauch and Sabine Schmidtke, eds., *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition.* Leiden, Brill, forthcoming.

teamwork by five scribes from a palaeographical point of view, where each scribe has expressed his individual position and decision regarding the orthography of the text against a written exemplar. The detection of such individual choices in the copyists' activity raises interesting questions about the value of variants encountered in manuscripts. Moreover, Déroche has explored the use of the object itself and its text after it has been realized through the signs of corrections and additions by later readers that lasted until the third century, as palaeographical hypotheses suggest.

A similar approach has been developed by Hilali in her on-going research on the Sana'a palimpsest, as suggested by the studies already published before the forthcoming edition of the manuscript. The scholar has clearly stated her novel approach in considering the detection of 'Qur'ānic variants'[94] as a point of departure for a deeper analysis of the manuscript and of the scribal activity, in terms of writing as well as of listening and reciting.[95] Thus she interprets the Sana'a palimpsest in a learning and teaching environment, as implied, for example, by instruction notes for reading between Q.8 and Q.9.[96]

Such investigation in what has been defined as a new sub-discipline in Qur'ānic studies seems to require a systematic and comprehensive study of each witness among the corpus of early Qur'ānic manuscripts, beyond the mere production of a list of variants to be compared with a standard text chosen by the editor and to be labelled according to its reading. This should be a necessary development at a time when only few known manuscripts have been analysed in their entirety, although many of them are available

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[94] The scholar specifies that they are textual features that could correspond to the concept of Qur'ānic variants.

[95] *Ibidem* and Hilali, Asma. 'Le palimpseste de Ṣanʿāʾ et la canonization du Coran : nouveaux éléments'. *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz*, 21, 2010, pp. 443-448.

[96] See Hilali, 'Work in Progress'.

online. Moreover, the unedited materials described by Déroche in his 2014 overview of the *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*[97] challenge the traditional knowledge about the corpus of early Qur'ānic manuscripts.

Furthermore, this new approach corresponds to a general new interest in early Qur'ānic artefacts,[98] in particular in Qur'anic palimpsests, as well as in investigating the Qur'anic text of the manuscript tradition which has generated a new reception of these artefacts. This phenomenon reflects a general attention to the materiality of the manuscript objects also found outside academia and corresponds to a period of great and easy accessibility of manuscripts, mainly through their digital and online presence as a result of the digital revolution. The history of Qur'ānic manuscript studies has been always characterized by important developments in coincidence with important changes in accessing the manuscripts, as described above.

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[97] This was a similar and independent project planned, started and never published by Noja Noseda, i.e. the series *The oldest Koranic scripts (the Prophet, the rightly-guided Caliphs and Umayyad Era)*.
[98] Among the important projects studying manuscripts' materiality, one example can be mentioned, i.e. the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) based at the University of Hamburg (http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/About_e.html).

1.2. QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MINGANA COLLECTION

The early Qur'ānic manuscripts from the Mingana Collection are among the unedited and unexplored materials for studying the history of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text. Their being unexplored is in part the consequence of the historical and cultural situation of the 1930s and of the situation of Arabic studies in Birmingham after Mingana's death. Moreover, the lack of studies of these important witnesses is part of a general and old presumption that all Qur'ānic manuscripts read the text in the same manner.[99]

1.2.1. Alphonse Mingana and his Qur'ānic manuscripts

The Mingana Collection is named after Alphonse Mingana, the scholar who sought, detected and acquired it mainly during three journeys to the Middle East between 1924 and 1929, as declared through the official image in catalogues and newspaper, but also during his time in England through European antiquarian dealers between 1931 and 1936, as private documents in his correspondence reveal.

Mingana was an Iraqi scholar, born in Mosul, and became a naturalized British citizen in 1920, after arriving in Birmingham in 1913.[100] Through the help of Rendel Harris, he came

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[99] For example, this was the experience and impression of Smith Lewis in 1914 (Mingana, Alphonse and Agnes Smith Lewis. *Leaves from three ancient Qurâns possibly pre-'Othmânic with a list of their Variants.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1914.) and of Déroche in the 1980s. See Déroche, François. 'Studying the manuscripts of the Qur'ān, Past and Future'. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 59, 2006, (Actes de la Conférence internationale sur les manuscrits du Coran, Bologne, 26-28 septembre 2002), pp. 163-181 (pp. 163-164). Arthur Jeffery complained about the absence of variant readings in manuscripts in 1936 and this is the presumption of Sadeghi in 2010. In fact, Sadeghi states that 'all the other known early manuscripts are 'Uṯmānic', which seems to assume that a complete analysis of the text of known manuscripts has been made (Sadeghi - Bergmann. 'The Codex of a Companion', p. 371).

[100] On the period before 1913 and his studies, see for example the Curriculum vitae that Mingana sent to the John Rylands Library in order to be appointed as curator of the Library. In fact the Archives (John Rylands Library JRL/3/8/3) hold a Curriculum Vitae for Mingana listing his works until 1908 together with the reviews

into contact with the academic community, thus meeting Agnes Smith Lewis in Cambridge[101] and Henry Guppy from Manchester[102] so that in 1915 he became curator of the John Rylands Library.[103] Rendel Harris recommended him[104] for the project proposed by Edward Cadbury together with the John Rylands Library for collecting manuscripts. Initially, in fact, the project was a joint venture agreement clearly defined in its financial aspects[105] between Cadbury and the John Rylands Library, although after the first journey in 1924, Cadbury decided to incur the expedition's expenses alone, without cooperating with Manchester.[106] It seems that this change of plan was a result of Cadbury's desire to donate a library to Birmingham, although in the minute book of John Rylands Library, the fact that the latter was unable to afford the expenses was also mentioned.[107]

Thus, while Mingana was curator of the John Rylands Library (1915-1931), where he was

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of these works and possible referees: Rendel Harris, Agnes Smith Lewis and her sister Margaret Gibson, and Bantock, i.e. the well known professor of music in Birmingham, Granville Bantock. In particular, as regards the polemics about intellectual honesty in Mingana's studies and activity, see his biography by Samir, Khalil Samir. 'Alphonse Mingana (1878-1937) and his contribution to early Christian-Muslim Studies'. A lecture delivered on 25 May 1990 to the *First Woodbrooke Mingana Symposium on 'Christian Arabic Apologetic texts during the Abbasid period 750-1258 CE'*. Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges, 1990.

[101] Smith Lewis in *Preface* to Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves.*

[102] Guppy, Henri. 'Prefatory Note' in Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Part I.* Manchester, The Manchester University Press, 1934, pp. V-VI.

[103] 'Curator and writer on Theological and Oriental subjects' is the profession stated in his passport.

[104] See for example Letter of Alphonse Mingana to Henry Guppy (librarian of John Rylands Library), dated 20 April 1934 (John Rylands Correspondence 1934 Ka-My) in which Mingana admitted not to have been aware of the important role of Rendel Harris in recommending him for the expedition (e.g. 'Dr. Harris took up the matter with Mr. Cadbury').

[105] See for example the letter in which Rendel Harris suggested the financial partition of the results of the Mingana expedition, 1 January 1924.

[106] Typed and signed letter of Edward Cadbury to Rendel Harris, dated 6 April 1925 (DA21/1/2/1/34/7), i.e. 'I am glad that there is a further prospect for Mingana to be going abroad again. I think we came to the following conclusions: First – that we should not invite the co-operation of the Ryland's Library, but that Mingana should go out solely on Woodbrooke account. Secondly – that [...]. Thirdly – that we should try to insure him for six months or a year for at least £1,000. [...] I am very glad you were pleased with the way the Library is progressing, and also the proposed site for Selly Oak Meeting House'.

[107] The Honorary Secretary's report to the Council of Governors for the year ending December 31, 1931, p.275, in expressing admiration for Mingana's work, his expeditions to the Middle East were mentioned with such a note: 'unfortunately the Governors were unable to advance the necessary funds, but Mr. Edward Cadbury very generously undertook to finance the project'.

cataloguing their Arabic Collection,[108] he travelled to collect manuscripts for Cadbury and moved to Birmingham in 1925 to also catalogue the Birmingham manuscripts, working part time for both institutions. However, soon after the expeditions, Mingana became worried about his future position after completing the cataloguing of the Birmingham manuscripts. The worries were communicated to Cadbury at least in 1928[109] and thus Mingana was appointed curator of the Selly Oak Colleges' collection of manuscripts starting from 1931[110] until his death in 1937. Mingana catalogued the Manchester Arabic collection from 1915 to 1934, i.e. the date of publication of the catalogue, whereas he was not able to catalogue the Birmingham Islamic Arabic collection before his death.[111]

Among the Islamic Arabic manuscripts of the Mingana Collection in Birmingham, there are seven Qur'ānic manuscripts, whereas the palimpsest leaf was hidden among the Christian Arabic manuscripts. Moreover there are three Qur'ānic papyri among the uncatalogued materials. Apart from the early manuscripts and the papyri, whose description is the focus of this research, the Cadbury Research Library holds five more recent objects, i.e. MS 1066,

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[108] The 818 manuscripts from the Collections of Crawford, Bland, Hamilton, Rylands and Mingana have been catalogued by Mingana, Alphonse. *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.* Manchester, The Manchester University Press, 1934 (3 vols., part I; sections 7-12; sections 13-end).

[109] A draft of a letter to be addressed to Edward Cadbury was written by Mingana in one of his notebooks held among the Mingana Papers. The draft, dated 10 February 1928, reads: 'As I know that in about three years' time I shall have finished the cataloguing of the mss. and I know also that when mss. have been thoroughly catalogued, nothing remains to be done to them by any scholar, I should wish to know: 1° what will my relations be by the end of three years with the mss. that I have collected? 2° what do you consider my present relations to be with the same mss.? When a scholar enjoyed on cataloguing mss. finishes his works, he ceases to have any relation with them. It is, therefore, very probable that there will be no need for me to come to Birmingham by the end of three years'.

[110] The date of Mingana's new position in Birmingham is not clear. The John Rylands Library Governors' minute book kept among the reports for the year 1929: 'The Librarian reported that Dr Mingana wished to relinquish his position as keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at the end of January next'. However the press were informed about Mingana's leaving Manchester to go to Birmingham in 1932, e.g. The *Manchester evening news*, 4 February 1932 (in John Rylands Archives, JRL/7/7/7).

[111] The task of cataloguing the Islamic Arabic manuscripts of the Mingana collection has been a long process started by Gottshalk in the 1940s and then completed by Hopwood in 1963 when the first edition was published, whereas the second revised edition appeared in 1985. On the other hand, Mingana catalogued and published the first three volumes of the Collection, i.e. Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts (1933), Christian Arabic Manuscripts (1936) and additional Christian Arabic and Syriac manuscripts (1939, published after Mingana's death).

2000, 1103, 3456 and 1087-1088-1089.[112] They seem to belong to the same period, i.e. the 18th century, and are written in *nasḫī* style, featuring a few illuminations. The *waqf* statement indicated in MS 1087-1088-1089 and the red leather box containing MS 2000 should be noted.

1.2.2. Alphonse Mingana and his Qur'ānic studies

In the field of Qur'ānic studies, Mingana expressed his perspective mainly in two articles, i.e. his *Introduction* to the edition of the Cambridge palimpsest published in 1914 and *The transmission of the Koran*, published in 1916.[113] In his *Introduction,* the scholar defined the palimpsest leaves as being (possibly) pre-'Uthmānic. Despite the polemic title, he built his hypothesis on the traditional view of the collection and redaction of the Qur'ān, since pre-'Uthmānic firstly implies that the manuscript was written before the standardization of the caliph 'Uthmān and secondly presupposes the common overlap between non-'Uthmānic and pre-'Uthmānic manuscripts. However, the article published two years later totally diverged from the previous study, in that Mingana rejected the traditional view on the basis of Christian sources dated 690 CE in which there was no awareness or reference to any sacred book of the Arabs.[114] This change of perspective was underlined by Mingana himself in his article about the Syriac translation of the Qur'ānic text and its variants, in which he recognized the influence of the theories of Paul Casanova:[115]

In 1914 when I edited some scraps of a palimpsest, [...] I held to the traditional view, so

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[112] MSS 3 – 7 in the Hopwood, *Catalogue Mingana manuscripts.*
[113] Mingana, Alphonse. 'The Transmission of the Koran'. *The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 5, 1916, pp. 25-47 (repr. *Muslim World*, 7, 1917, pp. 223-232, 402-414 and in Ibn Warraq, ed. *The Origins of the Koran: Classic Essays on Islam's Holy Book.* New York, Prometheus Books, 2008, pp. 97-113).
[114] *Ibid.,* p.104-111.
[115] Casanova, Paul. *Mohammed et la fin du monde. Étude critique sur l'Islam primitif.* Paris, Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911.

ably maintained by Nöldeke in his classical *Geschichte des Qorāns*, that the sacred book of Islam was collected and standardized on the initiative of the third caliph by Zaid b. Thābit and other amanuenses. In 1916, greatly under the influence of Professor Casanova's investigations I contributed a monograph [...] in which I [...] set forth the hypothesis that the Ḳur'ān, as we have it today, was finally standardized under the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.[116]

Another dimension is underlined by Mingana in describing the emergence of Islam: that is, the importance of the Syriac influence on the redaction of the Qur'ānic text in terms both of technical skills in writing and of established grammatical tradition, thus contemplating the presence of Syriac in the Qur'ānic text.[117]

As regards studies specifically devoted to the analysis of Qur'ānic manuscripts, Mingana wrote the basic information on the artefacts of the John Rylands Library in their catalogue entries, while some of their features were described in an article, although not in a systematic way.[118] In describing MS Crawford 52 (i.e. Bland 133), Mingana's attention is focused on listing the variants read by the manuscript and a partial comparison with the *qirā'āt* tradition.[119] It is worth mentioning that in this article Mingana explained such variants as possibly being due to carelessness of the scribe, whereas in the introduction to the Cambridge palimpsest written the previous year he interpreted the variants as the

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[116] Mingana, Alphonse, 'An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Ḳur'ān Exhibiting New Verses and Variants'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 9, 1925, pp. 188-235 (repr. in Ibn Warraq, ed. *Which Koran? Variants, Manuscripts, Linguistics*. New York, Prometheus Books, 2011, pp. 301-366), pp. 302-303.

[117] See the review of studies on Syriac influence and presence in the Qur'an in Rippin, Andrew. 'Syriac in the Qur'an. Classical Muslim theories', in Gabriel Sayd Reynolds, ed., *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*. London, Routledge, 2008, pp. 249-261.

[118] Mingana, Alphonse. 'Notes upon some of the Ḳurânic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 2, 3, 1915, pp. 240-250. The first part describes two manuscripts bearing the Qur'ānic text, whereas the second part describes manuscripts that contain commentaries on the text.

[119] In such a context, it may be noted that Mingana expressed the hope of a critical edition of the sacred book, *Ibid.,* p.243.

result of a different text type, i.e. the pre-'Uthmānic text. However, the typologies of variants seem not to be different from those identified in the Cambridge palimpsest, e.g. singular instead of plural perfect verb, absence of *alif fāṣila* and, particularly, omissions.

In the catalogue of the John Rylands' Arabic manuscripts, Mingana had of course to face the constraints of the genre itself with its limited entries, although in a few cases the information given in these entries suggest further questions, e.g. the mere indication of vowel-points in red, green and yellow in MS11 (688) without any further explanation of their meaning[120] or the several scraps of MS 17 (793) which remain a puzzle for the reader.[121] As regards the Birmingham manuscripts, he was unable to either complete cataloguing the entire collection before his death or write articles on single manuscripts. The introduction to the edition of the Cambridge palimpsest and the famous list of its variants is related to the Birmingham collection in that before his death he purchased a half leaf matching a fragmented leaf in Cambridge, but whether he was aware of such correlation or not is questioned in the section about the history of the Cambridge-Birmingham palimpsest.

This was the contribution to Qur'ānic manuscript studies by Mingana through his published works, although another public image of such studies has been expressed in the press. In fact, his theories also had a great impact on a general public beyond academia, as newspapers suggest, e.g. 'New version of the Koran found' in the *Daily Express*; 'The text of the Koran. New light in old Syriac manuscripts' in the *Morning Post*; 'Light on the text of the Koran. A new manuscript' in the *Manchester Guardian* appeared on 21 February 1925 and

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[120] See Fedeli, Alba. 'Fragments of early Qur'ānic manuscripts, caption of MS John Rylands Arabic 11' in John Hodgson ed., *Riches of the Rylands: The Special Collections of the University of Manchester Library*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, forthcoming.
[121] The eleven 'tiny morsels' of MS 17 (793) are part of an incomplete mosaic. After inspecting the fragments, it seems likely that they were part of three different artefacts. Among them nine small and incomplete fragments are the meagre remnants of a quire of ten parchment folios written in early Abbasid script with brown ink and rare red dots, once bearing a portion of the Qur'ānic text from Q.6:154 to Q.8:11 with about eighteen to twenty lines to a page, in a horizontal format.

'Variations in the Koran. A Syriac version' appeared in *The Times* on 23 February 1925.[122]

Moreover, there is a private dimension of Mingana's contribution that it has been possible to access through his correspondence. This aspect allows us to investigate his studies in the 1930s, thus reconstructing the network of Qur'ānic scholarship in that period. In particular, the correspondence with Arthur Jeffery is representative of their perspective on 'Qur'ānic matters'. Apart from interesting rumours and gossip about the academic community and the crucial exchange of information, publications and favours, they seemed to be acutely convinced and aware of the potential revolution that their 'Qur'anic text work' could have triggered. Thus, in their correspondence Jeffery asked Mingana about 'a very curious MS of the Qur'an'[123] and if he could afford the purchase of a very important manuscript of al-'Ukbarī;[124] but he also reported comments and criticisms he had received. In explaining the importance of al-'Ukbarī's manuscript, Jeffery wrote:

> Dr Adams was asking only a few days ago, what is going to happen in the house of Islam, when they discover all this uncertainty in the text of their Holy Book.

> Did you hear that Prof. Kampfmeyer of Berlin has attacked my Koranic studies in the pages of his Journal <u>Die Welt des Islams</u>? He says I am attempting to cut the basis of

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[122] These newspaper cuts are kept in the Archives of the John Rylands Library.

[123] Typed and signed letter of Jeffery to Mingana, Cairo 27 January 1933. Mingana denied having this curious Qur'ānic manuscript and explained such a rumour as due to confusion with the variants he had found in the Syriac translation of the Qur'ānic text.

[124] Today MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1649, purchased by Jeffery thanks to Mingana who sent him a cheque. After the purchase, Jeffery was able to examine the manuscript and thus wrote to Mingana (15 June 1934): 'In the interests of scholarship it ought to be published. It is quite as important in its way as the Ibn Khalawaih which we are just issuing from the Press. I have a scheme in my mind to plan a series of texts entitled – STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE QUR'AN – in which I could publish the Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd, this work of al-'Ukbarī, the Berlin MS of the Mabānī, and other early witnesses to the textual condition of the Qur'an text. It would be fascinating work to do, and very useful for textual study'. Apart from the interesting notes about Jeffery's plans, the economic side of Qur'ānic studies may be noted. In such a difficult period, the Mingana-Birmingham collection was able to increase thanks to Edward Cadbury, who was able to afford high expenses in a period in which other countries and institutions could not, e.g. John Rylands Library withdrew from the expeditions to the Middle East in 1925 and 1929 (see above); Grohmann in Budapest could not buy the papyri collection from Erik von Scherling (see below) and Jeffery at the School of Oriental Studies of the American University of Cairo could not afford to buy the manuscript of 'Ukbarī.

the new religious revival within Islam, by suggesting doubts as to the correctness of their Holy Book.[125]

After Mingana had interpreted the text of a manuscript of Bukhārī as a proof of the several stages in its textual transmission before the 'present standardized form',[126] Jeffery acutely manifested his perspective:

It was thrilling to hear that you have a variant text of al-Bukhari. It ought to be published in facsimile, or you will never get the Muslim savants to agree that it is not a fake in order to disturb all their deductions from the text. [...]

The orthodox savants will soon be in a bad way. On the one hand our work on the qirā'āt is showing that the text of the Qur'an is in a very wobbly condition, and if you now demonstrate that the text of the Ḥadīth is equally unsound, where will they be?[127]

Exploring the historical and cultural situation in which Qur'ānic studies developed at the beginning of the 20th century is outside the scope of this research, although it could be the object of further investigation. With regard to the early Qur'ānic manuscripts of the Mingana collection, it has to be underlined that when Mingana died after a long illness at the age of 56, Arabic studies stopped in Birmingham: a planned project to fund a scholarship in Semitic studies in cooperation with Oxford failed;[128] the acquisition of Arabic manuscripts

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[125] Typed and signed letter of Jeffery to Mingana, Cairo 8 December 1934.

[126] Mingana, Alphonse. 'An Important Ms. of Bukhāri's "Ṣaḥīḥ"'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2, 1936, pp.287-292 (p.292).

[127] Typed and signed letter of Jeffery, A. to Mingana, A., Cairo 25 January 1936 (Mingana Papers DA66).

[128] See for example the copy of the typewritten letter dated 17 June 1934 from Alphonse Mingana to Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb (1895-1971) in which Mingana mentioned the idea of a scholarship in Semitic and Islamic studies funded by Edward Cadbury for researching the manuscript collection, noting that 'Dr. Cadbury, of course, hopes that the rich treasures of this collection may be used and made public' and stating the aim of such scholarship: 'His purpose is to encourage young scholars to do oriental studies in connection with this collection'. The reason for such request was that 'There is no Oriental Department at Birmingham University and so Dr. Cadbury asked me to find out whether Oxford would be willing to come to an arrangement with the

did not continue,[129] and most of all, Mingana's knowledge about the last acquisitions, e.g. papyri and manuscripts from Sinai, remained unwritten and hidden. Only through his private correspondence has it been possible to reconstruct part of this context, by recognizing a public and private image of manuscripts and scholars.

As a result of this situation, the three Qur'ānic papyri among the manuscripts analysed in this research are part of the uncatalogued papyri collection; the palimpsest had an unknown Christian content until 2011 and its provenance had been intentionally not displayed; lastly, MS 1572 is catalogued as a single artefact although it is composed of two different fragments.

Selly Oak Colleges about this scholarship.' See copy of the typewritten letter from Alphonse Mingana to Professor Gibb, in Mingana Papers DA66.

[129] Erik von Scherling offered other important manuscripts, in particular early Qur'ānic manuscripts, but the Selly Oak Colleges Library decided not to buy them. See for example the refusal to buy an important collection of Qur'ānic manuscripts in the copy of the typewritten letter from Hans Ludwig Gottschalk to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham, 28 September 1938, in Mingana Papers, DA 66. The identification of these Qur'ānic manuscripts known and available in 1938 deserves further investigation, as their location and study could significantly contribute to the study of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text in its early fragmented form.

1.3. ACCESSING THE EARLY QURʾĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MINGANA COLLECTION

In accessing the history of these understudied manuscripts and papyri, it has been decided to also use the materials available in the Mingana Papers, i.e. his correspondence, receipts of purchased manuscripts, reports, draft letters and all the materials that Mingana and his secretary Ms Garnett diligently stored and saved and that are now placed in the Special Collections of the Cadbury Research Library. This seemed to be the logical approach after evidence had revealed that there was an official representation of the Birmingham palimpsest fragment, i.e. a public image shown through catalogues and published works, whereas the private image has been confined within private documents and public allusions whose traces need to be followed.[130]

In accessing the object through the original artefacts or through their images and digital avatars,[131] it has always been considered that digitization is never neutral and can be only interpretation. Moreover, the contact with the *scriptio inferior* of the Cambridge-Birmingham palimpsest has been a research question in itself in this work. The methodology applied in interpreting the digital avatars of the Cambridge palimpsest

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[130] Before starting this project research, part of the Mingana Papers had been consulted for investigating the provenance of the Birmingham palimpsest fragment, see Fedeli, 'Digitization project'. The investigation has continued during this research project, as 'you never know what you will find in sifting through personal letters and diaries, spying on meetings, learning about plans that never saw the light of day, finding personal opinions that contradict public statements', see Fink, Lois Marie. 'Museum archives as resources for scholarly research and institutional identity' in Janet Marstine, ed., *New Museum Theory and Practice. An Introduction.* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, pp.292-305 (p. 293).

[131] Tarte, Ségolène. 'Interpreting Textual Artefacts: Cognitive Insights into Expert Practices' in Clare Mills, Michael Pidd and Esther Ward, eds., *Proceedings of the Digital Humanities Congress 2012. Studies in the Digital Humanities.* Sheffield, HRI Online Publications, 2014, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/openbook/chapter/dhc2012-tarte accessed on April 2014.

corresponds to the methodology described and studied by Tarte[132] in deciphering other textual artefacts, namely kinaesthetic/palaeographic feedback loop and aural feedback loop through a cruciverbalistic/philological strategy, as described below in the section regarding the Cambridge-Birmingham palimpsest.

As regards the comprehension of the physicality of the manuscripts expressed in their palaeographical and codicological features, the reference works of Déroche have been used, particularly in defining the script style and in conjecturing a possible date of the objects.[133] Considerable attention has been focused on identifying the presence of different hands that could have realized a collective work, in order to detect individual positions of the scribes in their orthographic habits during the analysis of the text of the manuscripts. This identification has followed the example illustrated by Déroche in his 2009 monograph on the codex Parisino-petropolitanus, above mentioned.

Moreover, elements of the writing have been inspected to detect any possible evidence of the writing process and of the mechanism of the writing/copying from an exemplar, and to reconstruct the context in which such fragments have been written in light of the recent new approach in analysing early Qur'ānic manuscripts.[134] Among the elements are: script, execution of the letters, hesitancy in tracing letters and words, planning of the page layout, presence of different inks and codicological structure.

As regards the uncatalogued papyri, the reference works used for understanding this

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[132] Tarte, Ségolène. 'Papyrological Investigations: Transferring Perception and Interpretation into the Digital World'. *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 26, 2, 2011, pp. 233-247 and Tarte, 'Interpreting'.

[133] Déroche, *Catalogue* and Déroche, François. *The abbasid Tradition. Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD*. London, The Nour Foundation, 1992. As regards the dating on the basis of palaeographical features, his work on dating on the basis of the characteristics of *kāf* has been fundamental in understanding the complex situation of MS 1572b, see Déroche, François. 'Un critère de datation des écritures coraniques anciennes: le kâf final ou isolé'. *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 11, 1999, pp. 87-94, pl. 15-16.

[134] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads* and Hilali, 'Work in Progress'.

typology of texts are the essential contributions of Grohmann and the more recent ones of Khan and Grob,[135] although a scrutiny of the available catalogues of Arabic papyri collection for identifying as many Qur'ānic papyri as possible has been a useful instrument for building a base of comparison with Mingana Qur'ānic papyri, particularly in relation to the content and use of such objects, e.g. private documents, amulets or citations.

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[135] Khan, Geoffrey. *Arabic Papyri. Selected Materials from the Khalili Collection. Studies in the Khalili Collection, vol. 1.* London-Oxford, Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, The Nour Foundation, 1992 and Grob, Eva Mira. *Documentary Arabic private and business letters on papyrus: form and function, content and context.* Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2010.

1.4. APPLYING DIGITAL PHILOLOGY: AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE IN ANALYSING AND EDITING THE PHYSICAL OBJECTS AND TEXTS OF EARLY QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS

In reading and editing the text of the Qur'ānic fragments, the methodology that has been applied is digital philology, in that the digital dimension is the perfect instrument for approaching the text, not only for displaying it. In fact, mark-up and tagging of the text are not only instruments for achieving semiotic tasks, but represent and produce a separate semiotic dimension.[136]

This research is an attempt to propose and initiate an alternative perspective in analysing and editing the physical objects and texts of early Qur'ānic manuscripts by applying digital philology, thus using XML-encoded expressions to transcribe all of the richness of ancient manuscripts in reconstructing the history of their transmission. This perspective interprets the process of the making of the manuscript text[137] and the context in which the manuscript was written, thus editing its mobile and multi-layered text, differently from previous examples of editions of early Qur'ānic manuscripts.[138]

Digital editions reproduce manuscript texts as mobile texts and as a processable set of data that can be shared with other scholars and grouped into categories for answering research questions according to the tagging system chosen by the scholar-encoder(s), whereas printed/traditional editions perform as static texts that have a linear order. Furthermore, the aim of traditional (critical) editions is to recover the original/lost text of a work, thus

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[136] Fiormonte, Domenico. *Scrittura e filologia nell'era digitale*. Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2003, p.219.
[137] Parker, David C. *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.
[138] See Section 4.1.1 on Printed editions.

producing a critical edition of a work through the collation of all of the available manuscript texts of that work. This collation produces an analysis of the historical relations within the manuscript text tradition in terms of historical passages between exemplar and copy, while the richness of the manuscript tradition with its textual variants is confined to the *apparatus criticus,* and the richness of the linguistic situation mirrored in manuscript texts tends to be normalised such that orthographic variants disappear.

Until now, a collation of all of the available (early) Qur'ānic manuscripts with the aim of recovering their original text has not yet been realized,[139] and the few available editions of these Qur'ānic manuscripts are mainly diplomatic editions or edit a normalised text which does not reproduce later alterations to the text.[140]

The corpus of early Qur'ānic manuscripts analysed in this research project has been chosen from an institutional collection, i.e. the Mingana collection held at the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham, because of its rare and old exemplars that are understudied or unknown. Despite this criterion in choosing an institutional collection,[141] further matching fragments scattered in other institutions have been added to these materials in order to produce a witness that is as complete as possible and whose characteristics can be understood in a more systematic way, for example using scribal habits to understand phonetic or lexical variants.[142] However, these materials still remain as

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[139] As described above, Bergsträsser's project and his plan for an *apparatus criticus* was interrupted in the 1930s and was continued by Déroche and Noja Noseda with their *Sources de la transmission manuscrite du texte coranique*. The plans of the German scholars were inherited by the *Corpus Coranicum*, whose purpose is 'to contribute to the documentation of the Qur'anic text and collect materials for a critical edition of the Qur'anic text', as clearly stated in the opening page of their website, see http://coranica.de/documenta-coranica-en.
[140] See Section 4.1.1 on Printed editions.
[141] Although texts from several witnesses have been compared in a few cases, the selection of the early Qur'ānic manuscripts in an institutional collection has implied the decision not to collate variants in several witnesses.
[142] The analysis of the Qur'ānic manuscript BnF Arabe 328a as part of the Codex Parisino-petropolitanus is an example of the different perspective in comprehending its characteristics in Déroche; see Section 1.1.2.

fragments, and the search for further matching fragments has only the purpose of obtaining more data within a single coherent writing system rather than attempting to reconstruct a complete *muṣḥaf.*

In analysing and editing the text of the early Qurʾānic manuscripts of the Mingana collection and related fragments, it has been decided to use digital (or computational) philology which reproduces the text, thus building a database that has the advantage of allowing later additions of further manuscript editions realized by other scholars. Moreover, digital philology replaces the idea of a critical edition by developing the idea of electronic corpora based on diplomatic editions, which leads to text-mining whose level of accuracy and potentiality in exploring the text depends on the level of accuracy of the tagging system inserted by the scholar-encoder.

The tagging system proposed in this research is settled on the standardized system used by the Institute of Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE), which inherited the previous experience and system used by Peter Robinson, for example in *The Canterbury Tales Project.*[143] This system consists of inline additions of categories to words based on the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), which has been the international and most prestigious standard for text annotation in a variety of disciplines and scripts since the 1990s.[144] The system has

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Moreover, the limits of confining the comprehension of manuscript texts to a small segment of the whole have been above underlined regarding Small's analysis; see Section 1.1.2.

[143] As regards the sources and editions for the study of the Middle English, see for example Smith, Jeremy J. 'Middle English' in Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton eds., *English Historical Linguistics. An International Handbook, Volume 1*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2012, pp. 32-48 and his observations about *The Canterbury Tales Project* of Robinson and Bordalejo as 'the most impressive new direction in fresh diplomatic editing in relation to computational philology' (p. 37).

[144] The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) is a consortium which is developing a standard for the transcription of texts in digital form. Their Guidelines specify encoding methods for machine-readable texts, chiefly in the humanities, social sciences and linguistics. Since 1994, the TEI Guidelines have been widely used by institutions and individual scholars to present texts for online uses. See the website of the consortium and their resources: http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml, in particular TEI Consortium. *TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange* (Originally edited by C.M. Sperberg-McQueen and Lou Burnard for the ACH-ALLC-

been adapted specifically to the situation observed in early Qur'ānic manuscripts. The additions are of four typologies, as follows:

– Firstly, the system provides tags, i.e. an opening element and a closing element that circumscribe and describe a section of the manuscript text, for example [ill]...[\ill] to mark illegible text, where the closing tag corresponds to the opening tag with the addition of a reverse solidus (i.e. \). As regards the so-called 'app tags', they embed the several layers settled in a word, e.g. a word that has been later corrected or accompanied by an alternative reading. Thus, these 'app tags' allow the scholar-encoder to disentangle different scribal hands by specifying the still visible or supposed word written by the first hand marked as [*]...[*]. The first hand markers are followed by the corrections marked as [C*]...[\C*] or [C1]...[\C1] in case of a correction respectively by the first hand or by a later hand or by [A]...[\A] in case of a coexistent alternative reading.

– Secondly, besides opening elements and corresponding closing elements, there are markers that encode the structural units of both the text and the document. Thus, markers placed between a less-than sign and a greater-than sign have been inserted to indicate the beginning of a sūra, e.g. <S 1> or the beginning of a verse, e.g. <V 1> and line breaks and page breaks flag the beginning of a line or the beginning of a page, corresponding to the layout of the manuscript page, e.g. |L 1| or |F 1r|.

– Thirdly, entities have been inserted to indicate the presence of elements distinguished from the text by placing a few characters between an ampersand and a semicolon, e.g. &lac; to transcribe the presence of a lacuna or &fāṣila; to transcribe

an end of verse marker.

– Lastly, editorial and local notes have been inserted to flag linguistic annotations in underlining and commenting particular readings of manuscript texts as well as to flag characteristics of the manuscript context.[145] These annotations are embedded between an opening element and a closing element of editorial notes or local notes.

These opening and closing elements, entities and markers of positioning in the work as well as in the manuscripts have been added to the transcriptions using Microsoft Word on a PC.[146] In a second stage, these Word documents were converted to XML using TEI P5, namely the Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange by the TEI Consortium, addressed to anyone who works with any kind of textual resource in digital format. The use of such a standard system accepted by a great majority of institutions and individual scholars implies the possibility of long-term plans in cooperating with other scholars in order to build larger database of (early) Qur'ānic manuscript texts.

The ITSEE guidelines have been adjusted and expanded according to the characteristics observed in early Qur'ānic manuscripts, particularly as regards the linguistic peculiarities of their texts that have been encoded through editorial and local notes. The tagging system that has been built during this research project did not aim to produce an annotated

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[145] Pierazzo, Elena and Stokes, Peter A. 'Putting the Text back into Context: A Codicological Approach to Manuscript Transcription' in in F. Fischer, C. Fritze, and G. Vogeler, G., eds., *Kodikoogie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*, vol. 2. Norderstedt, Herstellung und Verlag der Druckfassung BoD, 2010, pp. 397-429.

[146] In this research project, the manuscript transcriptions have been based on ITSEE guidelines, which are based in their turn on TEI guidelines for the transcription of any kind of text in digital form, 'in any natural language, of any date, in any literary genre or text type, without restriction on form or content' (TEI P5, p. XVI). This research project being based in ITSEE, it seemed a more practicable solution to use their guidelines, which appeared to be simplified as devoted to the transcription of ancient parchments and papyri; see Kevern, Rachel and Marie Luise Lakmann, Bruce Morrill and David C. Parker. *IGNTP-INTF guidelines for the transcription of manuscripts using Unicode. Version 5.* International Greek New Testament Project - Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster NTF, 2012 (online resource: http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1676/1/Unicode_Transcription_Guidelines5.pdf). Nevertheless, both the ITSEE and TEI guidelines follow the same standard and rules.

linguistic resource of the entire Qur'ānic text according to its morphological and syntactical structure,[147] like, for example, the *Quranic Arabic Corpus* project and its *JQuranTree*,[148] but it is limited to annotating mainly the linguistic peculiarities of the manuscript texts in comparison with the base text that has been adopted. This base text, which corresponds to the Medina muṣḥaf, is available in electronic format and has been used in order to limit mistakes during the transcription process.[149]

The categories of linguistic annotation that have been inserted reflect the situation of early Arabic grammar described on the basis of Arabic papyri datable from the first three centuries of Islam.[150] On the other hand, these annotations tag the possible variants of the text as they identify and comment on particular points at which the manuscript text and the base text read a word or a subdivision of the text in two different ways. These observations have been inserted as local annotations for local use, i.e. as <note type="local" id= >, specifying the relevant category, namely phonetics, ortho-epic, orthography-phonetic, orthography, morphology, syntax, lexicon or fāṣila. In those cases in which readings correspond to *qirā'āt* transmitted by indirect tradition, a tag of *qirā'a* has been inserted as a local note, i.e. <note type="local" id="qirā'a"> followed by the name of the reader and his reading.[151] These local notes tend not to present the different readings of base text and manuscript respectively as standard reading and variant, but as features of

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[147] See for example the tagging system for the morpho-syntactic properties of a word in *TEI P5*, pp. 281 and foll.

[148] Treebanks are databases that label the syntactical function of each word in a sentence or group of sentences. See the PhD research project into Arabic language computing at the University of Leeds by Kais Dukes which led to the *Quranic Arabic Corpus* website: http://corpus.quran.com/

[149] The reading of Ḥafṣ is generally accepted as *textus receptus*, see for example Gilliot, Claude. 'Une reconstruction critique du Coran ou comment en finir avec les merveilles de la lampe d'Aladin' in Manfred S. Kropp ed., *Results of contemporary research on the Qur'ān. The question of a historio-critical text of the Qur'ān*. Beirut, Orient-Institut, 2007, pp. 33-137.

[150] Mainly in Hopkins, Simon. *Studies in the Grammar of early Arabic based upon papyri datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1984. Further categories have been added to the typologies used by Hopkins.

[151] Such annotations related to the *qirā'āt* tradition could merge with digital editions of the *qirā'āt* literature on the condition that standard and common rules of Text Encoding Initiative are used.

the manuscript's richness. Thus, for example, the perspective of the presence and absence of a particular word is preferred to the perspective of the addition and omission of that word. From this perspective, 'each variant is a narrative about the history of the text'.[152] These variants have been interpreted according to the thesis of cognitive artefacts, as variants contribute to build the evolutionary history of the written language.[153] Nevertheless, a search through all of the local notes will list all of the variants of the manuscript against the base text that has been used.

On the other hand, further observations have been inserted as editorial notes, i.e. as <note type="editorial" id= >, specifying the relevant category to annotate the analysis of codicology structure, lacuna, *bayāḍ*, *bayāḍ* and decoration, *fāṣila*, layout, script and writing process and, in the case of difficult readings, the categories of *fāṣila* clarity, *i'ğām* clarity and *scriptio inferior* clarity. In editing the palimpsest text, a particular category of editorial note has been used to compare the 1914 Mingana-Lewis edition with the interpretation proposed in this research project, i.e. <note type="editorial" id="Mingana Lewis edition">.

A few samples of the digital edition of the small leaves of the Cambridge-Birmingham palimpsest have been included in Appendix B. They are inevitably incomplete printed reproductions of their digital online presence and should be used only as an invitation to consult the complete digital edition. Moreover, this digital edition will be uploaded to the Cambridge Digital Library[154] beside both the hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior* of this palimpsest and the non-processed images of the palimpsest's leaves, thus proposing the manuscript's images and their ekphrastic edition to the user, as explained in Section

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[152] Parker, David C. *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p.124.
[153] See Digital Variants theory in Fiormonte, Domenico. 'Scrittura, filologia e varianti digitali'. *Rivista di Filologia Cognitiva*, 1, 2003 (online journal, accessed on May 2011: http://w3.uniroma1.it/cogfil/VARIANTI.html).
[154] The online digital library of Cambridge University at http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/

2.3.2.2.

The application of the method set out above, based on the Text Encoding Initiative through the support and mediation of ITSEE, implies as a consequence the edition of all the richness of a manuscript tradition, which allows text-mining in investigating the linguistic characteristics of early Arabic grammar and the situation of the variant readings expressed in these early manuscripts, although it is worth mentioning that it has been decided to classify the variants from a linguistic point of view, without investigating the possible theological implications of a few variant readings. The database built by these Qurʾānic manuscript transcriptions can be developed by adding further transcriptions, possibly in cooperation with other scholars. The editions produced by applying such a methodology are not critical editions, as they do not aim to recover the original text, but instead to edit and tag the richness of the manuscript text.

This richness consists firstly in the multi-layered nature of manuscript texts whose movements are marked by 'app tags' and in giving space to comparison with other editions, as in the case of the Mingana-Lewis edition of the Cambridge palimpsest. Secondly, editions can contain the description of the manuscript context, thus including palaeographical and codicological information marked by entities and editorial notes[155] as well as information on the writing process surrounding the production of such manuscripts. Lastly, this richness provides the fluidity of the reading of the text with its variants and alternative readings in a variational perspective.[156]

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[155] The Text Encoding Initiative system implies a textual perspective rather than a documentary perspective, thus still making the framework for encoding the manuscript context a desideratum; see Pierazzo and Stokes, 'Putting the Text back into Context', p. 409. In this research project documentary markup has been proposed, although this is confined to editorial notes and local notes as well as to entities, e.g. &bayāḍ; and &decoration; with their relevant notes <note type="editorial" id="bayāḍ"> and <note type="editorial" id="decoration">.
[156] Fiormonte, 'Varianti digitali' and Fiormonte, *Scrittura e filologia.*

CHAPTER 2

MINGANA EARLY QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS:

DESCRIBING THE OBJECTS AND THEIR HISTORY

Non basta essere paleografi (quando pur voi lo siate) a giudicare di un fenomeno basato su elementi matematici e fisici

Giuseppe Ludovico Perugi, *Nuovo metodo scientifico per la riproduzione dei palinsesti.*
Conferenza letta in Arcadia il 22 aprile 1922

2.1. DESCRIPTION OF MS PARISINO-BIRMINGHAMIENSIS (PaB): MS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE 328C AND MS MINGANA ISLAMIC ARABIC 1572A

2.1.1. History of MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572a and MS Bibliothèque nationale de France 328c

MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572(Min1572)[1] is composed of two groups of leaves probably split from two different Qur'ānic codices, written in *ḥiǧāzī* style. The first group (i.e. MS Min1572a) includes two folios, namely ff. 1 and 7, whereas the second group (i.e. MS Min1572b) contains seven leaves, namely three bifolios (ff. 2 and 8, 3 and 6, 4 and 5, hair sides facing flesh sides) and one single leaf (f. 9). The nine leaves, bound together with a strip of white gauze in the wrong order, were set in a modern cover. A small paper sheet has been inserted between the nine leaves and contains several handwritten notes about the content of the 'Fragment of a Cufic Qur'ān on parchment. 9 leaves. 8th century?' This paper is dated 14 March 1944, whereas it is evident from the Mingana papers that the two parts were bought through two distinct transactions. In fact, throughout the negotiation with the dealer Erik von Scherling there are several references to seven leaves bought as a single entity in summer 1936. Therefore the nine leaves were bound together after their acquisition by Mingana in 1936 and before 1944, the date of the handwritten notes about the nine leaves.

The correspondence of Alphonse Mingana contains information about the acquisition of MS Min1572. On 12 June 1936, Erik von Scherling wrote to Mingana, 'I have much pleasure in

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[1] Part of the history of the early Qur'ānic manuscripts from the Mingana Collection has already been published in Fedeli, Alba. 'The provenance of the manuscript Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572: dispersed folios from a few Qur'ānic quires'. *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 17, 1, 2011, pp. 45-56.

sending to you by to-day's registered mail, 7 leaves of a Qufic Quran, the writing being in the early current Cufic[2] characters'.[3] A handwritten note was added to the typed copy of this letter, thus providing the accession number of seven leaves, i.e. 'Arab. (Isl.) 1572'. A few days later, on 16 June, Mingana's secretary informed the dealer von Scherling that

> Dr. Mingana thanks you for your letter of the 12th June, and for the 7 leaves of a Cufic Quran, which he received just as he was leaving for a short holiday. When he returns, in about a week's time, he will examine the manuscript, and will let you know his decision.[4]

In this document, too, a handwritten note has been later added, explaining the accession number of the manuscript, i.e. 'Arab. (Isl.) 1572'. The same hand also amended the typed number of leaves from seven to nine.

The purchase of the seven leaves was completed in September 1936, after Mingana had asked von Scherling to cut the price, thus writing:

> Dear Sir, I am now back from my holiday. Among the MSS. which you sent to me are 7 torn vellum leaves of a Quran, which you price at £16. I think that this price is too high. If you bring down the price of these leaves to £11, I will send you a cheque for the Garshūni MSS. and these leaves at the same time.[5]

It was not possible to find further information about the acquisition of the other two leaves (ff. 1 and 7) in Mingana's papers, although the fact that they come from the same codex of

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[2] The definition of 'early current Cufic characters' seems to refer to the features of the *ḥijāzī* style.
[3] Typed letter of Erik von Scherling to Mingana, Leiden, 12 June 1936, Mingana papers DA66.
[4] Copy of typed letter of Mrs Garnett to Erik von Scherling, 16 June 1936, Mingana papers DA66.
[5] Copy of typed letter of Mingana to Erik von Scherling, 4 September 1936, Mingana papers DA66.

the fragment kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS ar. 328c (BnF328c)[6] on the basis of a few common features, leads one to argue their provenance. In fact the whole MS BnF ar.328 is part of the Jean-Louis Asselin de Cherville (1772-1822) collection sold to the Bibliothèque nationale in 1830.[7] The parchments were once stored in the 'Amr mosque in Fusṭāṭ,[8] the ancient urban foundations south of Cairo.

The above proposed provenance of MS Mingana Isl. Ar. 1572 does not agree with the hypothesis published in previous studies. In his preface to the first two issues of the catalogue of the Islamic Arabic manuscripts then housed in the Selly Oak Colleges Library, Hans Ludwig Gottschalk made a general reference to the manuscripts 'collected during three journeys from 1924 to 1929'.[9] On the other hand, Derek Hopwood, who was given the task of completing the catalogue, wrote an article in 1961, stating that, 'Apparently these two MS. have come from the monastery of Mount Sinai along with several other fragments which the nineteenth century German scholar Tischendorf of Codex Sinaiticus fame obtained from this monastery and which later came into Mingana's hands'.[10]

This allusion to the Sinai-Tischendorf provenance of both MS Min1563 and Min1572 is probably to be considered as part of the reception of Tischendorf's manuscripts, whose provenance was hidden for diplomatic reasons in the 1930s, thus also influencing the reception history of other manuscripts from the Mingana collection. In fact, Hopwood did not provide any proof of this apparent Sinai provenance and, moreover, the 'several other fragments which the nineteenth century German scholar Tischendorf [...] obtained' can

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[6] Déroche, *Catalogue*, pp. 60-61; Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, p. 121.

[7] These were the manuscripts studied by Michele Amari, see Chapter 1 on previous studies.

[8] Déroche, 'De Fourmont à Reinaud', pp.571-573; Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, pp. 14-16, 121.

[9] Hopwood, *Catalogue Mingana manuscripts*, p. xii.

[10] Hopwood, Derek. 'The Islamic Arabic Manuscripts in the Mingana Collection'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1961, pp 100-105 (p.101).

concern only the manuscripts that von Scherling proposed in October 1936,[11] whereas MS Min1572b had been offered by von Scherling in June 1936 and paid for in September.

2.1.2. Writing the leaves of MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572a and MS Bibliothèque nationale de France 328c: physical features and scribal practices

MS BnF328c is composed of 16 folios among which ff. 81 and 82 are still a *bifolium*, whereas all of the others are single leaves, as the group of two leaves are part of MS Min1572. It is quite probable that the existing *bifolium* was the central of a quire of four *bifolium*,[12] thus having ff. 78+85, 79+84, 80+83 and the surviving 81+82. Assuming such a composition, f.78 and f.85 were the external leaves of a quire that have been trimmed horizontally from line 18 in f.78 and from line 19 in f. 85 to the bottom of the two pages, thus causing a lacuna which once featured about seven lines. Thus f.86, i.e. the last leaf of MS BnF328c, was probably the first folio of the following quire and its external position could have caused its separation from the rest of the quire.

The material used for achieving the task of writing a fragment of the Qur'ānic text seems not to be a parchment of poor quality, as only in f.74 of MS BnF328c are there two small holes at ll.14 and 18 to which the script has been adapted. The two fragments scattered in these two institutions are the result of the work of a single scribe, as the constant features of his writing confirm through all of the eighteen leaves.

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[11] See below for the details of the correspondence on this transaction.

[12] Déroche, François, ed. *Islamic Codicology. An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (tr. Deke Dusinberre and David Radzinowicz, ed. Muhammad Isa Waley). London, Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005 (orig. pub. as *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2000), pp. 72-74.

2.1.2.1. WRITING STAGES: THE FIRST HAND (* AND C*)

In order to write the Qur'ānic text, the scribe has previously planned the layout of the page, ruling the writing material with ink,[13] as it is possible to note both horizontal guidelines and vertical lines marking the text area, e.g. MS BnF328c, f.83. Despite this initial planning, the text has been arranged in a variable number of lines, from 23 to 26, mainly 25. The dimensions of the two Mingana leaves are 33.5 x 25.3 cm whereas the text area occupies 31 x 21.5 to 22.5 cm, like the size of the sixteen Paris leaves whose dimensions are 33.3 x 24.5 cm and the text area 30/31.2 x 21.5 cm[14]. The inexact dimensions of the parchments reported in the catalogue,[15] i.e. 33.8 x 21.7, could lead not to one correctly comprehending MS BnF328c and MS Min1572a as belonging to the same fragment. Differently from some of the manuscripts written in ḥijāzī style, the text area of this fragment does not fill the entire surface of the parchment leaf. Moreover, the text has been arranged into 23-26 lines on every page, sometimes dividing a word between two lines so that the left margins are justified according to the practice of the *scriptio continua* of the late antiquity.[16]

The scribe has used brown ink to trace the consonantal skeleton, adding a few thin strokes as diacritics for distinguishing mainly *bā'*, *tā'* and *ṯā'*; *nūn* except in its final position; sometimes *ḏāl*, *zā'*, *šīn*, *ḍād*, *ẓād* and *ġayn*. Similar thin strokes have been used in clusters of four to seven for marking the separation between the end of one verse and the beginning of the following one (i.e. *fāṣila*), mainly in clusters of five strokes. In order to subdivide the text, the scribe has left one blank line (i.e. *bayāḍ*), which has been filled in with simple decorations, i.e. three wavy lines ending in a stylized palmette in red ink and black dots

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[13] Noted also in *Ibid.,,* p.166 as an example of inked guidelines and a vertical outer margin line.
[14] Déroche, *Catalogue.*
[15] Hopwood, *Catalogue Mingana manuscripts.*
[16] Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, p.18.

between Q.10 and Q.11 in BnF328c, f.73v, l.12 and between Q.19 and Q.20 in Min1572, f.1r, l.10; a repetition of irregular S-shaped elements in red ink and black dots, forming one wavy line and a chain ending in a stylized palmette on the right and in an arrowhead on the left between Q.20 and Q.21 in BnF328c, f.79r, l.9; two wavy lines ending in a stylized palmette between Q.21 and Q.22 in BnF328c, f.82v, l.9; and a latticework in red ink composed of a wavy line enriched with hook-shaped elements between Q.22 and Q.23 in BnF328c, f.86r, l.15.

It is not clear whether the decorations marking the separation between two following *sūra*s have been inserted by a later hand or by the first hand, i.e. the scribe who has written the text in brown ink. The fact that the ink used for tracing these decorations[17] has also been utilized for writing the first line of the text of the *sūra* in Q.20 in Min1572, f.1r, l.11, seems to suggest that this decoration was simultaneous to the writing of the text. If these two stages are not concurrent, it is nevertheless probable that they are the result of the work of the first hand.

The distinctive characteristic of aspect and *ductus* of the script is the proportion observed between letters and space in the page so that the overall appearance is regular and proportioned. In fact, the space between two words and the space between two letter-blocks is equivalent and the letters are laid upon the baseline, except medial *hā'*. However, the scribe did not avoid the intersection of descenders of one line with the ascenders of the following line. The vertical traits are slanting to the right, so that for example *alif* forms an angle of about 60°-70° with the baseline.

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[17] The distinction between red, brown and black ink is limited to a mere observation of the object without the support of chemical analysis of the ink. However, colours are not criteria for distinguishing the ink, because of changes due to corrosion and ageing; see Hahn, Oliver. 'Non-destructive analyses of writing materials', unpublished presentation given at *Manuscripta Coranica. Contribution à l'histoire du Coran.* Paris, INALCO and EPHE, October 2012.

The scribe performed the letter shapes in the following way:

- final and isolated *qāf*: the descender of the final and independent form is almost perpendicular to the baseline and is shorter than the final horizontal part;

- final *nūn*: the descender and the horizontal trait are almost perpendicular and the descender is sometimes shorter, like in the final shapes of *qāf*, *sīn* and *ṣād*;

- final *jīm*: it has a long horizontal tail which turns back, forming a generous curve;

- final *mīm*: its rounded form does not end with a tail;

- final *ʿayn*: its tail resembles a slanting *alif*;

- *lām alif*: its two ascenders form an angle of about 40°;

- final *kāf*: the lower horizontal is longer than the upper horizontal and these two traits are not parallel, but form an angle of about 20°-25°.[18]

Despite the proportioned and regular script, which reveals a kind of mastery in writing, the scribe was uncertain, as interruptions in tracing letter blocks and corrections imply. Sometimes he has erased part of a word, making additions and thus modifying its orthography or morphology in an amending process that occurred at the same time as the first writing. On other occasions, it seems that the scribe has removed the pen from the writing surface in writing a letter block unity ending in *alif,* in that he was hesitant in writing such a letter. This could be interpreted as a sign of the writing process as being based on copying and checking from a written exemplar rather than on writing down from dictation or by memory.

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[18] See Déroche about the date of manuscripts exhibiting such a shape of final *kāf*, i.e. in MS BnF 328a whose final *kāf* the scholar compares to pre-Islamic inscriptions and papyri from the 1st / 7th century (Déroche, 'Un critère de datation', pp. 91-92).

2.1.2.2. WRITING STAGES: THE LATER HAND (C1)

The fragment also shows signs of a second stage of the work with later additions in black ink, whereas the corrections simultaneous to the first hand writing have been done in brown ink. The insertions of this later hand are mainly intended to change the orthography and morphology of words, to retrace faded diacritical signs and the thin strokes of end of verse markers as well as to add the signs that divide the text into ten-verse groups, i.e. *al-ʿawāšir*, although it should be underlined that the later hand had neither the habit of correcting all the variants featured in the first hand script nor the aim of amending the verse counting.

As regards the diacritics added in black ink, they are elongated dots whose size is much bigger than the thin oblique strokes used by the first hand, so that in most of the cases only black diacritics are visible. However, in a few cases they overlap the thin brown strokes only partially, so we can argue that the later redundant diacritics have been added with the aim of ameliorating the legibility of the faded signs of the first hand. Thus, for example, in *sūra al-Muʾminūna* in BnF328c, f.86, among the eighty-two diacritics that have been traced in brown ink by the first hand, six instances have been retraced later in black ink.

Interestingly, in two instances the letter *qāf,* which has never been furnished with diacritics by the first hand, has been provided with a black dot placed above the base letter, namely in MS BnF328c (f.76r, l.15) bearing *nāqatu* in Q.11:64 and MS Min1572 (f.1v, l.7) bearing *alqi-hā* in Q.20:19. As *qāf* was distinguished by a dot above or below in the second century,[19] the addition of the diacritic in this fragment could suggest the period in which the later hand was working. The system of distinguishing *qāf* by placing a dot above and *fā'* with a dot

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[19] Gruendler, Beatrice. 'Arabic Script' in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān,* (General Editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe. Georgetown University, Washington DC). Brill Online, 2014.

below has been preserved in the maghribi script, so the position of the diacritic in this witness could also suggest the provenance of the later hand. However, the diacritic system differentiating *qāf* in the manuscript tradition still needs to be clarified.[20]

In a similar way, the later hand has reinked the strokes of some of the clusters that mark the subdivision into verses, by tracing elongated dots in black ink for the purpose of making the *fāṣila* more easily recognizable. Moreover, the folios bearing part of the text of *sūra Ṭā-Hā* in both the fragments, i.e. MS BnF328c, ff.78, 79r and MS Min1572, f.1, feature the device used by the later hand for indicating the group of ten verses, i.e. *'awāšir.* Thus the scribe traced a circle in black ink over the cluster of brown thin strokes at the end of verses in Q.20:11, 21 and 31 and in Q.20:99, 110 and the end of verse inside Q.20:123. The fact that the later scribe has added this dividing device to both the scattered fragments of *sūra Ṭā-Hā* implies that even the incomplete *sūra* has been treated as a single unit at the time of the second scribe and that the two fragments were separated after this period. In fact neither the end of Q.19 in MS Min1572a, the beginning of Q.21 in MS BnF328c nor the rest of the text of the entire fragment bear traces of the addition of *'awāšir* in black ink. The later hand has chosen to highlight only the structure of the text of Q.20 and its subdivisions, probably done for readers who could easily recognize such indicators.

Besides diacritics and clusters marking ends of verses, the later hand has also corrected the text, erasing the brown ink of the first copyist and inserting letters in black ink, mainly ameliorating the orthography and morphology of words, but also changing a few letter

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[20] Small, Keith. 'How do you distinguish fā' from qāf in early Qur'ān manuscripts?'. *International Qur'anic Studies Association* website. Electronic resource posted on 29 July 2013:
http://iqsaweb.wordpress.com/2013/07/29/qfq/, Leemhuis, Fred. 'From palm leaves to the Internet' in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp.145-161 and Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, pp. 220-221. It is worth noting that in MS UbT 165, f.59r, l.6, *qāf* is furnished with two diacritics, in both positions, i.e. one above and one below the letter.

shapes.[21]

The comprehension of the mechanism of changes in orthography and morphology and in correcting mistakes implies the analysis of the text featured in MS PaB, as illustrated in Section 3.1.

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[21] See section on corrections, namely in MS Min1572 (f. 7v, ll. 20-21).

2.2.1. History of MS Marcel 17, MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572b and MIA 67: Jean-Joseph Marcel, Erik von Scherling, an anonymous collector and their three fragments from Fusṭāṭ

The manuscript Petropolitano-Birminghamiensis (MS PeB) is a codex of the Qur'ānic text composed of twenty-eight leaves likely to have been part of a bigger codex which is now scattered among three institutions: the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg, which holds 17 leaves, i.e. MS NLR Marcel 17 (Mar17, ff. 1-17), the Cadbury Research Library of the University of Birmingham, which holds seven leaves, i.e. MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572b (Min1572, ff. 2-6 and 8-9) and the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar, which has four leaves, i.e. MS.67.2007.1 (MIA67, ff. 1-4). Before their trading in Europe through several channels and periods from the 18th century until the 21st century, these three fragments belonged to the same codex, as identical features and sequence of the text indicate.[22]

Among the three fragments, only the provenance of MS Mar17 has been recorded by clear evidence, firstly through the records of its owner Jean-Joseph Marcel about his participation in Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt and secondly through the *waqf* statement (i.e. bequest statement)[23] written on the single leaf added at the beginning of its Qur'ānic leaves. In fact, firstly, MS Mar17 is part of several materials purchased by Marcel during the

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[22] The common provenance of these fragments was first suggested in Fedeli, 'Provenance'.
[23] Gacek, Adam. *Arabic manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers*. Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 16, s.v. 'Bequest statements and documents' and Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 330.

expedition, coming mainly from the old mosque of Fusṭāṭ, among which 132 manuscripts were sold by his heirs to the then Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg.[24] Secondly, this provenance is confirmed by the *waqf* statement written at the beginning of MS Mar 17 which indicates that the manuscript is *waqf* of *al-jāmiʿ al-ʿatīq li-miṣr*, i.e. the ʿAmr mosque in Fusṭāṭ,[25] whose definition as the old mosque refers to the building of the new mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in 265 / 879, as already pointed out by Déroche.[26] Insofar as studies on early Qurʾānic manuscripts have interpreted, there is no evidence for supposing whether the mosque of Fusṭāṭ was merely a deposit of manuscripts coming from elsewhere or whether it coincided with the scriptorium in which MS Mar17 and all of the other manuscripts kept in the deposit were written and copied.

The evidence for the provenance from Fusṭāṭ of MS Mar17 permits indicating the same provenance for MS Min1572b and MS MIA67, whose history is less documented as part of a more recent history of trading manuscripts in the 20th and 21st centuries. In particular, MS MIA67 appeared on the auction market in 2004[27] as part of a larger collection of manuscripts in *ḥijāzī* style owned by an anonymous Italian collector, later[28] acquired by the Museum of Islamic Art of Doha on the occasion of its opening in 2008. The identification of the common provenance of MS MIA67 and MS Mar17 compensates for all of the lack of information about MS MIA67 due to the Italian collector and his insistence on remaining anonymous. It has not been possible to identify the handwriting of the accompanying Italian notes during this

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[24] See Vasilyeva, Olga, V. 'Oriental Manuscripts in the National Library of Russia'. *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 2, 2, 1996, pp. 19-35. Details mentioned in Fedeli, 'Provenance'.

[25] Regarding the date of the note, see Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, p. 122, note 44.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[27] In 2004 the Foundation Noja Noseda received from an auction house in London a consulting request for identifying the notes that the Italian collector handwrote on the folders in which he inserted the fragments (private correspondence between the Auction house and the Foundation Ferni Noja Noseda).

[28] Likely to have been acquired in 2007 as the shelf mark suggests, i.e. MS.76.2007.1.

research process, and this identification requires further investigation.[29]

With regard to the Birmingham portion of MS PeB, it consists of the seven-leaf part of the artefact later catalogued as a single entity, i.e. MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1572, as far as Mingana's correspondence reveals. As above-mentioned in Section 2.1., previous studies did not report the purchase from von Scherling, but they made a general reference to the three expeditions of Alphonse Mingana to the Middle East from 1924 to 1929 in the catalogue,[30] whereas Hopwood assumed that MS Min1572 was part of the manuscripts which came from Mount Sinai through Tischendorf, thus evidently supposing that all of the manuscripts purchased through von Scherling came from Mount Sinai.[31]

The purchase of MS Min1572 through the antiquarian dealer Erik von Scherling in 1936 leads to further exploration of manuscript trading at the beginning of the 20th century and raises questions about the separate channels and times through which three portions of a single manuscript were scattered in Paris at the beginning of the 19th century, in Leiden at the beginning of the 20th century and in Italy probably at the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, later reaching their further destinations, i.e. Saint Petersburg, Birmingham and Doha.

2.2.2. Writing the leaves of MS PeB: physical features, scribal practices and later users in the process of writing through the centuries

MS PeB, with its twenty-eight leaves is composed of a quire of eight *bifolia* (MS Mar17, ff.1-

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[29] Further details on the Italian folders are in Fedeli, 'Provenance'. Olga Vasilyeva suggested that he could be Bernardo Drovetti (private correspondence with Olga Vasilyeva, November 2012).
[30] See above.
[31] Hopwood's assumption means that he was aware of the Tischendorf provenance of some materials purchased evidently through von Scherling, whose details were evidently hidden because of the polemics about the Codex Sinaiticus. See the section on the history of the palimpsest fragment of Birmingham (MS CaB).

16), two single leaves (MS Mar17, f. 17 and MS Min1572, f.9) and a quire of five extant *bifolia* (MS Min1572, ff.2+8, 3+6, 4+5 and MS MIA67, ff. 1-4), whereas two *bifolia* in the latter quire seem to be dispersed. In fact, the lacuna in the text between the three Birmingham *bifolia* (i.e. ff.2+8, 3+6, 4+5) and the two Doha *bifolia* (i.e. ff. 1-4, 2-3) seems to suggest two more *bifolia*, although the great variability in the number of lines and compactness of the characters and letter blocks on each page does not permit calculation of the length of the lacuna with certainty. The two single leaves in MS Mar17 and MS Min1572 were once contiguous, although they did not form two halves of a *bifolio*, as implied by the fact that in both cases the recto[32] is the hair side and the verso the flesh side. Thus, the content of the twenty-eight leaves runs from Q.2:296 to Q.6:143 with two lacunae from Q.5:27 to Q.5:63 (between MS Min1572, f.4b and MS MIA67, f. 1a) and from Q.6:20 to Q.6:74 (between MS MIA67, f.4b and MS Min1572, f.5a).

The materials used to produce this manuscript are parchments of moderate quality, as suggested, for example, by the hole in the last two lines of MS Mar17, f.16 to which the script has been adapted. Moreover, the general appearance of the leaves whose margins are not clearly cut is the original irregular format of the leaves at a few points, rather than the trace of damages caused by time and use. In fact, in a few leaves (e.g. MS Mar17, f.8r and 10r/v), the length of text in the last lines of the page has been adjusted to fit the shape of the page, which means that this was the original irregular format. The size of the Marcel leaves is 33.5 x 25 cm, like the Birmingham leaves, whose dimensions are around 32.5 x 25 cm[33] as well as the Doha leaves which measure 33 x 24.5 cm.

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[32] The recto of MS Min f.9 has been bound as 9v.
[33] The catalogue reports the incorrect size, i.e. 338 x 217 mm, see Hopwood, *Catalogue Mingana manuscripts*, MS no. 2.

A distinctive feature of this document is that the text it contains represents a process[34] whose realization through different periods and stages by different scribes and readers is still visible in its different levels, so that it can be defined as a multi-layered and stratigraphic work. This nature of the artefact requires a deeper analysis of the object through its digital avatars and a close inspection of the artefacts that has not been possible for all of the scattered fragments.[35]

2.2.2.1. WRITING STAGES: THE FIRST HANDS A, B, C AND D (* AND C*)

The first layer of the stratified MS PeB is the work realized by four scribes, i.e. the first hands A, B, C and D[36] who wrote the Qur'ānic text using parchments of moderate quality and brown ink without any prior planning of the page layout. In fact there are no signs of ruling of the surface and the number of lines is very irregular, varying from 21 (MIA67, f.2r) to 33 lines (Mar17, f.15r), while at a few points the writing baselines are considerably not parallel. Moreover, a few examples of erasure of letters at the end of a line due to their not fitting the available space reveal that the scribes were not completely experienced or trained in

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[34] See Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, e.g. pp. 20-21.

[35] It was possible to analyse MS Min1572 both through several inspections of the object from May 2010 to the present due to its location in the Cadbury Research Library and its easy access and through high-resolution digital images available online in the Virtual Manuscript Room. As regards MS MIA67, it was possible to visit the Museum in Doha in January 2010 where the staff allowed total access to the materials purchased from the Italian collector except the inner *bifolium* of MS MIA67 (i.e. ff. 2-3) which was on display in the Museum at the time. The Museum thus provided colour printed copies of the digital images of ff.2-3, whereas images of ff.1 and 4 were taken for personal use and research with my camera. A direct inspection of the entire MS Mar17 was carried out at the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg in October 2010. During this visit, an edition of the text of the manuscript was done on paper, adding all the relevant notes to the base text of the printed Medina muṣḥaf. Moreover, the library provided black and white photocopies of the manuscript which were later very useful for checking a few details of the edition and analysis of the manuscript after the 2010 visit, although their quality does not permit any deeper analysis.

[36] In Fedeli, 'Provenance', only three scribes were mentioned, but further analysis of the entire PeB manuscript has revealed that there are at least four hands. Examples of hand A, B and C in MS Mar17 were published among the tables in Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, i.e. Tables 26-28, pp.206-208: MS Mar17, f.8v is an example of script by hand A, f.3v by hand B and f.5v by hand C.

justifying the text area on the left margin,[37] even though such justification was indeed a goal to be achieved. Using writing materials of poor quality, the four scribes seem to have used the entire surface of the parchment, adapting the script to the shape of the page without leaving any margin.[38] The lack of mastery of the four scribes is also revealed by the numerous mistakes made during the copying process, i.e. errors corrected by the scribes themselves *in scribendo*.[39]

As regards the writing process, it is highly probable that the four scribes were writing the Qur'ānic text by copying it from an exemplar, as the several mechanical errors and their corrections seem to indicate, in particular the cases of haplography due to *homoioteleuton* (in Q.5:93) and *homoeoarcton* (in Q.4:131-132) as well as the cases of metathesis.[40] As regards the subdivision of the work among the four scribes, they alternate in copying text portions that had probably been fixed in a strict and unchangeable manner, as is implied for example by the extremely dilated script of hand C in the last five lines of MS Mar17, f.6r, before he alternates with hand A.[41] This phenomenon is likely to explain one of the reasons for the great variety in the number of lines used in every page.

On the basis of the overall appearance and a few letter shapes, it is possible to distinguish four hands, although their performances in tracing the script are also quite inconsistent within the same page, so that in a few cases the identification of the hand is quite doubtful

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[37] For example MS Mar17, f.3v, l.2 (Q.3:30), Q.3:35, MS Min1572, f.4v, ll.9-10 (Q.5:20), MS Min1572, f.6v, l.13 (Q.6:115).

[38] In Fedeli, 'Provenance', it was assumed that the margins in MS PeB have been cut, but a close examination of the text revealed that the script occupies the entire surface of the irregular parchment, which means that the latter could not have been cut later. In fact it is more probable to assume an irregular parchment bottom margin filled consequently by a shorter line of text, rather than a short line of text written in a longer space of writing material that has later been cut. On the layout and planning of pages in early Qur'ānic manuscripts with regard to margin absence as result of a decision, see Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*, p. 66.

[39] See Section 3.2.3.

[40] See section on mechanical errors below.

[41] At l.1, hand C wrote forty characters, adding twenty-three spaces between letter blocks, whereas at l.20 he wrote seventeen characters adding eight spaces between letter blocks. This irregular use of the writing surface implies that hand C had to write a portion of text that had previously been fixed.

and it is impossible to ascribe certain and consistent features to a single hand. Moreover, the twenty-eight leaves present a great diversity in executing letter shapes which span a long period of time within a work likely to have been realized within a short period of time. This is the case with the variety of executions of the significant letter *kāf*, according to the description proposed by Déroche.[42] According to the *ductus* and letter shape, it is possible to suggest four scribes.

Firstly, hand A (who is likely to have written MS Mar17, ff. 1r, 6v, 8v + 9r, 10v + 11r, 11v, 12v, 15r, 17v and MS Min1572, ff.9r >9v, 3v, writing in total twelve pages) is characterized by an overall regular script whose letters and spaces tend to harmonize with each other without intersections. Thus, for example, final *nūn* with its rounded line encircles the following letters. There are 24 to 33 lines on a page. With regard to the other letter shapes, it can be noted:

- Isolated *alif* is L-shaped as its two traits, i.e. tail and ascender, are perpendicular and they have the same thickness. The ascender forms an angle of about 60°-70° with the baseline;

- *kāf* has two parallel horizontal traits whose lower horizontal is mostly longer than the upper horizontal, although in a few rare cases the two horizontal traits have about the same length;

- in its final form, *jīm* has a long horizontal and flat tail, with no final loop;

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[42] See Déroche, 'Un critère de datation'. The scholar distinguishes between symmetrical and asymmetrical *kāf*, elongated and short *kāf* and lastly, between divergent and parallel horizontal traits of *kāf*. The asymmetrical *kāf* with divergent horizontal traits is considered an old form also attested in pre-Islamic documents, whereas the asymmetrical *kāf* with parallel horizontal traits was the preferred form at the end of the second half of the 1st century AH, used during the 2nd century AH and disappeared in the 3rd century AH, as proposed by Déroche. As regards the length of the lower horizontal trait, it appears shorter in documents dated from the end of the 2nd century, becoming the peculiar characteristic in the 3rd century. In the twenty-eight leaves of MS PeB, the scribes performed a variety: divergent and elongated *kāf* in hand C, parallel and elongated *kāf* in hand A, parallel and elongated *kāf* coexisting with parallel and short *kāf* in hand B and lastly, *kāf* with parallel horizontal of the same length as well as asymmetric and also an ascender that is slightly concave in hand D.

- the two ascenders of *lām-alif* form an angle of about 20° and they are convergent;

- final *nūn* is a semicircle;

- final *mīm* has a generous tail that sometimes curves upwards;

- final *'ayn* has a curvilinear descender;

- final *ṭā'* ends in a horizontal flat small tail.

Secondly, hand B (who is likely to have written MS Mar17, ff. 1v + 2r,[43] 2v + 3r, 3v+4r, 4v, 7v+8r, 9v+10r, 12r, 13r, 13v+14r, 14v, 15v+16r; MS Min1572, ff. 9v>9r+2r, 3r, 4r, 5r, 6v+8r and MS MIA67, f. 4r and 4v, writing in total twenty-seven pages) is characterized by an overall regular and rather proportioned script with an ordinated arrangement of letter blocks and spaces in the page. Moreover, lines descending below the baseline intersect neither the baseline nor the ascenders of the next line. There are 23 to 30 lines on a page. As regards letter shapes:

- isolated *alif* forms an angle of about 70°-80° with the baseline and it ends in a curved small tail;

- *kāf* has two parallel horizontal traits that are mostly symmetrical, although this form coexists with the asymmetrical *kāf* in which the lower trait is slightly more elongated than the upper one. Moreover, the scribe has also executed *kāf* by tracing a lower trait that is shorter than the upper one (e.g. MS Mar17, f.12r);

- in its final form, *jīm* has a horizontal tail which turns back on itself with a small curve;

- *lām-alif*: the first arm is rectilinear and forms an angle of about 70° with the baseline, whereas the second arm is curvilinear, bending to the right. The two arms form an

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[43] The identification of the hand in these two pages is not completely certain.

angle of about 80°;

– final *nūn* is inverted L-shaped, as the first trait of the descender is rectilinear and forms an angle of about 90° with the final part of the descender;

– final *mīm* has a rectilinear horizontal tail;

– final *'ayn* has two separated arms, of which the first is a very short rectilinear line that descends almost perpendicularly to the baseline and ends in a tail like an *alif*;

– final *ṭā'* ends in an inverted C-shaped hook.

Thirdly, hand C (who is likely to have written MS Mar17, ff. 5r, 5v+6r, writing in total three pages) is characterized by an overall inclination of ascenders and descenders and by thin lines. The number of lines varies from 23 to 27. As regards letter shapes:

– isolated *alif* forms an angle of about 80° with the baseline and the scribe is inconsistent in tracing *alif*'s tail;

– *kāf* has two divergent horizontal traits of which the lower is more elongated;

– final *jīm* has a generous descender that forms a semicircle that intersects the following baseline;

– *lām-alif* has two rectilinear arms that form an angle of about 45°;

– final *nūn* is mainly curvilinear;

– final *mīm* has a rounded form that ends with no tails;

– final *qāf* has a long descender slanting to the left whose first part almost intersects the next baseline, ending in a small loop;

– final *ṭā'* ends in a small curving tail that does not turn back on itself.

Lastly, hand D (who is likely to have written MS Mar17, ff. 7r although uncertain, 16v+17r,

MS Min1572 ff. 2v, 4v, 5v+6r, 8v although uncertain, and MS MIA67 ff,1r, 1v+2r, 2v+3r, 3v, thus writing in total fourteen pages) is characterized by thin lines probably due to a smaller reed so that letters' eyes are very open. There are 21 to 28 lines on a page. A few distinctive letters have the following characteristics.

- *alif* forms an angle of about 70° with the baseline and its tail is sometimes rather elongated and tapering. A distinctive feature of this hand is the fact that the line of the *alif*'s ascender is mostly convex;

- *kāf* has two parallel horizontal traits that are both symmetrical and asymmetrical, whereas the ascender is slightly convex, similarly to the ascender characterizing *alif*;

- Final *jīm* has a horizontal tail which turns back on itself either with a final small hook or with a longer and rounded line. Both the executions can coexist on the same page (e.g. MS MIA67, f.3v, ll. 9 and 10);

- *lām-alif* has two divergent arms that form an angle of about 40°;

- Final *nūn* has a rounded form;

- Final *mīm* is rounded and ends sometimes without and sometimes with a short and flat horizontal tail;

- Final *'ayn* has two separate arms of which one has a long rectilinear descender that slants to the left ending in a hook, thus having the characteristic form of *alif*. Moreover isolated *'ayn* has a different and peculiar shape, in that it has a horizontal tail which turns back on itself with final small hook, similar to final *jīm*;

- Final *ṭā'* ends in an inverted C-shaped hook.

Besides the four scribes with their individual styles and habits, there are traces of a later handwriting with different characteristics which raise questions about the period in which

the manuscript has been written and about the spontaneity of the style used. Thus, for example, in MS Mar17, f.1v (hand B), the last three lines have been written in a different style, as indicated by *alif*, executed in New Style script,[44] although it is not clear whether the ink is the same that the first hand used: it is rather questionable to recognize identities between similar inks on the basis visual inspection, as the composition of the ink and corrosion can affect ink colour.[45]

The four scribes have used brown ink to trace the consonantal skeleton, inconsistently adding strokes or ovals as diacritics for distinguishing the fifteen pointed letters (*al-ḥuruf al-mu'jama*), including *fā'* and *qāf*.[46] In order to insert subdivision in the text, the scribes have used clusters of four ovals (mainly in hand A), one or two columns of three ovals placed one above the other (mainly in hand B), irregular clusters of four to six ovals (mainly in hand C) and irregular clusters of four to eight ovals as well as column(s) of ovals (hand D), although the scribes are rather inconsistent in organizing the shapes of these devices.

Moreover, there are four points at which the end of one *sūra* is followed by the next one. Hand B has left no blank line (*bayāḍ*) to subdivide the text between two following *sūra*s, i.e. between the end of *sūra al-Baqara* and the beginning of *sūra Āl 'Imrān* (Mar17, f. 1v) and between the end of *sūra al-Mā'ida* and the beginning of *sūra al-An'ām* (MIA67, f.4r). In both cases, the *basmala* is immediately followed by the first verse, with *fāṣila* in the former occurrence and without any separation in the latter one. There are very faded traces of a simple geometric decoration that filled the space after Q.5:120, i.e. a series of triangles included between two horizontal lines that have probably been cancelled to be replaced by the later decoration, whereas later interventions for marking the beginning of *sūra Āl 'Imrān*

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[44] Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, pp. 132-137.
[45] See Hahn, 'Non-destructive analyses'.
[46] *Fā'* has been distinguished by a stroke above the letter and *qāf* by two strokes above.

do not allow the recognition of any eventual decoration at the end of *sūra al-Baqara*. On the other side, hand A has left a blank line between the end of *sūra Āl ʿImrān* and the beginning of *sūra al-Nisāʾ* (Mar 17, f.11r). As regards the separation between *sūra al-Nisāʾ* and *sūra al-Māʾida*, it is likely that it is the result of a later intervention and not of the first hand B, as illustrated in the next sections.

2.2.2.2. WRITING STAGES: ADDITIONS IN BLACK INK (C1) AND IN RED INK (C2)

MS PeB shows traces of corrections and later interventions by readers. In fact, there are, firstly, a few corrections made by the first hand, both erasing a previous section[47] of his script and adding letters or words. Sometimes it is evident that corrections have been done *in scribendo*, in that in a few cases the scribe has cancelled the first part of a word that he has not finished writing, whereas in other cases it is only arguable that the scribe has cancelled or added letters and words immediately. There is a second stage in the process of writing that is the result of a correction activity by addition in black ink in twelve cases, and a third stage by addition in red ink in forty-eight cases, whereas in three places both interventions coexist overlapping. Moreover, black and red inks are sometimes used to retrace very faded script by the first hand. The question as to whether the second and third stages are interventions by later correctors or by later readers is investigated in the next chapter, after the analysis of the content and consistency of these interventions.

The red ink has been used not only for adding letters to the consonantal skeleton, but also for indicating vocalization by means of dots. The fact that in a few occurrences the red dot

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[47] Erasures are related to single letters or letter blocks as well as to entire lines of script, as in MS Min1572, f.9r (< 9v) and MS MIA67, f.2v.

vowels are related to the consonantal skeleton added in black ink rather than to the consonantal skeleton in brown ink implies necessarily that the red ink stage came after the black ink stage. Thus, for example, in Q.4:164 (Min1572, f.2v, l.3) the second hand corrected *rusul^(an)* to *wa-rusul^(an)* by transforming the initial *rā'* of the first hand in *wāw* and by adding a further *rā'* between (black) *wāw* and (brown) *sīn.* Later, to mark the vocalisation /u/, the third hand placed a red dot at the left side of the black *rā'.* In the same way, in Q.5:4 (Min1572, f.3r) the second hand added in black ink the preposition *min* that the first hand had omitted and the third hand added a red dot above the final *nūn* to mark the reading *min-a.*

The red ink has been used also for adding the *fātiḥa* at four points. Firstly, in the blank space at the end of the last line of *sūra al-Baqara* in Mar17, f.2r,[48] the later scribe (C3) added the *fātiḥa* of *sūra Āl 'Imrān* with its number of verses (i.e. 200) in red ink, inscribing the words between two wavy lines of which the lower one ends at the right margin, crossing part of the *basmala.* Secondly, between *sūra Āl 'Imrān* and *sūra al-Nisā'* (Mar17, f.11r), all three scribes marked the new section of the text. In fact, the first hand A left a blank line (*bayāḍ*) between the two sections, whereas the second hand (i.e. black ink) drew a geometric decoration of triangles in this blank line and the third hand (i.e. red ink) wrote the *fātiḥa* of *sūra al-Nisā'*, stating its number of verses (i.e. 177) in the interlinear space between the decoration and the *basmala.* Thirdly, the passage from *sūra al-Nisā'* to *sūra al-Mā'ida* in Min1572 (f.3r, hand B) likely shows traces of different arrangements in that the last words of *sūra al-Nisā'* have been rewritten in brown ink in a different later style, i.e. New Style III, as the *alif* at the

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[48] The first hand (probably hand B) did not leave a blank line between the two sections, but only an empty space on the line on which he had written the end of Q.2:286.

beginning of l.1 suggests.[49] The empty space at the end of the line has been filled with the *fātiḥa* of the *sūra* and the number of its verses (i.e. 122), in red ink. In the space between the first two lines, a decoration has been drawn, i.e. a fish bone decoration ending in one wavy line. As regards the fourth occurrence in which the text's subdivision has been highlighted (MIA67, f.4r), the first hand B left about half a line blank, tracing in this thin space a simple decoration as suggested by its faded traces and a series of triangles in the empty space at the line bearing Q.5:120. The parchment has also traces of words in black ink, later cancelled. In the third stage of the writing process, i.e. red ink, the scribe has added the *fātiḥa* of *sūra al-Mā'ida* and the number of its verses (i.e. 166) in the space after the last words of Q.5:120.

Moreover, the red ink has also been used to indicate groups of ten verses, inscribing the *fāṣila* traced by the first hand in a red circle, sometimes surrounded by dots. At a few points, the indication of these *'awāšir* do not correspond to the counting of the verses marked by the first hand, although the red ink scribe did not correct the subdivisions inserted by the first hand. This means that the third hand probably did not make his additions in red ink with the purpose of correcting the text and its subdivisions; otherwise he would have cancelled the different counting system in brown ink while he was adding his marks of

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[49] See Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, pp.136-137 and the description of the letter forms in New Style. The *alif* at the beginning of l.1 in MS Min1572, f.3r has no lower return and the lower part of the line curves, forming a semicircle. It is not clear whether this first line was empty and the end of Q.4:176 was written in order to match the two fragments, i.e. f.2v written by hand D and f.3r written by hand B, or whether the words at the beginning of l.1 have been cancelled to write the last words of Q.4:176. The ink seems to be the brown ink used by the first hand, but this is only an assumption on the basis of an optical impression. This assumption does not allow one to conjecture the date of the first hand. In fact, if l.1 in MS Min1572, f.3r was written by the first hand in New Style, a style characteristic of the 9th century, this would date the manuscript itself and would imply that the first hand was imitating an earlier style. See *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133 about the use and dating of New Style. Moreover it is worth mentioning that the word *šay'* written at l.1 (end of Q.4:176) was spelled without *alif*, whereas all the other thirty-eight occurrences were spelled with *alif*, see the next chapter on the analysis of the text.

group of ten verses.[50] It is likely to suppose that he was not correcting the text, but decoding it: he was reading the text. The comprehension of such a mechanism of decoding[51] needs further elements to be analysed from the text of the manuscript and its variants, as illustrated in Chapter 3. In fact, the third stage of erasures and additions in red ink did not concern all of the variants that involved a different consonantal skeleton.[52]

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[50] See section 3.2.2.2.
[51] Nasser, *Variant Readings*, pp. 111, 115 and 137.
[52] This fact could suggest the period in which the red additions were made, see Chapter 3.

2.3.1. History of MS Mingana Christian Arabic Additional 150 and MS Cambridge University Library Or. 1287: two entangled histories from one codex Sinaiticus *rescriptus*

2.3.1.1. THE LOST PALIMPSEST OF AGNES SMITH LEWIS, LATER CATALOGUED AS MS OR. 1287

 MS Cambridge University Library Or. 1287 (CUL1287) contains some Arabic Christian homilies and was created in the second half of the 9th century or at the beginning of the 10th century,[53] using several second-hand writing materials among which there are a few Qur'ānic leaves written in *ḥijāzī* style composed of two groups that are likely to have been split from two different Qur'ānic codices with different palaeographical and codicological features, namely fifteen and a half small leaves and seven large leaves.

The history of this manuscript[54] bought by Mrs Lewis in 1895 is apparently quite well documented. While in Suez, she bought from an antiquarian dealer a codex of Arabic Christian homilies that had lost both its beginning and its end and was composed of 162

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[53] Agnes Smith Lewis assigned the script of the Arabic homilies of MS CUL1287 to the 9th or 10th century, mentioning Cowley's opinion (Smith Lewis, Agnes. *Apocrypha Syriaca. The Protevangelium Jacobi and transitus Mariae, with texts from the Septuagint, the Corân, the Peshiṭṭa, and from a Syriac hymn in a Syro-Arabic palimpsest of the fifth and other centuries, with an appendix of Palestinian Syriac texts from the Taylor-Schechter Collection. Studia Sinaitica No. XI.* London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1902, p. IX). Recently it has been compared with a few Christian Arabic manuscripts from the Monastery of Saint-Catherine, two of which are dated, namely MS Sinai, New Finds, Parchment 1 dated AD 868 and MS Strasbourg, National University Library 4225 = Ar. 150 dated AD 901, see George, Alain. 'Le palimpseste Lewis-Mingana de Cambridge, témoin ancien de l'histoire du Coran'. *Comptes Rendus de L'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*, 2011, 1, pp.377-429 (p.406). Mingana dated the matching fragment Min150 from about AD 850, see *Mingana, Alphonse. Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham, vol. III, Additional Christian Arabic and Syriac Manuscripts. Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons, 1939*, p. 20.

[54] Some details of the history of MS CUL1287 and Min150 have already been mentioned in Fedeli, 'Digitization project' and Fedeli, 'Provenance'.

small leaves; it measured 20 x 12.75 cm.[55] Mrs Lewis recognized in the *scriptio inferior* of this *codex rescriptus* several texts, in Syriac, Greek and Arabic. In order to understand the earlier layer of the texts, she took the bounded codex to pieces with a natural reluctance, as she wrote: 'by cutting out the cord which held its several quires together; but without doing so I could not even see the inner margins, and there alone were lines of the ancient Arabic script to be found, perfectly free from the upper writing'.[56] In fact, the original materials were leaves, measuring approximately 20 x 25.5 cm, assembled in new quires of a smaller size and rewritten perpendicularly to the older script.

Furthermore, Mrs Lewis used a reagent, hydrosulphide of ammonia, applied then only to part of the parchments, to revive and brighten up the old ink.[57] In 1902 the scholar published in *Studia Sinaitica XI* her study of the entire codex, inserting a few reproductions of the original manuscripts. As regards the Qur'ānic leaves, Agnes Smith Lewis chose to edit the text, reporting just the lines at the top and bottom of each half-page that were the lines bearing the most visible traces of the faded ink.[58] She explained her decision thus:

> The whole text might have been edited with a liberal use of the reagent, but this would have been too great an infliction on the very fine vellum of Corân II.; and would have produced only a transient effect on the more solid one of Corân I. It would also have been a severe trial to my eyes, and I cannot see that it would have served any useful purpose.[59]

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[55] Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, p. IX.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. XVII.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. XVIII-XIX. Mrs Lewis was acquainted with the use of hydrosulphide of ammonia for reading palimpsests. This method had been recommended to her by Mr Scott of the British Museum in 1894: see Smith Lewis, Agnes. *A translation of the four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic palimpsest*. London - New York, MacMillan and Co., 1894, p. XIV.
[58] See Chapter 4 on the methodology used in editing this manuscript in the 1902 edition.
[59] Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, p. XIX.

In a later work, she told a somewhat different story, advancing two reasons: 'I am familiar with the Naskhi script of Arabic, and am not quite a stranger to Kūfic, this script is neither the one nor the other' and 'I was also prepossessed by the belief that all copies of the Qurân are in duty bound to be exactly alike'.[60] After publishing *Studia Sinaitica XI* in 1902, the larger leaves of the original codex were rebound by Eyre and Spottiswoode in a new format, each leaf being set within strong paper ones and the more ragged leaves being mended with strips of very fine transparent white gauze.[61]

It was a few years later, after a chance meeting with Alphonse Mingana in 1913, that the Qur'ānic text of the palimpsest was more closely studied and the two scholars, with the cooperation of Mrs Gibson, the twin sister of Mrs Lewis, published a further study of the manuscript, with the complete edition of the text and a list of its variants.

Soon afterwards, in 1914, the manuscript, duly rebound, was sent to Carl Brockelmann for the international exhibition of books at Leipzig,[62] but on the outbreak of the First World War it disappeared. When Mrs Lewis died in 1926, the manuscript was still lost somewhere in Germany. Further details are mentioned by Alphonse Mingana in the private correspondence with Arthur Jeffery:

> In your letter of the 15th, you ask me what happened to Mrs. Lewis's palimpsest of the Koran, which I edited in 1914. The MS. seems for the present to be lost. It was lent by Mrs. Lewis to the Leipzig Exhibition of 1914, and during the War, when all other MSS. lent from different countries were returned, this one did not come back, and repeated enquiries, first from Mrs. Lewis and then from her executors, to Prof. Brockelmann, to

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[60] Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. VI.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. IX.
[62] This fact is also confirmed by Léon, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', above mentioned.

whom the MS. was handed, have met with negative answers. During the hustle and bustle of the first months of the War, the MS may have been lost in the post, or, more probably, a Muslim who may have seen it exhibited in Leipzig got hold of it and destroyed it. We are still following up our search for the MS, and if we find it, I will let you know.[63]

The Lewis palimpsest was found two years after this letter, thanks to Dr Oman from Cambridge and Professor Huene from Tübingen.[64] In fact, the manuscript was returned to the Cambridge University Library in 1936, as this was the will of Agnes Smith Lewis. Therefore it was only in 1952 that the manuscript was catalogued in 'A second supplementary hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts in the University and Colleges of Cambridge'.[65] Recently, Cambridge University Library has decided to restore the manuscript, thus the paper book structure bound by Eyre and Spottiswoode, has been removed, together with the dangerous paper frames and the transparent white gauze that overlapped the parchments and the paper frames. In 2014 the leaves were rebound properly and stored in suitable conditions, although the damage caused by the corrosive hydrosulphide of ammonia and the constraining card frames and gauze are irreversible, as clearly proved by comparing the leaves of CUL1287 with the matching fragment Mingana Christian Arabic Additional 150, the latter being in perfect condition.

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[63] Copy of the typed letter from Alphonse Mingana to Arthur Jeffery. Birmingham, 29 May 1934 (Mingana Papers DA66).
[64] As recorded in some notes handwritten on the first page of the rebound book, already mentioned in Fedeli, 'Mingana and the manuscript'.
[65] Arberry, Arthur John. *A second supplementary hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts in the University and Colleges of Cambridge*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1952, p. 25.

2.3.1.2. The Sinai Qurʾānic fragment of Mingana (MS Christian Arabic Additional 150), later catalogued as unknown text

MS Mingana Christian Arabic Additional 150 (Min150) is a small parchment fragment once belonging to the codex CUL1287. In its *scriptio superior* it bears a Christian Arabic text[66] about the rich man who is imploring in Hell's fire, which is part of the homily of the Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31) starting at f. 91v of CUL1287 (actual f. 55r, right side) whose title (i.e. *ʿalā alʿāzar wa-l-ġannī*) also mentions the author, *mār Yaʿqūb al-ṭūbān*, probably referring to Jacob of Sarug.[67] On its *scriptio inferior,* the parchment has a trace of the Qurʾānic text of *sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, from verse 161 to verse 165 on the recto and from verse 169 to verse 174 on the verso, which turns out to be the missing complementary half-leaf of folio 103 of CUL1287 bearing the same *sūra*, from verse 158 to verse 161 on the recto and from verse 165 to verse 169 on the verso.

The Birmingham fragment was acquired by Mingana from the antiquarian Erik von Scherling in October 1936 as part of an entire lot of Sinai fragments[68] whose traces Mingana had been detecting for quite a time, as is evident from his correspondence.[69] In fact, during the discussions and negotiations about their price, Mingana replied to von Scherling on 8 October 1936:

> May I add that I was aware of the existence of those fragments eighteen years before

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[66] Mingana, *Catalogue III. Christian Arabic* (p. 20) states that the *scriptio superior* contains a theological work which mentions good works, heaven and hell and also the Ark of Noah, probably to be compared with the Church and the kingdom of heaven.

[67] Jacob of Sarug has been cautiously suggested by George, 'Le palimpseste', p. 415. See also Graf, Georg. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur. Bd.1, Die Übersetzungen.* Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944, pp. 444-452 who also mentions the homily of the rich man and Lazarus in the Beuron palimpsest fragment II, ibid., p.446, see below the possible interpretation of the Beuron Armenian leaves as being part of the same codex CaB.

[68] The receipt was published in Fedeli, 'Digitization project'.

[69] Some details have already been mentioned in Fedeli, 'Mingana and the manuscript' and Fedeli, 'Papyri'.

you had heard of them! I discussed much with my friends Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, while they were still alive, the action of the scholar who cut off these leaves from MSS. in Mount Sinai.[70]

As the antiquarian dealer maintained that 'this collection was already known to me 3 ½ years ago', the number of years leads us from October 1936 to some point between 1914 and 1915, and it was precisely in 1914 that Mingana, together with Agnes Smith Lewis, published the edition of the Cambridge Qur'ānic fragment. Thus it seems that Mingana had knowledge of what he was going to buy amongst the Sinai fragments, and hunted them for many years[71] and it is probable that he had recognized the Qur'ānic fragment's content, although he neither studied it in depth nor published it, and most of all he probably recognized its resemblance to the Cambridge leaves that he had analysed in 1914. Further evidence of Mingana's awareness is given by the experiments conducted by the chemistry department of the Cadbury Company to take proper images of palimpsests in order to have access to their *scriptio inferior.* The chemistry department advised Mingana that ultra violet photography was rather more serviceable than infrared.[72] Surprisingly, these enquiries and experiments were conducted two years before Mingana purchased the Sinai palimpsest fragments. It seems likely that this plan of acquiring knowledge about this particular type of photography was due to the fact that Mingana had detected these palimpsests a long time before he was able to purchase them, so he planned and conducted experiments on

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[70] Copy of the typed letter from Mingana to von Scherling, Birmingham 8 October 1936 (Mingana Papers, DA66).

[71] It is not clear whether Mingana was referring to such Sinai manuscripts as early as during his expedition to Egypt in 1929, as he wrote to Edward Cadbury 'I am not completely satisfied for the following reason: you will remember that I told you in Birmingham that a cleric, head of a "fraternity" had a considerable number of mss. and that he was rather seriously ill' in, handwritten draft of a letter dated 13 December 1929 from Alphonse Mingana to Edward Cadbury (Mingana Papers, DA 66).

[72] As above mentioned, the Cambridge palimpsest still exhibits the damages caused by the use of hydrosulphide of ammonia, whereas the Mingana fragment is perfectly conserved, as he never used such a reagent on it.

their photography in advance. Furthermore, at the beginning of 1937, Mingana asked the photographer, Morland Braithwaite, based not far from Birmingham, to conduct experiments on photographing palimpsests. Fortunately, Mingana concluded that 'the photographs are very well done, and I think they are as clear as they were in the MS under the reagent'.[73] Thus, he requested and should have also received photographs of the Qur'anic palimpsest fragment, photographed on 19 October 1937, a few weeks before his death, but by then he had already been ill for a long time.

Moreover, the editors in charge of completing Mingana catalogue of the additional Christian Arabic and Syriac manuscripts after his death wrote that amongst Mingana's latest acquisitions was a stray leaf from the same palimpsest, although they did not specify the details of such a stray leaf.[74] Thus, his contemporaries seemed to know about the existence of a fragment matching Lewis palimpsest, which implies they knew its content.

Nevertheless, the catalogue defines the content of the *scriptio inferior* of the matching fragment as unknown, thus hiding its story and importance. Furthermore, in the introductory note written by Mingana himself, the author underlines the importance of some Syriac and Christian Arabic writings for their antiquity, among them mentioning MS no. 165:

> So in Christian Arabic we have, No. 165, an Arabic palimpsest the underwriting of which may be ascribed to about A.D. 770, the earliest date to which a Christian Arabic manuscript may be ascribed with safety.[75]

Inevitably, this contradiction has affected its reception by other scholars, who have

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[73] See Copy of the typewritten letter from Alphonse Mingana to Morland Braithwaite, Birmingham, 26 October 1937, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.
[74] Mingana, *Catalogue III. Christian Arabic*, p. VI.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. XXV.

construed a Christian Arabic text despite its being unknown. Whereas the 1939 catalogue merely reports 'No date. Early Kūfi-Naski hand of about A.D. 770', in later works the adjective 'Christian' has been added, for example in a list of palimpsests whose *scriptio superior* bears an Arabic text that was published in 2009: 'arabe (intermédiaire coufique-naskhi), chrétien, texte non identifié (*ca* 770)'.[76] Only recently, in 2011, the fragment was (re)discovered as matching MS CUL1287, part of the small Qur'ānic leaves.

2.3.1.3. The provenance of MS Cantabrigiensis-Birminghamiensis: the scriptorium

The codex of Arabic homilies is likely to have been written, assembled and used at the Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai, considering firstly the evidence of the documentation about the acquisition of the Birmingham fragments, as recently highlighted; secondly, the provenance of further matching fragments suggested in previous studies; thirdly, the comparison with similar manuscripts whose Sinai provenance is certain; and lastly the information revealed in the probable index and colophon of the codex as it has been interpreted during this research project.[77]

Firstly, the Mingana Papers provide evidence of such provenance. In fact, as regards the Birmingham fragment, Mingana hid its exact provenance from Sinai in order to avoid any

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[76] Tuerlinckx, Laurence. 'Les palimpsestes à écriture supérieure arabe, témoins d'une culture multiple' in Véronique Somers, ed., *Palimpsestes et éditions de textes : Les textes littéraires.* Actes du colloque tenu à Louvain-la-Neuve, septembre 2003. Louvain-la-Neuve, Université Catholique de Louvain – Institut Orientaliste, 2009, pp.187-200 (p. 192). The author specifies that the work was based upon microfilms and catalogues, *ibid.*, p.189.
[77] Whereas the receipt and part of Mingana's correspondence were published in Fedeli, 'Digitization project' and Fedeli, 'Provenance', the previous studies on matching fragments were produced by Vaccari, Alberto. 'I Palinsesti biblici di Beuron'. *Biblica*, 11, 1930, pp. 231-235 (p. 235), Cowe, S. Peter. 'An Armenian Job Fragment from Sinai and its Implications'. *Oriens Christianus*, 76, 1992, pp. 123-157 and Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca.* Although the latter had already stressed the similarity of the *scriptio superior* of the codex to other specimens from Sinai, quoting the opinion of Cowley who visited Sinai in 1894, a more detailed comparison with Sinaitic manuscripts has been suggested by George, 'Le palimpseste'. As regards the information provided in MS Min171, it has been interpreted as being the index of the codex of Arabic homilies during this research, see below.

claim by the Sinai authorities.[78] However the private correspondence of Mingana holds von Scherling's receipt for a lot of fragments from Mount Sinai, later marked with their numbers in the Mingana Collection, namely MSS Ch.Arab.Add. from number 123 to number 208.[79] The receipt describes the items in the series later numbered 123-208 as 'Lot of single leaves, fragments from Christian Arabic mss. from Mount Sinai, a lot of Christian Arabic fragments from Egypt and 30 leaves from a Syriac Bible ms. on parchment'. Whereas the last mentioned item is MS Mingana Syriac 627, the description of the series MSS Mingana Chr.Ar.Add. 123-208 refers to their aspect as single leaves or fragments of manuscripts, the latter likely to be groups of leaves. This seems to suggest that all of the single leaves among this series are from Sinai, whereas the larger fragments of manuscripts are from Sinai or, in general, from Egypt. Furthermore, the above-mentioned letter written by Mingana to von Scherling on 8 October 1936, during the negotiation for the price of the Sinai fragments, reveals an awareness of the kind of trade behind the Sinai fragment, mentioning 'the action of the scholar who cut off these leaves from MSS. in Mount Sinai' and thus implying their provenance. Furthermore, the presence of a peculiar fragment among this lot of Sinai fragments could explain the reason for this intention to hide their provenance. The fragment is Ms Mingana Chr. Ar. Add. 136,[80] which is part of MS Strasbourg Oriental MS 4226 (Arabic 151), copied in AD 885 and bearing the signature of the scribe Anthony David of Baghdad,[81] and mentioned by H. L. Fleischer in the mid-19th century as part of a six-leaf

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[78] Fedeli, 'Provenance'.

[79] Probably the reproduction in Fedeli, 'Digitization project' did not allow the reading of the hyphen between the two numbers indicating a series, thus leading to misunderstanding the receipt as referring to two single MSS, no. 123 and no. 208 in George, 'Le palimpseste', p. 379. Thus MS 208 is an example of a single leaf from the monastery of Mount Sinai, as stated in the *Mingana, Catalogue III. Christian Arabic*, p.59 rather than from Egypt.

[80] *Ibid.*, no. 233.

[81] Griffith, Sidney. 'Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine'. *Church History*, 58, 1, 1989, pp. 7-19 (pp. 8-9).

group among manuscripts that had arrived in Europe through Constantine Tischendorf.[82] If the collection acquired by Mingana included at least this controversial item, his willingness to avoid disclosing the Sinai provenance was not the result of a general caution against any claim by the Sinai authorities due to contemporary polemics about the ownership of the codex Sinaiticus. On the contrary, he was probably trying to hide the intermediary role of Tischendorf in such acquisitions with all of the inevitable consequences. Furthermore, the report on the year 1936 prepared by Mingana for the trustees of the Woodbrooke settlement definitely clarifies the situation:

> In the forefront of my report for this year I would place on record the acquisition of the Sinaitic manuscripts and fragments, which were considered lost for over ninety years.[83] I was for many years in search of these lost early Christian documents, and it is a matter for gratification to know that they are now safely housed in our strong room. In some cases these documents represent the earliest Christian writing that has come down to us on vellum, in Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Armenian.[84] No more detailed remarks on them are needed here, as a letter of mine in "The Times" of November 6th[85] drew the attention of scholars to them. For the private and confidential information of the Trustees, however, I would state that the man responsible for the

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[82] van Esbroek, Michel. 'Un feuillet oublié du codex arabe or. 4226, à Strasbourg'. *Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie* 96, 1978, pp. 383-384 and Griffith, 'Scribe and Monk', p. 9. See also Fleischer, Heinrich L. 'Beschreibung der von Prof. Dr. Tischendorf im J. 1853 aus dem Morgenlande zurückgebrachten christlich-arabischen Handschriften'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 8, 1854, pp. 584-587 in which he mentions the fragment later catalogued as Mingana Christian Arabic Additional 136 as part of the Tischendorf manuscripts brought to Europe in 1853.

[83] Thus the Birmingham fragment 150 is part of the Tischendorf fragment, and this means that it was removed from the entire codex in the mid-19th century. This date corresponds to the appearance of fragment 136 in Leipzig, as above mentioned. I thank Prof. Christfried Böttrich for this reference.

[84] The Armenian fragment that has been reused for the palimpsest is likely to be MS Mingana, whereas Heal did not recognize the presence of this fragment as part of the palimpsest leaves acquired by Mingana, see Heal, Kristian. 'Notes on the Acquisition History of the Mingana Syriac Manuscripts' in Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié, eds., *Les manuscrits syriaques. Nouvelles recherches et perspectives (Cahiers d'études syriaques)*. Paris, Geuthner, Société d'études syriaques, forthcoming.

[85] Newspaper cut held at Special Collections, in Mingana Papers DA/66.

removal of these precious fragments from the monastery of Mount Sinai was the German scholar Tischendorf, of Codex Sinaiticus fame. It is hoped that the trustees will not insist on knowing exactly how these lost documents were finally traced after so many years of persistent enquiry![86]

If the Birmingham palimpsest fragment is the result of Tischendorf's activity in the mid-19th century, however it is not evident whether the codex acquired by Agnes Smith Lewis has any relation to Tischendorf himself. She wrote that 'the manuscript [...] was purchased by me at Suez in 1895'[87] and 'the manuscript [...] was bought by me at Suez from a commercial antiquary on his travels in 1895'.[88] The vague details about this antiquary and the fact that Mingana reports his discussions with Lewis sisters about 'the action of the scholar who cut off these leaves from MSS. in Mount Sinai'[89] seem to suggest that Agnes Smith Lewis was aware of the way in which these manuscripts left St. Catherine's monastery and consequently chose not to disclose all the details, as Mingana mentioned in 1936, after having purchased the Sinai fragments:

> I will follow the laudable example of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in not referring explicitly to the scholar responsible for the abuse of hospitality of which Mrs. Gibson, perhaps unjustly complains; nor will I allude to the circuitous way in which the fragments reached me.[90]

Secondly, the Sinai provenance is also suggested with regard to other fragments matching codex CaB, whose definition pertains to the Qur'ānic part of the recycled materials used in

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[86] Report to trustees, Mingana Papers, already reported in Heal, 'Notes on the Acquisition'.
[87] Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, p. IX.
[88] Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. V.
[89] Above mentioned.
[90] 6 November 1936, Mingana to *The Times*, newspaper cutting held at Special Collections, in Mingana Papers DA/66.

assembling it, although there are other matching materials in relation to the Greek and Armenian leaves. Thus, for example, in 1930 Vaccari coined the expression 'codice palinsesto Lewisiano-Beuronese' to refer to CUL1287, at that time not yet catalogued nor returned to Cambridge, and the Beuron fragment donated to the Benedictines of Beuron by Grote, i.e. MS Erzabtei show-case 46 which bears a portion of Genesis 41 matching f. 11 of the Cambridge codex. Furthermore, the mutilated bifolium[91] MS Mingana Chr.Ar.Add.124 is likely to be part of the same codex. It bears a portion of the Armenian version of Hebrews 11:15-23 and 24-32 whose writing could be earlier than the 9th century AD.[92] The handwriting of the *scriptio superior* is likely to be the same as the *scriptio superior* of the codex of Arabic homilies in particular as regards the letter shapes;[93] the height of isolated *alif* being 8-9 mm in both fragments and the devices used to separate sentences have the same shape and dimensions, i.e. four dots forming a cross of about 2 x 4 mm and two dots whose height is 2.5 mm.

Vaccari proposed that the Beuron Greek palimpsest is from Sinai[94] and a Sinai or at least Palestinian provenance had been proposed for the Birmingham Armenian palimpsest even before the study by Mingana revealed its certain provenance, as the Armenian palimpsest is part of the lot of Sinaitic fragments acquired in 1936.

Thirdly, the comparison with other Sinaitic manuscripts shows clearly that MS CaB is part

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[91] Rather than two columns as suggested in Tuerlinckx, 'Les palimpsestes', it is likely to be interpreted as a *bifolium* by reason of its traces of the sewing in the middle of the two folios. The dimensions of the two folios are 9.2 x 18 cm and 9.8 x 16.2 cm.
[92] Brock, Sebastian P. 'An early Armenian palimpsest fragment of Hebrews'. *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 2, 1965, pp. 129-134 (p. 129), Brock, Sebastian P. 'Notes on some texts in the Mingana Collection'. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 14, 1969, pp. 205-226 (p. 224) and Cowe, 'Armenian Fragment', p. 133.
[93] As the handwriting is not uniform across the whole of MS CaB, it was preferable to compare the Armenian Birmingham palimpsest with a specific handwriting of MS CaB, namely Chr. Ar. Add. 150, thus obtaining a perfect superimposition of letter shape and letter combinations between the two fragments.
[94] Vaccari suggested a Sinaitic origin, also mentioning Agnes Smith Lewis' hypothesis, see Vaccari, 'Palinsesti biblici'.

of a tradition in writing anthologies of homilies, hagiographies and hymns, in particular the two above-mentioned Sinai manuscripts that are dated AD 868 and 901, as has been described in depth by Alain George.[95] The characteristics of this common Sinai tradition are the script and the page layout, thus allowing the proposal of a unique scriptorium which produced some manuscripts still held at the monastery of St. Catherine and MS CaB. To the features already mentioned by George, it is possible to add the decorations drawn before the beginning of homilies. In fact, the most frequent decoration in MS CaB, composed of two intertwined lines, is a common feature in Sinai manuscripts, e.g. Sinai MS Arab. 72, which is dated AD 897.[96] George has noticed that the existence of common features belonging to a unique manuscript tradition and its scriptorium does not exclude the idea that these similar manuscripts had travelled through different Palestinian monasteries and scriptoria, as suggested by the two late 9th century examples of codices written by Anthony David of Baghdad at Mar Sabas for the monastery of St. Catherine, and that this allows us to observe a 'sort of geographical network'.

Lastly, a further element for identifying the provenance of CaB is provided by the existence of the probable index and colophon of the codex, or at least of the index of the Sinai exemplar copied from it or from which it has been copied. This index is likely to be MS Mingana Christian Arabic Additional 171 (Min171), composed of two paper leaves measuring 11.5 x 16.3 cm and listing the content of the codex (haḏa 'l-muṣḥaf) from which these two leaves have evidently been removed. The different measurements of the paper leaves and the parchments of MS CaB are not an obstacle in the comprehension of their relationship, as the smaller paper leaves have no signs of the codex they once were

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[95] As above mentioned, George did not consider the receipt of the Mingana acquisition of Sinai fragments as proof of their provenance, probably due to his access through its publication in Fedeli, 'Digitization project'.
[96] Clark, Kenneth W. *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950.* Washington, Library of Congress, 1952.

attached to, thus possibly suggesting that the outer margins have been cut or that they were inserted or added to the larger parchment leaves.[97]

MS Min171 reports the content of 'this codex', listing seventeen homilies, although the last ordinal number referring to the seventeenth homily does not introduce any title or its author. The titles and authors of the sixteen homilies given in this index perfectly agree with the content of the codex of Arabic homilies of MS CaB, despite the apparently different sequence. Both objects list sixteen titles of homilies, and the discrepancies between the index and the codex are:

- the homily of John Chrysostom on the commentary on Πάτερ ἡμῶν which is the first homily listed in the index (MS Min171) and the twelfth title of codex CUL1287 at f.114r;

- the fourth homily on the good Samaritan by Theodorus Studita in the index which is absent in the codex;

- the sixth homily of codex CUL1287 (f.44v), i.e. the homily of Saint Isaac, disciple of Saint Ephrem about the anchorites.

Nevertheless, considering the fact that f.1 does not bear the beginning of the homily and that the state of the quire of the codex is irregular,[98] it is possible to observe that the two single leaves ff. 114 and 115 have been placed between quires 15 and 16 despite matching

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[97] Other indexes and leaves that have been 'culled' from Sinaitic manuscripts and are now held in the Mingana collection show signs of having been attached to a codex or of their previous coexistence in a unique object. See for example MS Mingana Chr.Ar.Add.172, a paper leaf bearing the index of a Sinaitic manuscript of discourses and lives of saints (Mingana, *Catalogue III. Christian Arabic*, no.248) which features in the left bottom corner of f.2v a small scrap of a folio written in a different hand, probably part of the codex to which the index was attached. A further example is MS Chr.Ar.Add.169 (*Ibid.*, no. 151) bearing the index of another Sinaitic manuscript from which it has been culled and bearing the signs of the pressure of the cover of the codex it was in contact with.
[98] Any anomalies in the quires' structure could indicate a modification in the original structure (Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, pp. 70-71). The norm in MS CUL1287 seems to be quaternion.

the two halves of ff.1 and 2, as in their *scriptio inferior* the four halves bear a matching sequence of the *Transitus Mariae*. Whereas Smith Lewis has interpreted this situation as indicating that the compiler divided the two large leaves into two using the four small leaves independently,[99] it seems logical to consider that the two large Syriac leaves have been used to make two *bifolia* that have been placed at the beginning of the codex. Thus, f.114 should be interpreted as f.1 and f.115 as f.2, whereas f.1 and 2 are the last folios of the first quire. According to this reconstruction, the homily by John Chrysostom on the commentary on Πάτερ ἡμῶν with its title in red ink and its decoration becomes the beginning of the codex, in agreement with the index.

Furthermore, the fourth homily of the index on the good Samaritan by Theodorus Studita, i.e. 'The fourth (homily) by Theodorus, on the man who went from Jerusalem to Jericho', which is absent in the codex, should be placed between f.8, whose verso bears the beginning of the homily of Athanasius Patriarch of Alexandria on the life of Melchizedek, and f.13, whose recto bears the beginning of the homily of Abba Theodosius from Edessa on fasting. It is in this part of the codex that the Beuron Greek palimpsest was once placed as matching f.11 and thus exhibiting an irregular situation of the extant leaves confirmed by the later insertion of the paper leaf, f.12 written in a different hand. The original large Beuron-Cambridge leaf bearing the Greek text *Genesis* in its *scriptio inferior* has been used for writing part of the homily of the Good Samaritan, as already noticed by Vaccari in 1930, corresponding to the fourth homily of the index. Lastly, the homily of Saint Isaac, disciple of Saint Ephrem, on the anchorites should not be considered as an independent homily separate from the homily of Saint Ephrem about the same topics, namely about 'hermits (living) in mountains, stones and caves of the earth', as the absence of decoration before the

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[99] Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, p. XI.

title of the homily of Saint Isaac seems to suggest.

Thus, considering the irregular state of the quires and the possible different interpretation of their sequence, the index perfectly matches the content of the codex, which has not lost its beginning, featured at f.114. As regards its end, it is quite probable that the homily of Saint John Chrysostom 'on the humility of our Lord and the publican and the Pharisee' finished in a further quire of which the Armenian palimpsest *bifolium* of the Mingana collection was part. In fact, the *scriptio superior* of the Armenian palimpsest bears examples of humility (*ittiḍāʿ*), as is readable at three points of the parchment, despite being very mutilated and it is probable that Elijah is mentioned as one of the contrary examples of hubris.[100] It has not yet been clarified as to whether the eleven leaves of the Armenian palimpsest now held in Beuron and bearing in their *scriptio superior* part of the homily of John Chrysostom on humility belong to the same CaB codex.[101]

The homilies listed in the index of MS Min171 and the homilies' titles written in MS CaB are compared in the following table.[102]

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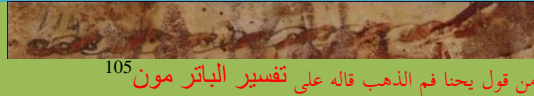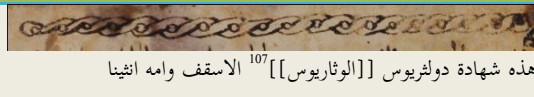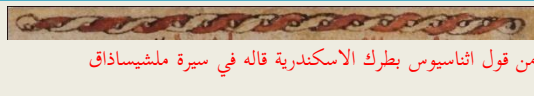
[100] Humility and hubris is the topic of other homilies of Saint Chrysostom, among which is the sixth homily on Paul's letter to the Philippians, see Allen, Pauline. *John Chrysostom, Homilies on Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature, 2013, p. XIX.

[101] The hypothesis on the matching leaves of Beuron is based only on the information mentioned in the catalogue (Assfalg, Julius - Joseph Molitor. *Armenische Handschriften*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1962, pp. 114-116) and in their description in Graf, *Geschichte*, pp. 350-351. However, a further element not supporting this hypothesis must be noted, namely the fact that the Beuron Armenian leaves are related to an index mentioned in Graf, thus implying the existence of a second index, added after the last homily. During this research, it was not possible to gain access to these leaves in order to understand their significance.

[102] The list proposed by Alain George is incomplete in a few points, see George, 'Le palimpseste'.

	MS Ming.Chr.Ar.Add.171, f. 1r/v	Correspondence of homily titles in MS 171 and CaB	MS CaB[103] + Beuron (Greek palimpsest and Armenian palimpsest) +Mingana Armenian palimpsest	No. Leaf[104]		Codicological features and matching fragments
1	الاول ليحنا فم الذهب على تفسير الباتر يمون	The first homily by John Chrysostom on the commentary on Πάτερ ἡμῶν	من قول يحنا فم الذهب قاله على تفسير الباتر مون[105]	114r (69r)	Graf I,349	f.114+ f.2[106]
2	الثاني شهادة ذولثريوس الاسقف وامه	The second homily is the Martyrdom of Bishop Dolitharius and his mother	هذه شهادة دولثريوس [[الوثاريوس]][107] الاسقف وامه انثينا	1v (66r)		
3	الثالث لاثناسيوس على ملشيساذاق	The third homily by Athanasius on Melchizedek	من قول اثناسيوس بطرك الاسكندرية قاله في سيرة ملشيساذاق	8v (3r)	Graf I,310	
		The homily of Athanasius Patriarch of Alexandria on the life of Melchizedek[108]			Graf I,204	

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[103] Some homily titles have been written in red ink and others in black.

[104] In order to explore the sequence of the homilies in the codex, the first number refers to the leaves of the codex of Arabic homilies, as Agnes Smith Lewis bought it before she disassembled the leaves in order to read the *scriptio inferior* in the margins. The second number in brackets refers to the new numbering of the flat leaves as Agnes Smith Lewis rebound them, which is the current numbering system.

[105] In MS CaB Πάτερ ἡμῶν is transliterated in Arabic without *yā'* to indicate /i/ in /pater imon/.

[106] Irregular quire: evidently Agnes Smith Lewis received the codex in this sequence, although it is quite improbable that the two large Syriac leaves were divided into two halves and used in different quires. It is logical to reconstruct two *bifolia* that were placed in the first quire, thus being the beginning of the codex, which started with the homily by John Chrysostom on the Πάτερ ἡμῶν, in agreement with the index of MS Min171.

[107] MS CaB bears a later addition which clarifies Dolitharius as Ἐλευθέριος.

[108] Athanasius (ca 295-373) in Graf, *Geschichte*, I, p.310 and 204, i.e. 'Geschichte des Melchisedech'.

4	الرابع لثادورس على النازل من ايرسليم الى ريحا	The fourth homily by Theodorus,[109] on the man who went from Jerusalem to Jericho			Graf I,413 I,611	f.11 +Beuron[110]
5	الخامس لثاوطس الراهب على الصوم	The fifth homily by Theodus the Monk on fasting		13r (8v)		
		The homily of Abba Theodus from Edessa[111] on a sermon for fasting and inciting and showing that fasting is absolutely necessary for every believer	من قول انبا تذوسة الرهاوي قاله عظة للصوم وتحضيض ودلالات على ان الصوم بلا محاله واجب على كل مؤمن		Graf I,367-9	
6	السادس ليحنا فم الذهب على الصوم	The sixth homily by John Chrysostom on fasting	من قول يحنا فم الذهب قاله على الصوم المبارك	22v (14r)	Graf I,343	
		+ the blessed fasting				
7	السابع لافرام على السواح	The seventh homily by Ephrem on the anchorites	من قول مارى افرام القديس قاله على المفتردين	32v (20r)		
		The homily of Saint Ephrem[112] on hermits (living) in mountains, stones and caves of the earth	في الجبال والمغاير واحجره الارض			
		The homily of Saint Isaac, disciple of Saint Ephrem, on the anchorites	[[من قول مارى اسحق تلميذ مارى افرام القديس]] على السياحين	44v (22v)		
8	الثامن ليحنا فم الذهب على الصوم	The eight homily by John Chrysostom on fasting	من قول يحنا فم الذهب قاله على [[الصوم]] المبارك	50v (29v)	Graf I,343	
		+ the blessed [[fasting]]				
9	التاسع شهادة ثادورس بمدينة انطاكية	The ninth homily is the Martyrdom of Theodore in the city of Antioch		63v (38v)		

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[109] Theodorus Studita (759-826) in *ibid.*, I, p. 413, mentioned his homily about the man who went from Jerusalem to Jericho and the Good Samaritan in Luke 10:30-36.

[110] Vaccari mentioned the two matching folios CUL1287, f. 11 and Beuron as bearing in their *scriptio superior* 'portions of a homily about the parable of the Good Samaritan' (Vaccari, 'Palinsesti biblici', p. 235).

[111] The Abba from Edessa has not been identified. George suggested Theodosius from Edessa (died about AD 832) who translated homilies of Theodosius Alexandrinus from Greek into Syriac (George, 'Le palimpseste'). In this regard, Theodosius Alexandrinus wrote a homily on fasting; see Graf, *Geschichte,* I, p. 421.
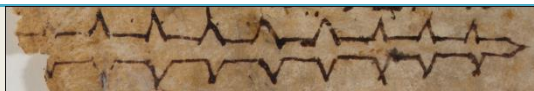
[112] Saint Ephrem (306-373), see *ibid.*, I, pp. 421-433. The homily has not been identified in the literature about Ephrem.

		+ Saint Theodore who died as a martyr in the city of Antioch with a pure heart and love of God	هذه شهادة ثاودوس القديس الذي شهد في مدينة انطاكية بقلبه الصحيح ومحبته لله		
10	العاشر ليحنا فم الذهب على الابن الشاطر	The tenth homily by John Chrysostom on the prodigal son	 من قول يحنا فم الذهب قاله على الابن الشاطر	71r (42r)	
11	الحادى عشر ليعقوب على الابن الشاطر	The eleventh homily by Jacob on the prodigal son		78v (46r)	
		+ Saint Jacob al-Ṭūbānī[113]	من قول مارى يعقوب الطوبانى قاله على الابن الشاطر		Graf I,446
12	الثانى عشر ليعقوب على المسكين والغنى	The twelfth homily by Jacob on the beggar and the Dives		91v (55v)	
		+ Saint Jacob al-Ṭūbān(ī) on Lazarus and the Dives	من قول مارى يعقوب الطوبان قاله على العازر والغنى		Graf I,450
13	الثالث عشر ليحنا فم الذهب على العشرة عذراى	The thirteenth homily by John Chrysostom on the ten virgins	 من قول القديس يحنا فم الذهب قاله على تفسير الانجيل المثل الذي فاله ربنا على العشرة عذاري	123v (70r)	
		+ Saint John Chrysostom on the commentary of the Gospel, the parable that our Lord gave about the ten virgins			
14	الرابع عشر قصة فلبس الرسول	The fourteenth homily is the history of the apostle Philip	 هذه قسة القديس فلبس السليح تلميد ربنا المسيح	128v (77r)	
		+ Saint Philip the apostle disciple of our Lord Jesus			
15	الخامس عشر ليعقوب على تفسير الباتر يمون	The fifteenth homily by Jacob on the commentary on Πάτερ ἡμῶν[114]	 من قول مار يعقوب الطوبان قاله على الصلاة الذي علمها ربنا لتلاميده	143r (85v)	
		+ Saint Jacob al-Ṭūbān(ī) on the prayer that our Lord taught his disciples			

[113] Jacob bishop of Bāṭnān in AD 519, see *ibid.*, I, p. 444, mentioning the homily on the lost son (p. 446, no.1).
[114] Mingana, *Catalogue III. Christian Arabic* reports: 'Biblical explanations by Jacob of Serug'.

16	السادس عشر ليحنا فم الذهب على الفريس والعشار	The sixteenth homily by John Chrysostom on the Pharisee and the publican		157r (93v)		
		+ Saint John Chrysostom on the humility[115] of our Lord and the publican and the Pharisee	من قول القديس يحنا فم الذهب قاله على اتضاع الرب وعلى العشار والفريسي	157v (93r)	Graf I,350-351	CUL+ M.124 +Beu.2[116]
17	السابع عشر	The seventeenth homily (not listed)				Not present or non-existent

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[115] John Chrysostom in Graf, *Geschichte,* I, pp. 337-354.

[116] Mingana Armenian palimpsest, 1 bifolium; Beuron palimpsest fragment, 11 ff., 18.5 x 24.5 cm (text area 15.5 x 21 cm) bears in its *scriptio inferior* the Armenian version of portions of Corinthians, Romans and Hebrews, see Assfalg – Molitor, *Armenische Handschriften*, pp. 114-116. The Beuron portion from Hebrews 8:5 – 9:8; 10:19-22, 25-27, 29-31, 33-35 is to be compared with the Mingana Armenian palimpsest. The *scriptio superior* bears part of the Homily on humility, although the title is suggested by an index (f.24), see Graf, *Geschichte,* I, p. 351. If Beuron is part of MS CaB, this means that the codex had two indexes or that MS Min171 is the index of a copy (exemplar of CaB or copied from CaB). These reconstructions are based only on the data mentioned in the catalogue (Assfalg – Molitor, *Armenische Handschriften*).

If the index of MS Min171 represents an important element in the comprehension of the codex of Arabic homilies and their sequence, the information reported after the index is significant for the evidence of the Sinai provenance of the codex in understanding the second-hand writing materials, including the Qurʾānic leaves. In fact the text at f.2r states that the book belongs to the Monastery of Saint Catherine and stays permanently there for the monks of Mount Sinai. More interestingly f.2v bears a statement that Joseph, the bishop of Saint Catherine sent the book (*daftar*) from Mount Sinai to the Monastery of Saint George in Jerusalem, declaring that whoever takes the book out of the Monastery or sells or buys it will be excommunicated. The bishop added that whoever cut the paper leaf containing the admonishment will be excommunicated and will have the fate of Judas Iscariot.[117] These statements confirm not only the Sinaitic provenance of the codex of Arabic homilies, but also the movements of manuscripts from one monastery to another one within the monastic communities of the Holy Land, as described by Griffith, mentioning the representative case of Anthony David of Baghdad, and highlighted by George regarding the possible provenance of MS CaB.

2.3.2. Access to MS Min150 and MS CUL1287 and their interpretation through digital avatars[118]

2.3.2.1. IMAGES AND INTERPRETATION

The access to the whole palimpsest artefact for the purpose of interpreting its codicological

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[117] Such an admonishment has also been reported in other leaves removed from manuscripts from Mount Sinai, see for example Mingana Chr. Ar. Add., 158, 169 and 172 (Mingana, *Catalogue III. Christian Arabic*, no., 153, 151 and 248).

[118] Digital avatars of the documents used in Tarte, 'Interpreting'.

characteristics and in particular the Qur'ānic leaves with their palaeographical features and their text both in the *scriptio superior* and in the *scriptio inferior* was possible through several visits, firstly to Cambridge University Library to inspect the original artefact MS CUL1287 using an ultraviolet lamp in March 2005 and then from 2009 to 2014, and secondly to the Cadbury Research Library from 2011 to 2014 to inspect the original artefact MS Min150,[119] but mainly through their digital avatars in the form of digital images obtained in 2010 and 2011. In fact, the comprehension of the codicological characteristics of the codex of Arabic homilies as it was bought by Agnes Smith Lewis is difficult due to its current state in the form of flat leaves that are no longer related to their quire structure and the new numbering system that does not correspond to the text sequence of the Arabic homilies.[120] Moreover, the visibility and legibility of the ink of the *scriptio inferior* of the Qur'ānic leaves can be improved through the use of images taken by applying natural, ultraviolet and infrared lighting and using filters which has allowed the digital retrieval of ink lost through erasure and overwriting. Thus, in June 2010, Cambridge University Library furnished a first set of test photographs undertaken at the Hamilton Kerr Institute,[121] and then in January 2011 the Library provided the full set of images of the Qur'ānic leaves of MS CUL1287 taken on their premises in September 2010, namely fifty-one colour images using flash lighting, fifty greyscale images using flash lighting, fifty colour images and fifty greyscale images using a B+W 420 filter and UV lighting, fifty greyscale images using a B+W 092 filter and

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[119] This access was possible without using an ultraviolet lamp as the condition of the Birmingham fragment is much better than the Cambridge leaves due to the degradation by the reagent used by Agnes Smith Lewis as above mentioned. Nevertheless it would also be advisable to image the Birmingham fragment properly.
[120] In May 2014, the restoration of Cambridge codex was accomplished, thus the leaves are free from the constraints of the 1914 book-binding, which has been eliminated. Cambridge University Library decided to maintain the leaves' sequence as in the 1914 book-binding ordered by Agnes Smith Lewis.
[121] The Institute is part of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

infrared lighting.[122]

These images and the methodology of using them to access the object they represent affected the cognitive processes during the act of reading and interpreting the ink of the two writing levels in the palimpsest. Similar methodologies in using digital images were applied to access the text of other palimpsests such as the Archimedes palimpsest and the Galen palimpsest.[123] Moreover, similar cognitive processes have been described in ethnographic studies of papyrologists and assyriologists, for example the research conducted by Ségolène Tarte.[124] In substance, access to the text of other similar palimpsests has been provided through the simultaneous use of several images that have been manipulated or interpreted to allow scholars to read textual artefacts through several processes, namely a kinaesthetic/palaeographic feedback loop and aural feedback loop through a cruciverbalistic/philological strategy.[125]

The final interpretation of the images of the Qur'ānic leaves of the palimpsest is the result of a time-consuming process whose major limit was the inevitable availability of more

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[122] The imaging project has been funded by the Islamic Manuscript Association, see http://www.islamicmanuscript.org/grants/grantscheme/pastprojects/2009-1.aspx and Fedeli 2011 a. All details about the imaging were described by Young, Grant. 'Report on the imaging of the Qur'ānic portions of the Mingana-Lewis Palimpsest' in *The Islamic Manuscript Association* website (grants' section). Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, 2010. Electronic resource: http://www.islamicmanuscript.org/files/GrantScheme/PastProjects/2009-10/C%202009%20Alba%20Fedeli%20Digitisation%20Report.pdf

[123] Bhayro, Siam, Robert Hawley, Grigory Kessel and Peter E. Pormann. 'The Syriac Galen Palimpsest: Progress, Prospects and Problems'. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 58, 1, 2013, pp. 131-148 and Netz, Reviel and William Noel. *The Archimedes Codex. Revealing how the Secrets of the World's Greatest Palimpsest.* London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007.

[124] The aim of this ethnographic research by Ségolène Tarte, who has a background in image processing for surgery and radiotherapy, was to understand how experts interpret ancient textual artefacts in order to develop software tools that can support the experts in their interpretation process. Digital and technological tools can only imitate the cognitive processes of the experts and support their interpretation, see Tarte, 'Interpreting' and Tarte, Ségolène. 'Digitizing the act of papyrological interpretation: negotiating spurious exactitude and genuine uncertainty'. *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 26, 3, 2011, pp. 349-358. Among previous studies on the analysis of how experts read ancient documents, see for example Terras, M. (2006) 'Interpreting the image: using advanced computational techniques to read the Vindolanda texts'. *Aslib Proceedings*, 58, 1-2, 2006, pp. 102-117.

[125] See Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations' and Tarte, 'Interpreting'.

effective imaging procedures for the text recovery of palimpsests once the time-consuming process had provided its results.[126] Moreover, all of the hypotheses formulated and abandoned during the long process of reading and interpreting the images' text disappeared in the final text recovery.[127] In order to record part of this interpretation process during this analysis of codex CaB, it was decided to save as a separate level the initial retracement of the text of the *scriptio inferior,* which consists of text and annotation of doubts, hypotheses and working text.[128]

The variety of terminology related to the enhancement of images in order to recover the *scriptio inferior* of a palimpsest expresses the implications of realizing such a task, so that the apparent confusion between interpretation of images and manipulation of images, and between digital restoration and digital enhancement, for example, implies a question about the ethics of t enhancing images, as recently stressed by Craig-McFeely who distinguishes ethical from unethical enhancement.[129] Among unethical attitudes, the scholar mentions

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[126] In 2014, at the end of the process of recovering the text of the *scriptio inferior* of the Qur'ānic leaves, it seems that hyperspectral imaging could be more effective than applying ultraviolet lights. Hyperspectral Imaging, also called Optical Reflectance Imaging, measures the reflectance characteristic of a document, thus revealing and separating different levels of ink. On this kind of imaging and its results, see Shiel, Patrick, Malte Rehbein and John Keating. 'The Ghost in the Manuscript: Hyperspectral Text Recovery and Segmentation' in Malte Rehbein, Patrick Sahle and Torsten Schaßan, eds., *Kodikoogie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age, vol. 1.* Norderstedt, Herstellung und Verlag der Druckfassung BoD, 2009, pp. 159-174. See also the Reflectance Transformation Imaging and the results obtained by Cultural Heritage Imaging on their website http://culturalheritageimaging.org/Technologies/RTI/. Although created for the purpose of erasing ink to obtain a recycled writing material, it is an undeniable fact that the *scriptio superior* and *scriptio inferior* of a palimpsest are two different layers and surfaces of a three-dimensional object which is sometimes perceived as a two-dimensional object within the manuscript leaf.
[127] In Terras, Melissa M. 'Artefacts and Errors: Acknowledging Issues of Representation in the Digital Imaging of Ancient Texts' in F. Fischer, C. Fritze, and G. Vogeler, G., eds., *Kodikoogie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*, vol. 2. Norderstedt, Herstellung und Verlag der Druckfassung BoD, 2010, pp. 43-61 the scholar describes the limits of a representation of the final stage of reading a manuscript's text.
[128] See the following section, which illustrates the stages of the process of retracing the *scriptio inferior*.
[129] Craig-McFeely, Julia M. 'Finding What You Need, and Knowing What You Can Find: Digital Tools for Palaeographers in Musicology and Beyond' in F. Fischer, C. Fritze, and G. Vogeler, G., eds., *Kodikoogie und*

the cloning of letters and the intervention of experts in restoring the hidden and lost script.

As regards the former attitude, at the beginning of this PhD research, letters partially or completely covered by the ink of the *scriptio superior* or illegible for the deterioration of the *scriptio inferior* were digitally altered by cloning from clearly legible letters at other points of the leaves written by the same scribe. Although their restored 'fake-simile' version[130] proved to be very useful at the beginning of the interpretation of the images,[131] combining the kinaesthetic and cruciverbalistic approaches,[132] in the final stage of the imaging processing it was decided to remove and not display those letters that had been cloned. Nevertheless, these cloned letters have been kept in a separate level of the image file in order to record how the final interpretation and its conjectures were reached in editing the text image.

As regards the latter unethical attitude, Craig-McFeely underlines the risk of involving experts in the work of digital enhancement of the images, as they could be tempted to see what they want to be there in the illegible parchment.[133] Nevertheless, in this PhD research the palimpsest editor has been involved in editing the images since the beginning, with a few stages of the work developed by the editor in cooperation with Fabrizio Fenucci and his team after her training in processing and editing the images. Despite the risk considered by Craig-McFeely, the reading of difficult objects like palimpsests implies the reading of

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Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age, vol. 2. Norderstedt, Herstellung und Verlag der Druckfassung BoD, 2010, pp. 307-339, in particular pp. 315-326.

[130] Restored 'fake-simile' version is the expression used in *ibid.*, p. 322.

[131] Faraggiana di Sarzana, Chiara. 'La fotografia applicata a manoscritti greci di difficile lettura: origini ed evoluzione di uno strumento di ricerca e i principi metodologici che ne regolano l'uso' in Á. Escobar, ed., *El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenómeno librario y textual*. Zaragoza, Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2006, pp. 65-80: the scholar highlights the inefficacy and uselessness of the unethical act of cloning illegible letters from a palaeographical point of view, although she admits that this cloning could be helpful for proposing and verifying conjectures of the text from a philological point of view. The cloned letters cannot be used by palaeographers, as they do not exist, but they can be used by the philologists as conjectures.

[132] Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations'.

[133] Craig-McFeely, 'Digital Tools for Palaeographers', p. 322.

experts, as in the example of the Syriac Galen palimpsest.[134] Moreover the reading of non-experts, i.e. image-restorers, needs to be confirmed by the experts who inevitably define the reading and the text image in a sort of necessary continuous exchange of feedback with the image-restorers.[135]

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[134] The team working on the Syriac Galen palimpsest was able to identify a point of departure in also reading the 'partially visible silhouette of the palimpsest's undertext' through a parallel Syriac text, see Bhayro, Hawley, Kessel, Pormann, 'Syriac Galen Palimpsest', pp. 135-136 and 138. The interpretation of a palimpsest's text is the reading of experts independently of the level affected, as the expert's interpretation can be an edited text or an edited image.

[135] Every digitization project of a difficult object should be the result of a continuous dialogue between scientists and humanists, as the product realized by the scientists has to match the requirements demanded by the humanists for reading. The Archimedes palimpsest project is a perfect example of this cooperation; see Netz – Noel, *The Archimedes Codex*, p. 212. Moreover, previous experience in reading the Yemen Qur'ānic palimpsest revealed the necessity of correcting the noise that non-expert eyes had read as part of the text. As the expert intervenes in modifying the non-expert's reading, the former should also be allowed to intervene in the image enhancement.

2.3.2.2. HYPOTHETICAL RETRACEMENT OF THE *SCRIPTIO INFERIOR*: METHODOLOGY AND STAGES[136]

The work done in reading and editing the images of the Qur'ānic leaves and their text during this research seems to fit the definition of 'hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior*',[137] as the result obtained is one of the possible conjectures in retracing[138] the remnants of the erased and covered ink and the term 'retracement' refers both to the kinaesthetic approach to the script and to the repeated act of tracing by dealing with the uncertainty in reading the text.[139] More precisely, the stages in obtaining the 'hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior*' of the Qur'ānic leaves of MS CaB are:[140]

1. Creating the initial file starting from a blank 'digital canvas' by matching the different images perfectly as three separate layers of a single picture[141] to which a fourth layer with a pseudo-colour image in red[142] was added to show a red parchment and a red *scriptio inferior* distinguished from the dark *scriptio superior* in order to avoid

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[136] The first and fifth stages were realized by Fabrizio Fenucci and his team, whereas the second to fourth stages formed part of this PhD research. The work done by Fabrizio Fenucci was funded by TIMA.

[137] The terminology proposed in other similar projects is as diverse as the presupposed points of view: 'digital restoration' which means restoring an earlier state; 'digital enhancement' which suggests that images are digitally enhanced, see Craig-McFeely, 'Digital Tools for Palaeographers', pp. 314-315; 'editing images' and 'editing process' (*ibid.*, pp. 316, 318); 'manipulation of images', see Bhayro, Hawley, Kessel, Pormann, 'Syriac Galen Palimpsest', p. 135; 'image enhancement' and 'palimpsest restoration'; whereas 'virtual restoration' has generally been used in the works within the Rinascimento Virtuale project.

[138] The retracement was done using an image-processing package/commercially-available software (Adobe Photoshop) for the same reasons as illustrated in Craig-McFeely, 'Digital Tools for Palaeographers', p. 314.

[139] See Tarte, 'Digitizing interpretation'.

[140] The sequence of the stages was first described by Fabrizio Fenucci during the Seventh Islamic Manuscript Conference in Cambridge in July 2011, i.e. 'The Enhancement of the Mingana-Lewis Palimpsest (Cambridge University Library Or. 1287): Reading between the Lines of its Post-Processed Images'. The methodology, however, was definitely settled at the beginning of 2013, as it is presented in this PhD thesis, as a result of the interpretation of the images through image manipulation software.

[141] During this stage, the image registration was a difficult issue to solve, as the Imaging Department of the Cambridge University Library decided to photograph all of the leaves through each process in turn rather than photograph each leaf through the three process (normal light, UV light and IR) so that every leaf was not in the exact identical position in its different imaging, despite the initial requirements suggested before the imaging itself. See Young, 'Report'. In the Archimedes palimpsest imaging, for example, the spectral separations were guaranteed to be registered by filtering the illumination rather than inserting filters at the camera, see Easton, Roger L., Keith T. Knox and William A. Christens-Barry. 'Multispectral imaging of the Archimedes palimpsest'. *Proceedings of 32nd Applied Imagery Pattern Recognition Workshop*, 2003, pp. 111–116.

[142] *Ibid.*, p. 112 although the scholars note that this pseudo-colour image did not work well at all points of the parchments due to their different conditions. The same problem was faced in reading the Qur'ānic leaves.

the problem of the monochromatic range of the UV images.[143]

2. Retracing the selection mask of the *scriptio superior*. At the beginning of the imaging project, IR images were requested in order to obtain images that could enhance only the *scriptio superior* of the palimpsest due to the different ink composition of the two layers of script. In fact, similar projects have revealed the possibility of automatic extraction of the infrared image from the visible image,[144] which has not been possible in this project for the final results obtained by using an IR filter. Thus it was decided to create a selection mask in a semiautomatic way through a chromatic analysis of the visible image, although the high amount of noise included in the selection mask of the *scriptio superior* needed later intervention by the palimpsest editor. Moreover, the initial plan to fill the mask of the *scriptio superior* with a pattern similar to the parchment's colour in order to eliminate the text of the Christian Arabic homilies proved to be unsuccessful in the following stage of reading the *scriptio inferior*.[145] Although this is a common procedure in the enhancement of palimpsest texts, for the palimpsest editor it is more effective to always be aware of the presence of the ink of the *scriptio superior,* as the latter is noise and thus it could suggest that behind such a noise lie traces of the *scriptio inferior*, whereas the virtual parchment-like pattern does not suggest the possible presence of the *scriptio inferior*.

Ultimately, in the agreed methodology the selection mask of the *scriptio superior* was recovered by the palimpsest editor who decided to retrace only the contour line of

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[143] Netz – Noel, *The Archimedes Codex*, p. 215.

[144] Alexopoulou, Athina A., Agathi-Anthoula Kaminari, Athanasios Panagopoulos and Egert Pöhlmann. 'Multispectral documentation and image processing analysis of the papyrus of tomb II at Daphne, Greece'. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 40, 2013, pp. 1242-1249. About limitations and effectiveness of IR photography see Bearman, Gregory H. and Sheila I. Spiro. 'Archaeological Applications of Advanced Imaging Techniques'. *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 59, 1, 1996, pp. 56-66.

[145] The same conclusions were reached during the Archimedes palimpsest imaging enhancement, Netz – Noel, *The Archimedes Codex*, p. 211.

the script in order to leave visible all the information that the *scriptio superior* presupposes. Thus this outline became a layer of the image file to be used during the fourth stage.

3. Retracing the holes of the parchment. Due to the condition of the parchments and the way in which they were imaged without maintaining them completely flat, the numerous holes of the parchments are not always recognizable and distinguishable from the surface on which they have been placed for the imaging. In her study of problems caused by the use of digital artefacts that necessarily supersede the original manuscript, Terras mentioned the unintentional introduction of 'artefacts' into images.[146] In the specific case of the digital artefacts of this palimpsest, the holes have created shadows and traits that resemble the ink, particularly in the monochromatic UV images. The selection mask that recovers the holes was identified by comparing the images with the original leaves that have been placed against the light. As in the case of the *scriptio superior*, the retracement of the holes became a layer of the initial unique file that comprehends all the images.

4. Retracing the *scriptio inferior*. The identification and retracement of the remnants of the *scriptio inferior* was realized mainly by applying techniques of brightness and contrast adjustment[147] and through the kinaesthetic approach described by Tarte after her ethnographic study of papyrologists who drew the characters or trace over them on screen with their fingers.[148] In this PhD research, tablet and pen technology[149] was

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[146] Terras, 'Artefacts and Errors'.

[147] Tchernetska, Natalie. 'Do it yourself: digital image enhancement applied to Greek palimpsests' in Georges Declercq, ed. *Early medieval palimpsests*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, pp. 23-27.

[148] Tracing the texts in reading the image text gives a kinaesthetic feedback loop where the knowledge of the characters of the script influences the way in which they are drawn and vice versa, which means that tracing the characters of the script influences their knowledge, see Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations', p. 240 and Tarte, 'Interpreting', pp. 11-12.

used to trace all of the characters of the *scriptio inferior*,[150] whereas the peculiar elements of the script and the habit of the scribe were conjectured and recognized through comparison with already identified characters that represent visual clues in a cruciverbalistic approach to the text.[151] The gaps caused by the presence of the *scriptio superior* were completed only in the case that two points could be linked with a single line or the existing traces allowed the tracing of two intersecting lines.[152] Thus, for example, a gap in the vertical stroke of *alif* interrupted horizontally by a trait of the *scriptio superior* was completed, as was a gap in the top left part of the vertical stroke of *alif* as the continuation of the vertical left outline and the horizontal top outline converge.[153]

Nevertheless, the interpretation of the image text never emerged as a linear process, as it is the result of discarded or accepted different working hypotheses of interpretation.[154] Thus, at this stage of the research to obtain the hypothetical

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[149] Intuos 5 touch PTH-650, by Wacom Company Ltd., Tokyo, Japan.

[150] A similar method was described by Tarte, namely the use of a pen and tablet with digital images and using different layers in Photoshop for transferring to the digital world the act of drawing to understand the text in reconstructing the movements made by the scribe of the Qurʾānic leaves, see Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations', p.240. In the previous experience with the Yemen palimpsest during the 2007-2008 digitization project of Fondazione Ferni Noja Noseda and French CNR, the tracing and drawing of the script was limited to a transparency overlaid on a printed photographs of the palimpsest. Such a method proved to be impracticable in reading the Cambridge palimpsest due to the different conditions of the two objects. The *scriptio inferior* of the Yemen palimpsest is sometimes legible through mere inspection of the original object under natural light.

[151] In fact, the kinaesthetic and cruciverbalistic approaches are not mutually exclusive, see *ibid.*, p. 241. In Tarte, 'Digitizing interpretation', pp. 354-356, among the identified modes of reasoning the scholar mentions 'practical reasoning, argument from analogy, argument from alternatives, argument from precedent, argument from sign and argument from expert opinion'.

[152] The completion of gaps in strokes is described in Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations', p. 237. As regards gaps in characters of the *scriptio inferior* that are not covered by the *scriptio superior*, but are illegible because the ink is very faded, they were not completed.

[153] Tarte described the model of cognition derived from drawing that harmonises the mental image of the text with its digital image, see Tarte, 'Digitizing interpretation', p. 354.

[154] Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations', p. 233; Tarte, 'Digitizing interpretation', p. 349 and Tarte, 'Interpreting', p. 8. The non-linear process of interpreting difficult texts is not only characteristic of reading the digital artefacts of palimpsests, but it is part of the so-called 'private papyrology' as opposed to 'public papyrology' as already described by Youtie in his 1962 lecture: the process is a 'cycle of intellectual events', see Youtie, Herbert C. 'The Papyrologist: Artificer of Fact'. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 4, 1963, pp. 19-32.

retracement of the *scriptio inferior*, its first retracing was a series of notes added to the images, starting from already identified characters and words.[155] This working level was saved as a separate layer of the image file in order firstly to document the trail of the interpretation effort[156] and secondly, to be used along with all of the other layers as starting point for the final retracing of the *scriptio inferior*.

The last element to consider during this stage is a further element of possible noise. In fact, the enhancement of the images in order to minimize the noise also means minimizing background interference,[157] namely background and emerging text, holes in the background and emerging text, *scriptio superior* and *scriptio inferior* and also ink of the *scriptio inferior* of the other side of the leaf that passed through the parchment.[158] The ink of the *scriptio superior* did not penetrate the parchment, due to its different composition.[159] As the presence of this noise must always be considered, a layer was created in every image file that shows the reflected mask of the *scriptio inferior* of the other side of the parchment, thus representing a further step in this non-linear process of interpretation.

5. Displaying the hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior*.[160] Once the palimpsest editor had interpreted the text by retracing it, the extant portions of its characters were digitally enhanced and the gap hidden by portions of the *scriptio superior* maintained with their original colour so that it is evident that that gap is a

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[155] Annotation of ultraviolet images seems to be part of the method applied in reading the Archimedes palimpsest, see the fourth plate in Netz – Noel, *The Archimedes Codex*.

[156] Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations', p. 234 and Terras, 'Artefacts and Errors', p. 44.

[157] Tarte, 'Papyrological Investigations', p. 235.

[158] Only the thin parchment of the small Qur'ānic leaves has been affected by this problem, not the thick larger Qur'ānic leaves.

[159] Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, pp. 113-114.

[160] It is planned to display the hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior* on the Cambridge Digital Library website. See Annex A: reproduction of the layer of the retracement that is divorced from the images.

hypothetical restoration of a lost part, whereas the portions of the *scriptio superior* not overlapping the *scriptio inferior* were eliminated through their replacement with a parchment-like pattern, the stage that proved to be unsuccessful when realized at the beginning of the process. Although this seems to be effective in elucidating the final reading, it has to be presented beside the original image.

2.3.2.3. HYPOTHETICAL RETRACEMENT OF THE *SCRIPTIO INFERIOR*: UNCERTAINTY AND LIMITS

In her work, Terras highlighted the fact that technologies in imaging are not benchmarked in order to ensure that 'the new images created from the process have a mathematically sound relationship to the original artefact',[161] while Tarte underlined that digitization is never neutral, as it is 'made with an intention and expectations' despite the common image of exactitude attributed to the results obtained through digital technologies.[162] For this reason, the new images obtained should not be considered and used independently from the edition of their text in which doubts and uncertainties have been expressed with both relevant tags and editorial notes. The new images are an interpretation of the palimpsest editor, which means that they are an edition of the text. Thus, for example, the reading *'amilat* instead of *'amilat-hu* in Q.16:111 as it appears in the 1914 Mingana-Lewis edition has been confirmed by superimposing the reflected script of the recto of the folio in its verso, although this technological tool does not eliminate the fact that this is an act of interpretation. Moreover, Terras[163] in describing the act of dealing with the surrogates of objects, as images are, underlined that the reading of ancient materials through their

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[161] Terras, 'Artefacts and Errors', p. 51.
[162] Tarte, 'Digitizing interpretation', p. 356.
[163] Terras, 'Artefacts and Errors', p. 54.

images is an ekphrastic task, and digital images themselves are ekphrastic. From such a point of view, the interpretation of the images of the palimpsest leaves leads to editing their text so that their edition is a description of the images of the manuscript leaves and of the images obtained through an image-processing package.

Moreover, the uncertainty which is intrinsic to the reading of erased script of palimpsest has been edited, flagging the text as uncertain with the 'unclear' tags[164] in the electronic edition, which possesses the general advantage of giving room to the expression of alternatives through tags and editorial notes.[165] Although the edition and the interpretation of the images are intertwined and inseparable, the 'unclear' tag has been used at those points that do not allow a certain reading independent of the incompleteness of the sign. Thus, for example, an incomplete *tā'* has not been edited as an uncertain letter if it has been furnished with clearly legible diacritical strokes placed above it so that the reading is certain despite the incomplete sign. On the other hand, a complete *tā'* in the image interpretation can be edited as an uncertain letter if its complete outline is not clearly defined despite its enhancement obtained through the use of UV digital images.

Lastly, an element worth mentioning when considering the limits of the obtained results is the economic factor, which has always been taken into account during both the imaging project and the image enhancement project.[166] Moreover the economic side of the project

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[164] Uncertain letters were tagged using <unclear>...</unclear> as the standard flag of placing a dot beneath the uncertain letter is ambiguous and impractical in the Arabic script. Terras considered the edition of uncertainty in the Leiden system as 'the most confusing concepts to represent in such a transcription' as there is no space for indicating the degree of uncertainty (*ibidem*). The electronic edition of the palimpsest distinguishes at least uncertain and illegible letters.

[165] Terras mentioned the Leiden system and its related mark-up, which allows for the encapsulation of uncertainty in reading a text (*ibid.*, p. 45).

[166] In this kind of project, the results depend on the possibility of funding for experimenting and testing any possible method in reading the images. See, for example, the positive consequences of the willingness to fund any new further steps in the work on the Archimedes palimpsest by its anonymous owner, in Netz – Noel, *The Archimedes Codex*, p. 212. Any further step beyond the multispectral imaging and the retracement of the *scriptio*

should be added to the inevitable limits of the technologies used against the last available technologies as above mentioned. Nevertheless, the results obtained permit one to describe and analyse the Qur'ānic text of the leaves with their erased *scriptio inferior*.

2.3.3. Writing the leaves of MS Cantabrigiensis-Birminghamiensis: extant physical features and trace of scribal works

The main physical feature of manuscript CaB is its palimpsestic nature, in that the *scriptio inferior* bearing part of the Qur'ānic text has been treated in order to render it illegible so that the parchment can be used as a writing material. The destructive procedure of the practice of palimpsesting is in contrast with the surviving traces of the ink of the *scriptio inferior*,[167] and it restricts the access to and study of this physical object more than the study and analysis of its text. Thus, for example, it is rather impossible to detect characteristics such as the hesitancy of the scribe in tracing his pen strokes and traits or the sequence of the stages in correcting the first hand's work as above described for MSS PaB and PeB. Moreover, it is impossible to evaluate the quality of the parchment, as the serious damage caused to the parchment does not allow the holes that were already present when the parchment leaves were produced to be distinguished. The reappearance of the ink of the first layer is always to be considered an incomplete reappearance, so that, for example, thin strokes could be the remains of larger strokes and letter shapes could be incomplete.[168] Lastly, unrelated texts and materials have been used and adapted to the format and layout

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inferior of the Qur'ānic leaves is out of the scope of this PhD research and outside the possibilities given by the funding obtained.

[167] Dillon, Sarah. *The Palimpsest. Literature, Criticism, Theory.* London, Continuum, 2007, p.4 and foll. on the 'paradoxically preservatory power of an originally destructive procedure'.

[168] This is the case of the shape of final *qāf* described by Alain George. As far as a wider examination has suggested, the unusual shape seems to be an incomplete part of a common shape. See below.

of the Arabic homilies codex, such that any existing trace of an original quire structure has been completely destroyed and the remains are single leaves or fragments of single leaves.

The still visible features of the physical object, such as page size and format, palaeographical peculiarities, decorations between two following *sūra*s and devices used to mark the ends of verses suggest that the Qur'ānic leaves used among the writing materials of the Arabic homilies codex are split from two different Qur'ānic codices, and can be labelled as (sixteen) small leaves and (seven) large leaves, as already suggested by Alain George. Agnes Smith Lewis previously described the large leaves as the very ancient 'Corân I' and the small leaves as the later 'Corân II' with reference to the stages of her discovery and underlining the possible date of the two fragments,[169] whereas Alphonse Mingana named the large leaves 'Qurân A' and distinguished the small leaves as 'Qurân B' and 'Qurân C', considering the three different hands featured in the leaves.[170] There is no conjecture that the small and large leaves could have been put together as part of a project to produce a single Qur'ānic manuscript despite their different codicological and palaeographical features, as with, for example, the case of the Yemen manuscript DaM 01-28.1.[171] Thus the two parts are here described as two unrelated entities that have only a palimpsestic process in common, as they have been selected for being rewritten as part of a single project to produce a book of Christian Arabic homilies.[172]

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[169] Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, p. xviii, Agnes found the large leaves similar to MS Or. 2165 (i.e. British Library MS Or.2165, reproduced in Déroche - Noja Noseda, *Le manuscrit Or.2165*).

[170] However, Mingana expressed the possibility that 'there are some portions of the series Qurân B coming from a different manuscript', see Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. xxxiii.

[171] Fedeli, Alba. 'I manoscritti di Sanaa: fogli sparsi che diventano Corani'. *Quaderni di Acme*, 101 (*Il mio cuore è a Oriente. Studi di linguistica storica, filologica e cultura ebraica dedicati a Maria Luisa Mayer Modena*), pp. 25-48.

[172] In conjecturing how these different parchments were used together to produce a codex of Arabic homilies, it is worth mentioning that there were parchment vendors and 'a special trade in re-prepared parchment', see Dillon, *Palimpsest*, p. 16.

2.3.3.1. The small leaves

As regards the small leaves, the recent study published by Alain George in 2012 raised the question of the nature of the small leaves as to whether they are written in two different scripts, as suggested by Mingana, or are part of the same Qur'ānic copy. In fact, in his introduction to the 1914 edition, Mingana distinguished these small leaves into two groups, namely Qurân B corresponding to eleven leaves (ff. 8-12,[173] 34-35, 56-59 and 63) and Qurân C corresponding to five leaves (ff. 32-33, 60-62), thus implying that the two groups were part of two distinct Qur'ānic copies, mentioning the hypothesis that portions of Qurân B came from a different manuscript.[174] Mingana's hypothesis was probably based both upon the assumption that a single copy is written in a single script[175] and upon the superimposition of the concepts of script and hand in writing.[176]

On the other hand, George proposed that Mingana's group C, which he labelled group α, and Mingana's group B, which he distinguished into groups β and γ, the latter being composed of f. 63, come from the same Qur'ānic copy, although he left open the question of whether the three groups are the expression of important variations in the writing of a single scribe or whether they are the result of a collective work.[177] The two elements supporting his theory are firstly the possible explanations for the apparently different aspects of the two/three groups[178] and secondly, the identical performance in tracing a few letters.[179]

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[173] F.12 and f.8 are two halves of a Qur'ānic small leaf that were bound separately by Agnes Smith Lewis in 1914, so the recent restoration of the codex has left this original numbering of the leaves.

[174] Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. xxxiii.

[175] For an example of a codex written by different scribes is codex Parisino-petropolitanus, see Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus.*

[176] Gacek, *Vademecum, s.v.* 'Scripts and hands', p. 241.

[177] George, 'Le palimpseste', p. 395.

[178] *Ibid.*, p. 388: 'ce facteur (i.e. l'épaisseur du trait) peut être altéré par une simple retaille du calame ou en changeant sa prise en main (et par là même, l'angle d'attaque par rapport à la page)'.

[179] The list of letters compared between the two/three groups is incomplete in George, probably due to the difficult access to the palimpsest object.

However, the retracement of the *scriptio inferior* of the palimpsest and its analysis have revealed that although two different instruments were probably used for writing the two groups of leaves, some features of their aspect and ductus are likely to be the expression of three different hands. Moreover, some letters that were not mentioned by George have different characteristics in the two groups, whose peculiarities could hardly be attributable to a single scribe, e.g. the execution of final *qāf* and final *jīm*. Lastly, the coexistence of these variations and peculiarities in one single leaf and the details revealing hand change seem to exclude the possibility of a single hand that has changed through the time of the writing work.

2.3.3.1.1. COMMON VISUAL IDENTITY OF THE SMALL LEAVES

The small leaves section is composed of 16 single folios characterized by format and layout, namely a page measuring about 22 x 18 cm in vertical format and featuring wide margins of about 3 cm at the bottom and top of the page, whereas the inner and outer margin size is variable, reaching a maximum size of about 3 cm. Thus the text occupies a rather square area of about 15 x 14 cm. It is likely that the writing work was planned, as horizontal guidelines and vertical lines marking the text area are sometimes still visible through all of the pages, as in the well-preserved Birmingham fragment, whereas in MS CUL1287, f.63 (sup. ff.106+107) two vertical lines have been traced with a hard point to delimit the outer margins. The text area has been arranged in 21 to 23 lines, whereas words can be divided at the end of a line and interestingly, at the end of a page[180] in MS CUL1287, ff. 33v and 62r.[181] Moreover, the scribe has left two blank lines i.e. *bayāḍ* between two following *sūra*s that have not been filled with any decoration, namely at the first two lines of MS CUL1287, f.9r

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[180] Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*, p. 18 notes that words are never divided at the end of a page.
[181] MS CUL1287, f. 33v ends with *wa-* and the following leaf, i.e. f. 60v, starts by re-writing the prefixed conjunction *wa-*.

(19v+14r), at ll.15-16 of f.10r (18r+15v) and at the first two lines of f.57v (101v+96r),[182] whereas the separation between two following verses i.e. *fāṣila*, has been marked by the regular use of a device of six strokes or six ovals arranged in a triangle, similar to the marker used in MS Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, 331 (recto, l.4), in MS Wetzstein II 1913 at Staatsbibliothek of Berlin,[183] in the *scriptio superior* of the Sanaa palimpsest, DaM 01-27.1[184] as well as in the *scriptio superior* of the forty-leaf section of the Qur'ānic palimpsest held at al-Maktaba al-Sharqiyya[185] and in the *scriptio superior* of an uncatalogued Qur'ānic palimpsest fragment forming part of the 2007 discovery of manuscripts in the Great Mosque of Sanaa.[186] The end of the last verse of *sūra al-Ḥijr* has been marked by six oblique strokes, arranged one above the other and placed inside the bending tail of *nūn* in *al-yaqīn* (MS CUL1287, f.10r, l.14).

These three components, namely the layout and size of the page, the two blank line division and the device for marking the ends of verses, suggest that the sixteen small leaves were part of a single project to produce a copy featuring a common visual identity, despite the fact the text was written in three different kinds of hands, similar to other projects, such as the production of the codex Parisino-petropolitanus realized by five copyists[187] and MS PeB above described. It is possible to observe distinctive palaeographical features which lead to the identification of three hands, as above-mentioned, i.e. groups α, β and γ.

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[182] One blank line has been used e.g. in MS BnF328a (i.e. codex Parisino-petropolitanus) and MS Bham 1572b.
[183] The images of the manuscript are part of the digital library (http://www.orient-digital.de/), precisely http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN618539204&PHYSID=PHYS_0002
[184] See for example f.5v. featuring both strokes and ovals or f.9r featuring only strokes.
[185] Hamdoun, Razan Ghassan. 'al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Qur'āniyya fī Ṣan'ā' mundhu al-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī wa ḥifẓ al-Qur'ān al-karīm', MA thesis, Al-Yemenia University, 2004.
[186] Picture taken at Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt for private use on 2 November 2008 during the survey of the 2007 findings of the Great Mosque of Sanaa. The device of six strokes or six dots has been used in the *scriptio superior* of this Qur'ānic palimpsest, although it is not a regular pattern.
[187] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus.*

2.3.3.1.2. Aspect, ductus and letter shape in the regular and proportioned hand of group β

As regards the overall appearance of the script of group β/B, it is rather regular and proportioned. The distinctive characteristics of aspect and ductus of this hand are:

– Proportions of the script and of the space of the page: the space between two words and the space between two letter blocks within a word is about the same, so that letters and letter-blocks are equally distant. Moreover, the scribe has generally avoided the presence of two intersecting traits between two following lines, thus elongating or shortening letter shapes in order not to produce the intersection of vertical traits with the tails of letters of the previous line, e.g. MS CUL1287, f.11v, l.8; f.11r, l.12; f.10v, l.5; f.35r, l.19 and f.57r, l.16. This proportion observed by the scribe also occurs in the proportions that regulate the tracing of final *kāf,* as its lower horizontal trait is about double its height.

– Despite the mastery in performing the script, there are a few corrections in the portion of text written by hand β/B, although it is difficult to observe the stages in the process of writing that implies such corrections, as has been possible for example in MS PaB and MS PeB.

– Baseline of the script: the scribe has traced all of the letters, laying them upon the baseline, without placing letters at different levels.[188]

– Number of lines: the number of lines varies from 21 to 22 lines and the change occurs in correspondence with the subdivision of the text, thus having 21 lines in the first two leaves bearing part of *sūra al-Raʿd* and the beginning of *sūra Ibrāhīm*; 22 lines at the end of *sūra al-Ḥijr* and through the incomplete *sūra al-Naḥl* as well as at

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[188] The only exceptions that has been possible to observe are in f.8r (13v), as the denticle of medial *nūn* does not lie on the baseline, but it descends slightly below it and in f.12v (20v), in which the initial *qāf* and the following denticle descend below the baseline bending toward the end of the letter block.

the beginning of *sūra al-Isrā*, whereas the rest of the latter *sūra* is arranged in 21 lines.

– Writing instrument and tracing: the scribe has probably used a larger reed and the letter heads, i.e. vertical traits, have an oblique cut head. Moreover, the vertical traits of two or three denticles at the beginning of a letter block have an oblique cut head and different heights, thus sloping down from the first higher denticle on the right to the last lower one on the left. As already observed by George, the width of strokes is 1 to 1.5 mm, while the vertical traits are larger than the horizontal ones. Lastly, the traits used for marking diacritics and the ends of verses are very thin oblique strokes.

– Diacritical strokes: the scribe has traced the consonantal skeleton, adding a few thin strokes as diacritics to distinguish denticles, i.e. *nūn* (except in its final position), *bā'*, *tā'* and *yā'*, the latter case being rather uncommon in *ḥijāzī* manuscripts.

On the other side, the hand of this group of leaves has distinctive features in tracing a few letter shapes:

– final and isolated *qāf*: the final and independent form ends in an inverted L-shape, i.e. the first trait of the descender is rectilinear without bending and the lower horizontal trait is parallel with the baseline;

– final and isolated *jīm*: the final and independent form has a long horizontal and flat tail, with no final loop;[189]

– initial *jīm*: the initial form consist of an oblique and flat line that descends below the baseline;

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[189] One exception should be noted: in f.10r, l.13 the tail has a loop resembling final *'ayn*.

– medial *'ayn*: in the medial position, the two antennae are clearly distinguished, the left-hand antenna having a straight cut head, while the right-hand antenna is pointed;

– final and isolated *'ayn*: in its final position, the tail extends in a generous curve, whereas it is almost a semicircle which descends to the line below when it is isolated;

– final and isolated denticle: the ascender is vertical forming an angle of 90° with the baseline;

– *dāl* and initial or medial *kāf*: the upper horizontal stroke is parallel to the lower one. In the case of *dāl*, the final hook of the upper horizontal and the cut head of the lower horizontal form a straight line;

– final or isolated *kāf*: the lower horizontal stroke elongates beyond the upper horizontal one, doubling the letter's height;

– final *mīm*: its rounded form does not terminate with a tail;

– isolated *alif*: it tends to slant towards the right, forming an angle of about 70°-80° with the baseline, where it ends in a tiny right tail;

– final *hā'*: its rounded shape is elongated on its upper-right side;

– final *yā'*: it can end in a backward curve that is horizontally elongated, i.e. characterized by *mašq*,[190] sometimes being extended to the end of the right margin, or it can have a S-shaped tail, the descender being oblique;

– *lām-alif*: its two arms form an angle of about 30°.

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[190] Gacek, *Vademecum*, *s.v.* 'mashq', p. 73.

2.3.3.1.3. Aspect, ductus and letter shape in the irregular and compacting hand of group α

In considering the aspect of hand α/C in comparison with hand β/B, the former is rather irregular in his execution through the five leaves, featuring a greater compactness of letter blocks and words that are more closely united than in the latter hand as above described. In detail, the characteristic points of aspect and ductus of hand α/C are:

- Proportions of the script and of the space of the page: the space between two words and the space between two letter blocks within a word has been arranged inconsistently, being sometimes minimal in MS CUL1287, f.33 and in the three consecutive leaves 61, 32 and 62 and more significant in f.60. Moreover, the descenders of a line and ascenders of the line below intersect each other, so the scribe seems not to dislike the presence of two intersecting traits between two following lines, although in a few cases he has elongated or shortened letter shapes in order not to produce this intersection, e.g. MS CUL1287, f.33v, ll.19-20 and f.61r, ll.16-17; MS Min150, verso, ll.15-16.

- Number of lines: despite the preparation of the writing surface by ruling both margins and horizontal lines, the number of lines varies, thus featuring 23 and 22 lines in the first two consecutive leaves, 21 and 23 lines in the last three consecutive leaves. It is worth mentioning that the first half of l.1 in MS CUL1287, f.32r has been written in a different hand, likely to be similar to hand β/B and that this change corresponds to the change in the number of lines, i.e. 21 lines in MS CUL1287, f.61 and 23 lines in the following f.32. Moreover, despite the preparation in organizing the layout of the text area, in f.61 the scribe has not used the lower horizontal line of the ruling, thus leaving an empty line at the bottoms of the two pages.

- Similarly to the hand above described, there are a few corrections in the portion of text written by hand α/C, although it is difficult to observe the stages in the process of writing that implies also such corrections, as has been possible, for example, for MS PaB and MS PeB.

- Baseline of the script: the scribe has not laid all the letters on the baseline; sometimes he has traced them at different levels. Moreover, the chain of subsequent letters in a letter block does not form a straight and flat line, but a wavy line.

- Writing instrument and tracing: the scribe has probably used a smaller reed and the letter heads, i.e. vertical traits, exhibit straight or rounded heads and the eyes of letters are very opened, as in *hā'*, *mīm* and particularly in *wāw*. Moreover, the vertical traits of two or three denticles at the beginning of a letter block feature mainly a sequence of high-low and high-low-high without any mastery in forming a sloping-down shape. As already observed by George, the width of strokes is about 0.5 to 1 mm, thus producing an overall aspect of irregularity in the performance of hand α/C. Similarly, the traits used for marking diacritics and end of verse are also large oval dots, placed obliquely. However it must be noted that different widths of the traits can be caused by a different writing instrument used by the same hand, whereas the different compactness and density of the script are likely to be distinctive features of different hands.

- Diacritical strokes: although it is necessary to stress the limits in such a reading of the *scriptio inferior,* and particularly in reading small strokes merging with the noise of the palimpsest, namely spots, holes and the ink of the *scriptio superior*, it seems that the scribe has traced a few rare oval dots to mark diacritics in distinguishing *tā'* in six places, *ṯā'* and *nūn* in one place.

On the other side, the hand of this group of leaves has distinctive features in tracing a few letter shapes, particularly in comparison with hand β:

- final and isolated *qāf*: the final and independent form ends in a S-shaped tail, i.e. the first trait of the descender bends toward the left in a curve that is longer than the second curve bending towards the right, whereas the lower horizontal trait is parallel with the baseline;

- final and isolated *jīm*: the final and independent form has a long horizontal tail which turns back on itself with a final loop whose lower horizontal is parallel with the baseline and shorter than the upper horizontal of the tail;

- initial *jīm*: the initial form consist of two traits, the first being oblique, while the second trait tends toward the baseline;

- medial *'ayn*: in the medial position, it has two identical and symmetric antennae that are separated;

- final and isolated *'ayn*: in its final position, its execution is inconsistent. The tail can extend in a generous curve ending in a loop or it can remain opened, sometimes intersecting the following baseline;

- final and isolated denticle: the oblique ascender is not perpendicular with the baseline, tending to the left;

- *dāl* and initial or medial *kāf*: the upper horizontal stroke and the lower one are convergent and sometimes merge. In the case of *dāl*, the upper horizontal is longer than the lower horizontal or they have the same length;

- final or isolated *kāf*: the lower horizontal stroke elongates beyond the upper horizontal one, without being longer than the letter's height;

- final *mīm*: its execution is inconsistent, being similar to the rounded form of group β or ending in a singular long tail;

- isolated *alif*: it tends to slant toward the right, forming an angle of about 70° with the baseline, while sometimes it is perpendicular, thus not showing one of the main characteristics of *ḥijāzī* style. It features a pointed tail which is sometimes very elongated and tapering;

- final *hā'* (not isolated): its execution is inconsistent, being similar to the rounded shape elongated on its upper-right side like group β or featuring a very elongated oval with an opened eye propped against a vertical bar;

- final *yā'*: like in group β it can have a S-shaped tail, the descender being oblique, or it can end in a backward curve, although it is not subject to *mašq*;[191]

- *lām-alif*: its two arms form an angle of about 60°;

- final *nūn*: the head is higher than some preceding letters, as in the case of *min*.

2.3.3.1.4. Aspect, ductus and letter shape in group γ, i.e. the section between α and β

Considering the sequence of the Qur'ānic text, between the two groups there is an isolated fragment that George labelled as group γ. Unfortunately, it consist of a single leaf, so it is difficult to infer general rules about hand γ. The outstanding feature, considering its position between the other two hands, is that it has common characteristics with both hand α and β, but also singular characteristics.

Hand γ is not as proportioned as hand β, although it seems to be more regular than hand α. The meagre features that it has been possible to observe regarding the aspect and ductus of

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[191] At two points, i.e. f. 33v and f. 32v, it elongates beyond the right ruling line.

hand γ are:

- proportion of the script and of the space: letter blocks are not condensed as in hand α, although hand γ does not show a mastery in arranging letters and spaces in order to obtain a proportioned script. He seems to try to remain attached to the baseline, although the last word in the verso of the leaf, i.e. 63v, shows a bow formed by the baseline. Moreover, he has created singular intersections of two to four letters belonging to two consecutive lines, e.g. MS CUL1287, f.63v, ll.5-6, 7-8 and 17-18.

- there are no corrections.

- number of lines: the text has been arranged in 23 lines.

- writing instruments: the very thin oblique strokes used for marking the ends of verses and diacritics as well as the oblique cut heads of vertical strokes seem to reveal that hand γ has written with the same instrument used by the regular hand β, although he has not produced the same shape in executing two initial denticles. In fact, the occurrences of this combination resemble the performance of hand α, i.e. the initial denticle is shorter than the second one and they seem to have an oblique cut head.

- diacritical strokes: the scribe has traced the consonantal skeleton, adding a few thin strokes as diacritics for distinguishing denticles, i.e. *nūn* (except in its final position), *bā'*, *tā'* and *yā'*, like hand β.

The limited range of letters exhibited in this single leaf does not allow a deep understanding of the peculiarity of its writing, and most of all does not allow the apparent consistency of this performance to be indicated as a conclusion. Within these limits, it is possible to notice:

- a few letters whose execution is similar to the regular hand β: final denticle with its

perpendicular position; an important elongation of final *yā'* more significant than in hand β; medial *'ayn* with its asymmetric antennae; and initial *jīm* with its flat trait descending below the baseline;

- a few letters in common with the irregular hand α: final and isolated *jīm* with its tail; *alif* with its return; final *mīm* with its long tail; and probably[192] final *qāf* with its S-shaped descender;

- apart from these common elements, hand γ shows a few specific letter shapes that are different from both hand α and β. The final *nūn* does not have a curved tail, as its vertical body and lower return form an angle of about 90°. The two arms of l*ām-alif* form an angle of about 70°, thus being rather similar to hand α. Lastly, initial and medial *hā'* exhibits a characteristic vertical stroke whose point is significantly elongated and tapering. Such a pointed stroke has been observed neither in hand α nor in hand β.

2.3.3.1.5. Common visual identity of three hands: a collective work in writing the small leaves

From a palaeographical point of view, the writing of the small leaves seems to express the work of three hands, as it would be quite improbable to attribute significantly different letter shapes to a sole hand, e.g. final and independent *qāf* which has been executed in its unique inverted L-shaped by hand β and in its unique S-shaped by hand α in a consistent way. However, the three hands present a few contaminations, and in particular hand α exhibits an inconsistent performance of a few letters, whereas hand γ has both elements in

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[192] There is only one occurrence of *qāf* whose reading is uncertain, as it is partially covered by the ink of the scriptio superior.

common with the other two hands and singular elements. If we assume that the leaves were written according to the sequence of the Qur'ānic text, this contamination and variation could be interpreted as the expression of the evolution of the hand of a single scribe which has produced three hands from the initial irregular hand α through the more regular hand γ to the skilled and proportioned hand β with its mastery in writing. However, it is quite improbable to figure such an evolution in the execution of certain letter shapes. Moreover, a further element must be added to this hypothetical reconstruction: hand α, who should have written before its later evolutions γ and β, has a significant change of hand at the beginning of MS CUL1287, f.32. The beginning of the first line was written in a different hand characterized by a larger trait, more spaced letter blocks and an initial oblique cut head in the first denticle. Although there are no distinctive letters whose shape could permit identification of the hand, it seems that the beginning of the line was written by hand β. In this case, hand β could not be an evolution of hand α, as it is coexistent with the latter. This very short presence of hand β, writing half of a line out of five leaves, could be explained as the exemplar beginning of a master who invited the less experienced scribe to write in a more regular and proportioned way. However there is no evidence for such a hypothesis.

In conclusion, it is more probable that the three hands are the expression of three scribes in producing a copy that was a collective work in a sole script, as the layout and format of the page, the device for marking the ends of verses, the two blank lines between two *sūra*s and the contaminations between two different hands above described seem to suggest. The collective work and the resulting common visual identity communicated by the produced artefact are similar to the process described by Déroche for the realization of the copy of

the codex Parisino-petropolitanus,[193] i.e. a team-work by five copyists revealing their five hands who furthermore have individual positions in their orthography. Similarly, the unclear palaeographical situation of MS CaB should be analysed together with the text featured by its three hands in order to understand whether the distinction between hands α, β and γ is supported by their different orthography[194] as well as by morphological, syntactic and lexical habits, as illustrated in Section 3.3.

2.3.3.2. THE LARGE LEAVES

Whereas the small leaves are the product of a collective work, it is likely that the seven large leaves were written by a single scribe, despite the variable execution of a few letter shapes and the inconstant planning of page layouts, in particular in the last two leaves, i.e. MS CUL1287, ff. 89-90 compared with the first five leaves, i.e. ff.87-88 and 92-94.

The main feature of these leaves labelled the large leaves of the Qur'ānic palimpsest is, by definition, their size in comparison with the small leaves. The actual dimensions of the leaves are 18 to 19 cm x 24 to 25 cm, however the original large leaves have been cut in order to be reused to assemble the new codex of Christian Arabic homilies. Thus the upper, lower and outer sides of the leaves have been cut, including the margins and part of the text area. The line beginnings on the recto and the line endings on the verso as well as the inner margins have been preserved. On the basis of both the missing text and the measurements of the extant inner margins, it is possible to calculate the hypothetical dimensions of the

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[193] Already observed by George in relation to MS CaB, see George, 'Le palimpseste'.
[194] George did not consider the orthographic features in distinguishing the different hands, although he suggested using evidence from the analysis of the text to confirm the palaeographical analysis.

original leaves, i.e. 31 to 32 x 23 to 24 cm while their text area was about 28 x 20 cm.[195] The scribe prepared the writing area by ruling still-visible horizontal lines,[196] although the number of lines is variable, so that there are 21 to 27 extant lines per page which imply an original arrangement of 24 to 30 lines per page reconstructed on the basis of the missing text.

To insert subdivisions into the text, the scribe traced five oblique strokes,[197] arranged one above the other, thus forming a column between two following verses, whereas in the last two leaves there are examples of *fāṣila* consisting of a single row of oblique strokes, i.e. MS CUL1287, f.89r, l.20 and f.90r, ll.10-19. As regards the arrangement for separating two following *sūra*s, the fragment does not show a uniform plan in the three surviving examples. In the first example between *sūra Maryam* and *sūra Ṭā-Hā* (CUL1287, f.88r), the scribe has left one blank line, i.e. *bayāḍ*, which has been filled in with a simple headband composed of two horizontal lines between which blank triangles alternate with filled ones, likely traced with the same ink used for writing the text.[198] On the following line, the scribe has written the *basmala* and the beginning of the first verse. In the second example between *sūra al-Ġāfir* and *sūra Fuṣṣilat* (CUL1287, f.89v), the scribe has left no *bayāḍ* between the two *sūra*s and the *basmala* does not occupy an entire line. However he has added a simple decoration, filling the blank space after the last word of *sūra al-Ġāfir*. Although the

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[195] The reconstruction of the hypothetical dimensions of the original large leaves, before they were adjusted to assemble the small *codex rescriptus*, has been based on the extant measures of f.92r, thus considering that the margins were all identical, measuring about 1.7 cm and calculating the possible area of the missing text. It is worth mentioning the measurements of codex Parisino-petropolitanus, i.e. 33 x 24 to 24.8 cm, see Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, p. 23, to be compared with the MS CaB large leaves, i.e. 31 to 32 x 23 to 24. George suggested that the original leaves were larger than the extant leaves, without specifying the hypothetical dimensions (George, 'Le palimpseste', p. 396).

[196] In the majority of the leaves the lines are well visible. George has already observed the use of lead plummet (mine de plomb), *ibid*. See Gacek, *Vademecum*, p. 203 and Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*.

[197] Five is the maximum number of visible strokes, but in many cases the visible strokes are less than five, although it is probable from the remnants' position that the scribe always used five strokes.

[198] A series of triangles similar to MS Instanbul, TIEM 3687 (reproduced in Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*, figure 10), although in the Istanbul MS the triangles have been simply decorated.

decoration is faded, it seems to be composed of two horizontal lines between which there were probably a few small triangles and a wavy line. In the last example between *sūra al-Duḫān* and *sūra al-Jāṯiya* (CUL1287, f.90v), as in the previous case, the scribe has not left a blank line, but the *basmala* occupies an entire line, so that the first verse starts on the following line and decoration has been added in the blank space after the *basmala.* George interpreted this third example as a sign of both the antiquity of the large leaves and the uniqueness of this layout in writing the *basmala* before the decoration.[199] However, it should be noted that this layout is not unique, as there is at least one other example in MS TIEM ŞE 3687 (f.8b, l.3 between *sūra al-Taḥrīm* and *sūra al-Mulk*).[200] Similarly, MS DaM 01-28.1 has the last letter block of Q.14:52 followed by the *basmala* on the same line, while the decoration has been traced after the *basmala,* thus filling the end of the line.[201] Moreover, the scholar limited his conclusions to this example without considering the variety of the layout as it was planned in the two other examples. The further element adduced in support of the antiquity of the large leaves is the shape of a few letters, namely *alif, rā'* and *qāf.* Also in this regard, George's description seems to be incomplete, as the hypothetical retracement of their *scriptio inferior* has underlined. Before considering the shape of a few single letters and comparing their description with the previous studies on the subject, it seems preferable to observe the overall appearance of the script.

As mentioned above, despite the apparent planning of the work by ruling horizontal lines,

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[199] It seems that the decoration has been traced in the second half of the line at a first stage and later the *basmala* has been written in the first half of the line. This sequence is suggested by the absence of space between the last two words, and in particular it should be noted that initial *alif* of the last word constitutes a unique letter block with the previous one, contrary to the rules of the script.
[200] Published in *ibid.*, figure 10, described at pp. 44-45. The MS is part of the Damascus collection kept in Istanbul and it is an example of an MS written in *ḥijāzī* style in smaller size (in octavo format). Moreover, there are also examples mentioned by Déroche in which the end of a *sūra* and the beginning of the following one have been divided by a small decoration and placed on the same line, see e.g. figure 16 MS TIEM ŞE 12827/1 and the Sana'a palimpsest MS DaM 01-27.1, f.23r (*ibid.*).
[201] See figure 7, published in Small, *Textual Criticism.*

the scribe has not traced a uniform number of lines per page, so that the height of a line varies from about 0.9 to 1.2 cm. The script was originally arranged in 21 to 27 lines per page, sometimes dividing a word between two lines. The scribe has added a few diacritical strokes to the consonantal skeleton, thus marking *nūn* except in its final position, *tā'*, *bā'*, *ṯā'* and *ḏāl.* The typology of corrections seems to suggest that the first hand corrected his text *in scribendo*, but there is no evidence for stating the presence of a second hand in the writing process in order to correct the work.

The aspect of the script is rather uniform in the first five leaves, whereas the scribe is inconsistent in performing the last two extant leaves. The distinctive characteristics of aspect and *ductus* of the large leaves are:

– The descender of *nūn*, *sīn*, *ṣād* and *lām* are rectilinear, being formed of two traits that are mainly perpendicular, i.e. inverted-L shaped. Similarly, *dāl* and non-final *kāf* are not curvilinear, as they are inverted-Z shaped and sometimes the first and the last traits are parallel rather than the lower and upper horizontal, i.e. the middle and the last traits.

– The lower horizontal of the descender of *nūn*, *sīn* and *ṣād* as well as the final part of the bowl of the descender in curvilinear *qāf* and *'ayn* sit on the baseline of the following line, except in MS CUL1287, ff. 89-90, i.e. the last two surviving leaves.

– The main characteristic is the attention paid to not intersecting the descender of a line with the ascender of the following line.[202] Thus, for example, the scribe has avoided any intersection between the lower horizontal of *nūn*, *sīn*, *ṣād*, *qāf* and *'ayn* and the script of the following line. The result is that letters and letter blocks are

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[202] This habit has also been observed in hand β in the small leaves, although in the large leaves the situation is more noticeable.

adjusted to the presence of descenders in the previous line, i.e. they are contracted or elongated. Moreover, the script alternates with the descenders of the letters of the previous line, so that the space between letter blocks is adjusted to the length of the lower horizontal of the descender. Thus there are examples in which the space between two letter blocks of a single word is larger than the two letter blocks themselves. This arrangement of the space on the page has not been observed in the last two leaves, i.e. MS CUL1287, ff. 89-90, as they show intersections between the descenders of a line and the script of the following one. Moreover, stroke inclination and *lām-alif* shape are sometimes justified by the presence of descenders.

   – As is common in *ḥijāzī* style, the baseline and the overall writing line[203] coincide for the most part of the leaves, as all the letters are sitting on the baseline. However, it should be noted that there are examples of letters that form an angle between the overall writing line and the baseline. Moreover, there are letter blocks composed of *kāf* and *mīm* or *kāf* and *rā'* in which the two elements have been placed vertically, one above the other, rather than horizontally, one beside the other, e.g. in MS CUL1287, f.94r, ll.7, 20, f.90r, ll.4, 5, 6 and 7. Also, in other ligatures, final *mīm* has sometimes been written below the baseline.

   – Lastly, final *yā'* ends only in a backward curve characterized by remarkable *mašq*.

As regards single letter shapes, it is not worth listing the features of every single letter in this research, although it could be useful to complete the observations mentioned in the previous study by George. In fact he also supposed the great antiquity of the script of the large leaves on the basis of the shape of final *qāf*, whose tail has been described as 'sinusoïdale entamée par une forte inclinaison vers la gauche et terminée à la verticale, sans

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[203] See Grob, *Documentary Arabic*, pp. 166-167.

crochet'.[204] This observation is limited to a couple of examples not specified by the scholar,[205] although the retracement using UV images as above described permits one to read a few examples of final *qāf* with a curvilinear descender towards the left and a final hook towards the right with an S-shape, similar to the performance by hand α in the small leaves of this palimpsest, i.e. MS CUL1287, f.93r, ll. 2, 4 ,17 and f.90v, l.9, so that the two cases of *qāf* without a hook (f.94r, l.16 and f.90v, l.18) seem to be incomplete readings due to the palimpsestic nature of the reading itself.

The analysis of the text of the large leaves can give further elements for formulating a hypothesis regarding their possible antiquity, as illustrated in Section 3.3.2.

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[204] George, 'Le palimpseste', p. 402.
[205] George gave no references for this shape of final *qāf* in the manuscript (*ibid.*).

2.4.1. History of the uncatalogued papyri of the Mingana Collection

Among the Mingana collection there are also three Qur'ānic fragments on papyrus: an early Qur'ānic quotation besides a small fragment and a small *bifolium* from the uncatalogued papyri collection acquired by Mingana.[207]

Also in this regard, Mingana's correspondence presents evidence of the story of the Arabic papyri collection he acquired in 1934 and 1936. Unfortunately, these papyri had not been catalogued at the time of his death, which determined an interruption of any future plans for Arabic studies in Birmingham at that time, such as the establishment of a research scholarship in Semitic and Islamic studies in cooperation with Oxford or the increase of the Arabic collection of manuscripts, as above described.[208]

The Arabic papyri are part of the materials that Mingana was able to collect when he was based in England during the second Birmingham period (1931-1937),[209] sponsored by Edward Cadbury. As far as the correspondence recorded, the Mingana papyri had been bought during two distinct acquisitions from Erik von Scherling, through transactions

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[206] These papyri have been explored in a separate article (Fedeli, 'Papyri').

[207] During the course of this research into Mingana's papers to detect the provenance of MS Min150, a small footnote reported by Lucy-Anne Hunt about this uncatalogued papyri collection in Birmingham was noticed. See Hunt, Lucy-Anne. *The Mingana and Related Collections. A Survey of Illustrated Arabic, Greek, Eastern Christian, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham*. Birmingham, The Mingana Collection – The Edward Cadbury Charitable Trust, 1997, p.11, note 17: 'The collection also has some recently-restored but uncatalogued Arabic papyri. These include some legal texts but it is not yet known whether there are Qur'ānic fragments amongst them'. Thus, the kindness and promptness of the Cadbury Research Library's staff permitted an immediate survey of the seven folders of Arabic papyri. As regards the seven folders, see below.

[208] See Chapter 1.

[209] The first Birmingham period preceded Mingana's appointment as curator at the John Rylands Library, from his arrival in England in 1913 to 1915, see above.

lasting from October to December 1934 and from November 1935 to February 1936.

During the first acquisition, Mingana obtained a lot of Arabic papyri, mentioned by the antiquarian as lot no. E, of which a first part had been previously sent to the Oriental Institute in Prague to be analysed by Adolf Grohmann; whereas the second part, which consisted of eleven Arabic paper documents[210] and seventeen Arabic papyri, was still in the hands of the private antiquarian, von Scherling. The latter part was received by Mingana on 14 November 1934 and the former part was sent by Grohmann from Prague to Birmingham via the port of Grimsby in Lincolnshire on 23 November 1934. Mingana acquired the entire lot for £90,[211] which the colleagues in Prague and Germany were not able to afford. As von Scherling commented in a letter to Mingana:

> The collection of <u>Arabic papyri & papers</u> is still available. I had sent the lot some time ago to the Csjecho-Slov. Oriental Institute at Prague, for inspection, especially for Professor Grohmann, who would recommend the collection to some German library. But the new difficulties in the way of getting payment from Germany forces me to withdraw my offer to the S.S.R. Institute. The documents will <be> sent to you directly, from Prague.
>
> I have a few other documents, not mentioned in my liquidation-list; I am sending

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[210] It has been impossible to identify these eleven pieces amongst the four folders of uncatalogued paper fragments that comprise 126 pieces of paper and two parchment fragments. They are numbered 1-23, 28, 41-70, 102-113, 115-124, 199, 200, 202, C and H, whereas forty-two paper fragments are unnumbered. There are no details in Mingana's correspondence of the number of papyri and papers purchased by him that were previously inspected by Grohmann. As the total number of papyri is 184 and the papyri cited in the correspondence are the seventeen acquired in 1934, then the twenty-five and eighty-five acquired in 1936, the papyri inspected by Grohmann should be fifty-seven, unless there was a further acquisition of materials not mentioned in these letters.

[211] Copy of the typewritten letter from Alphonse Mingana to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham, 4 December 1934, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

them under separate cover, by registered post, at the end of the week, to you.[212]

One year later, Mingana concluded a second acquisition of papyri from the same antiquarian since, due to their stable relationship, the antiquarian would send items to Mingana for inspection without any commitment to buy them. In fact, sometimes von Scherling asked Mingana's opinion on the date, value or content of uncertain pieces. Thus, in the case of the second acquisition, the antiquarian sent two early papyri for enquiry, namely IX.3 and IX.2:[213]

> What is your opinion about this? If you are interested in its purchase I have another lot of Arabic letters on papyrus mostly current Cufic, all from Fustat, (mostly current Cufic, all from Fustat, about 20 pieces, where amongst 2 Koran and 1 historical fragment), all with transcriptions.
>
> Can you tell me something about date and content of the <u>Georgian vellum leaves</u> which are also under the same cover? I must state that mss. of this kind are cheaper in Europe than here, dealers ask exorbitant high prices, even for bad things.[214]

During an extensive negotiation, Mingana, firstly disagreed about the content of the received papyrus[215] and, secondly asked to examine the entire lot, twenty more pieces, as he intended to acquire it at a reasonable price. At that time, von Scherling was based in Cairo, so he was able to send not only the twenty-five piece collection as Mingana suggested, but

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[212] Typewritten letter with signature from Erik von Scherling to Alphonse Mingana, Leiden, 6 November 1934, in Mingana Papers, DA 66. A handwritten footnote has been added: 'These must be regarded as belonging to the same lot (E.).'

[213] Papyrus IX.3 is P. Ming.111 and papyrus IX.2 is P. Ming.101 and both are in Folder no. 3. See below for the numbering of the seven folders of Arabic papyri.

[214] Handwritten letter with signature from Erik von Scherling to Alphonse Mingana, Cairo, 26 November 1935, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

[215] According to Mingana the papyrus 'has nothing to do with the Caliph 'Umar or the Caliph 'Abdul-Malik ibn Marwān' as the mentioned authority 'was a governor of Upper Egypt of the fourth century of the Hegira, called Ibn Marwān', see copy of the typewritten letter from Alphonse Mingana to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham, 5 December 1935, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

also another collection of about eighty-five pieces that belonged to a Coptic dealer who was disposed to give the lot to the antiquarian in order that he could send it to Mingana on approval.[216] The parcel containing the Arabic papyri arrived in mid-January 1936 and Mingana's first impression was that 'they seem to be all small bits and greatly disarranged'.[217] This rough examination led Mingana to write:

> I did not find in any of them anything of importance. Many consist of tiny morsels on which there is one word or two, and many others are so torn and dilapidated that it is hardly worth while spending any time on them. I am under the impression that these papyri were rejected by the National Library of Cairo, and are worth very little.[218]

The antiquarian dealer declined to offer a lower price as requested by Mingana and his negative answer is quite interesting, as it contains information about the mechanism for trading in antiquities from Egypt at the beginning of the last century:

> All Arabic (Islamic & Coptic) antiquities, which leave Egypt, must be sent in boxes, presented to the Arabic Museum which seals some. In most cases there are no difficulties to get these out of Egypt, as the officials, who control and seal the boxes, are rather ignorant and especially in the case of Arabic papyrus, they do not take the trouble to decipher a document. I was present at their control but they could only read the "*bismillāh*" of some papyrus. Old-Egyptian & Greek papyrus are, in the contrary, much better controlled by the Egyptian Museum. The dealer, which gave me the parcel in commission, has not presented this collection to the Museum (at this I

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[216] Handwritten letter with signature from Erik von Scherling to Alphonse Mingana, Cairo, 19 December 1935, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

[217] Copy of the typewritten letter from Alphonse Mingana to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham, 21 January 1936, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

[218] Copy of the typewritten letter from Alphonse Mingana to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham, 14 February 1936, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

am almost sure) as dealers here do not like to offer such things to public institutes here fearing the latter will take enquiries were the dealer in question bought these from and if the dealer does not give suffisant information, his licence of buying & selling antiquities may be drawn in, apart from the fact that public institutes here have a small budget and do not pay much.[219]

Moreover, in the same letter von Scherling commented on the value of both lots, as the first comprised early specimens among which there was 'a good Cufic Qu'rān leaf' and the second group comprised eighty-five pieces, which was 'the biggest & best lot of Arabic papyrus which I met here', but he also commented that as for 'other Arabic papyrus here, they are all very mutilated and really "rubbish"'.

As the owner of these papyri did not agree to reduce the price, on 26 February 1936, Mingana sent von Scherling a cheque for £47 for the papyri he already had in his hands, paying £17 for the first twenty-five pieces and £30 for the second eighty-five pieces, as agreed.[220] The process of collecting Arabic manuscripts continued in a very active and fruitful way until one year later, Mingana died, leaving the papyri collection uncatalogued. After him, scholars did not accomplish the task of deciphering the content of these papyri, which became hidden such they were not accessible through any catalogue. Even today, they are kept in seven folders[221] after their restoration in the 1990s.

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[219] Handwritten letter from Erik von Scherling to Alphonse Mingana, Cairo, 22 February 1936, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

[220] Copy of the typewritten letter from Alphonse Mingana to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham, 26 February 1936, in Mingana Papers, DA 66.

[221] As mentioned above, the collection of Arabic papyri thus comprises a total of 184 papyri. The first folder contains twenty-eight papyri, i.e. P.Ming. 1-17, 24, 29, 50-54, 55 or 57, 56, 59, 61, among which numbers 1-17 probably correspond to the first purchase from von Scherling in 1934, i.e. the papyri sent directly from von Scherling to Mingana, while the remaining eleven pieces were part of the papyri inspected by Grohmann ; the second folder contains thirteen papyri, i.e. P.Ming. 87-99, probably corresponding to part of the papyri inspected by Grohmann and acquired in 1934; the third folder contains forty-five papyri, i.e. P.Ming. 100-144 among which twenty-five papyri correspond to the first lot acquired in 1936, i.e. IX.1-17 and IX.30-36,

Among these uncatalogued Arabic papyri are three Qur'ānic fragments, two of which were mentioned in the correspondence between von Scherling and Mingana.[222] Although in a first letter dated 26 November 1935, von Scherling proposed to Mingana that about twenty more pieces be added to papyrus XI.3 and XI.12, highlighting the presence of two Qur'ānic fragments, two months later, in the letter written to justify the value and thus the price asked for the two collections that Mingana was going to purchase, von Scherling specified only 'a good Cufic Qu'rān'. Actually, the third folder contains the two mentioned Qur'ānic fragments, namely Papyrus IX.16 and IX.9, as they had been numbered by the antiquarian who sold them, corresponding to the later numbering given by the Library, i.e. P. Min 115 and P. Min 107, whereas the fourth folder includes P. Min 156, not indicated in the correspondence.

2.4.2. Description of the early Qur'ānic papyri of the Mingana Collection

2.4.2.1. Qur'ānic fragment Papyrus Mingana 115 (IX.16)

P. Min 115 is a fragmented piece of light brown papyrus, in a horizontal format, measuring 17 x 21 cm, even though the margins have deteriorated, thus being 15 x 11.4 cm as minimum dimensions because the first line of the script is incomplete in its left half. Moreover, at the bottom of the fragment, the traces of a few vertical lines written in a missing following line are still visible, while the left and right margins are quite well

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although only twenty-three papyri actually bear the old numeration given by von Scherling; the fourth folder contains twenty-six papyri, i.e. P.Ming. 145-170; the fifth folder contains twenty-nine papyri, i.e. P.Ming. 171-199; the sixth folder contains twenty-eight papyri, of which only the first five papyri have been identified as A, B, D, E, F, whereas the other twenty-three have not been numbered. In fact, the inner side of the front cover of the sixth folder bears a record of '28 papyri which have lost their numbers'. These twenty-eight papyri are mainly composed of small pieces, e.g. the fragment placed in the eighth envelope of the folder measures 9 x 7 cm, being composed of six small pieces. Lastly, the seventh folder contains fifteen fragmentary papyri that have not been numbered, as the folder records, bearing the label: '15 papyri which have lost their numbers'.
[222] See the above-mentioned letters dated 26 November 1935 and 22 February 1936.

preserved and there are faded remnants of a vertical red line on the left side, probably used for ruling the page. The papyrus has been written only on one side and there is no trace of folding. The writing of the text is arranged in seven lines written perpendicularly to the fibres[223] and the distance between the lines is approximately 2.2 cm (from 2.1 to 2.6 cm). The script does not exhibit elements of cursiveness, as the copyist has always removed his hand in writing all of the letter blocks, which are amply divided.[224] In fact, the scribe has disposed a space of about 1.5 cm (from 1.3 to 1.8 cm) between the letters or letter unities, unless there is a sequence of more than three isolated letters. As regards the style, defined by von Scherling as 'early and Kufic', it is very regular and rather carefully and consistently executed, different from the general habit observed in Arabic papyri.[225] The size of the script is rather monumental, if we take as a reference the height of *alif* as mainly 1.8 cm, having a minimum height of 1.5 cm and a maximum of 2.0 cm. The distinctive *alif* features a small hook at its base curved toward the right and is slightly slanting in a few occurrences; that is, at the beginning of the second line the script angle is about 110° and at the beginning of line 6 it is about 115°, whereas through the entire fragment it is about 90°.

The script marks only the consonantal skeleton, without vowel signs and with a few diacritical strokes, although the fragment is so small that it is impossible to extract certain rules about the use of diacritics: the scribe has traced strokes for marking *nūn* except in its final position, *bā'*, *yā'* although inconsistently and not in its final position; moreover, *qāf* is distinguished by a stroke placed above the letter, whereas *fā'* has no strokes, like *ḏāl* and *ḍād* which have not been furnished with diacritical signs.

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[223] The recto is considered to be the side bearing written lines parallel to the fibres, whereas the verso bears written lines perpendicular to the fibres. See Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, pp. 31-32 as regards the ambiguity of such terminology.
[224] Grob, *Documentary Arabic*, pp. 161-162.
[225] Khan, *Papyri Khalili Collection*, pp. 44-45 and Grob, *Documentary Arabic*, p. 160.

The known circumstances of this fragment are as follows: the provenance, namely Fusṭāṭ; the former owner, a Coptic dealer as we know from the correspondence of von Scherling; its probable date, before the end of the 8th century AD, as the absence of cursiveness and its resemblance to the *ḥijāzī* style of early manuscripts seem to suggest;[226] and lastly, the Qur'ānic verses that are written at the beginning of the fragment, as described in Section 3.4.

2.4.2.2. Qur'ānic fragment Papyrus Mingana 156

The second Qur'ānic fragment is P.Min 156, composed of two pieces of brown papyrus, a main piece and a small scrap. The main piece measures 12.5 x 10 cm and shows no sign of folding, whereas the small scrap measures 3.2 x 2.7 cm and has no trace of ink. The recto of the main fragment exhibits the fragmented text of Q. 18:50-57, namely from *wa-ḏurriyyata-hu* (and his descendants) to *mā qaddamat* (what his hands have forwarded), written in eight lines, whereas its verso has very faded and lacunose traces of five lines of writing that occupy only the bottom half of the fragment. Part of the text of the recto is missing from the left side, as the right side seems to bear the beginning of the writing lines, but it is possible to reconstruct an original text area about 20-25 cm wide, regardless of the position of the missing text. Moreover, meagre traces of ink reveal that there was at least one more line both before the first and the last lines so that the portion of text was at least Q. 18:49-57. The two sides of the papyrus exhibit different scripts and different page layouts: eight written lines are placed at a quite regular distance of about 1.5 cm on the recto, whereas

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[226] *Ibid.*, p.161. Nevertheless, the script reveals a mature arrangement of letters in that the spacing between words is the same as between the letter blocks inside a word. See Blair, Sheila S. 'Transcribing God's Word: Qur'an Codices in Context'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies,* 10, 2008, pp. 72-97, about spacing and its meaning in the Amājūr Qur'ān.

such regularity is absent in the verso, in which there is a distance of 1.3-1.5 cm between the first three lines, but the fourth line is placed at a distance of 0.5 cm and 1.2 cm from the previous and following lines, and has been cancelled by tracing a line across its script, except for the last word, *ilay-ka*, in which the height of the *alif* is 0.5 cm. Although the writing of the verso is lacunose and difficult to read,[227] the fact that the fourth line has been cancelled, together with the different layout and script, make it probable that its text was not related to the Qur'ānic text of the recto.

The script of the recto does not exhibit elements of cursiveness or abusive ligatures, except the tails of *lām*, *qāf* and *nūn* in their final position and the tail of *wāw*, which are joined to the following letters. The distinctive *alif*, whose height is about 1.1-1.2 cm, is perpendicular to the baseline and bends to the left, extending below the baseline, both when it stands isolated and when it is linked to the previous letter. *Sīn* retains its three denticles and *dāl* is not a straight stroke, thus it is distinguished by *rā'*. Moreover, the final *yā'* exhibits both a long retroflexed horizontal tail at line 4 and line 8 and a long vertical tail furnished with diacritical dots at line 1. In this regard, the script is furnished with diacritics apparently placed in an inconsistent way, as the scribe has sometimes placed diacritical dots for marking *yā'* and *nūn* both in their final and non-final position, *tā'* and *bā'*. In particular, *qāf* is sometimes marked with two dots placed above the letter and *fā'* also with a dot above the letter in their final position, which would not require any disambiguation as their shapes are different.

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[227] The verso seems to be a letter opening with the *basmala* and part of the traces at line 3 can be interpreted as *min sanat tis'*, thus indicating a certain number of years or a date which could be AH 209 or AH 309 as the script seems to date from the third century AH. Regarding the hundreds sometimes omitted from numbers, see Khan, *Papyri Khalili Collection*, p. 214.

2.4.2.3. QUR'ĀNIC FRAGMENT PAPYRUS MINGANA 107 (IX.9), A PROTOCOL REUSED AS A *BIFOLIUM*

Among the typology of papyri bearing merely extracts from the Qur'ānic text, the third fragment kept in the Mingana collection must be listed (P. Min 107), numbered as IX.9 by Erik von Scherling, who mentioned its presence in his correspondence with Mingana. Its peculiarity is that it is a *bifolium*[228] of a dark brown papyrus measuring 10 x 19.5 cm, which is likely to have been previously a protocol sheet that has been reused and written in black ink on both sides. On the verso, the margins measure about 0.5 cm on the right, left and top sides, whereas the margins at the bottom are different, namely 1 cm at the right side and 0.4 cm at the left side. Between the two square text areas there is a blank space of 3 cm. The same layout has been arranged in writing the two text areas of the recto; namely an empty space between the two text areas of about 3 cm and an external blank space of about 0.4 cm, except for the bottom margin of the text square on the left, which is 1.7 cm.

There are traces of folding in both directions, namely four vertical folding marks at 4.5 cm, 9.5 cm, 12.7 cm and 17 cm from left to right considering the recto of the *bifolium*, while there are two horizontal folding marks at 3 cm and 6.2 cm from top to bottom considering the first vertical folding mark on the left of the recto. Therefore, the text has been arranged as a *bifolium* later folded in five vertical columns and then in three small squares. The verso bears brown traces of thick strokes probably produced with a brush, which reveals the presence of a previous text arranged in six lines that alternate Arabic script at the first, third and fifth lines and a perpendicular script among which some vertical strokes and a few Greek letters may be distinguished at the second, fourth and sixth lines, thus resembling the protocol formulary identified by Grohmann in his work on protocols from

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[228] See Gacek, *Vademecum*, p. 194 as regards the characteristics of papyrus, not suitable to be used in codices. See Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 30 as regards the early examples of codices and about the use of leaves folded into two.

the Egyptian Library.[229] Thus, P. Min 107 seems likely to be a former protocol text, written in the same direction as the fibres, whose remnants can be supplied with that lacking text on the basis of these materials, that is at line 1 *al-raḥīm* from *bi'smi'-llāhi'l-raḥmani'l-raḥīm* (In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate), at line 3 [...]*sūl allāh* from *lā ilaha illā'llāh waḥdahu Muḥammad rasūlu'-llah* (There is no God but God alone, Muhammad is the Messenger of God), and one of the possible interpretations of the trace of line 5 is [...]*minīn* from *amīr al-mu'minīn* (commander of the believers) which refers to the protocollary title of a caliph, since ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb adopted such a title on his election as caliph (AD 634-644).[230]

Later, this protocol, once about 30-40 cm wide, has been cut and a strip of 19.5 x 10 cm has been reused on both sides[231] for writing part of the Qur'ānic text. This has been arranged in 11 and 9 lines respectively on the left and right side of the verso, symmetrically to the recto, which also shows 11 and 9 lines on the right and left side.

Among the distinctive features of the script, whose letters are not furnished with diacritical marks, is *alif,* which measures between 0.6 and 1.1 cm and is mainly perpendicular, bending to the left towards the base where it stands isolated, and in a few cases extending below the

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[229] Grohmann, Adolf. *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library, vol.1: Protocols and Legal Texts with twenty plates.* Cairo, Egyptian Library Press, 1934, pp. 10-12, 17. Numbers 2, 3 and 8 are likely to resemble the uncertain trace of the Arabic-Greek formulary of the protocol in P. Min107.

[230] Gibb, Hamilton Alexander Roskeen. 'Amīr al-Muʾminīn' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition.* (Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs). Brill Online, 2014 and Marsham, Andrew. 'Commander of the Faithful' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE.* (Edited by Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson). Brill Online, 2014. As regards coin and papyrus materials attributing *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* to Muʾāwiya I (AD 661-680), see Hoyland, Robert G. 'New documentary texts and the early Islamic state'. *Bulletin of SOAS*, 69, 2006, pp. 395-416. The protocols edited by Grohmann bearing such a title are referred to as 'Abdallah al-Walīd *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, i.e. 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, thus they are dated AD 705-715, see Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri*, pp. 9-31.

[231] Khan, Geoffrey. *Bills, Letters and Deeds. Arabic Papyri of the 7th to 11th Centuries.* London-Oxford-New York, Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1993, p.17 as regards the habit of reusing the reverse of protocols that are cut off the roll for writing other text. An example of reuse of both sides of a protocol is P.Erzherzog Rainer Ar.Pap. 406, which bears traces of protocol text on the recto, later reused and written on both sides.

baseline, thus resembling isolated *lām* (verso, right side, l.4). As regards the phenomenon of curves changed into straight strokes,[232] the bend in the middle of *dāl* tends to disappear in a few instances, thus it resembles a vertical stroke[233] as is particularly evident in the sequence of three vertical strokes marking *iḏā* in Q. 113:5 (verso, right side, l.9). Moreover, the hand exhibits a low cursiveness, with the letter blocks and words being separated from one another, and it does not show abusive ligatures, although it should be mentioned that initial *alif* crosses perpendicularly the tail of the last letter in the preceding word, namely the final *kāf* before *anta* in Q. 3:8 (verso, left side, l.5) and *mīm* before *allāh* in Q. 59:1 (recto, right side, l.9).

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[232] Khan, *Papyri Khalili Collection*, pp. 39-40; Grob, *Documentary Arabic*, pp. 161-165.
[233] Khan, *Papyri Khalili Collection*, p. 41 and the mentioned examples of papyri exhibiting such a habit. They date from the 3rd century AH.

2.5. DESCRIPTION OF MS BRUNENSIS-BIRMINGHAMIENSIS (BrB): MS MINGANA ISLAMIC ARABIC 1563, MS MINASSIAN COLLECTION 9 AND OTHER LEAVES

2.5.1. History of MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1563[234] and MS Minassian Collection 9

MS Brunensis-Birminghamiensis (BrB) is a codex of the Qur'ānic text composed of seventy-four leaves, insofar as available sources reveal, although it is highly probable that there are further parchments scattered in institutions and private collections that belong to this codex. The identified leaves are held in four institutions, whereas one leaf appeared in the antiquarian market at least in 2012, although their interpretation still needs to be confirmed through direct inspection. A further research project about these *disiecta membra* should cast new light on this artefact.[235] Thirty-nine leaves are held in the Mingana Collection in the Cadbury Research Library, i.e. MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1563 (Min1563) and thirty-two leaves are in the Minassian Collection of Qur'ānic manuscripts at the Brown University Library in Providence, Rhode Island, i.e. MS 9 (Br9),[236] whereas three single leaves have been traced respectively in the Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division, i.e. MS AL-12; the private collection of Martin Schøyen, in Oslo and London, i.e. MS

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[234] Some of the details about the provenance of MS Isl.Ar.1563 have been published in Fedeli, 'Provenance', although the matching fragments from other institutions have only been identified during this research project.

[235] Only thirty-nine leaves of the Mingana manuscript have been inspected using both the original artefact and its digital images available in the Virtual Manuscript Room, whereas thirty-two leaves of the Brown University manuscript have been accessed through high-quality images available online in their digital library. The low quality of the images of the three further leaves available online has permitted only conjecture on their provenance from the same MS BrB. In fact it was only during this research project that further fragments matching MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1563 have been identified, so that it seemed preferable to plan a separate project about this artefact, also in light of its code, system and execution, which are different from the early (*ḥijāzī*) fragments of the Mingana collection and its Qur'ānic papyri. However, it seemed useful to briefly introduce MS BrB as a criterion of comparison with the early fragments.

[236] Accession number: A 98 3 Box 1 Folder 41, identified through the digital library of the Brown University, i.e. http://library.brown.edu/quran/ showing manuscripts from The Minassian Collection of Qur'ānic manuscripts. See MS 9 at http://library.brown.edu/cds/projects/quran/search?q=manuscrip+09 .

Schøyen 2954 and the Barakat Collection, i.e. reference number PF. 6323.[237] There are no studies on the common provenance of these leaves as part of a single manuscript, proposed in this research project for the first time as a result of the access to their digital images scattered across the Web.[238]

As regards the leaves of the Mingana Collection, they were acquired by Alphonse Mingana through the antiquarian dealer Erik von Scherling in 1936. Mingana's correspondence kept track of this transaction: on 7 May 1936 Mingana asked von Scherling for information about 'that Koran on vellum, for which you [i.e. von Scherling] asked £30'[239] and a few days later the antiquarian dealer sent the volume on approval to Mingana,[240] who sent a cheque for £30.1.6 on 20 May 1936.[241]

The same manuscript had been previously offered to Mingana by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Oriental and African Booksellers in London. In fact, the booksellers offered to sell this manuscript to Mingana because of his interest in Oriental manuscripts, as their letter reads:

> FRAGMENT OF AN ARABIC KORAN. In the Kufic script. Of the 8th century A.D. Comprises 39 leaves, oblong 8vo, on vellum, bound in a modern red leather binding

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[237] The leaf seems to be still available on the website of the Barakat Gallery, although they did not reply to confirm the presence of the fragment in their collection or to furnish a high quality image of the original artefact. See
http://www.barakatgallery.com/Store/Index.cfm/FuseAction/ItemDetails/UserID/0/ItemID/19284.htm .
[238] From the beginning of this research project, the palaeographical and codicological analysis of MS Min1563 provided evidence of the existence of further leaves, i.e. traces of decoration marking a group of ten verses that a missing folio had impressed on f.26v (see next section). For this reason all of the manuscripts in early Abbasid script featuring 15 lines per page that have been encountered since 2012 were checked, because they could have been fragments of the same codex of MS Min1563. Thus this remnant of a missing leaf has permitted the identification of codex BrB.
[239] Copy of the typed letter from Mingana to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham 7 May 1936, in Mingana Papers DA66.
[240] Typed and signed letter from Erik von Scherling to Mingana, Leiden 11 May 1936, in Mingana Papers DA66.
[241] Copy of the typed letter from Mingana to Erik von Scherling, Birmingham 20 May 1936, in Mingana Papers DA66.

with flap.[242] [...][243] Our correspondent is asking £36 for this item, and would doubtless send it to us on approval if you should wish to inspect them.[244]

However, there are no further details and trace for the provenance of the manuscript, traded by antiquarian dealers in London and Leiden through a 'correspondent' in the 1930. As mentioned in Sections 2.1 and 2.3, Hopwood alluded to the Sinai provenance of both MS Min1572 and Min1563, as part of the Tischendorf manuscripts,[245] thus revealing that he was aware of the rumours about Tischendorf's implications in the history of the Mingana collection. However the 'several other fragments which the nineteenth century German scholar Tischendorf [...] obtained' can concern only the manuscripts that von Scherling offered in October 1936,[246] whereas MS 1563 was purchased in May 1936, thus making it impossible to conjecture a Sinai provenance.

The details about the other parts of MS BrB do not contribute to reconstructing its history, as there are no reports about the acquisition of the two fragments in the Schøyen and Barakat private collections. Brown University Library and the Library of Congress do not offer further information about the parchments that the Armenian collector Kirkor Minassian donated separately to their institutions. Kirkor Minassian acquired an immense collection through extensive travels from about 1906[247] until his death in 1944, and he

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[242] The red binding was removed during the restoration of the manuscript, but a picture of the original (modern) binding of the manuscript is inside the manuscript box. The characteristics of the binding when the manuscript was acquired by Mingana correspond to the description given by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

[243] The booksellers also offered to Mingana 'a fragment of a Koran on papyrus, containing a unique variant reading, of the 8th or 9th Cent. A.D., also in Kufic', although there is no further information about it. It could be one of the papyri later acquired by Mingana through von Scherling. The correspondent that the London booksellers referred to could in fact be the same correspondent used by von Scherling.

[244] Typed and signed letter of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Oriental and African Booksellers, London 26 July 1935, in Mingana Papers DA66.

[245] Hopwood, 'The Islamic Arabic Manuscripts', p. 101.

[246] See above for details of the correspondence about this transaction.

[247] Jenkins-Madina reported the foreword to the catalogue of a loan exhibition in May 1925 at the Wadsworth Atheneum: 'He was one of the earliest connoisseurs to gather the pottery, miniatures, textiles, bronzes and

donated a leaf of this Qur'ānic manuscript to the Library of Congress in probably 1929-1930,[248] whereas the entire Minassian Qur'ānic collection of the Brown University was donated by his daughter Adrienne in 1994.[249]

It is unknown whether fragments from this single codex have been scattered in the same period, i.e. in the 1930s, from its original place or whether their appearance in the antiquarian market is the result of separate and independent stories. The fragment on sale at the Barakat Gallery opens up interesting questions about the actual trading of these early Qur'ānic manuscripts and about the authentic extension of the manuscript and its fragmented nature.

2.5.2. Writing the leaves of MS Brunensis-Birminghamiensis: physical features, scribal practices and later users

MS BrB is the reconstruction of a dispersed manuscript whose original place and number of leaves are unknown. Moreover, there are no remnants of its possible structure in quires. It bears traces of different stages in its writing process and also in its reading process, as underlined in the analysis of its content in Chapter 3.

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other objects from Persia and the Nearer Orient where he has traveled extensively', in Jenkins-Madina, Marylin. 'Collecting the "Orient" at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America'. *Ars Orientalis*, 30 (*Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art*), 2000, pp. 69-89 (p. 73).

[248] However, Kirkor Minassian presented some manuscripts to the Library of Congress from about 1922, see Library of Congress. *Report of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930.* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1930, p.27: 'About 8 years ago Mr. Kirkor Minassian, of New York City, presented to the Library a remarkable group of Arabic, Greek, Persian, Hebrew, and Ethiopic manuscripts, some of them of great antiquity'. The Library of Congress website refers to the donation of the 'Kufic parchment' in 1929. Other Near Eastern book covers from the Minassian Collection were offered to the Library of Congress in the 1930s, see Clarkson, Chris. 'Protective Boxes for Near Eastern Book Covers from the Minassian Collection'. *Bulletin of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works*, 15, 2, 1975, pp.10-16.

[249] An investigation of the Minassian correspondence and documents has been planned as part of a possible future project to cast new light on the provenance of this manuscript.

The parchment leaves are in poor condition, as the edges are extremely damaged and consumed and the ink is very faded in some pages, whereas at a few points there are evident and serious signs of ink corrosion with loss of parchment,[250] e.g. MS Min1563, f.24r, ll.1-5, f.29r, ll.1-2, f.36v, l.4.

The leaves are likely to be the result of the work of a single scribe in its first hand, writing in early Abbasid script, i.e. group D.IV according to Déroche's classification.[251] The calligrapher has frequently used the *mashq,* i.e. the horizontal elongation. The page layout has been planned in a very regular and consistent way, writing 15 lines per page, which measures 22.7 to 23.7 x 15.2 to 16.9 cm in horizontal format, while the text area measures about 17 x 11.5 cm. Despite the poor condition of the parchment's edges, the page layout shows generous margins, in particular the external margins. The text area has been arranged so as to place the lines at a rather regular distance of 0.8 cm apart. Despite this regularity, at several points the calligrapher has justified the left margins with end of line fillers, which suggests that did not have complete mastery in organizing the page. Moreover, he has not always laid the letters on the baseline, but at different levels.[252]

The first hand calligrapher used brown ink to trace the consonantal skeleton, adding a few thin oblique strokes as diacritics. The first hand sometimes traced three thin strokes to mark the *fāṣila,* and it is likely that he also drew the outline of the floral decoration to mark

[250] The corrosion is an effect of the acidity of iron-gall inks that have sometimes burnt into the parchment due to excessive acidity or became pale, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, pp.134-135. Regarding the effect of iron gall ink on paper and parchment, see e.g. Lee, Alana S., Peter J. Mahon and Dudley C. Creagh. 'Raman analysis of iron gall inks on parchment'. *Vibrational Spectroscopy*, 41, 2006, pp. 170-175. Unfortunately, during this research project it was not possible to obtain chemical analysis of MS Min1563.

[251] See Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, p. 37 and Table IV at pp. 44-45 and a similar example of D.IV script in MS no.37. The script grammar was analysed by Milo, who underlined the construction of letter blocks in a vertical way, whereas, for example, in a similar Sana'a manuscript, the letters are treated horizontally in their letter blocks. Milo proposed a later date for MS Min1563 on the basis of its script grammar showing a transition type 'toward elimination of the vertical-horizontal opposition' (see Milo, 'Script Grammar', pp. 288-291). Milo's analysis was interested only in the script grammar, independently from any analysis of the content.

[252] See *ibid.*, pp. 249-292.

the end of a group of ten verses, i.e. *'ašr* and of the teardrop, i.e. the letter *hā'* to mark the end of a group of five verses, a *ẖams.* It is unclear whether the first hand also traced the outline of the *sūra* titles.

The second stage in the writing process was the reader's intervention, which consisted in adding dot-vowels and other reading instructions for connecting words[253] in red ink, as well as in marking alternative and coexistent readings, both readings being indicated in red ink, which was a confusing habit.[254] Moreover, it is likely that this second stage corresponds to the filling of the outlines of *'ašr, ẖams* and *sūra*'s titles traced by the first hand. Thus, the teardrops and *sūra* titles have been filled in in gold, and the floral decoration in gold, red and black.[255]

Lastly, during a third stage[256] the corrector added *i'jām al-ḥurūf* (i.e. diacritics) in black ink, often overlapping the diacritics already traced by the first hand. At a few points, the black dots do not have a precise shape, but a dirty trail, possibly caused by the scribe's hand during the act of writing, which suggests the unprofessional nature of this corrector. Moreover, he has removed part of the alternative readings, as probably in that context the coexistence of two readings expressed by the second hand in red ink was not an admitted practice. The three physical levels of ink which express the three phases of the writing process' sequence have been hypothetically separated and retraced in the following

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[253] The red dot system used in MS BrB, as far as the analysis of MS Min1563 suggests, is extremely complex, as it does not only indicate the vowel system, but at several points it is likely to correspond to the Syriac system in which the dots represent 'relationship', see section about the analysis of MS BrB.

[254] See Section 3.5 on this habit. As regards the Barakat leaf, their website states the presence of red and green dots. From the poor-quality image available online it is not possible to distinguish these green dots. However, from the inspection of MS Min1563, it seems that the green dots could be the result of the chemical change of the black dots, as it is evident at a few points, e.g. MS Min1563, f.15v, l.7. The chemical analysis of the inks used in producing MS BrB is planned as part of a future research project on this codex.

[255] The device is similar to category 2'.A.II indicated by Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, p. 25.

[256] As regards the catchwords added in the top right and left bottom margins, it is likely that they are additions of a later date.

example.

First stage

Second stage	
Third stage	

As regards the dating, among the manuscripts written in style D.IV there are two witnesses that bear dated *waqf* inscriptions, i.e. AH 270 (AD 883-4) and AH 329 (AD 940-41).[257] Such a range of dates can suggest a probable date for MS BrB, i.e. late 3rd /9th century, which is extremely important as it indicates the *terminus ante quem*[258] of the acceptability of two coexistent alternative readings, i.e. the brown and red phases, as well as the *terminus post quem* of the stage in which the alternative readings were refused, as illustrated in a few examples in Section 3.5.

The comprehension of the mechanisms involved in the production of these early manuscripts as physical artefacts is inextricably connected with the comprehension of the stratigraphic nature of the manuscripts themselves and their text.[259] Thus, for example, the

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[257] See details in *ibid.*, p. 37.
[258] Déroche considers the latter date, i.e. AH 270/AD 883-4, to be very late; see *ibid.*
[259] In the absence of any results from chemical analysis of the above-described manuscripts, the comprehension of the logical sequence in writing the text has been extremely important in this research.

sequence of three stages in the writing process of MS BrB has been the logical sequence identified during the comprehension of the text, because 'every written work is a process and not an object',[260] as described in the next chapter.

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[260] 'Every written work is a process and not an object' is the dictum proposed by Parker, *Textual Scholarship*.

CHAPTER 3

MINGANA EARLY QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS:

DESCRIBING THE TEXTS

Occorrerà decidere se chiamare testo la realtà fisica di fogli di pergamena
(o di carta) coperti di segni grafici
o la realtà mentale che il lettore mette in essere mediante la lettura

Cesare Segre, *Semiotica filologica*

3.1. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT OF MS MINGANA ISLAMIC ARABIC 1572A AND MS BNF 328C

The copy of MS Parisino-birminghamiensis (MS PaB) is divided between the Mingana collection, i.e. Islamic Arabic 1572a (Min1572) and the Paris collection, i.e. Bibliothèque nationale de France 328c (BnF328c) and it bears a fragmentary portion of the Qur'ānic text, namely Q.10:35-Q.11:110 (BnF328c, ff.71-77), Q.18:17-31 (Min1572, f. 7), Q.19:91-20:40 (Min1572, f.1) and Q.20:99-23:27 (BnF328c, ff.78-86). The text of this copy coincides with the text of the Medina muṣḥaf to a large extent; however the copyist had his own linguistic system which came into contact with the copy he was transcribing.[1] Focusing on the comprehension of the interference between different linguistic systems rather than on the so-called errors in detecting the differences from the text of the Medina muṣḥaf, it could be possible to understand the linguistic competence of the person in charge of writing the copy and the dynamics that characterized his writing and mental activity.

3.1.1. Analysis of the text: its variants

In 1944, the scholar who inserted a small handwritten leaf among the parchments of the Birmingham fragment gave us the first list of the variants featured in these leaves, even if incompletely and probably without any awareness of it being kept for posterity. A comparison between the copy of MS PaB and the Medina muṣḥaf leads to a number of differences being identified.[2] These variants can be understood as a mirror of the linguistic

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[1] Segre, Cesare. *Semiotica filologica. Testo e modelli culturali.* Torino, Giulio Einaudi, 1979, p. 65.
[2] Some variants have already been mentioned by Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, p.130, i.e. the orthographic variants and the handwritten leaf dated 1944 listed some of the variants.

competence of the copyist and his linguistic context, in that the manuscript bears some phonetic, orthographic, morphologic and syntactic variants, but also a few lexical variants, among which there are variants related to the voice and recipient of the message and some variants due to mechanical errors during the copying activity. Lastly, the manuscript exhibits a few peculiar features as regards the subdivision of the Qur'ānic text into verses. Furthermore, the analysis of the manuscript text compared with the literature of the Islamic tradition reveals a few *qirā'āt* that are substantiated through the manuscript itself.

3.1.1.1. GRAMMATICAL VARIANTS

The manuscript exhibits many differences related to phonetic, orthographic and morphologic features of the Arabic language and script that are distinctive characteristics of early Arabic, in that they appear similar to the linguistic characteristics of early Arabic papyri.[3]

3.1.1.1.1. Phonetic variants

One of the specific phonetic variants that are featured in the manuscript is the shift of *ṯā'* into *tā'*, i.e. *'akṯaru > 'aktaru* in Q.11:17 (BnF328c, f.74v, l.12), *al-ṯarā > al-tarā* in Q.20:6 (Min1572, f.1r, l.16), *ḥadīṯu > ḥadītu* in Q.20:9 (Min1572, f.1r, l.18), *muḥdaṯ^{in} > muḥdat^{in}* in Q.21:2 (BnF328c, f.79r, l.12), *al-ḥarṯi > al-ḥarti* in Q.21:78 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.1) and *wa-miṯla-hum > wa-mitla-hum* in Q.21:84 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.13). This shift was described by Hopkins through the

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[3] Different theories about the linguistic situation of the Qur'ān have been formulated, e.g. Nasser, *Variant Readings* and Larcher, Pierre. 'In search of a standard : dialectal variation and New Arabic features in the oldest Arabic written documents' in M. C. A. Macdonald, ed., *The development of Arabic as written language (Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 40)*. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2010, pp. 103-112.

corpus of early papyri in that it is attested in Palestine in the middle of the first century A.H. and in Egypt in the third century A.H., although the change should have occurred earlier.[4] On the basis of the evidence of the papyri, it is likely that the variants featured in MS PaB are mere phonetic variants witnessing the phonetic shift that affected the Arabic language, thus abandoning the idea that *tā'* instead of *ṯā'* expresses lexical variants.[5]

The second distinctive trait is the disappearance of the *hamza*, the glottal stop, as in *ta'wīlu-hu > tawīlu-hu* in Q.10:39 (BnF328c, f.71r, l.9); *bawwa'na > bawwana* in Q.10:93 (BnF328c, f.73r, l.6) and in Q.22:26 (BnF328c, f.83v, l.19), Q.21:11 (BnF328c, f.79v, l.2) *wa-anša'na > wa-anšana*, which could also reflect the assimilation into the category of verbs *nāqiṣ*[6] and in *iṭma'anna > iṭmanna* in Q.22:11 (BnF328c, f.83r, ll.10-11), in the proper names *Ya'jūju > Yajūju* and *Ma'jūju > Majūju* in Q.21:96 (BnF328c, f.82r, l.8), lastly, in *fa-ka'ayyin > fa-kayyin* and *wa-ka'ayyin > wa-kayyin* in Q.22:45 (BnF328c, f.84v, l.15) and Q.22:48 (BnF328c, f.84v, l.23).

A third characteristic exhibited in MS PaB is the use of *yā'* for marking both the long /ā/[7] and its pronunciation as affected by *imāla*, mainly in writing the plural of *āya* 'sign', i.e. *bi-āyāti-nā*, in Q.10.73 (BnF328c, f.72r, l.23), Q.10:75 (BnF328c, f.72v, l.2), Q.11:96 (BnF328c, f.77v, l.2), Q.21:77 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.24), Q.22:57 (BnF328c, f.85r, l.16) and *bi-āyāti*, in Q.10:71 (BnF328c, f.72r, l.17), Q.10:95 (BnF328c, f.73r, l.11), Q.11:59 (BnF328c, f.76r, l.4), Q.20:127 (BnF328c, f.78v, l.15), but also its singular form in *bi-āyatin* of Q.20:133 (BnF328c, f.79r, l.3) and Q.21:5 (BnF328c, f.79r, l.17). The leaves of MS PaB also bear the plural *al-sayyi'āt* in

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[4] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic,* §30 and note 3.

[5] Small's analysis (Small, *Textual Criticism,* p.73) leads to different interpretations, probably due to the fact that his corpus of manuscripts bears only one example of this phonetic shift and the consonantal skeleton has two different meanings according to its reading with *tā'* or *ṯā'*. His analysis focused on Q.14:35-41 through several manuscripts rather than on the comprehension of the scribal practices of every manuscript. MS Parisino-birminghamiensis is a relatively small fragment and it bears six examples of this shift, although there are other witnesses of this phenomenon, e.g. in MS UbT MA165.

[6] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic,* §19, 20, 77.

[7] Small, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 55-57, mentioning Puin and Mingana; Fedeli, 'Early evidences' underlined a comparison with the pahlavi system in marking long /ā/.

Q.11:10 (BnF328c, f.74r, l.8) and Q.11:78 (BnF328c, f.76v, l.13) spelled with three denticles marking *sīn* and two denticles before the final *tā'*. Thus, the last denticle could be the mark of the glottal stop, as the final ending of plural feminine –*āt* is spelled in its *scriptio defectiva,* or it could be interpreted as the mark of *imāla* of the final ending –*āt,* which means the disappearance of the glottal stop.

The use of such a tool for expressing *imāla* was noted in the papyri corpus studied by Hopkins;[8] in the codex Parisino-petropolitanus in the writing of *āyāt* after the preposition *bi-* due to a dynamic of vowel harmony,[9] and was explained by Puin, who mentioned a long series of attestations of such a writing in manuscripts, both for the plural and the singular, i.e. *'e͡yyāt* and *'e͡yya.*[10]

The phenomenon of *imāla* has been suggested to explain the orthography of the noun *šay'* that appears in early Qur'ānic manuscripts in its specific form ساى,[11] with the insertion of *alif* between *šīn* and *yā'* whereas the Medina muṣḥaf has شيء. However, this orthography has been explained by Hopkins as the writing of a phonetic shift *ay > āy*, attested in a few papyri dated 91 A.H., early 2nd century and mid 3rd century AH.[12] Furthermore, Puin proposed the hypothesis that the word *šay'* reveals its original writing and pronunciation *ši'a* through its particular occurrence in the standard text in Q.18:23 as لِشَاْىْءٍ, thus showing the original use of *alif* for marking the glottal stop preceded by short /i/ in شأ which later became associated with a long /ā/, thus imposing the disambiguation of its pronunciation as short /i/ by

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[8] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §7c and note 4.
[9] Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*, pp. 22-23.
[10] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', pp. 167-168.
[11] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §7, n.2.
[12] *Ibid.* §15d, and §7 n.2 refuses the *imāla* as explanation of the writing with inserted *alif.*

adding *yā'* and the consequent loss of *alif*.[13] In MS PaB, *šay'* is spelled inserting *alif*, i.e. *šay'in* in Q.11:4 (BnF328c, f.73v, l.19), Q.11:12 (BnF328c, f.74r, l.13), Q.11:57 (BnF328c, f.76r, l.1), Q.11:101 (BnF328c, f.77v, l.9), Q.21:30 (BnF328c, f.80r, l.4), Q.21:81 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.8), Q.22:6 (BnF328c, f.83r, l.3), Q.22:17 (BnF328c, f.83r, l.26), *la-šay'un* in Q.11:72 (BnF328c, f.76v, l.4) and *šay'un* in Q.22:1 (BnF328c, f.82v, l.11).[14]

3.1.1.1.2. Phonetic/orthographic variants, i.e. ortho-epic writing

Another representative aspect of the variants of MS PaB is the orthography of a few words whose evolution could have had the aim of indicating more precisely their phonetics. This historical sequence was proposed by Puin concerning the original presence of *alif,* whose pronunciation as short /u/ or /i/ has been later disambiguated by adding the *mater lectionis wāw* or *yā'*, although the general perception of *alif* as a sign of long /ā/ has caused the elimination of *alif*, thus leaving only the later *mater lectionis*.[15] Thus MS PaB bears سيء حساى in Q.11:77 (BnF328c, f.76v, l.11) that go back to سًأ,[16] whereas in Q.20:18 (Min1572, f.1v, l.6) *atawakka'u* is written without *wāw*, thus assuming that the final *alif* was pronounced as short /u/ without the *mater lectionis wāw* that was added later. Furthermore, in Q.20:108 the manuscript (BnF328c, f.78r, l.10) exhibits *yawma'iḏin* written with both *alif* and *yā'*, where *alif* was pronounced as short /i/ and *yā'* is probably the later insertion for indicating the proper

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[13] On the basis of the hypothesis of Puin 2011, the process is not clear: شَيْ > شِاي > شِأً, although the long list of examples is convincing as evidence and the process appears plausible in the majority of the orthographic variants involving *yā'* and *wāw*. Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, pp. 71 and 131 and Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyad*, p. 23 mentioned *šay'*.

[14] The shift ay>āy as suggested in Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, § 7 and 15d seems not to explain the reason why only *šay'un* and *šay'in* show the insertion of *alif* in early Qur'ānic manuscripts, whereas the presence of *alif tanwīn* could exclude the presence of the inserted *alif* if they were close to each other, that means without *yā'*. This seems to confirm the hypothesis of Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing'.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 19, mentioning also MS Samarqand in Q.11:77.

reading. At this point, the later hand has erased *alif* and then linked *mīm* and *yā'*, as the final stage of the historical sequence suggested by Puin.

This phenomenon involving the disappeared *alif* and the insertion of a *mater lectionis wāw* or *yā'* could also explain the orthographic variant of the standard *dimā'u-hā* in Q.22:37 (BnF328c, f.84r, l.22), i.e. *dima'u-hā* without *alif* not being due to a mere *scriptio defectiva*. The same aspect is observable in *abā'u-nā* in Q.11:87 and manuscript text (BnF328c, f.77r, l.7) *aba'u-nā*; in *abā'u-kum* in Q.21:54 and manuscript text (BnF328c, f.80v, ll.17-18) *abā'u-kum* and lastly, in *abā'a-nā* in Q.21:53 and manuscript text (BnF328c, f.80v, l.17) *aba-nā*.[17]

Another instance worth listing is the spelling of the proper name Dāwūd, for which Small mentions four variant spelling conventions exhibited in the manuscript tradition comprehending دواد Dūād as found in MS British Library Or.2165, MS Dar al-Makhtutat 01-32.1 and the Samarkand codex and داود Dāūd as present in MS British Library Or.2165, MS Chester Beatty Library 1401 and MS Dar al-Makhtutat 01-15.9.[18] Puin explained such a spelling as the ortho-epic writing of دواد indicating Daw'id or Dawid, in that the *alif* is the mark of a glottal stop introducing a short vowel /i/ or the mark of a short vowel /i/ after the mute preceding letter.[19] In the portion of the Qur'ānic text of MS PaB there are two occurrences of this proper name, i.e. in Q.21:78 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.25) and in Q.21.79 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.4). The scribe wrote in the first case دواد and four lines later داود and there is no evidence for detecting which was the correct form according to the linguistic skill of the scribe, inferring which form(s) were spelled in the scribe's exemplar or understanding the reason for such an alternative.

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[17] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, p. 67 about *ab(ā)'una.*
[18] Small, *Textual Criticism*, p.56, note 112.
[19] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 158.

3.1.1.1.3. Orthographic variants

The most frequent orthographic variant[20] of early Qur'ānic manuscripts is the *scriptio defectiva* of medial /ā/ which is also extremely common in the early Arabic papyri,[21] particularly in nominal forms, as the PaB leaves exhibit in their portion of the Qur'ānic text, i.e. the pattern *fāʿil* occurs thirty times in its *scriptio defectiva* without *alif* as *faʿil*, the pattern *fiʿāl* is written *fiʿal* twenty-two times, the pattern *faʿāl* as *faʿal* is present fifteen times, the pattern *afʿāl* is found as *afʿal* five times, *afāʿil* as *afaʿil*, *fuʿlān* as *fuʿlan* and *ifʿāl* as *ifʿal* three times each, and *faʿāʾil* as *faʿaʾil* twice. The manuscript shows the patterns *faʿʿāl*, *fuʿāʿil*, *fāʿūl*, *fuʿāl* and *fawāʿl* written without *alif* only once; the pattern *mifʿāl* has been written *mifʿal* at seven points and *mafʿāl* is found as *mafʿal* twice. Moreover, a few nouns should be mentioned separately, i.e. *la-ʿālin* in Q.10:83 (BnF328c, 72v, l.13), *mālan* in Q.11:29 (BnF328c, 74v, l.21) and *ayyāmin* in Q.11:65 (BnF328c, f.76r, l.18), as they have been corrected by inserting *alif* in order to amend their *scriptio defectiva*. Thus, the total number of occurrences in which the copyist has written nominal forms without *alif* against the printed Medina muṣḥaf is one hundred in eighteen leaves.

Beside these patterns of nominal forms, *alif* of final ending *–āni* marking the dual is absent in some instances, i.e. in the indicative form of the verbs *yastawiyāni* in Q.11:24 (BnF328c, f.74v, l.12), *yaḫṣifāni* in Q.20:121 (BnF328c, f.78v, l.6), *yaḥkumāni* in Q.21:78 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.1); the jussive followed by emphatic *nūn tattabiʿānni* in Q.10:89 (BnF328c, f.72v, l.24) and in the pronoun and noun *hāḏāni ḫaṣmāni* in Q.22:19 (BnF328c, f.83v, l.5).

As regards the absence of *alif* marking long /ā/ in verbal forms, it is frequently different

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[20] The *scriptio defectiva* has always been underlined since the first analysis in the 19th century, see e.g. Déroche - Noja Noseda, *Le manuscrit arabe 328 (a)*, 'Introduction'.
[21] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §10 suggested that sometimes it could be an orthographic variant of the same word, i.e. *scriptio defectiva*, but it could also be a phonetic variant, i.e. 'genuine shortening of the long vowel'.

from the situation featured in early papyri.[22] The most common category is the *scriptio defectiva* of the verb *qāla*: *qala* against *qāla* is found at thirty-five points, *wa-qala* instead of *wa-qāla* occurs six times, *fa-qala* in place of *fa-qāla* seven times, *qalū* against *qālū* fourteen times, and *wa-qalū* instead of *wa-qālū*, as well as *la-qalū,* once each. Also, the third singular feminine form *qalat* has been written without *alif* at one point.

If the verb *qāla* with its sixty-five occurrences featuring *scriptio defectiva* is extremely frequent although not coherent, other verbal forms of verb *ajwaf* are quite rare, i.e. perfect of form I *ḥaqa* against *ḥāqa* in Q.21:41 (BnF328c, f.80r, l.22) and *ṭala* against *ṭāla* in Q.21:44 (BnF328c, f.80v, l.2) and the imperfect form *aḫafu* against *aḫāfu* twice in Q.11:3 (BnF328c, f.73v, l.18) and Q.11:26 (BnF328c, f.74v, l.14). The perfect of form IV is featured four times for the verb *aṣāba*, i.e. *aṣaba-hum* in Q.11:81 (BnF328c, f.76v, l.19) and in Q.22:35 (BnF328c, 84r, l.16), *aṣaba-hu* in Q.22:11 (BnF328c, f.83r, l.10) and *aṣabat-hu* in Q.22:11 (BnF328c, f.83r, l.11). The other occurrences are *wa-aradū* against *wa-arādū* in Q.21:70 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.11), *aradū* in place of *arādū* in Q.22:22 (BnF328c, f.83v, l.9) and *aqamū* instead of *aqāmū* in Q.22:41 (BnF328c, f.84v, l.8). The only case of imperfect form I is the passive subjunctive mood *yuġāṯū* in Q.18:29 (Min1572, f.7v, l.17). There is also one instance of the verb *ajwaf* in form VIII, i.e. the perfect *wa-zdadū* against *wa-zdādū* in Q.18:25 (Min1572, f.7v, l.4) and of form X, i.e. the participle *al-mustaʿanu* instead of *al-mustaʿānu* in Q.21:112 (BnF328c, f.82v, l.8). Moreover, the PaB leaves also show the perfect form IV of the verb *aḥyā-kum,* featuring the disappearance of the final *alif maqṣūra* before the pronominal suffix.[23]

As regards the verbal forms III and VI characterized by an elongated vowel, the manuscript exhibits the participle *mubarakun* against *mubārakun* in Q.21:50 (BnF328c, f.80v, l.13) and the

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[22] *Ibid.,* §10c mentioned only ten examples of *scriptio defectiva* of verbal forms.
[23] In the papyri corpus Hopkins noted no problem in the writing of double *yāʾ* (see *ibid.,* §14c).

infinitive noun *tamaṯīl* against *tamāṯīl* in Q.21:52 (BnF328c, f.80v, ll.15-16).

The total number of 187 occurrences of *scriptio defectiva* through the eighteen leaves certainly constitutes a distinctive aspect of this fragment, although the high number does not make it possible to establish any rule about the scribal practice of the *scriptio defectiva* and *scriptio plena*, apart from the inconsistency of the scribe. The same observation was noted regarding the corpus of early Arabic papyri, about which Hopkins commented that '*scriptio defectiva* of medial *ā*, restricted for the most part to nominal forms, is extraordinarily frequent in early papyri, where it alternates freely with *scriptio plena*'.[24] The only rule that it seems possible to extract from the observation of the scribal habits in writing a long /ā/ by means of *alif* is the uncertainty of both the first hand and the later hand and the lack of a standard. As regards the first hand, it seems that he was hesitant in writing a single letter block unit ending by *alif,* in that he removed the pen from the parchment. In fact, it has been possible to observe such an interruption in the writing process precisely in relation to the letter *alif,* e.g. in *qālū* of Q.21:53 (BnF328c, f.80v, l.16) and Q.21:59 (BnF328c, f.80v, l.23) and in *qāla* of Q.21:63 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.3) thus showing the doubts of the scribe in writing such a verb in its *scriptio defectiva* or its *scriptio plena.* Moreover, the later hand has amended the verb *qāla* inserting *alif* twelve times out of sixty-five occurrences of its *scriptio defectiva* which means in nineteen percent of the cases. In addition, in Q.10:101 (BnF328c, 73r, l.20) the later hand has corrected *qāf-lām,* which expresses the imperative at the beginning of the verse, probably presuming that it was the *scriptio defectiva* of *qāla*. However, he became aware of his misunderstanding, later amending

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[24] *Ibid.,* §10.

the modified word as the imperative *qul.*[25]

Furthermore, the fragment contains three rare[26] examples of *scriptio defectiva* of long vowel /ī/, namely in the infinitive verb form II *(wa-)taḏkirī* against the standard *(wa-)taḏkīrī* of Q.10:71 (BnF328c, f.72r, l.16), in the noun *sabil* against *sabīl* in Q.10:89 (BnF328c, f.72v, l.24) and in the active participle form IV of the verb *ajwaf al-muqimī* against *al-muqīmī* in Q.22:35 (BnF328c, f.84r, l.16). The orthography of *tafʿīl* without *yāʾ* is confirmed by the situation of early Arabic papyri.[27] The case of *nuḏūra-hum* in Q.22:29 (BnF328c, f.84r, l.2) spelled without *wāw* and immediately amended by the first hand could be a mechanical error in copying.

Besides the representative *scriptio defectiva*, the PaB fragment shows a few cases of *scriptio plena* by means of *alif* inserted in *awwāhun* in Q.11:75 (BnF328c, f.76v, l.8), in the final ending of the feminine plural *-āt* in *jannātin* of Q.22:14 (BnF328c, f.83r, l.17) and Q.23:19 (BnF328c, f.86v, l.11), in *jannāti* in Q.22:56 (BnF328c, f.85r, l.15). Moreover the spelling of long /ā/ by means of *wāw* as well as by *alif*[28] distinguishes the word *al-zakāt* and *al-ṣalāt* as in early papyri,[29] however the spelling featured in Q.22:78 (BnF328c, 86r, l.13) الركوا suggests the need to mark long /ā/ by *alif* after *wāw* thus omitting final *tāʾ marbūṭa,* which could mean that the copyist has used both ways or that the aim of *wāw* was not to mark long /ā/. If *wāw* denotes the articulation of /a/ pronounced as /o/,[30] the *wāw-alif* in BnF328c, f.86r, l.13 could mark this pronunciation. On the other hand, the plural *al-ṣalāti-him* has been written a few lines

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[25] It is worth mentioning the inevitable limits encountered in such research of a rule in the use of *scriptio defectiva,* firstly in consequence of the text/edition that is used as a reference, see for example the text used by Smith Lewis and Mingana as above mentioned. Secondly, the comprehension of the variants does not often consider the non-objective elements 'outside the text, but inside the page' (Fiormonte, 'Varianti digitali') due to a common carelessness about the visual aspect of the text, thus ignoring mechanism such as, for example, the script (i.e. orthography) adapted to the space of the page.

[26] The corpus of papyri in Hopkins reads a single example, see Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §14a.

[27] *Ibid.*, §71c; Blau, Joshua. *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic.* Jerusalem, The Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation - The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002, §39.

[28] Nöldeke, *History*, III, p. 41; Fleisch, Henri. *Traité de philology arabe. Vol.I. Préliminaires, phonétique, morphologie nominale and Vol. II. Pronoms, morphologie verbale, particules.* Bayreuth, Dar el-Machreq éditeurs, 1990, §45c.

[29] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §13.

[30] Fleisch, *Traité de philology*, §45c.

afterwards without *alif* in Q.23:2 (BnF328c, f.86r, l.17).

Lastly, it should be noted that the manuscript reads احتبه against the standard اجَّبَٰهُ, showing the *scriptio plena* of the final long vowel /ā/ by means of *yā'* in the verb *nāqiṣ* form VIII *ijtabā* followed by the suffix *–hu* in Q.20:122 (BnF328c, f.78v, l.7) being *yā'* of the *alif maqṣūra* preserved before the suffix as it has been observed in the early Arabic papyri,[31] although it is only an occasional phenomenon, thus explaining the *alif maqṣūra* spelled with *alif* in Q.22:37 (BnF328c, f.84r, l.24) despite the suffix *–kum* in *hadā-kum.* Furthermore, the frequent phenomenon of *alif maqṣūra* spelled with *alif*[32] has a few examples in the PaB leaves in Q.22:2 (BnF328c, f.82v, l.14) exhibiting *sukārā* and *bi- sukārā* spelled with *alif* and the inverse phenomenon showing *bi-liqā'in* in Q.10:45 (BnF328c, f.71r, l.20) spelled with *alif maqṣūra* against *alif.*[33]

After having considered the orthographic and phonetic circumstances mainly related to *scriptio defectiva* and *scriptio plena* also involving *imāla*, four other aspects can be observed in this fragment, namely the absence of *alif fāṣila* in *ra'awū* of Q.10:54 (BnF328c, f.71v, l.10),[34] the orthography of *ḏū* spelled with final *alif* against the text of the Medina muṣḥaf which does not read *alif* in *la-ḏū* in Q.10:60 (BnF328c, f.71v, l.19),[35] the absence of *lām* at the beginning of a word after the *lām* of the prefixed article[36] in Q.21:55 (BnF328c, f.80v, l.19), which has been immediately amended by the first hand, and lastly, the spelling of two separate elements without assimilation, as it is in the Medina muṣḥaf form, in which they are written as a

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[31] 'The *yā'* of *alif maqṣūra* is occasionally preserved before pronominal suffixes' as Hopkins stated (Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §12f), commenting that the phenomenon of *imāla* could be partially contributing to this orthography (note 6).

[32] *Ibid.*, §12.

[33] *Ibid.,*.

[34] *Ibid.*, §50.

[35] See Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 152.

[36] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §52a.

single element,[37] namely *fī-mā* in Q.10:93 (BnF328c, f.73r, l.8), *min-mā* in Q.23:21 (BnF328c, f.86v, l.15) and *an-lā* in Q.21:87 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.18). The assimilation is also avoided in the orthography of the first plural person of the verb *najā*, i.e. *nunjī* in Q.21:88 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.20) and probably in the denticle added in the last letter block *nūn-kāf* by the later hand in Q.20.16 (Min1572, f.1v, l.4), *yaṣuddanna-ka*.

3.1.1.1.4. Morphological variants

Besides the large number of distinctive features related to the orthography and phonetics of early Arabic that are observable in MS PaB, its analysis also discloses a few traits related to the linguistic competence of the scribe in charge of copying this portion of Qur'ānic text in terms of morphology and syntax. The fact that in some cases the early papyri have similar characteristics does not make it possible to label all the variants of the manuscript text as variants of the text, but it could be preferable to explain them as variants of the scribe as a result of the interference of two linguistic systems. Thus, for example, if the supersession of the *casus rectus* by the *obliquus* is one of the peculiarities of the corpus of early Arabic papyri, the variant *al-mujrimīna* against *al-mujrimūna* in Q.10:50 should be interpreted as neither a lexical variant of the text of MS PaB considering *al-mujrimīna* the object rather than the subject of *yastaʿjilu* nor an error of the scribe in 'If His Chastisement comes upon you by night or day, what part of it will the sinners seek to hasten?'[38]

Thus this manuscript reveals a few variants pertaining to morphology, amongst which some are explicable in terms of the characteristics of early Arabic grammar, connected firstly to the absence of mood distinction and secondly to the absence of case distinction,

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[37] *Ibid.*, §51b, mentioning the inverse phenomenon.
[38] Translation of Arberry, Arthur John. *The Koran interpreted.* New York, Touchstone, 1955. Its translation is abbreviated as Arb. in this research.

such as the following.

- Use of non-apocopate long forms in the jussive of verb *nāqiṣ* revealing the absence of mood distinctions, such as *ya'tī-him* against the Medina muṣḥaf *ya'ti-him* in Q.10:39 (BnF328c, f.71r, l.9) and *ta'tī-him* against the Medina muṣḥaf *ta'ti-him* in Q.20:133 (BnF328c, f.79r, l.4)[39] and in the jussive of verbs *ajwaf* as *(wa-)yazīd-kum* against the Medina muṣḥaf *(wa-)yazid-kum* in Q.11:52 (BnF328c, f.75v, l.17)[40]. Two of the three variants have not been amended.

- Use of short forms instead of long forms of verbs *nāqiṣ* being pseudo-corrections, such as *wa-āta-nī* against the Medina muṣḥaf *wa-ātā-nī* in Q.11:28 (BnF328c, f.74v, l.19).[41] This variant was amended by the later hand.

- Use of the hypercorrect form of the indicative instead of the subjunctive, revealing the absence of mood distinctions, such as *li-yastaḥfūna* against the Medina muṣḥaf *li-yastaḥfū* in Q.11:5 (BnF328c, f.73v, l.20) and *tasḥarūna* against the Medina muṣḥaf *tasḥarū* in Q.11:38 (BnF328c, f.75r, l.13).[42] Both variants were amended, probably by the first hand.

- Supersession of the *casus rectus* by the *obliquus* in the singular, dual and plural, mostly in the sound masculine plural, such as the above-mentioned sound masculine plural *al-mujrimīna* instead of the *casus rectus al-mujrimūna* in Q.10:50 (BnF328c, f.71v, l.4).[43] This variant was amended by the later hand.

Besides the absence of mood and case distinctions, these leaves display an instance of the

[39] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §82d.
[40] *Ibid.*, §81a.
[41] *Ibid.*, §82f.
[42] *Ibid.*, §65b and 138a.II.
[43] *Ibid.*, § 86a and 161 as regards the absence of a case system. See also Fedeli, Alba. 'Variants and substantiated qirā'āt: a few notes exploring their fluidity in the oldest Qur'ānic manuscripts' in Markus Groß and Karl-Heinz Ohlig, eds., *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II*. Berlin, Verlag Hans Schiler, 2012, pp. 403-440 (p.406 and foll.).

disappearance of the internal passive[44] in Q.21:13 (BnF328c, f.79v, l.4), bearing the first plural person of the active form IV followed by the suffixed pronoun *–hum*, i.e. *atrafna-hum* against the second plural person of the passive form IV *utriftum.* The variant has not been amended.

Moreover, the fragment has the peculiar form كانت in Q.20:125 (BnF328c, f.78v, l.13) against the standard *kuntu.* As the lexical variant *kānat* has no sense in this context, i.e. 'O my Lord, why hast thou raised me blind, and I was wont to see?' (Arb), it could be interpreted as a long form against the standard short form of the perfect of verb *ajwaf*,[45] although it has been amended by the later hand. Another particular form is the ending of the second person masculine plural of the indicative *tūʿadūna* spelled توعدس without *wāw* in Q.21:109 (BnF328c, f.82v, ll.5-6) and not changed.

In BnF328c (f.79r, l.18), there is the omission of *alif* in Q.21:5, where the Medina muṣḥaf reads *ursila.* The variant that has been amended by the first hand could be connected to the common use of form I of the verb instead of form IV observed in early papyri.[46] Similarly, the manuscript shows the use of form IV instead of the standard form II *ḥarriqū-hu* in Q.21:68 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.9) expressing the same meaning, but the variant was, nevertheless, amended, probably by the later hand. A further morphological variant that could be considered a mere lexical variant is the use of the preposition *fī* instead of *bi-* in Q.21:35 (BnF328c, f.80r, ll.11-12); however, the use of *fī* in place of *bi-* and the inverse situation

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[44] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §69.
[45] Hopkins mentioned this alternative long form/short form only for the jussive and imperative of verbs *ajwaf*, in *ibid.*, §81a. The form could be compared to the form of verbs *ajwaf* and final *hamza*, as *giʾtu* spelled جات, or *lastu* spelled ليست, see Fedeli, 'Variants and substantiated qirāʾāt', p. 411 and Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §156b.
[46] *Ibid.*, §70.

observed in contemporary papyri[47] suggests one should consider this variant in the context of the morphologic characteristics of early Arabic grammar.

3.1.1.1.5. Syntactic variants

The analysis of the differences between the Medina muṣḥaf and the manuscript text reveals a rather important number of variants that concern the syntax of the text, namely:

– Use of the negative particle *wa-lam* against the standard *wa-lammā* in Q.10:39 (BnF328c, f.71r, l.9). Not amended.

– Use of the interrogative particle and the negation *lam* instead of the coordinating conjunction *am* in Q.11:13 (BnF328c, 74r, l.13) expressing a different nuance in the meaning from 'Or do they say?'(D)[48] to 'have not they said, though?' which has been corrected, probably immediately, by the first hand.

– Use of the prefixed interrogative particle before the apodosis, already mentioned before the protasis in Q.21:34 (BnF328c, f.80r, l.10) thus showing *a-fa-īn mitta a-fa-humu l-ḫālidūna* 'If you die, will they live forever?'(D); without any later correction.

– Use of the disjunctive *aw* instead of the coordinating *wa-* in Q.11:28 (BnF328c, f.74v, l.19) which reads 'If I (stand) on a clear sign from my Lord, and He has given me mercy from Himself' against the manuscript text as modified by the later hand 'or He has given me mercy from Himself' and the inverse phenomenon in Q.22:46 (BnF328c, f.84v, l.18) which reads the coordinating *wa-* instead of the Medina muṣḥaf reading of disjunctive *aw* in 'Do they have hearts to understand with or ears to hear

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[47] *Ibid.*, §109 and 124a.
[48] Translation of Droge, Arthur J. *The Qur'ān: a New Annotated Translation*. Sheffield, Equinox, 2013, abbreviated as D from here on.

with?'(D). The latter variant has not been corrected.

– Presence of the coordinating conjunction *wa-* in Q.11:43 (BnF328c, f.75r, l.22) and in Q.20:31 (Min1572, f.1v, l.15) which corresponds to the *qirā'a* of Ibn Mas'ūd.[49] Both variants have probably been erased by the later hand.

– Absence of the coordinating conjunction *wa-* in Q.21:39 (BnF328c, f.80r, l.19), in Q.21:111 (BnF328c, f.82v, l.7) and in Q.22:7 (BnF328c, f.83r, l.3), amended immediately by the first hand in the first two cases and by the later hand in the third occurrence.

– Addition of the preposition *bi-* to the relative *mā* in Q.20:133 (BnF328c, f.79r, l.4) reading *bayyinatu bi-mā fī-l-ṣuḥufi* which clearly expresses the implied *bi-* in 'a clear sign (of) what was in the former pages' (D).

– Use of the preposition *bi-* in Q.11:71 (BnF328c, f.76v, l.2) to introduce the object, also showing a different subject, in *fa-baššara bi-hā* instead of *fa-baššarnā-hā,* thus reading 'and so He gave her the good news of Isaac' against 'and so We gave her the good news of Isaac' (D), if this is not a mere mistake in placing diacritical strokes, as this seems relatively frequent in the scribal activity of this copyist.

– Absence of the relative *man* in Q.22:4 (BnF328c, f.82v, l.17) where the Medina *muṣḥaf* reads *kutiba 'alay-hi anna-hu man tawallā-hu,* that is, 'that he who takes him as an ally' (D) against 'that he takes him as an ally', which has not been amended.

– Absence of the pronoun *huwa* in Q.22:11(BnF328c, f.83r, l.12) which has *ḏālika huwa al-ḫusrānu* in the Medina *muṣḥaf*, i.e. 'That – it is the clearest loss!'(D).

– Use of the relative *man* followed by a singular form rather than a plural one, as in the Medina *muṣḥaf* in Q.21:82 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.9), i.e. '(there were) those who dived for him' (D) against '(there was) one who dived for him'.

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[49] See section below on substantiated *qirā'āt*.

- Correspondence in the dual number between the noun and the connected possessive in Q.22:19 (BnF328c, f.83v, l.6). Here the Medina muṣḥaf reads *hāḏāni ḫaṣmāni iḫtaṣamū fī rabbi-him*, i.e. 'these two disputants dispute about their Lord' (D), whereas the scribe has modified the text in order to agree the verb and the possessive with the dual *hāḏāni ḫaṣmāni* written in its *scriptio defectiva*, thus having *iḫtaṣamā fī rabbi-himā*.[50]

- Correspondence in the feminine or masculine gender between the verb, the noun and its pronoun in Q.11:42 (BnF328c, f.75r, l.20), although the pronoun is uncertain as it has been amended in order to read *wa-hiya* in *wa-hiya tajrī* referred to *al-fulk,* 'the Ark', instead of his first writing *wa-huwa tajri*, even if the sequence of the writing process is not clear.

- Absence of *allahu* expressing the subject as has been previously nominated in Q.22:52 (BnF328c, f.85r, l.6), although the manuscript text is unclear due to the change of the sentence.

- Absence of a case system in Q.10:50 (BnF328c, 71v, l.10), above-mentioned as bearing *al-mujrimīna* in place of *al-mujrimūna*, in Q.10:50 (BnF328c, f.71v, l.4); in Q.11:68 (BnF328c, f.76r, l.22) the name of the tribal group *Ṯamūd* without final *alif* in its accusative form;[51] in Q.21:69 (BnF328c, f.81r, ll.10-11) *wa-salām^{an}* without *tanwīn alif.* The plural ending *–īna* has been modified by the later hand, whereas the nouns without final *alif* have not been changed.

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[50] The verb in its dual form corresponds to a *qirā'a* (see section on substantiated qirā'āt), whereas the possessive *–huma* is a choice of the scribe, even if he was hesitant in writing *alif* after *mīm*. See section on corrections. It is worth noting that MS PeB also shows such attempts to create agreement between dual nouns and verbs (see Section 3.2).

[51] *Tanwīn alif* is missing see Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §165; but as the name of the tribal group is diptote (see also Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p.178), it could be a correction made by the copyist against the exemplar he was copying.

These syntactic variants affect the text in its nuances without changing the meaning, as happens in a few other cases of lexical variants.

3.1.1.2. LEXICAL VARIANTS

The lexical variants mainly concern the verb's subject being marked by different diacritical marks, thus expressing a different recipient or a different voice of the message. Within this category, the variants are not related to the interference of two linguistic systems through the competence of the scribe and his aim of ameliorating and updating the text, but to the interference of two points of view. Thus the manuscripts show differences related to the variant between:

– We and He: in Q.10:45 the manuscript (BnF328c, f.71r, l.18) reads *naḥšuru-hum* 'We will gather them' because of the different diacritics, whereas the Medina muṣḥaf reads *yaḥšuru-hum* 'He will gather them'. The reading based on the diacritic for marking *nūn* corresponds to a reading reported by the Islamic tradition.[52] Moreover, in Q.20:133 (BnF328c, f.79r, l.3) the manuscript reads *law-lā naʾtī-na* 'why do we not bring us?' instead of *law-lā yaʾtī-na* 'why does he not bring us?' Although the variant replacing the third singular person with the first plural person is quite frequent in the manuscript tradition, in this case the first plural person seems to be unusual, due to the suffixed pronoun also referring to the first plural person. Variants not amended.

– You (plural person) and they. In Q.10:46 the fragment (BnF328c, f.71r, l.22) reads *tafʿalūna* 'you do' because of the diacritics marking the initial *tāʾ* instead of the

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[52] See section below.

Medina muṣḥaf *yafʿalūna* 'they do', and in Q.20:110 (BnF328c, f.78r, l.14) *wa-lā tuḥīṭūna* 'and you do not encompass' instead of the standard *wa-lā yuḥīṭūna* 'and they do not encompass'. Moreover, the manuscript reads two variants corresponding to readings transmitted by the Islamic tradition in Q.10:58 (BnF328c, f.71v, l.16) which exhibit *tajmaʿūna* 'you accumulate' instead of *yajmaʿūna* 'they accumulate' and the reading in Q.10:66 (BnF328c, f.72r, l.6), i.e. *tadʿūna* 'you invoke' instead of *yadʿūna* 'they invoke'. None of these variants have been amended.

– We and you (singular person). In Q.10:106 (BnF328c, f.73v, l.4) there is the reading *wa-lā nadʿu* 'and let us not invoke' instead of *wa-lā tadʿu* 'and do not invoke'. Not amended.

– You (singular person) and He. Q.18:26 reads *wa-lā tušriku* or *wa-lā tušrik* 'and you do not share' or 'and do not share' instead of *wa-lā yušriku* 'and He shares'. Not amended.

– You (singular person) and you (plural person). In Q.21:65 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.6), the first hand has written *ʿalimtum* 'you (plur) know' instead of the singular form *ʿalimta*. Variant amended, probably by the later hand.

Moreover, two further examples affect the verb's subject through a different position or number of diacritics, even if they could be considered as concerning the morphology and syntax of the text. The first example has been mentioned above in the morphological variant section, i.e. *atrafna-hum* 'we gave them luxury' in Q.21:13 (BnF328c, f.79v, l.4) instead of *utriftum* 'you were given luxury'. It is worth noting that the variant has not been amended despite the fact that it affects the consonantal skeleton of the word and not only the diacritical marks. The second case is the variant also recorded by the Islamic tradition, which has been, nevertheless, not changed. In fact in Q.23:21, the manuscript (BnF328c,

f.86v, l.14) shows the feminine *tasqī-kum* 'they (i.e. the cattle) give you drink' instead of the first plural person *nusqī-kum* 'we give you drink', i.e. form IV imperfect verb.[53] The latter variant also concerns the morphology as regards the use of form I and form IV and has not been changed.

Lastly, a singular case is the lexical variant of the enigmatic name of the sacred valley of Ṭuwā in Q.20:12, in that the manuscript (Min1572, f.1r, l.23) reads a participle form rather than a proper name and this corresponds to a variant transmitted in the commentaries.[54] The variant has been changed, probably by the later hand.

3.1.1.3. MECHANICAL ERRORS

The mechanical errors featured in the manuscript seem to have been immediately amended by the first hand during his writing and mental activities in copying the exemplar, so that he stopped writing, thus correcting his reading *in scribendo*. This is the case in Q.11:41 (BnF328c, f.75r, l.19) where the scribe wrote *mursā-hā* as the first element of the text of the Medina muṣḥaf *majrā-hā wa-mursā-hā* due to a transposition of the word order. However, he did not write the second element *wa-majrā-hā* and suspended his script to amend the error *in scribendo*. The second example is the haplography in Q.20:135 (BnF328c, f.79r, l.7), where *kul* has been omitted in the sequence *qul kul,* probably due to *homoioteleuton* of the two elements, although later inserted by the first hand. Lastly, it is probable that the correction of *li-furūji-him* in Q.23:5 (Pa f.86r, l.19) is due to a mechanical error in writing the *mater lectionis wāw* in the wrong position, i.e. after *jīm* rather than after *rā'*, but the first hand

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[53] The form I 'to give s.o. drink' is used in Q.26:79 and 76:21.
[54] See section below.

cancelled *jīm in scribendo* and rewrote it after *wāw*.

Moreover, there are a few variants showing consonantal change by reading a homograph in different ways according to the position and number of the diacritics.[55] However, as these different readings often seem to have no sense, it is possible that they are mere mistakes by the scribe in his activity of copying. If it is presumable that he was copying from a written exemplar and checking it, these could be considered as mechanical errors during the transmission from the exemplar and its memorized text to his copy. Thus we find:

- alternation final b>t in Q.11:39 (BnF328c, f.75r, l.15) *'aḏāb*, spelled by the scribe with *scriptio defectiva* and in Q.11:101 (BnF328c, f.77v, l.10) *tatbīb*;

- alternation n>b in Q.11:71 (BnF328c, f.76v, l.2), *fa-baššarnā-hā*, unless we read the syntactic variant *fa-baššara bi-hā* as the word is spelled without *alif* marking /ā/;

- alternation b>n in Q.21:77 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.24) *kaḏḏabū*;

- alternation n>t in Q.18:30 (Min1572, f.7v, l.19) *amanū*;

- alternation t>n in Q.20 :16 (Min1572 f.1v, l.4) *wa-ttaba'a* unless it is a lexical variant reading *anba'a*, i.e. 'to cause, to flow out' and in Q.21:20 (BnF328c, f.79v, l.13), *yafturūna*;

- alternation y>t (probably reversed order) in Q.21:73 (BnF328c, f.81r, l.17), *(wa-)ītā'*: the scribe has placed the diacritical strokes marking *tā'* above the first denticle of *yā'* rather than above the second one in the verbal noun of form IV;

- alternation ṣ>ḍ in Q.23:20 (BnF328c, f.86v, l.13) *wa-ṣibġin*;

- metathesis b>n in Q.21:90 (BnF328c, f.81v, l.22) *fa-stajab-nā* with the reversed order of the diacritics above the final two denticles, i.e. *fa-stajan-bā* which is likely to be a

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[55] The category of Alternation is proposed in Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p. 172.

mechanical error.

In two cases, the scribe has furnished a denticle with diacritics placed in two positions, thus using the system for marking two alternative readings. However, the fact that this system was applied only in later Qur'ānic manuscripts and that the alternative reading expresses a non-sense suggests that the additional diacritics are a mistake, i.e. in Q.22:11 (BnF328c, f.83r, l.11) *fitnatun* and the coexistent reading *bā'* in place of *nūn* thus having *fitbatun* and in Q.22:68 (BnF328c, f.85v, l.13) *ta'malūna* and the concurrent reading *bā'* instead of *tā'* expressing the pronoun of the imperfect.

In particular, the different reading of a homograph due to reverse order inside a word could be interpreted as a mechanical error in placing diacritics, although the incomplete presence of diacritics does not allow a mechanical error of metathesis to be conjectured with certainty. Thus the manuscript features alternation y>t (or metathesis) in Q.20:23 (Min1572 f.1v, l.11), i.e. *ayāti-nā* spelled with *scriptio defectiva.*

Lastly, the text also presents unclear and illegible variants, mainly due to the fact that later additions have almost completely covered the first writing and later erasures have deleted it quite perfectly so that no trace is still visible. Their occurrences are listed below:

- Q.10:88 (BnF328c, f.72v, l.22): the correction probably made by the later hand hides the writing of the first hand, but it seems likely to conjecture a lexical variant related to *ṭamana* and *ṭa'mana* or a mechanical error in copying the text;

- Q.11:8 (BnF328c, f.74r, l.4): the erased letters after *'an-* and replaced by *–um* in *'an-hum* are illegible;

- Q.20:16 (Min1572 f.1v, l.4): the erased first letter block was later changed, thus corresponding to the text of the Medina muṣḥaf *yaṣuddanna-ka* is illegible;

- Q.21:41 (BnF328c, f.80r, l.22): the first hand seems to have rewritten *fa-ḥāqa* in its *scriptio defectiva,* performing the tail of final *qāf* slightly differently from his habit;

- Q.21:83 (BnF328c, f.21:83): the first hand has replaced *nādā rabba-hu,* retracing the tail of *alif maqṣūra* with its vertical descender rather than with the horizontal one in its retroflexed shape as it was the original shape;

- Q.21:104 (BnF328c, f.82r, l.21): the change to *al-samā'* made by the first hand could be due to a mechanical error during the copying process, in that the scribe forgot to write *mīm,* then he stopped writing for adjusting the word *in scribendo;*

- Q.22:58 (BnF328c, f.85r, l.18) the beginning of the expression *ṯumma qutilū* has been immediately adjusted by the first hand *in scribendo,* before finishing the second word. In fact, the *mīm* after the first denticle has been adapted to the previous *wāw,* whose tail has been erased like the trait before *qāf;*

- Q.22:75 (BnF328c, 86r, l.4) has an unclear reading that could be the *scriptio defectiva* of *al-nāsi* immediately amended and modified by the first hand.
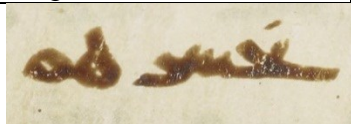
3.1.2. The variants of the Islamic Tradition: substantiated *qirā'āt* in MS PaB

3.1.2.1. VARIANTS IN THE TEXT

In eight occurrences, the manuscript reads variants against the text of the Medina muṣḥaf that correspond to a few *qirā'āt* transmitted by the Islamic tradition. Among them, five instances can be labelled as lexical variants which concern the prefixed pronoun in the imperfect form of verbs, as marked by diacritical strokes in different positions and numbers. However, the different diacritics do not only affect the subjects of verbs, i.e.
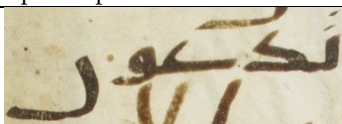
Q.10:45 and 10:58, but also the syntactic structure of the sentence, as in Q.10:66, 18:26 and 23:21. None of these variants related to different subject pronouns have been amended by the first or later hand. Besides these, three *qirā'āt* have been changed in order to match the text of the Medina *muṣḥaf*, namely the variant of the name of the enigmatic valley of Moses attributed to 'Īsā b. 'Umar and Ḍaḥḥāk;[56] the syntactic variant by means of adding *wa-* before the beginning of Q.20:31; and the morphologic variant in Q.22:19 which agrees the dual number of verb and subject in *ḥaṣmāni iḥtaṣamū*. The substantiated *qirā'āt* are the following.[57]

āya	Medina muṣḥaf	manuscript witness	manuscript image	manuscript text	typology	change
Q.10:45	يَحْشُرُهُم	BnF328c f.71r, l.18		نحسرهم	Lexical variant He/We	N
	Source Ibn Mujāhid *K. al-Sab'a* p.327	قوله: (وَيَوْمَ يَحْشُرُهُمْ) كلهم قرأ: (وَيَوْمَ نَحْشُرُهُمْ) بالنُون، غير عاصم، فإن حفصًا روى عنه (وَيَوْمَ يَحْشُرُهُمْ) بالياء.			Impf. y>n	
		Only 'Āṣim and Ḥafṣ read the third singular *yaḥšuru-hum* 'He shall gather them together' whereas all of the others read the first plural person *naḥšuru-hum* 'We shall gather them together'.				
Q.10:58	يَجْمَعُونَ	BnF328c f.71v, l.16		تجمعون	Lexical variant He/We	N
	Source Ibn Mujāhid *K. al-Sab'a* pp.327-328	قوله: (فَلْيَفْرَحُوا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِّمَّا يَجْمَعُونَ) كلهم قرأ: (يجْمَعُونَ) بالياء، غير ابن عامر، فإنه قرأ: (خَيْرٌ مِّمَّا تَجْمَعُونَ) بالتاء. ولم يُذْكَرْ عنه في: (لَيَفْرَحُوا)			Impf. y>t	

				شىء. هذه رواية ابن ذكوان وهشام جميعاً.		
				Ibn 'Āmir reads the second plural person *tajma'ūna* 'you accumulate' instead of the third plural *yajma'ūna* 'they accumulate'. However there is no report on the previous verb in its third plural person.		
Q.10:66	يَدعونَ	BnF328c f.72r, l.6		تدعون	Lexical /syntactic variant They/You	N
	Source al-Zamaḫšarī *al-Kaššāf* III,pp.157-158		وقرأ علي بن أبي طالب – رضي الله عنه -: "تدعون"، بالتاء، ووجهه أن يحمل: (وما يتبع) على الاستفهام، أي: وأي شيء يتبع الذين تدعونهم شركاء من الملائكة والنبيين، يعني: أنهم يتبعون الله ويطيعونه	Impf. y>t	
			'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib reads the second plural person *tad'ūna* 'What do they follow those whom you invoke as His partners other than Allah?', i.e. 'they follow Allah and obey him' whereas the others read the third plural person *yad'ūna* 'What do they follow who worship as His partners other than Allah?' (Y.Ali)		
Q.18:26	يُشرِكُ	Bham1572a f.7r,l.7		تسرك	Lexical (+syntactic) variant They/You	N
	Source Ibn Mujāhid *K. al-Sab'a* p.390		قوله: (وَلَا يُشْرِكُ فِى حُكْمِهِ أَحَدًا) كلهم قرأوا: (وَلَا يُشْرِكُ) بالياءِ والرفع، غير ابن عامر، فإنه قرأ: (وَلَا تُشْرِكْ) بالتاء جزماً.	Impf. y>t	
	Source al-Bannā' *Itḥāf*		واختلف في (ولا يشرك في حكمه): فإبن عامر بالتاء على الخطاب، وجزم الكاف، على النهي، وافقه المطوعي، والحسن. والباقون بالغيب، ورفع الكاف، على الخبر		
			Ibn 'Āmir reads the second singular person of the jussive *wa-lā tušrik* 'and do associate in His government no one' whereas the text of the Medina muṣḥaf reads the third singular person of the indicative *wa-lā yušriku* 'and He associates in his government no one' (Arb).		
Q.20:12	طُوًى	Bham1572a f.1r,l.23		طاوى	Lexical (+morphologic) variant	Y
	Source Ibn Ḫālawayhi		طاوِيْ اذهب عيسى بن عمرو والضحاك	long vwl (-ā) + deriv	

	I'rāb p.258					
		'Īsā b. 'Umar and Ḍaḥḥāk read *ṭāwī* 'go!'				
Q.20:31	اشدُد	Bham1572a f.1v,l.15		واسدد	Syntactic variant: addition of wa-	Y
	Source al-Zamaḫšarī *al-Kaššāf* IV,p.80	وفي مصحف ابن مسعود: "أخي واشدد"			ḥarf (+w)	
		In the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd there is *wa-šdud*, i.e. 'and (by him) confirm (my strength)' (Arb) instead of the text of the Medina muṣḥaf ušdud without the particle 'and'.				
Q.22:19	اختَصَموا	BnF328c f.83v,l.5		احتصما	Morphologic variant: dual/plur	Y
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī *al-Baḥr* VI,p.334	وقرأ ابن أبي عبلة (اختصما) راعى لفظ التثنية، ثم...			Perf ū>ā	
		Ibn Abī 'Abla reads the dual person of the perfect *iḫtaṣamā* instead of the plural *iḫtaṣamū* after *hāḏāni ḫaṣmāni* in the Medina muṣḥaf, i.e. 'these are two disputant who have disputed concerning their Lord' (Arb). The *qirā'a* of Ibn Abī 'Abla does not interest the suffixed plural pronoun after Lord, i.e. 'their Lord' which is in the dual form in the manuscript, although it has been amended as the verb.				
Q.23:21	نُسقيكُم	BnF328c f.86v,l.14		تسقيكم	Lexical (+syntactic) variant: hiya(they)/ we	N
	Source al-Bannā' *Itḥāf*	وقرأ (نسقيكم) بالنون المفتوحة، نافع، وابن عامر، وأبو بكر، ويعقوب. وقرأ أبو جعفر بالتاء من فوق، مفتوحة على التأنيث. والباقون بالنون المضمومة، وسبق توجيه ذلك بالنحل.			Impf. n>t	
		Abū Ja'far reads the third feminine person of the imperfect in its form I, i.e. the prefix *tā'* of the feminine is furnished with /a/ in *tasqī-kum* 'they (i.e. the cattle) give you drink', whereas the rest of the readers read the first plural person of imperfect of form IV, i.e. *nusqī-kum* 'we give you drink' except those who read *nusqī-kum*, i.e. Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, Abū Bakr and Ya'qūb.				

Moreover, the manuscript exhibits a few variants characterized by the absence of *alif* whereas the Medina muṣḥaf presents it to mark the *scriptio plena* of long /ā/, although the relationship between the two words is not merely *scriptio defectiva* and *scriptio plena*, but a different scheme, as the Islamic tradition reports for these instances, i.e. in Q.21:4 the Medina muṣḥaf has *qāla* in place of the reading *qul* of Ibn Kaṯir and other readers; in Q.22:23 *asāwira* in the Medina muṣḥaf, whereas Ibn ʿAbbās reads *aswara* and Q.22:36 *al-qāniʿa* beside the reading *al-qaniʿa* by Abū Rajāʾ. However, it is likely that the words without *alif* featured in the manuscript are the *scriptio defectiva* of *qāla*, *asāwira* and *al-qāniʿa* according to the common habit of the copyist. Lastly, the variant of *nunjī* in Q.21:88 is likely to be considered an orthographic variant of the text of the Medina muṣḥaf rather than the reading *nunajjī* of al-Juḥdarī, as the copyist has shown a tendency to avoid assimilation throughout his work.[58]

3.1.2.2. VARIANTS IN THE SUBDIVISION OF THE TEXT: VERSE NUMBERING SYSTEM[59]

The first hand marked the ends of verses by tracing cluster of thin strokes, as above mentioned, whereas the later hand reinked some of the most faded strokes. The instances of still visible traces of these pale and thin strokes partially covered by the elongated dots in black ink lead to the conjecture that the purpose of the later hand was merely to improve the clarity of the subdivision into verses. A further element in favour of this hypothesis is the fact that although the black circles added to indicate a group of ten verses, i.e. *ʿawāšir*, do not agree with the counting system used by the first hand, the later hand did not erase these previous strokes. This implies that he was not correcting them, but writing down his

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[58] See Section 3.1.1.1.3 on the orthographic variants.
[59] Déroche has already observed a detail about the extra marker of end of verse inside Q.23:20 as well as the fact that the copyist of MS PaB has marked the end of the *basmala* except in Q.11, see Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, pp.136-137.

notes, thus he ignored such devices in indicating ten verses between the beginning of Q.20 and Q.20:11 and between Q.20:21 and Q.20:30, as they have been marked by the first hand.[60]

Thus, assuming that the separators of verses are the result of the first hand's work, it is possible to observe that in a few cases he has used a unique counting system that does not match any of the other systems recorded by the Islamic tradition, in particular in *al-Bayān fī ‘add āy al-Qur'ān* by al-Dānī, whereas in other instances the counting system agrees with the data of the other counting systems. It seems preferable to adapt the counting system featured in the manuscript to the structure used by Spitaler in his *Die Verszählung des Koran*[61] in order to have a common instrument of comparison, imitating the example of Déroche in his analysis of the codex Parisino-petropolitanus.[62] The counting system of the manuscript is illustrated in Table 3.1.a, in comparison with the systems transmitted by the Islamic tradition,[63] highlighting the points of agreement and the divergences among manuscript and tradition.

The comparison with the counting systems shows that MS PaB has a mixed counting type, in that it agrees twelve times respectively with the systems of Kūfa, Baṣra and Mecca, fifteen times with the Medina system and nineteen times with the Syrian system (with a preference for Ḥimṣ at a few points). However, in fifteen places the first hand has marked a

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[60] In MS PaB the two systems, i.e. marking the end of each verse and counting ten verses, are independent, as they are in MS PeB, see below.

[61] Spitaler, Anton. *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung 1935, no. 11.

[62] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, p. 81.

[63] As in Spitaler, K=Kūfa, B=Baṣra, D=Damascus; H= Ḥimṣ, whereas S, i.e. al-Šāmī= both Damascus and Ḥimṣ if they agree in counting; M=Mecca and lastly Md=Medina, I=Medina the first and II=Medina the second. The column MS PaB indicated the manuscript Parisino-birminghamiensis. The points of agreement between the manuscript and the traditions are highlighted in green, whereas the instances in which the manuscript features a unique system are highlighted in orange. Furthermore the *‘awāšir* added by the later hand are indicated in red. When the sūra is incomplete, the lacunae are marked and the presence of the end of a verse is expressed by a tick and its absence by a zero. In the last column on the right the text of *al-Bayān fī ‘add āy al-Qur'ān* by al-Dānī is reported (al-Dānī, Abū ‘Amr ‘Uṯmān b. Sa‘īd. *al-Bayān fī ‘add āy al-Qur'ān*, (ed. Ġānim Qaddūrī al- Ḥamad). Kuwait, Markaz al-Maḫṭūṭāt wa-l-Turāṯ wa-l-Waṯā'iq, 1994). If the details of the numbering system of the tradition are based upon the work of Spitaler, a note has been added.

singular reading. As regards the later hand, he also shows a mixed type, not characterized by a unique system in counting a group of ten verses. In fact, he agrees with Ḥimṣ except in counting ten verses inside Q.20:123, after *hudā*.

3.1.3. Analysis of the text: the corrections[64]

In listing the categories of variants featured in the manuscript in the above section, it has been observed in a few instances that some of them have been amended by the first scribe himself or by the later hand. Furthermore, the first hand has occasionally corrected some words *in scribendo.* This aspect of the writing and correcting process seems to make the hypothesis quite likely that the first hand was transcribing neither by dictation nor by memory. The corrections are listed in Table 3.1.b, except the cases of the amended *qirā'āt* that have been already mentioned.

As the intervention of the later hand in adding the ten-verse group mark concerns only sūra Ṭā-Hā, despite its being incomplete and scattered across two institutions, thus implying the idea of unity of work during these amendment stages, it seems preferable to describe the corrections organized by *sūra.*

Corrections in sūra Yūnus

In Q.10 only the later hand (C1) has realized a few amendments through the text, erasing some letters and adding letters in black ink. He has mainly corrected the *scriptio defectiva* of

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[64] Corrections are listed considering the *sūra* as a single unit, as the observations about the mark of a ten-verse group in Q.20 suggest, despite its being incomplete and scattered across two institutions.

qāla in Q.10:79, 80, 84, 88 and 90; the *scriptio defectiva* of *la-ʿālin* in Q.10:83; the morphological variant of the *casus rectus* in Q.10:50 which bears a trace of the ending of the *casus obliquus* and the correction of the unclear variant of *iṭmis* in Q.10:88. Lexical variants expressing different a voice or recipient of the message have not been changed.

Moreover, in Q.10:101, C1 has corrected *qāf-lām* which expresses the imperative at the beginning of the verse, probably presuming that it was the *scriptio defectiva* of *qāla*, thus adding *alif.* When he realized the misunderstood word, he corrected the wrongly modified word to read the imperative *qul.* This double correction reveals the hesitancy of the later hand in writing the verb *qāla* properly, and also in understanding the difference between *qul* and *qāla.*

Corrections in sūra Hūd

Amongst the seventeen corrections, the first hand (C*) seems to have amended six words by erasing and adding letters in brown ink, whereas C1 has adjusted probably eleven of them using black ink. The corrections realized by C1 seem mainly to be intended to correct the *scriptio defectiva* of *qāla* and *qālū* in Q.11:28, 32, 33, 43, 63 and 73; the *scriptio defectiva* of *mālan* in Q.11:29 and *ayyām* in Q.11:65. Furthermore, C1 corrected the short form of the verb *ʾātā* 'to give' which is likely to be a pseudo-correction[65] in Q.11:28 *wa-ʾātā-nī* by means of a small denticle inserted between *tāʾ* and *nūn* and then also added *alif* before *wāw,* thus representing a lexical and syntactic variant *ʾaw ʾātā-nī.* It is not clear who erased the *wāw* of *wa-qāla* in Q.11:43: the precise work in cancelling the letter seems to indicate the first hand, although the reshaping of the *scriptio defectiva* of *qāla* could suggest that the later hand decided to change this syntactic variant. Lastly, C1 has clearly corrected the illegible variant in Q.11:8.

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[65] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §82f.

Interestingly, in Q.11:77, C1 has corrected the *scriptio defectiva* of *qāla* in the *scriptio plena* of *qālū*, but has immediately erased the addition marking the plural, thus leaving the singular form *qāla*.

The interventions of C* are recognizable, as they are simultaneous to the first writing as regards the morphological variants in Q.11:5 and Q.11:38; the syntactical variant in Q.11:13; the mechanical errors in Q.11:41 and Q.11:42 and it is possible to identify his correction of the *scriptio defectiva* of *qāla* in Q.11:61 immediately after having traced the block letter *qāf-lām.* Thus, for example, he amended the transposition in Q.11:41 as he had probably memorized the text *majrā-hā wa-mursā-hā,* but then he was confused, in that he first wrote *mursā-hā.* He understood the mechanical error, so corrected it immediately by erasing and replacing part of the first word he had written, i.e. *mursā-hā* corrected in *majrā-hā.* Then he wrote the second word, i.e. *wa- mursā-hā.* This process of correcting the error during the writing process seems to presuppose that he was not writing by dictation, and the fact that he was able to stop before writing the second element *majrā-hā* suggests that he was probably checking a written exemplar, otherwise he would have probably written the entire expression *mursā-hā wa-majrā-hā* by transposition.

Corrections in sūra al-Kahf

This unit includes only corrections to letter shapes that have not been listed in the above correction table. The erasure and corrections have been made by C1, as the vertically extended tail of final *yā'* traced in black ink suggests. The fact that in Min1572, f.7v, ll.20-21 (Q.18:31) there are four traces of erasure seems not to point to the idea that the parchment is damaged in these points. The erasures are related to changes to the letter shapes, namely the long tail of initial *jīm* and initial *'ayn,* which C1 has shortened, whereas the extended tail

of retroflex *yā'* at the end of the word *tagrī* has been erased and corrected by C1 with its tail vertically extended.

Corrections in sūra Maryam

There are no corrections in this fragment of sūra Maryam except some diacritical strokes that have been reinked by a later hand in the same way as the rest of the manuscript.

Corrections in sūra Ṭā-Hā

In the Birmingham fragment there are erasures of letters marking a reading different from the text of the Medina muṣḥaf, i.e. the reading of 'Īsā b. 'Umar and Ḍaḥḥāk in Q.20:12 and the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd in Q.20:31, already mentioned. The erasures do not provide traces of their author, even if the precision used in this work is likely to suggest that the first hand has amended the variant readings, even if not simultaneously with the first writing.

In the Paris fragment, C* has amended the mechanical error in Q.20:135 due to the sequence of two words ending with the same consonant, i.e. *qul kul*, even if it is possible to argue that the correction in brown ink was not done immediately, as the omitted *kul* has been inserted above the writing line.

As regards C1, he altered the consonantal skeleton traced by the first hand, erasing and adding letters in black ink firstly in Q.20:108 where he erased the ortho-epic *alif* of *yawma'iḏin* whose aim was probably to help the reading of *fatḥa* before *hamza,* and then he traced a line to connect *mīm* to *yā'*. Secondly he erased the *alif* in the first singular person of *kāna*, then added a trait between *kāf* and *nūn*. It is conjecturable that the skeleton K'NT should be read as a morphological or orthographical[66] variant of the first singular person,

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[66] See previous section on morphological variants.

otherwise the first hand would have corrected this lexical variant, i.e. the third feminine singular person *kānat.*

As the morphological variant in Q.20:133 has been amended, cancelling the second denticle which expressed the long form of the jussive mood, it is not possible to ascertain if this is the result of the first hand's revision or a later hand's, even if the attention in erasing the denticle is characteristic of C*.

Corrections in sūra al-Anbiyā'

It seems that the corrections were performed mainly by C* except in one case, although the writing stage of some additions and erasures is uncertain. Thus in Q.21:65, C1 seems to have erased the final *mīm* of the plural *'alimtum* thus elongating the previous medial *tā'* using a darker ink so that it could appear as the final *tā'* of the singular *'alimta.*

As regards the first hand, he has corrected the morphological and syntactic variants. In fact he has added the omitted *alif* in Q.21:5, thus correcting the form *fa'ala* to *af'ala.* Moreover, in Q.21:35, it seems likely that C* wrote *fī* at the end of the line (Pa f.80r, l.11), but cancelled it *in scribendo,* thus changing the preposition before starting to write the following line. In fact, he immediately wrote the preposition *bi-* joined to the *alif,* thus completing the word at line 12. Otherwise the manuscript would have featured *alif-lām* of the article at the beginning of following line.

The unusual compressed distance between the letters in Q.21:39 suggest the later insertion of the omitted prefixed conjunction *wa-* in brown ink by the first hand. Furthermore, in Q.21:55 C* has amended the omission of one *lām* during the first writing of *al-lā'ibīna,* modifying the initial *alif* that turned to be the first *lām* and adding *alif.*

The erasure of *alif* in Q.21:68 reveals no trace about the hand who cancelled the ink, but the precision in achieving this work seems to suggest that the first hand amended the imperative in the form *'af'ala,* thus conforming the reading to the imperative in the form *fa''ala* as in the Medina muṣḥaf.

It is likely that the first hand amended the uncertain singular *yaġūṣu* into the plural *yaġūṣūna* in Q.21:82, as the added final *nūn* was traced in brown ink. Moving through uncertain readings, it seems that C* has amended *nādā rabba-hu* in Q.21:83 and *al-samā'a* in Q.21:104 although it is difficult to read the first writing, later erased. In Q.21:104 this could be a mechanical error during the copying process from a written exemplar, in that the scribe forgot to write the *mīm*, but stopped and adjusted the word *al-samā'a.* The last correction is the insertion of the omitted prefixed conjunction *wa-* in Q.21:111, as previously in Q.21:39.

Corrections in sūra al-Ḥajj

The corrections of C* were realized in brown ink during the first stage, in that he interrupted his script before concluding the word he was writing. Thus, for example, in Q.22:11 he initially omitted *huwa* in *ḏālika huwa al-ḫusrānu*, but paused in his writing at the beginning of *al-ḫusrānu* and then erased the incomplete *al-ḫu* in order to add the omitted *huwa* over these cancelled letters. In Q.22:29 he inserted the omitted *mater lectionis wāw* in *nuḏūra-hum* using brown ink. Moreover, in Q.22:75 it seems likely that the first hand wrote *al-nāsi* in its *scriptio defectiva*, but adjusted the first script, immediately tracing the *mater lectionis alif* and cancelled the part of the *sīn* which was linked to the previous *nūn*. The correction performed in Q.22:58 is not clear, although the use of brown ink and the non-alteration of the space between the letters seems to suggest that *ṯumma qutilū* was amended

by the first hand. These errors and their simultaneous amendments which maintained the proportions between letters seem to imply copying from a written exemplar or by memorization, otherwise it would have been impossible to suspend the writing activity and correct the omissions.

The later hand amended the omission of the conjunction *wa-* in Q.22:7 and the omission of the previously mentioned subject *allahu* in Q.22:52 using black ink and modifying the space between letters as they were composed by the first hand.

As regards the syntactic variant *iḥtaṣamā* in Q.22:19 which corresponds to the *qirā'a* of Ibn Abū 'Abla instead of the Medina muṣḥaf reading the plural *iḥtaṣamū* after *hāḏāni ḫaṣmāni* in the sentence *hāḏāni ḫaṣmāni iḥtaṣamū fī rabbi-him*, 'These are two disputants who have disputed concerning their Lord' (Arb), the later hand C1 has amended the dual ending of the variant *iḥtaṣamā,* cancelling the final *alif* and adding the plural ending *wāw-alif* in black ink. As regards the writing of the final *alif* and its erasure in *rabbi-hima*, it seems that the first hand removed the pen from the surface of the parchment in writing the letter block unity *bā', ḥā', mīm* and *alif*, as if he was hesitant in writing *alif* after *mīm*. This could be interpreted firstly as a sign of the level of the linguistic skill of the copyist in using the dual and plural form and secondly as a further indication of writing from a written exemplar. The first hand writing *rabbi-himā* agrees with the variant *iḥtaṣamā* later amended by C1, so it is likely that *alif* has also been partially erased by C1.

Corrections in sūra al-Mu'minūna

In Q.23:5, the first hand probably wrote *li-furūji-him,* placing the *wāw* in the wrong position, i.e. after *jīm* and not after *rā'*, but immediately realized the mechanical error, and erased the *jīm,* writing it again after the *wāw*.

Practices of the first hand and later hand in amending the text

In the above list it is observable that none of the lexical variants related to the recipient and voice of the message has been amended by the first hand, either if it was marked by different diacritical strokes or if it was expressed by a different *rasm*, as is the case in Q.21:65 and Q.21:13. In fact, the work of the first hand featured the variant *atrafnā-hum* instead of *utriftum* and *ʿalimtum* which was only adjusted to the *rasm* of the Medina muṣḥaf by the later hand.

Moreover, the later hand was mainly interested in correcting the orthographic variants, in particular the *scriptio defectiva* of long /ā/, i.e. fifteen instances among which are twelve occurrences of the verb *qāla*, whereas the corrections of C* to his orthography seem to have been immediately realized, probably due to a mechanical error and later awareness during the copying process. In fact, C* mainly altered the morphological and syntactical variants.

However, it appears difficult to extract rules from the observation of the practices of the two copyists in correcting the text, as the process is not consistent.

3.1.4. Conclusions

On the basis of the analysis of the palaeographical features, i.e. the overall appearance of the script and habits of the scribe, as well as of the analysis of the content from a linguistic point of view, it is likely to assume that the first hand in charge of writing MS PaB was copying the text from an exemplar, and in accomplishing such a task, he expressed his mastery, e.g. in planning the page layout and in executing a rather well-proportioned relationship between letter blocks and empty spaces. The mechanism of copying from an

exemplar implies consequently that the work could not have been executed very early, as the written exemplar requires a period of time for producing the exemplar and also the establishment of a mechanism of copying from an authoritative text. Moreover, the regular and coherent presence of a blank line between two *sūra*s seems to be interpreted as a sign of a later practice, as it was introduced and established during the so-called second *maṣāḥif* project accomplished in the period between 84-85 AH (703-705 CE), whose main initiator was al-Ḥajjāj (d. 95/713) as interpreted by Hamdan.[67]

The date of second half of the first century of Hegira is also proposed by Déroche, who attributed MS BnF328c to the end of the first century of Hegira in mentioning the manuscript as an example of the use of rulings.

However, such a hypothesis based on the analysis of the manuscript's text and script disagrees with the results of the carbon 14 analysis, which reveals a high probability of an earlier date, i.e. between 568 and 645 CE.[68]

Thus there would be two possibilities in matching the data from carbon 14 analysis and the data from the palaeographical and philological analysis. Firstly, the characteristics of mastery in writing, as observed in MS PaB, should be attributed to an earlier period, i.e. to the first *maṣāḥif* project initiated by 'Uthmān (d. 35/655), so that the mastery and perfection does not mean a later period. Secondly, the entire chronology of the beginning of Islam and the beginning of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text should be revised, in that the beginning should be brought forward, thus having technical skills in writing, the existence

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[67] Hamdan, Omar. 'The second maṣāḥif project: a step towards the canonization of the Qur'anic Text' in Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai and Michael Marx, eds., *The Qur'ān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ān Milieu*. Leiden, Brill, 2010, pp. 795-835. In particular, the scholar quoted a tradition according to which al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said 'put between every two *sūra* a line' and the *basmala* (see p. 806) thus implying that 'Uthmān's *muṣḥaf* contained neither the *basmala* nor the names of the *sūra*s nor, according to this hypothesis, the blank line between two *sūra*s.
[68] Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit, University of Oxford, March 2014.

of exemplars to be copied, lines between two following *sūra*s should be among the other features to be placed before 'Uthmān's death.

The reliability and interpretation of the carbon 14 analysis results of other early Qur'ānic manuscripts suggest caution in accepting such results and their accuracy. Thus, for example Sana'a MS DaM 20-33.1 has been carbon dated to 657-690 CE, whereas the manuscript has clear palaeographical features from 710-715 CE;[69] a group of giant Qur'ānic manuscripts that Déroche dated from the second part of the eight century, whereas they have been carbon dated to 640-765 CE;[70] or an unspecified manuscript whose *waqfiyya* reads the date 907 CE, whereas the laboratory of Lyon has carbon dated it as from the period 716-891 CE, indicating as the most probable dates 791, 806 and 780 CE.[71] Another interesting example is the Sana'a palimpsest, as three different samples of parchments have been separately dated in two different laboratories,[72] giving three different results, i.e. 578-699 CE (95%) for the Stanford leaf,[73] and 543-643 and 433-599 CE for the Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt leaves.[74] It should be noted that in comparing such different results, something seems to have been omitted, i.e. the provenance of the fragments. Despite their label of Sana'a palimpsest, the first dated sample belongs to the portion of the codex held at al-Maktaba al-Sharqiyya, which probably has a different story from the fragments found in the false ceiling of Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt to which the further two dated samples belong. Apart from the probable different locations in early times, the portion of the palimpsest of Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt was restored after the discovery in the 1970s, whereas the portion in al-Maktaba al-Sharqiyya is likely not to have

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[69] Bothmer, Hans-Caspar Graf von, Karl-Heinz Ohlig, Gerd-R. Puin. 'Neue Wege Der Koranforschung'. *Magazin Forschung (Universität des Saarlandes)*, 1, 1999, pp. 33-46 (p. 45).

[70] Déroche, François. 'Manuscripts of the Qur'ān' in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. (General Editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Georgetown University, Washington DC). Brill Online, 2014.

[71] Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*, pp. 12-13.

[72] AMS, Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Laboratory at the University of Arizona and Lyon, possibly Centre de Datation par le RadioCarbone.

[73] B Sadeghi - Bergmann. 'The Codex of a Companion', pp.348, 353-354.

[74] Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*, p. 13.

been restored.[75]

Given all of the above mentioned incongruences, it would seem advisable to carbon date at least a further sample of MS Min1572a, possibly to be compared with further and separate results from the analysis of MS BnF328c, before relying on such results which, in any case, should be interpreted on the basis of the available historical data.

As regards the geographical provenance of the manuscript, the *qirā'āt* literature seems not to contribute to locating it, as it seems to be a mixed type similar to MS PeB, analysed in the following section.

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[75] It was possible to conjecture such a different treatment during the inspection of the two artefacts in 2008.

TABLE 3.1.A. VERSE SUBDIVISION IN MS PaB

Q.10	K	B	D	H	M	Md	MS PaB	al-Dānī, al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān, pp.163-164[76] اختلافها ثلاث آيات
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	0	lac	
	1	1	1	1	1	1	lac	
	21	21	21	21	21	21	lac	
له الدينَ	0	0	22	0	0	0	lac	﴿مُخلِصينَ لَهُ الدّينَ﴾ [٢٢] عدها الشامي ولم يعدها الباقون،
من الشاكرين	22	22	0	22	22	22	lac	﴿ولَنَكونَنَّ مِنَ الشّاكِرينَ﴾ [٢٢] لم يعدها الشامي وعدها الباقون،
	23	23	23	23	23	23	lac	
	34	34	34	34	34	34	lac	
	35	35	35	35	35	35	✓	
	36	36	36	36	36	36	✓	
	56	56	56	56	56	56	✓	
فى الصدور	0	0	57	57	0	0	0	﴿ولَنَكونَنَّ مِنَ الشّاكِرينَ﴾ [٥٧] عدها الشامي ولم يعدها الباقون.
	57	57	58	58	57	57	✓	
	95	95	96	96	95	95	✓	
	96	96	97	97	96	96	0	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, Bayān fī ʿadd
	97	97	98	98	97	97	✓	
	109	109	110	110	109	109	✓	
Total number	109	109	110	110	109	109	n/a	

Agreement: Kūfa 1; Baṣra 1; Damascus 0; Ḥimṣ 0; Mecca 1; Medina 1 out of 2 differences in counting. In one instance the counting system of the manuscript is singular, i.e. absence of end of verse 96(K).

[76] al-Dānī, Abū ʿAmr ʿUt̠mān b. Saʿīd. al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān, (ed. Ġānim Qaddūrī al- Ḥamad). Kuwait, Markaz al-Maḫt̠ūt̠āt wa-l-Turāt̠ wa-l-Wat̠āʾiq, 1994 and Spitaler, Anton. Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung 1935, no. 11, for the details not mentioned by al-Dānī.

Q.11	K	B	D	H	M	I	II	MS PaB	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.165-166
									اختلافها سبع آيات
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	
تُشْرِكُون	54	0	0	54	0	0	0	54	﴿أَنّى بَريءٌ مِمّا تُشرِكونَ﴾ [٥٤] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون،
	55	54	54	55	54	54	54	55	
	73	72	72	73	72	72	72	73	
فى قوم لوط	74	0	73	0	73	73	73	74	﴿يُجادِلُنا فى قَومِ لوطٍ﴾ [٧٤] وهو الثاني، لم يعدها البصري وعدها الباقون،
	75	73	74	74	74	74	74	75	
	81	79	80	80	80	80	80	81	
من سِجّيلٍ	0	0	0	0	81	0	81	0	﴿مِن سِجّيلٍ﴾ [٨٢] عدها المدني الأخير والمكي ولم يعدها الباقون،
منضودٍ	82	80	81	81	0	81	0	82	﴿مَنضودٍ﴾ [٨٢] لم يعدها المدني الأخير والمكي وعدها الباقون،
	83	81	82	82	82	82	82	83	
	85	83	84	84	84	84	84	85	
مؤمنين	0	0	0	85	85	85	85	86	﴿إن كُنتُم مُؤمِنينَ﴾ [٨٦] عدها المدنيان والمكي ولم يعدها الباقون،
	86	84	85	86	86	86	86	87	
	117	115	116	117	117	117	117	lac	
مختلِفين	118	116	117	118	0	0	0	lac	﴿وَلا يَزالونَ مُختَلِفينَ﴾ [١١٨] لم يعدها المدنيان والمكي وعدها الباقون،
	119	117	118	119	118	118	118	lac	
	120	118	119	120	119	119	119	lac	
عامِلونَ	121	119	120	121	0	120	0	lac	﴿إنّا عامِلونَ﴾ [١٢١] لم يعدها المدني الأخير والمكي وعدها الباقون.
	122	120	121	122	120	121	120	lac	
	123	121	122	123	121	122	121	lac	
Total number	123	121	122	123	121	122	121	n/a	

Agreement: Kūfa 4; Baṣra 2; Damascus 3; Homs 4; Mecca 2; MedinaI 4, MedinaII 2 out of 5 differences in counting, excepting the basmala. There is no end of verse after the basmala.

Q.18	K	B	S	M	I	II	MS PaB	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.179-180 اختلافها إحدى عشرة آية
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	0	lac	MS lacuna: vv.1-16
	1	1	1	1	1	1	lac	
	17	17	16	17	17	17	✓	
ذِراعَيهِ بِالوَصيدِ	0	0	0	0	0	0	✓	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
	18	18	17	18	18	18	✓	
	21	21	20	21	21	21	✓	
إلا قليل	0	0	0	0	0	22	0	﴿ما يَعلَمُهُم إِلّا قَليلٌ﴾ [٢٢] عدها المدني الأخير ولم يعدها الباقون،
	22	22	21	22	22	23	✓	
ذلك غَدًا	23	23	22	23	23	0	✓	﴿إِنّى فاعِلٌ ذٰلِكَ غَدًا﴾ [٢٣] لم يعدها المدني الأخير وعدها الباقون،
	24	24	23	24	24	24	✓	
	31	31	30	31	31	31	✓	
بينهما زرعا	32	32	31	0	0	32	lac	﴿وَجَعَلنا بَينَهُما زَرعًا﴾ [٣٢] لم يعدها المدني الأول والمكي وعدها الباقون،
	33	33	32	32	32	33	lac	MS lacuna: vv.32-110
	104	105	100	99	99	99	lac	
	110	111	106	105	105	105	lac	
Total number	110	111	106	105	105	105	n/a	

Agreement: Kūfa 2; Baṣra 2; Damascus (and Ḥimṣ) 2; Mecca 2; MedinaI 2, MedinaII 0 out of 3 differences in counting. In one instance the counting system of the manuscript is singular, i.e. end of verse after *bi-l-waṣīdi* in v.18(K).

Q.19

al-Dānī mentions three divergences in counting verses of sūra Maryam in his *Bayān*. However the manuscript bears only vv.91-98(K), whereas al-Dānī does not mention any difference for this section and the manuscript has no singular counting system.

Q.20	K	B	D	H	M	Md	MS PaB	MS PaB C1	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.183-186 اختلافها إحدى وعشرون آية
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		
	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		﴿طه﴾ [١] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها **الباقون**،
	2	1	1	1	1	1	2		
	11	10	10	10	10	10	11	10	
	21	20	20	20	20	20	21	20	
صدرى	25	24	24	24	24	24	0		Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
	26	25	25	25	25	25	25		
	31	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	
	32	31	31	31	31	31	31		
كثيرا	33	0	32	32	32	32	32		﴿نُسَبِّحَكَ كثيراً﴾ [٣٣] و﴿نَذْكُرَكَ كثيراً﴾ [٣٤] لم يعدهما البصري وعدهما الباقون،
كثيرا	34	0	33	33	33	33	33		﴿نُسَبِّحَكَ كثيراً﴾ [٣٣] و﴿نَذْكُرَكَ كثيراً﴾ [٣٤] لم يعدهما البصري وعدهما الباقون،
	35	32	34	34	34	34	34		
	38	35	37	37	37	37	37		
فى اليَمّ	0	0	0	38	0	0	38		
محبة مِنى	0	0	38	0	38	38	0		﴿مَحَبَّةً مِنِّي﴾ [٣٩] لم يعدها الكوفي والبصري وعدها الباقون،
	39	36	39	39	39	39	39		
تحزن	0	0	40	0/40	0	0	lac	lac	﴿كَى تَقَرَّ عَيْنُها ولا تَحْزَن﴾ [٤٠] عدها الشامي ولم يعدها الباقون،
فُتونا	0	37	41	40/41	0	0	lac	lac	﴿وَفَتَنَّاكَ فُتونًا ﴾ [٤٠] عدها البصري والشامي ولم يعدها الباقون،

0	0	42	0/42	0	0	lac	lac	مَدْيَن	﴿فى أَهلِ مَدْيَنَ﴾ [٤٠] عدها الشامي ولم يعدها الباقون،
40	38	43	41/43	40	40	lac	lac		
96	91	99	97/96/98/99	94	94	lac	lac		
98	93	101	99/98/100/101	96	96	lac	lac		
99	94	102	100/99/101/102	97	97	✓	100		
105	100	108	106/105/107/108	103	103	✓			
106	101	109	107/106/108/109	0	0	0		صَفْصَفا	﴿صَفصَفًا﴾ [١٠٦] عدها الكوفي والبصري والشامي، ولم يعدها الباقون،
107	102	110	108/107/109/110	104	104	✓			
110	105	113	111/110/112/113	107	107	✓	110		
111	106	114	112/111/113/114	108	108	✓			
112	107	115	113/112/114/115	109	109	✓			
113	108	116	114/113/115/116	110	110	lac			
114	109	117	115/114/116/117	111	111	lac			
115	110	118	116/115/117/118	112	112	lac			
116	111	119	117/116/118/119	113	113	lac			
117	112	120	118/117/119/120	114	114	0			Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
118	113	121	119/118/120/121	115	115	0			Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
119	114	122	120/119/121/122	116	116	0			Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
120	115	123	121/120/122/123	117	117	✓			
121	116	124	122/121/123/124	118	118	✓			
122	117	125	123/122/124/125	119	119	✓			

هُدى	0	118	126	0/123/0/0	120	120	✓	120	﴿مِنِّى هُدًى﴾ [١٢٣]، وَ﴿زَهرَةَ الحَيـوٰةِ الدُّنيا﴾ [١٣١] لم يعدهما والكوفي وعدهما الباقون.
	123	119	127	124/124/125/126	121	121	✓		
ذِكْرِى	0	0	0	0	0	0	✓		Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ‘add*
ضَنْكا	0	0	0	125/125/126/0	0	0	✓		See Spitaler
	124	120	128	126/126/127/	122	122	✓		
	127	123	131	129/129/130	125	125	✓		
	128	124	132	130/130/131	126	126	lac		
	129	125	133	131/131/132	127	127	lac		
	130	126	134	132/132/133	128	128	lac		
الدُّنْيا	0	127	135	133/133/0	129	129	lac		﴿مِنِّى هُدًى﴾ [١٢٣]، وَ﴿زَهرَةَ الحَيـوٰةِ الدُّنيا﴾ [١٣١] لم يعدهما والكوفي وعدهما الباقون.
	131	128	136	134	130	130	✓		
	135	132	140	138	134	134	✓		
total number	135	132	140	138	134	134	n/a		

Agreement: Kūfa 3; Baṣra 3; Damascus 4; Ḥimṣ 7; Mecca 5; Medina 5out of 13 differences in counting (excluding the basmala). In 5 instances, the counting system of the manuscript is singular.

As regards the later hand who has added circles in black ink over the clusters of brown thin strokes at the end of verses to indicate the group of ten verses, i.e. *‘awāšir*, he has not considered the counting system of the first hand, i.e. ten verses between the beginning of the sūra and Q.20:11 and between Q.20:21 and Q.20:30, although he did not erase or modify the separators used by the first hand at the end of verses.

Moreover, in marking ten verses between Q.20:110 and Q.20:120 (i.e. Q.20:110-122 in K) he agrees with none of the counting systems, thus exhibiting a unique counting system like that of the first hand.

Q.21	K	B	S	M	Md	MS PaB	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.187-188
							اختلافها آية
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	1	1	1	1	1	2	
	65	65	65	65	65	66	
ولا يَضُرّكم	66	0	0	0	0	0	اختلافها آية ﴾ما لا ينفعكم شيئا ولا يضركم﴿ [٦٦] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون.
	67	66	66	66	66	67	
فَعِلِينَ	79	78	78	78	78	0	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
	80	79	79	79	79	79	
	112	111	111	111	111	111	
total number	112	111	111	111	111	110+Basmala	

Agreement: Kūfa 0; Baṣra 1; Damascus (and Ḥimṣ) 1; Mecca 1; Medina 1 out of 2 differences in counting (excluding the basmala). In one case the counting system of the manuscript is unique.

Q.22	K	B	S	M	Md	MS PaB	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.189-190
							اختلافها خمس آيات
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	1	1	1	1	1	2	
	18	18	18	18	18	19	
الحَميمُ	19	0	0	0	0	20	اختلافها آية ﴿مِن فوق رؤوسِهِمُ الحميمُ﴾ [١٩] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون،
والجُلودُ	20	0	0	0	0	0	﴿والجلُودُ﴾ [٢٠] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون،
	21	19	19	19	19	21	
	22	20	20	20	20	0	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
	23	21	21	21	21	22	
	41	39	39	39	39	40	
وعاد وثمودُ	42	40	0	40	40	0	﴿وعادٌ وثمودُ﴾ [٤٢] لم يعدها الشامي وعدها الباقون،
وقومُ لوطٍ	43	0	0	41	41	0	﴿وقومُ لوطٍ﴾ [٤٣] لم يعدها البصري والشامي وعدها الباقون،
	44	41	40	42	42	41	
	48	45	44	46	46	45	
	49	46	45	47	47	0	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
	50	47	46	48	48	46	
	58	55	54	56	56	lac	
	59	56	55	57	57	lac	
	60	57	56	58	58	lac	
	61	58	57	59	59	lac	
	62	59	58	60	60	✓	
	72	60	59	61	61	lac	
	76	73	72	74	74	✓	
	77	74	73	75	75	✓	
سمّاكُم المُسلِمين	0	0	0	76	0	0	﴿هو سَمَّاكُمُ المسلمين﴾ [٧٨] عدها المكي ولم يعدها الباقون.
	78	75	74	77	76	✓	
total number	78	75	74	77	76	n/a	

Agreement: Kūfa 2; Baṣra 3; Damascus (and Ḥimṣ) 4; Mecca 1; Medina 2 out of 7 differences in counting (excluding the basmala). In two instances the counting system featured in the manuscript has no parallel in the other traditions.

Q.23	K	B	D	H[77]	M	Md	MS PaB	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī 'add āy al-Qur'ān*, pp.191-192
								اختلافها خمس آيات
basmala	0	0	0	0		0	1	
	1	1	1	1		1	2	
	19	19	19	19	19	19	20	
طور سَيْناء	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	
	20	20	20	20	20	20	22	
	44	44	44	44	44	44	lac	
وأخاه هارونَ	0	45	45	0	45	45	lac	اختلافها آية ﴿وأخاه هارون﴾ [٤٥] لم يعدها الكوفي وعدها الباقون.
	45	46	46	45	46	46	lac	
	118	119	119	119	119	119	lac	
total number	118	119	119	118	119	119	n/a	

Agreement: 0 (there are no divergences transmitted by the Islamic tradition in this portion of the text, excluding the basmala). In one instance, the counting system is singular, i.e. in counting the ends of verses inside Q.23:20(K) after *ṭūr Saynā'*.

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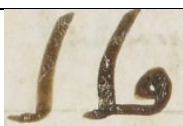
[77] See Spitaler, *Verszählung*, p. 48.
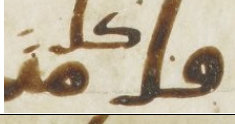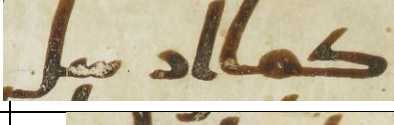
TABLE 3.1.B. CORRECTIONS IN MS PaB

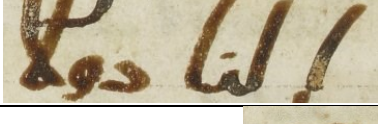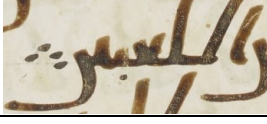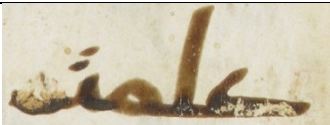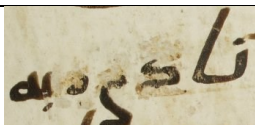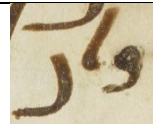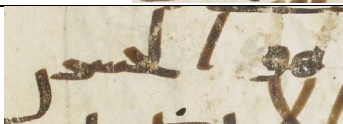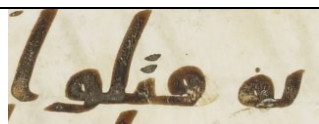| āya	Medina muṣḥaf and MS text	MS witness	MS image	Typology of MS variant[78]	adjusted by C*	adjusted by C1[79]
Q.10:50	المُجرِمونَ المحرمس	BnF328c f.71v,l.4		morph. case system or *i'rāb*(ūna>īna)		✓
Q.10:79	وَقالَ وفل	BnF328c f.72v,l.7		orthog. defect. *qāla* or long vowel (±ā)		✓
Q.10:80	قالَ فل	BnF328c f.72v,l.8		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowel (±ā)		✓
Q.10:83	لَعالٍ لعل	BnF328c f.72v,l.13		orthog. defect. or long vowel (±ā)		✓
Q.10:84	وَقالَ وفل	BnF328c f.72v,l.14		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowel (±ā)		✓
Q.10:88	وَقالَ وفل	BnF328c f.72v,l.20		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowel (±ā)		✓
Q.10:88	اطمِس اطمس	BnF328c f.72v,l.22		unclear lexical?		✓ prob.
Q.10:90	قالَ فل	BnF328c f.73r,l.2		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowel (±ā)		✓
Q.11:5	لِيَستَخفوا لستحمون	BnF328c f.73v,l.20		morph. verb mood system	✓	
Q.11:8	عَنهُم عن[4]	BnF328c f.74r,l.4		illegible ?morph.		✓
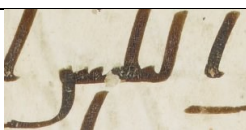
[78] The first label to occur in the typology column uses the categories mentioned in Section 3.1.1., whereas the second label follows the types listed by Nasser, *Variant Readings*, pp. 165-179.

[79] 'Prob.' means that it is not completely certain whether the correction has been made by the first hand or by the later one; 'in scrib' indicates an amendment made immediately by the first hand, i.e. *in scribendo*.

Q.11:13	أُم الم	BnF328c f.74r,l.13		syntax interr. or ḥarf (am>a-lam)	✓ prob.	
Q.11:28	قالَ فل	BnF328c f.74v,l.18		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.11:28	وَءَاتٰنِى واتنى اواتنى	BnF328c f.74v,l.19		morph. verb mood system +later syntax or long vowl (±ī) + ḥarf (wa>aw)		✓
Q.11:29	مالًا ملا	BnF328c f.74v,l.21		orthog. defect. or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.11:32	قالوا فلوا	BnF328c f.75r,l.3		orthog. defect. qālū or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.11:33	قالَ فل	BnF328c f.75r,l.4		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.11:38	تَسخَروا تسحرون	BnF328c f.75r,l.13		morph. verb mood system	✓ prob.	
Q.11:41	مَجرٰٮها مرسها	BnF328c f.75r,l.19		mech.err.: transposition or transp	✓ in scrib.	
Q.11:42	وَهِىَ وهو	BnF328c f.75r,l.20		syntax agreement or pronoun	✓	
Q.11:43	قالَ وفل	BnF328c f.75r,l.22		orthog. defect. qāla+ syntax wa- or long vowl (±ā) +ḥarf (±wa)		✓
Q.11:61	قالَ فل	BnF328c f.76r,l.7		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowl (±ā)	✓ in scrib.	
Q.11:63	قالَ فل	BnF328c f.76r,l.12		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowl (±ā)		✓

Q. ref	Reading	MS	Image	Explanation		
Q.11:65	أَيَّامٍ انم	BnF328c f.76r,l.18		orthog. defect. or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.11:73	قَالوا فلوا	BnF328c f.76v,l.4		orthog. defect. qālū or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.11:77	وَقالَ وفل وفالوا وفال	BnF328c f.76v,l.11		orthog. defect. qāla or long vowl (±ā) + mistake in correcting		✓
Q.20:16	يَصُدَّنَّكَ يصدنك	Bham1572a f.1v,l.4		unclear +addition of suffix nūn by C1		✓ prob.
Q.20:108	يَومَئِذٍ يوماىد	BnF328c f.78r,l.10		orthog. ortho-epic or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.20:125	كُنتُ كانت	BnF328c f.78v,l.13		morphology? or long vowl (±ā)		✓
Q.20:133	تَأتِهِم ناتهم	BnF328c f.79r,l.4		morphology verb mood or long vowl (±ī)	✓ prob.	
Q.20:135	قُل كُلٌّ فل	BnF328c f.79r,l.7		mech.err.: haplography or omiss.(±kull)	✓	
Q.21:5	أُرسِلَ رسل	BnF328c f.79r,l.18		morphology verb forms or vrb frm IV>I	✓	
Q.21:35	بِالشَّرِّ فى السر	BnF328c f.80r,ll.11-12		morph/lexic prep. bi-/fī or +ḥarf (bi>fī)	✓ in scrib.	
Q.21:39	وَلا لا	BnF328c f.80r,l.19		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)	✓	
Q.21:41	فَحاقَ ـحو +ill	BnF328c f.80r,l.22		illegible +orthog. defect or illegible +long vowl (±ā)	✓ prob.	
Q.21:55	اللِّعِبِينَ العبس	BnF328c f.80v,l.19		phon./mech.err. assimil.lām or	✓ prob.	

				assim		
Q.21:65	عَلِمتَ علمتم	BnF328c f.81r,l.6		lexic you sg./pl. or perf. ta>tum		✓
Q.21:68	حَرِّقوهُ احرقوه	BnF328c f.81r,l.9		morphology verb forms or vrb frm II>IV	✓ prob.	
Q.21:82	يَغوصونَ نغوص	BnF328c f.81v,l.9		syntax pl. after man or impf. ūna>u	✓ prob.	
Q.21:83	نادىٰ رَبَّهُ نا + ill	BnF328c f.81v,l.10		illegible	✓ prob.	
Q.21:104	السَّماءَ السا	BnF328c f.82r,l.21		ortho./mech.err. defect. or long vowl (±ā)	✓ prob.	
Q.21:111	وَإِن ان	BnF328c f.82v,l.7		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)	✓ prob.	
Q.22:7	وَأَنَّ ان	BnF328c f.83r,l.3		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)		✓
Q.22:11	هُوَ الخُسرانُ الح	BnF328c f.83r,l.12		syntax omitted pron. or omitted pron. (huwa>ø)	✓ in scrib.	
Q.22:19	رَبِّهِم ربهما	BnF328c f.83v,l.6		syntax agreement (dual) or pronoun (hum>humā)		✓ prob.
Q.22:29	نُذورَهُم ندرهم	BnF328c f.84r,l.2		Orthog. mech.err. defect or long vowl(±ū)	✓	
Q.22:52	ثُمَّ يُحكِمُ اللَّهُ ثم نحكم	BnF328c f.85r,l.6		syntax omit.subj. or omission (±allah) unclear		✓ prob.
Q.22:58	ثُمَّ قُتِلوا بو+ ill	BnF328c f.85r,l.18		Unclear morphology?	✓ prob.	

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Q.22:75	النّاسِ +ill الـ	BnF328c f.86r,l.4		unclear orthography?	✓	
Q.23:5	لِفُروجِهِم لفرحو حهم	BnF328c f.86r,l.19		Orthog. mech.err. defect or long vowl(±ū)	✓ in scrib.	

3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT OF MS PETROPOLITANO-BIRMINGHAMIENSIS (PᴇB): MS NLR MARCEL 17, MS MINGANA ISLAMIC ARABIC 1572B AND MS MUSEUM OF ISLAMIC ART 67

The copy MS PeB written by four scribes runs from Q.2:296 to Q.6:143 with two lacunae from Q.5:27 to Q.5:63 and from Q.6:20 to Q.6:74, as above mentioned in describing the codicological structure of the quires in which its *folia* and *bifolia* have been gathered. Although the text of this copy agrees substantially with the text of the Medina muṣḥaf, at a few points it reads variants that involve a different consonantal skeleton. These variants are not only related to orthography and orthographic licence,[1] grammatical competence and performance together with interference between linguistic systems, as observed in the previous section about MS PaB, but they also disagree with the consonantal outline, thus reading synonyms and syntactic variants. However, not all the variants that imply a different consonantal outline have been later corrected and conformed to the consonantal outline of the Medina muṣḥaf. Moreover, the analysis of the variants and their corrections reveals a few details about the mechanisms of the copying process and the later use of this copy, but also about the exemplar that the scribes were copying.[2] In fact, on a few points it is possible to argue that the variants of the copy MS PeB were present in the exemplar used for copying, as illustrated in the section below.

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[1] Nöldeke, *History*, III, p. 469.

[2] It would be useful to apply phylogenetic analysis to the comprehension of such mechanisms, as planned for a further research. See for example Huson, Daniel H. and David Bryant. 'Application of Phylogenetic Networks in Evolutionary Studies'. *Molecular Biology and Evolution*, 23, 2, 2006, pp. 254-267.

3.2.1. Analysis of the text: its variants

As in the case of MS PaB analysed in the previous section, the copy of MS PeB and the text of the Medina muṣḥaf agree to a great extent, in that the copy of the manuscript reads differently for 701 words out of 11,318 words written in it. The great majority of the variants are subjective choices based on dialectal variations,[3] concerning merely orthography of words, e.g. *scriptio defectiva* of /ā/, *scriptio plena* of /ā/ marked by *yāʾ*, disappearance of *hamza* and spelling of *alif maqṣūra*, among others. As regards the variants that disagree with the *rasm* of the Medina *muṣḥaf*, they number 118, excluding the variants due to different position or number of diacritics, as in the case of lexical variants concerning the voice and recipient of the message, e.g. the reading of the second plural person of verbs instead of the third plural. This means that there are 118 anomalous readings[4] in the copy of MS PeB, i.e. about one per cent of the whole text that has been copied. It is worth noting that not all of the anomalous readings have been corrected in later stages of the writing/reading process.

Moreover, at a few points the scribes of MS PeB have indicated a subdivision of the Qurʾānic text that differs from the subdivision of the Medina *muṣḥaf* and from the alternative readings transmitted by the Islamic tradition, thus showing distinctive ends of verses.

3.2.1.1. GRAMMATICAL VARIANTS

As with the copy of MS PaB, the copy of MS PeB also exhibits variant readings related to phonetic, orthographic and morphologic features of the Arabic language and script that

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[3] Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p. 107.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

reflect linguistic features of early Arabic papyri, although it is worth noting that the copy of MS PeB reads anomalous variants mainly due to errors; both mechanical errors, as implied by haplography, and carelessness in copying the text, as proved by corrections *in scribendo.* Therefore it could be stated that mistakes and carelessness are the distinctive features of this copy, although it is not clear whether the mistakes arise from a lack of understanding of the exemplar because of a different historical or geographical context or from a dynamic of learning and teaching. The absence of planning in the page layout is a further element in favour of carelessness in copying, although the facts of the number of leaves used and the team of four scribes working on such a project seem not to explain the suggestion of the copy of MS PeB as being a writing exercise.[5]

As already described when analysing MS PaB, grammatical variants and especially orthographical variants in spelling are likely to be subjective choices made by copyists and by readers, thus expressing their linguistic competence. In particular, the copy of MS PeB is characterized by its production by four scribes, thus permitting the individual position of every scribe to be distinguished in spelling words using his own orthography and/or the consistency of the exemplar, whereas the probable amendments to the text of the exemplar can be inferred through the lexical variants.

The analysis of the possible coherence in spelling a few words[6] suggests that the four scribes were copying a coherent exemplar, although they sometimes wrote the copy using individual positions. Thus, for example, the verb *qāla* occurs ninety-five times in the portion of text that they were copying and their individual positions are as follows:

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[5] Hilali, 'Work in Progress'and Fedeli, Alba. 'A.Perg.2: a non palimpsest and its corrections'. *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 11, 1, 2005, pp. 20-27.

[6] The words considered in this analysis are the words proposed in Déroche's analysis, see Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus* and Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*. See all of the details listed in Table 3.2.a. at the end of this section.

- hand A preferred the *scriptio plena*, as he wrote the verb with *alif* four times out of five;

- hand B spelled the verb with *alif* twenty-five times and without *alif* twenty-seven times, preferring the *scriptio defectiva* in writing the singular masculine *qāla* (i.e. spelled without *alif* twenty-three times and with *alif* two times) and the *scriptio plena* for writing both the plural *qālū* (i.e. spelled with *alif* sixteen times and without *alif* four times) and the singular feminine *qālat* (i.e. spelled with *alif* in all its seven occurrences);

- hand C preferred the *scriptio plena*, as he wrote the verb with *alif* four times out of five;

- hand D spelled the verb with *alif* only three times out of thirty-three, whereas he chose the position of spelling the verb without *alif*, i.e. twenty-nine times.[7]

The coherence in spelling the verb with or without *alif* in each hand makes improbable that such coherence was present in the exact portions of text that the four scribes had to copy from the exemplar. On the contrary, it is likely that the four scribes had individual positions regarding such a spelling, independently from the spelling of the exemplar. However, the analysis of the spelling of other frequent words suggests a coherent situation in the exemplar or coherence in the linguistic competence of the four scribes. Thus, for example, they wrote the plural *āyāt* 'signs', which occurs thirty-five times in MS PeB, with these three spellings for marking the long vowel of the plural ending *-āt*:

- hand A spelled the word with *scriptio defectiva* five times, with *alif* once and with *yā'*

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[7] One occurrence of the verb *qāla* is illegible.

three times (out of a total of eleven occurrences);[8]

- hand B spelled the word with *scriptio defectiva* once, with *alif* once and with *yā'* six times (out of a total of nine occurrences);[9]

- hand C spelled the word with *alif* twice and with *yā'* twice, while he never used the *scriptio defectiva* (out of a total of four occurrences);

- hand D seemed to prefer the *scriptio defectiva,* as he wrote the word without *alif* nine times, with *alif* once and with *yā'* once.

Despite the apparent inconsistency, the four scribes have spelled the word using the same rules. Thus in all the thirty-five occurrences, the scribes have coherently written *āyāt* with *alif* where the word is alone, i.e. without prefixes or suffixes; with *yā'* in *bi-āyāti-na*, i.e. with the prefixed preposition *bi-* and the suffixed pronoun *–nā,* whereas in all of the other occurrences, i.e. with prefixed article or other suffixed pronouns the scribes spelled the plural ending with its *scriptio defectiva.* Furthermore, the spelling of the word *šay* (i.e. 'thing') is consistent in all of its thirty-nine occurrences: it was written with *alif* between *šīn* and *yā'* every time, except in Q.4:176 (MS Ming1572, f.3r, l.1), i.e. in the first line of the leaf where the writing reveals a later intervention in New Style script, probably to match the two fragments in f.2 and f.3.[10] The spelling without *alif* could be an expression of the linguistic competence of the scribe adding the end of Q.4:176, whereas the spelling with *alif* could be the result of the coherence of the model.[11] All of the variants concerning the phonetic and orthographic habits of the scribes are listed in detail in the next section.

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[8] Two occurrences of the verb are lacunae in the missing parchment material.
[9] One occurrence of the verb is a lacuna in the missing parchment material.
[10] See section above on the description of the physical object.
[11] The coherence in spelling the other words suggested by Déroche is reported in Table 3.2.a.

3.2.1.1. 1. Phonetic variants

In all the twenty-eight leaves of the copy of MS PeB, these are the phonetic readings that affect the consonantal skeleton and the position or number of diacritics:

- Shift of *ṯā'* into *tā'*[12] occurs twice, i.e. in *ṯumma / tumma* (Q.4:17) and *al-ḥarṯ / al-ḥart* (Q.6:136).

- Spelling of the feminine ending with *tā'* instead of *tā' marbūṭa*[13] in *wa-raḥmat^{un}* (Q.3:157) and *ni'mata* (Q.5:7)[14] and with final *alif*[15] instead of *tā' marbūṭa* in *al-'ad(ā)wata* (Q.5:64).[16]

- Disappearance of *hamza* in verbs with *hamza* as first radical,[17] i.e. in verbal nouns *ta'wīli-hi / tawīli-hi* (Q.3:7) and *ta'wīla-hu / tawila-hu* (Q.3:7), *ma'wā-hum / mawā-hum* (Q.4:97); in the imperfect forms *a-ya'muru-kum / a-yamuru-kum* (Q.3:80) and *ya'murūna / yamurūna* (Q.4:37), *ta'kulū / takulū* (Q.4:2), *a-ta'ḫuḏūna-hu / a-taḫuḏūna-hu* (Q.4:20) and *wa-l-ya'ḫuḏū / wa-l-yaḫuḏū* (Q.4:102), *yu'fakūna / yufakūna* (Q.5:75); in verbs and nouns with *hamza* as third radical,[18] i.e. *al-qur'ān / al-quran* (Q.4:82), *aḫṭa'nā / aḫṭanā* (Q.2:286) and *aṭfa'a-hā / aṭfa-hā* (Q.5:64), whereas in *fa-dra'ū* (Q.3:168) and in *yastahzi'ūna* (Q.6:5) hand B spelled the verbs with *alif* between *rā'* and *wāw* in the former case and with *yā'* between *rā'* and *wāw* in the latter case; lastly, in verbs of form XII, i.e. *aṭma'nan-tum / aṭmanan-tum* (Q.4:103). None of the previous readings involving the spelling of *hamza* has been changed, whereas the following variants

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[12] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §30a.
[13] *Ibid.*, §47.
[14] Final *tā'* changed to *tā' marbūṭa* probably by the first hand (A), who left the diacritics of the original letter, so that the amended *tā' marbūṭa* is apparently provided with two diacritics.
[15] *Ibid.*, §47a and 47e.
[16] *Alif* erased and corrected *in scribendo* by the first hand (D).
[17] Omission of *hamza* and lengthening of preceding vowel (>*tāwīla > tawīla*) in *ibid.*, §20a and §77bRem. In the second occurrence also the long /ī/ has been spelled with *scriptio defectiva*.
[18] In early Arabic papyri verbs with *hamza* as third radical changed to the category of verbs with *yā'* as third radical after the loss of *hamza*, see *ibid.*, §79a, where he mentioned e.g. *aḫṭayta* اخطيت.

have been amended: *ru'ūs*[19] (Q.2:279) spelled with *alif* after *rā'*; perfect verb in which the initial *hamza* of form IV disappears after the prefixed conjunction *wa-*, i.e. *wa-alqaynā* / *wa-lqaynā* (Q.5:64) and *wa-aḥsanū* / *wa-ḥsanū* (Q.5:93); the particle *anna* and *inna* spelled without initial *alif* in *law anna* (Q.3:30) e *wa-law anna-nā* (Q.4:66 and Q.6:111), *wa-innā* (Q.5:22) and lastly, in the noun *injīl* after the article in Q.5:66.

— Assimilation of *rā'* with the following *lām*[20] in *wa-l-nahāri la-ayātin* (Q.3:190) as hand A did not write *rā'*, thus reading *wa-l-nahālla-ayātin*.[21]

— *Involutio*[22] of two consecutive *mīm*, i.e. *am min* (Q.4:109), initial *mīm* in the participle with *mīm* of the first radical in *al-mumtarīna* (Q.3:60); *fa-tayammamū* (Q.5:6); *involutio* of two consecutive *alif* in *illā anfusa-hum* (Q.4:113) and of two consecutive *tā'* in *tatabaddalū* (Q.4:2).[23]

— Using *yā'* to mark both the long /ā/[24] and its pronunciation as affected by *imāla*, mainly in writing the plural of *āya* 'sign',[25] i.e. *bi-āyāti-nā* as above listed and also in its singular form[26] *bi-ayat*[in] in Q.3:49; the word *ilāh* in Q.3:18 (twice), Q.4:171, Q.6:19, Q.6:102and Q.6:106; the ending -ā in *bi-sīmā-hum* in Q.2:273; the ending of feminine plural -*āt* in *al-sayyi'āt* in six cases, i.e. Q.2:271, Q.3:195, Q.4:18, Q.4:31, Q.5:12 and Q.5:65.

— Phonetic shift *ay* > *āy*, attested in a few papyri dated 91 A.H., early 2nd century and

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[19] *Ibid.*, §25, disappearance of *hamza* between homogeneous vowels.
[20] This assimilation corresponds to the major assimilation, i.e. *al-idġām al-kabīr*, see Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p.121.
[21] It is likely that the absence of *rā'* reveals the assimilation rather than an omission due to carelessness, as suggested by the variant transmitted by the Islamic tradition (see section on *qirā'āt*).
[22] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §54.
[23] Haplology of *ta-* in imperfect form V, see *ibid.*, §57, rem.
[24] Small, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 55-57 as regards *ya'* in proper names, mentioning Puin and Mingana.
[25] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 24; Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §7.
[26] It is not clear whether the spelling of the singular form with *yā'* is an imitation of the spelling of the plural form after the prefixed preposition *bi-* or not. Also in PaB the singular form is spelled with *yā'* in such a collocation, i.e. *bi-ayat*[in] (see above).

mid 3rd century A.H[27] expressed by the spelling of *šāy'/ šay'* in thirty-eight occurrences out of a total of thirty-nine in this manuscript.

– Arabized form of *al-ribā* in four occurrences, i.e. Q.2:275 (twice), Q.2:276 and Q.4:161, instead of the Qur'ānic usage, i.e. the spelling with *wāw* that shows the influence of Syriac, i.e. *al-ribaw.*[28]

– Reflection of the Hebrew orthography and pronunciation of *al-tawrā* spelled without *yā'* in Q.3:3.[29]

3.2.1.1.2. Phonetic/orthographic variants, i.e. ortho-epic writing

As in PaB, the copy of MS PeB also shows some variants related to a different orthography used for marking a phonetic interpretation of the script. These variants have been defined as ortho-epic and Puin interpreted them as traces of early efforts to indicate the correct reading of the consonantal skeleton.[30] These variants are connected to the presence or absence of *alif, yā'* and *wāw* in correspondence with a glottal stop, i.e. *hamza,* and although they are related to the phonetic value of letters, they are not merely the expression of phonetic changes like the variants listed in the previous section. They had to ensure the correct reading rather than marking shifts in sounds. Thus, the manuscript reads:

– Absence of *alif* and retention of *wāw* or *yā'* where *alif* was previously pronounced as /i/ or /u/ and later clarified by adding *yā'* for marking /i/ and *wāw* for marking /u/, i.e. *abā'u-hum* (< *aba'u-hum*) in Q.5:104 and *abā'u-kum* (< *aba'u-kum*) in Q.4:11 and

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[27] Phenomenon suggested by Hopkins (*ibid.*, §15d and §7, n.2). See the spelling also in PaB and the other interpretations, e.g. ortho-epic writing in Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 164.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 159.

[29] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §10aRem and 47i.

[30] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', in particular p. 149.

Q.6:91,[31] *abā'i-him* (< *aba'i-him*) in Q.6:87, *wa-abnā'u-kum* (< *wa-abna'u-kum*) in Q.4:11, *li-šurakā'i-nā* (< *li-šuraka'i-nā*) in Q.6:136.

– Retention of *alif* and absence of the later insertion of *wāw* or *yā'*, added to clarify the pronunciation, i.e. *bi-ahwā'i-him* (< *bi-ahwa'i-him*) in Q.6:119, *awliyā'i-him* (< *awliya'i-him*) in Q.6:121, *jazā'u-hum* (< *jaza'u-hum*) in Q.3:136 and *fa-jazā'u-hu* (< *fa-jaza'u-hu*) in Q.4:93,[32] *nisā'i-kum* (*nisa'i-kum*) in Q.4:15 and *bi-a'dā'i-kum* (< *bi-a'da'i-kum*) in Q.4:45. The same phenomenon could interpret the spelling of the verb *jā'a*, i.e. *ji'ta-hum* and *jā'a-hum* spelled initially with *alif* and then disambiguated by insertion of *yā'* in Q.3:105 and Q.5:110.[33] The same process is likely to explain the spelling *ūlū*[34] with retention of *alif* in final position and absence of *wāw* in Q.3:7 (hand B), whereas in Q.3:18 the same scribe has spelled the word with final *yā'* and absence of *wāw*.[35]

– Retention of both *alif* and *wāw* in *ḏū* (< *ḏu'*)[36] in all its seven occurrences[37] and in *sū'*[38] in all its four occurrences[39] in the copy of MS PeB.

– Use of *alif* for reading the glottal stop preceded by /i/ in final position, instead of *yā'* in *tubawwi'u* in Q.3:121.

– Use of *yā'* to mark the reading /i/ in *yastahzi'ūna* (Q.6:5), whereas *yā'* is absent in the

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[31] The occurrence was later amended in Q.6:91.

[32] Both of the occurrences were changed. The occurrence in Q.3:136 was later changed by inserting *yā'* (i.e. a denticle) thus suggesting a variant reading which implies a different syntactical construction, i.e. *jaza'i-him / jazā'i-him* in its obliquus case instead of *jaza'u-hum / jazā'u-hum* in its nominative case. The second occurrence in Q.4:93 was changed by inserting *wāw* which matches the reading of the Medina *muṣḥaf*.

[33] In Q.3:105 the spelling of hand D has both *alif* and *yā'*, i.e. the later stage of the orthography, whereas in Q.5:110 the spelling of hand A seems to retain only *alif*. Only the occurrence in Q.3:105 has been changed.

[34] *Ibid.*, p.150, *ūlu'* is the initial stage before *ūlū*. The word in Q.3:7 and in Q.3:18 is spelled without *wāw* in MS BnF ar 328a, as observed by Puin (*ibid.*, p. 150).

[35] The spelling of the word in Q.3:7 and Q.3:18 has been changed, also adding the ortho-epic *wāw*.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153 where he observed the same spelling with both *wāw* and *alif* in MS BnF ar.328a, MS DaM 01-28.1, MS St. Petersburg E20, MS BL Or.2165.

[37] The four scribes have a consistent spelling in the whole copy, i.e. in their seven occurrences in Q.2:280, Q:3:4, Q:3:74, Q:3:152, Q:3:174, Q:5:95 and Q.6:133. Only the spelling in Q.2:280 has been later changed by erasing *alif*.

[38] Puin interpreted the retention of *alif* in *sū'* in final position because of its possible interpretation as symbol of indeterminate accusative, see *ibid.*, p. 174. He listed other witnesses bearing such a spelling, i.e. MS BnF ar.328a, MS DaM 01-28.1, MS BL Or.2165 and MS DaM 01-29.1.

[39] The further case of *sū'* in Q.4:149 occurs in a lacuna of the parchment.

skeleton of the word in the Medina *muṣḥaf.*

– Use of *alif* for making clearer the presence of glottal stop close to *yā'* and *alif* that could have suggested a reading of long /ī/ and long /ā/ rather than a reading of short /a/ followed by glottal stop, i.e. *wa-la'in* (Q.3:157 and Q.3:158), *la-'ilā* (in Q.3:158), *la-'adḫaln(ā)-hum* (in Q.5:65).

– Writing of final long /ū/ with addition of *alif*[40] in *wa-law* in Q.3:91 and Q.5:66 later changed by erasing final *alif*, whereas in Q.4:78 the word has been spelled *lām-alif* and later changed to *lām-wāw.* The latter orthography seems to suggest that the spelling *law* is the result of the ortho-epic writing of *la'u* with *alif*, later disambiguated by adding *wāw.*

3.2.1.1.3. Orthographic variants

The above-mentioned readings affect the phonetics of the text of the manuscript, although in a few circumstances it is not certain whether there is a distinct border between a phonetic and orthographic variant, so that, for example, it is impossible to ascertain whether the spelling without *alif*, e.g. in the pattern *fā'il*, is an orthographic variant or a genuine phonetic variant expressing the shortening of the long vowel /ā/.[41] Despite this uncertainty, these variants affecting the presence or absence of *alif* in writing long /ā/ are listed here, among the orthographic variants that are part of the 'orthographic licence'[42] and of the subjective choices of readers and scribes. Thus the orthographic licence comprises:

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[40] *Ibid.*, p. 156. The scholar supposed that the orthography with *alif* was a relatively late development.
[41] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §10, already mentioned above in the section on orthographic variants of MS PaB.
[42] Nöldeke, *History*, III, p. 469.

– *Scriptio defectiva* of /ā/ in nominal forms, i.e. the patterns *fāʿil* (33 times), *faʿāl* (32 times), *afʿāl* (22 times), *fiʿāl* (22 times), *mafāʿil* (six times), *mifʿāl* (five times), *fuʿlān* (five times), *faʿʿāl* (four times), *ifʿāl* (three times), *afāʿīl* (twice), *fuʿalāʾ* (twice), *faʿlān* (twice), nouns of quadriliteral root, i.e. *qarāṭīs* (once), *qirṭās* (once) and *qinṭār* (twice), whereas the patterns *fuʿʿāl*, *mafʿāl*, *fuʿāl*, *fiʿlān*, *fīʿāl*, *faʿīl* and *istifʿāl* occur only once. As regards roots of *mediae infirmae*, the noun *nāran* in Q.4:14 and Q.4:30, the pattern *mafʿāl* in Q.3:188 and the noun *ayyām* in Q.3:24 and Q.3:140 are spelled with *scriptio defectiva* of long /ā/, as well as three occurrences of noun from root of *tertiae infirmae* and lastly, the particles *hunālika* (Q.3:38) and *iyyā*.[43]

– *Scriptio defectiva* of /ā/ in verbs *ajwaf*, mainly the verb *qāla*, already mentioned above in describing the individual positions of the four scribes. Thus the singular *qāla* is spelled without *alif* 38 times, the plural *qālū* 19 times and the feminine *qālat* only once. Moreover, among the verbs *ajwaf*, also the perfect verbs *ḫāfū* (Q.4:9), *hādū* (Q.4:46 and 4:160), *tābū* (Q.4:146), *la-kāna* (Q.4:46) and the imperfect forms *taḫāfū-hum* and *taḫāfūna* (Q.3:175 and Q.4:34), *yaḫāfū* (Q.5:108) and *yaḫāfūna* (Q.5:23), *li-yuṭāʿa* (Q.4:64) and *yukādūna* (Q.4:78) were written without *alif*. The same spelling is featured in the perfect of verbs of form IV (nine times), form VIII (twice), form X (five times) and in the imperfect of verbs of form VIII (twice) as well as in the participle of the same form once.

– *Scriptio defectiva* of /ā/ in verbal forms III and VI[44] that are characterized by an elongated vowel /ā/, i.e. form III in its perfect (three times), imperfect (fourteen times), imperative (five times), participle (five times), infinitive (once); form VI in its perfect (once), imperfect (three times), imperative (six times) and participle (twice).

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[43] See also in Q.17:23 in MS CaB.

[44] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §73c.

– *Scriptio defectiva* of /ā/ in the ending -*āni* of the dual, both in the noun (nine times) and in verbs (four times).

– *Scriptio defectiva* of /ā/ in the ending of the feminine plural in *ṣalāti-him* (Q.6:92).

– *Scriptio defectiva* of /–ā/ spelled with *yā'* before suffixes in the Medina muṣḥaf, i.e. *iḥdā-humā* (twice in Q.2:282) and *mawlā-nā* (Q.2:286).

– *Scriptio defectiva* of both /ī/ and /ā/ in the proper noun Ibrāhīm (Q.3:67 and twice in Q.4:125), whereas it has been written with *alif* and without *yā'* in Q.3:65.

– *Scriptio plena* of /ā/ spelled without *alif* in the Medina muṣḥaf: in nouns, i.e. *ṣirāṭ* (Q.3:51 and 6:126), *'allām* (Q.5:109 and 116), *qawwāmūna* (Q.4:34), *riḍwān* (Q.3:174) and *ḫalāq* (Q.3:77); in verbs, i.e. *jādaltum* (Q.4:109); in the ending of plural feminine, i.e. *jannāt* (ten times), *banāt* (once) and *ayāt* (five times).

– *Scriptio plena* of /ī/ in the suffixed pronoun –*ni* in Q.5:3, spelled with final *yā'*.

– *Alif maqṣūra* spelled with *alif* in *ḥattā* (Q.5:68), *narā* (Q.6:94)[45] and *hadā-ni* (Q.6:80).[46]

– Spelling of the proper noun Dāwūd as Dūād in Q.4:163 and Q.5:78, although in the former case the scribe (D) wrote *alif* at the end of the word, thus resembling the sign for marking the accusative. The first script was amended by first hand (D) *in scribendo.*

– *Involutio,* i.e. the spelling of one *lām* when *lām* of the article is followed by a noun with initial *lām*,[47] in *al-layl* and *bi-l-layl* (five times) and *bi-l-laġw* (Q.5:89).

– Spelling of two separate elements involving *mā* and *lā*, instead of a single one, i.e. *an lā* (*allā* in Q.5:8), *likay lā* (*likaylā* in Q.3:153), *ayna mā* (*aynamā* in Q.4:78) and *kulla mā*

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[45] *Ibid.,* §12.
[46] *Ibid.,* §12 c, f.
[47] *Ibid.,* §52a and 54.

(*kullamā* in Q.4:91).[48]

– Absence of *alif waṣla* after conjunction *wa-* (Q.5:7) and *fa-* (Q.5:83).

– Absence of *alif fāṣila* in the ending of third plural person –*ū* both in the perfect (four times) and in the jussive and conjunctive (three times).[49] It is worth noting that *alif fāṣila* is also absent in *wa-amanū* in the later interlinear addition inserted to amend the omission of part of Q.4:161 due to haplography. The script of this later addition is likely to show a few features of new style script.

– Presence of *alif fāṣila* in the ending of third plural person –*ū*[50] in *wa-bā'ū* (Q.3:112), *jā'ū* (Q.3:184) and in the third singular person of the conjunctive *ya'fuwa*.

3.2.1.1.4. Morphological variants

As in the analysis of the text of MS PaB, the copy of MS PeB reveals a few characteristics in the linguistic competence of the four scribes, in that their work reads some morphological variants that are similar to the situation featured in early Arabic manuscripts. The comparison with the contemporary linguistic situation of the first three centuries of Islam make it possible not to reduce these variants to orthographic variants, although some of them could be defined as the mere absence or presence of *yā'*, *wāw* and *alif*. Thus hand D wrote nine morphological variants, whereas hands A and B wrote four variants and hand C two variants. Among these nineteen occurrences, twelve have been amended, as listed here:

– Absence of *wāw* or *yā'* in verbs *ajwaf*, i.e. short form in the imperfect and imperative moods in *yaqūlūna* (Q.3:78 by hand C and Q.5:73 by hand D), *qūlū* (Q.3:64 by hand B),

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[48] *Ibid.*, §51b, on the spelling of words whose second element is *mā*.
[49] As regards the absence in the plural perfect, see *Ibid.*, §50b.
[50] See *Ibid.*, §50a and Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 156.

taqūlū (Q.5:19 by hand D), *takūnū* (Q.4:78 by hand A), *aṭīʿū* (twice in Q.5:92 by hand D) and *yatīhūna* (Q.5:26 by hand D). The latter verb and the imperative *qulū* have been changed in red ink by C2, *yatihūna* has been changed in brown ink, whereas the other four occurrences have been changed *in scribendo* by the first hand.

— Absence of *wāw* in verbs *miṯāl* where classical Arabic requires it,[51] i.e. absence of *wāw* in form IV imperfect verb *tūliju* (Q.3:27) corrected *in scribendo* by first hand (B).

— Retention of *yāʾ* in the jussive and imperative forms of verbs *nāqiṣ*, i.e. occurrence of non-apocopate forms where classical Arabic requires short forms,[52] i.e. *tuḫzi-nā /* *tuḫzī-nā* in Q.5:26.

— Presence of *yāʾ* in the ending of conjunctive forms, where classical Arabic does not require it, i.e. *nadḫula-hā* in Q.5:24[53] and between first radical and *tāʾ* of form VIII perfect verb in *(i)zdādū /(i)zīdādū* (Q.3:90).

— Presence of *yāʾ* in the ending of imperfect form of verbs which retain the spelling with double *yāʾ* in *yuḥī / yuḥyī* (twice in Q.3:49 and 156), although this could be considered a mere orthographical variant.

— Absence of *yāʾ* in the perfect forms of verbs *nāqiṣ*,[54] i.e. occurrence of apocopate forms where classical Arabic requires long forms, i.e. *fa-atā-hum / fa-ata-hum* in Q.3:148.

— Absence of *yāʾ* in the ending of the plural *aydin* before suffixes, i.e. *aydī-kum* (Q.4:43).

— Use of plural instead of the dual form of nouns,[55] i.e. *aydī-hi* instead of *yaday-hi* in Q.6:92.

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[51] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §80b, interpreted this situation as pseudo-corrections.
[52] *Ibid.*, §82d.
[53] There are no similar forms in early Arabic papyri and the variant is likely to be a pseudo-correction or a mere mistake, although it has not been changed.
[54] *Ibid.*, §82f.
[55] *Ibid.*, §84a.

– Use of *casus obliquus* instead of the nominative[56] in the dual noun *al-ṯuluṯāni / al-ṯuluṯayni* (Q.4:176, D) and in the plural noun *al-ẓālamūna / al-ẓālamīna* (Q.6:135, D) and *al-mu'minūna / al-mu'minīna* (Q.3:122, B). Only the plural endings have been changed with red ink.

The latter case, i.e. the supersession of the nominative by the *casus obliquus* is confirmed by the linguistic situation of early papyri, where the only ending is the *casus obliquus,* so that such variants featured by early Qur'ānic manuscripts can be explained as morphological variants, although this absence of a case system also affects the syntax of the language used.[57]

3.2.1.1.5. Syntactic variants

In comparing the copy of MS PeB with the text of the Medina muṣḥaf, the manuscript reads sixty-two variants, mainly due to omission by the scribe or by a different syntactical construction in reading the text.[58] Apart from the different syntactical constructions concerning the accord between verb and subject by means of a different position or number of diacritics, the other variants disagree with the consonantal outline of the text. This disagreement has probably caused the later correction of such variants. Thus, only six among these sixty-two variants have not been changed by the first hand or a later hand, i.e. two variants involving a different position of diacritics and four variants affecting a

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[56] *Ibid.,* §85.

[57] In *ibid.,* (§161 and 165), for example, the use of casus obliquus instead of the nominative in the plural forms was a morphological feature, as the distinction between the two cases disappeared, whereas retention or absence of *tanwīn alif* was considered a syntactical feature as the two forms coexist in early papyri.

[58] The omissions could be intentional or unintentional, whereas the different syntactic constructions are likely to be a different reading by the scribe, which means an intentional reading. See Parker, David C. *An introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 152-153 on intentional change and accidental error, mentioning *The Freudian Slip* of Timpanaro.

different consonantal outline. It is worth observing that among these four anomalous variants that have not been changed, one corresponds to a distinctive reading of the Syrian tradition, i.e. in Q.3:184.[59] In more detail, MS PeB presents:

– Absence of the coordinating conjunction *wa-* in *rabba-nā wa-lā taḥmil ʿalay-nā* (Q.2:286), *rabba-nā wa-lā tuḥammil-nā* (Q.2:286), *wa-mā unzilati l-tawrā wa-l-inǧīl* (Q.3:65), *wa-aṭīʿū llaha* (Q.3:132), *wa-rusul^{an} qad qaṣaṣna-hum ʿalay-ka* (Q.4:164), *wa-yasʿawna fī l-arḍ* (Q.5:64), *wa-anna llaha bi-kulli šaʾ^{in} ʿalīm* (Q.5:97) and *wa-yawma naḥšuru-hum^{60}* (Q.6:128).

– Absence of the disjunctive *aw* in *an-i qtulū anfusa-kum aw-i ḫruǧū* (Q.4:66) and *fa-nfirū ṯubātin aw-i nfirū ǧamīʿ^{an}* (Q.4:71).[61]

– Presence of the conjunction *wa-* and absence of the pronoun *man* in *li-ma taṣuddūna ʿan sabīli –llahi man āmana tabġūna-hā* (Q.3:99), i.e. 'why do you bar from God's way the believers, desiring to make it crooked' (Arb.), thus reading *li-ma taṣuddūna ʿan sabīli –llahi wa-āmana tabġūna-hā*, i.e. 'why do you bar from God's way and desire to make it (crooked)?'

– Use of the conjunction *wa-* instead of *fa-* in *fa-ʿbudū-hu* (Q.3:51).

– Use of the conjunction *fa-* instead of *wa-* in *wa-law anna ahla l-kitabi* (Q.5:65).

– Use of the disjunctive *aw* instead of the coordinating *wa-* in *wa-kallama-hum al-mawtā*

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[59] See Cook, Michael. 'The Stemma of the Regional Codices of the Koran'. *Graeco-Arabica. Festschrift in honour of V. Christides*, 9-10, 2004, pp. 89-104, pp. 91-92 on the Syrian codex, reconstructed on the basis of the indirect tradition about the four codices, i.e. the Syrian, Medinese, Baṣran and Kūfan codex, without considering the witnesses of the Qurʾānic manuscripts. In the portion of text copied by the four scribes in PeB, the so-called Syrian codex reads three distinctive variants, in Q.3:184, 4:66 and 6:137. The copy PeB reads all these three variants and one of them (i.e. *wa-bi l-zuburi* in Q.3:184) has not been corrected. This could suggest an awareness in C2 (red ink stage) of its being accepted by the tradition, and it could also be indicative of the provenance, although there is no analysis of the geographical distribution of the readings (see Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads*, p. 34).

[60] The manuscript reads the variant with initial *nūn* instead of *yāʾ*.

[61] In both cases of omission by hand A and B, the black ink phase (C1) added *wa-* to replace the omission and the later phase (C2) added *alif* to *wāw* in red ink.

(Q.6:111)

- Use of the coordinating *wa-* instead of the disjunctive *aw* in *mā tuṭ'imūna ahlī-kum aw kiswatu-hum* (Q.5:89).

- *Tanwīn alif* missing as case system is absent,[62] i.e. *ṣaġīr*^{an} (Q.2:282),[63] *rizq*^{an} (Q.3:37), *raḥīm*^{an} (Q.4:64), *'aẓīm*^{an} (Q.4:146), *'azīz*^{an} (Q.4:165). Moreover, in *wa-lā yabḫas min-hu šay'*^{xan} (Q.2:282) the first hand B or the later hands have changed *šay'*^{xan} adding final *alif maqṣūra* that could indicate a syntactical variant with the absence of *tanwīn alif* or a hypercorrection of the orthography of *šay'* as it is always spelled in this manuscript.

- Addition of *tanwīn alif* to *muṣaddiqu* by a later hand[64] in *wa-hāḏa kitabun anzalnā-hu mubārakun muṣaddiqu llaḏī bayna yaday-hi* (Q.6:92), i.e. 'this is a Book We have sent down, blessed and confirming that which was before it' which suggests a different syntactical construction rather than a hypercorrection in indicating *tanwīn alif*.

- Use of the *casus obliquus* instead of the nominative in *šurakā'i-him* instead of *šurakā'u-hum* (Q.6:137).[65]

- Hypercorrect form of *tanwīn alif* after *illā*,[66] although uncertain, in *mā fa'alū-hu illā qalil*^{un} *min-hum* (Q.4:66).

- Using a different number, gender and person in according nouns, pronouns and verbs: masculine plural *-hum* instead of *–hā* to refer to *tijārat*^{an} in *tudīrūna-hā* (Q.2:282); feminine *takun*[67] and *-hā* to refer to *maytat*^{an} in *wa-in yakun maytat*^{an} *fa-hum*

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[62] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §165.
[63] At this point, the variant could also indicate a mere orthographic variant because of *involutio* of *alif tanwīn* and the following *alif* (see *ibid.*, §54).
[64] The final ending of this word has been changed twice, i.e. firstly a later hand has added *tanwīn alif,* also rewriting also a further *qāf,* and then this entire letter block *qāf-alif* has been cancelled (MS Min1572, f.5v, ll.7-8 by hand B).
[65] This variant corresponds to a reading transmitted by indirect tradition.
[66] *Ibid.*, §170g.
[67] The verb *takun* corresponds to a reading transmitted by indirect tradition.

fī-hi šurakā'u (Q.6:139);[68] feminine *–hā* instead of *–hu* to refer to *anbā'* rather than to *al-ġayb* in *ḏālika min anbā'i l-ġaybi nūjī-hi* (Q.3:44); first plural person rather than the feminine to refer to *amanat*[an] in *amanat*[an] *nu'ās*[an] *yaġšā ṭā'ifat*[an] *min-kum* (Q.3:154); feminine *tu'tā* instead of the plural person *nu'tā* to refer to *mā ūtiya* (Q.6:124); masculine *aṣaba-hum* instead of *aṣabat-hum* to refer to *muṣība* (Q.4:62) and feminine *aṣ(ā)bat-kum* instead of *aṣāba-kum* to refer to *faḍl* (Q.4:73); dual *fa-tawakkalā* instead of plural *fa-tawakkalū* to refer to *rajulāni* (Q.5:23) and the opposite phenomenon in the variant *fa-q(ā)tilū* instead of *fa-qātilā* to refer to the same word *rajulāni* (Q.5:24) and feminine *ta'ti-kum* instead of *ya'ti-kum* to refer to *rusul* (Q.6:130).

– Absence of parts of the structure: the *ism inna* in *fa-inna allaha ġafūr*[un] (Q.3:89), the verb *kāna* in *wa-man kāna ġaniyy*[an] (Q.4:6), the object *'an-hum* in *jādaltum 'an-hum* (Q.4:109); the object *la-kum* in *mat(ā)'an la-kum* (Q.5:96) and *bi-hi* to refer to *mā* in *mā kānū bi-hi yastahzi'ūna*.[69]

– Absence of the preposition *min* in *li-l-rijāli naṣīt*[un] *mimmā taraka l-wālidāni* (Q.4:7), in *al-sudusu mimmā taraka* (Q.4:11) and in *wa-mā 'allamtum min-a l-jawāriḥ* (Q.5:4).[70]

– Absence of the preposition *li-* in *wa-li-llahi mulku l-sam(ā)w(ā)t*, i.e. 'to God belongs the Kingdom of the heavens' (Arb) in Q.3:189 and in *li-llahi mā fī l-sam(ā)w(ā)t*, i.e. 'to God belongs all that is in the heavens' (Arb) in Q.2:284.[71]

– Absence of the suffixed pronoun *-hu* in *wa-fī-kum rasūlun* instead of *wa-fī-kum rasūlu-*

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[68] This variant was underlined by Dutton as a random (and single) example from MS Min1572 of 'grammar-driven slips of the pen' to confirm the thesis that the reading *la-hā/la-hu* of MS BnF328a in Q.4:176 does not refer to a different interpretation of *kalāla* in the Islamic law of inheritance, as mentioned in Chapter 1. See Dutton, 'The kalāla verses', p. 361.

[69] Apart from the latter variant, i.e. omission of *bi-hi*, the other variants are likely to be mechanical errors in the copying process rather than different syntactical constructions. They have been all corrected by the first hand *in scribendo* or immediately with interlinear additions.

[70] The first omission (in Q.4:7) has not been amended, whereas the second and third variants have been changed, i.e. the first hand A has added *min* in Q.4:11 and a later hand has added *min* in black ink in Q.5:4.

[71] The former variant reads *wa-llahu* instead of *wa-li-llahi*, whereas the latter reads *il(ā)hu*, thus also expressing a lexical variant in the use of *ilāh* instead of *allah*.

hu (Q.3:101); possible omission[72] of the pronoun *–ī* in *bi-iḏn-ī* (three times in Q.5:110) immediately added to the changed shape of final *nūn.*

– Absence of the vocative *rabbi* in *rabbi innī* in Q.3:35.

– Absence of the article prefixed to the first noun in *status constructus*[73] in *la-hum dāru l-salām* (Q.6:127).

– Absence of prefixed interrogative *alif* in *a-fa-īn* (Q.3:144).

– Presence of prefixed interrogative *alif* in *wa-ma la-kum lā tuqātilūna* (Q.4:75), i.e. 'how is it with you, that you do not fight in the way of God?' (Arb).[74] The use of *alif* instead of *an* in *ḥaṣirat ṣudūru-hum an yuq(ā)tilū-kum* (Q.4:90) is likely to be a careless mistake rather than a different syntactical structure using the interrogative particle *a-* rather than the conjunction *an.*

– Use of the conjunction *iḏā* instead of *iḏ* in Q.3:103.[75]

– Presence of the preposition *bi-*, i.e. *wa-bi-l-zubur* in *jā'ū bi-l-bayyināti wa-l-zubur* (Q.3:184).[76]

– Use of the passive form *ūtū* instead of the active in *allaḏīna yafraḥūna bi-mā atū*, i.e. 'those who rejoice in what they have brought' (Arb) in Q.3:188.[77]

– Absence of mood distinction between indicative and subjunctive/jussive forms, in that only the ending *–ū* survives in the plural persons, i.e. *tu'minū* without *alif fāṣila* instead of *tu'minūna* (Q.4:59); *ya'lamū* instead of *ya'lamūna* (Q.3:78) and *yatihū* instead

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[72] The reading of the first writing before the change is uncertain.
[73] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §181.
[74] The *alif* could be also interpreted as a lexical variant by reading *illā* instead of *lā*.
[75] MS CaB features the opposite phenomenon, i.e. use of the conjunction *iḏ* instead of *iḏā*. See section below.
[76] This reading corresponds to one of the distinctive Syrian variants (see Cook, 'Stemma Regional Codices' and section below) and has not been changed.
[77] The passive occurs in the previous verse, i.e. Q.3:187.

of *yatīhūna* (Q.5:26).[78]

– Use of the perfect verb instead of the imperfect in the protasis of conditional clauses,[79] i.e. *ḫarajū* in *fa-in yaḫrujū min-hā* (Q:5:22) and *kafara* in *fa-man yakfur ba'du min-kum* (Q.5:115).[80]

– Absence of the emphatic suffix *nūn*, i.e. *–anna* of the *modus energicus*,[81] in *la-yabluwanna-kum* (Q.5:94).[82]

The classification of variant typologies suggested in this analysis cannot exclude the possible interpretation of a variant in more than one way, so a syntactical variant can also be a lexical variant or a lexical variant can be a syntactical variant, as variants involving the lexicon sometimes also affect the syntactical structure of the sentence.

3.2.1.2. Lexical variants

Thus, for example, among the long list of orthographic licence in not marking long /ā/ with *alif*, there could be lexical variants rather than orthographic variants as the *qirā'āt* literature[83] suggests in a few cases, e.g. *al-ġā'iṭ* (Q.4:43) spelled as al-ĠYṬ in MS Mar17, f.13v, l.17 and *ṭa'ām* (Q.5:95) spelled as Ṭ'M in MS MIA67 f.2v, l.22. In the former example, Ibn Mas'ūd read *al-ġayṭ*, i.e. the *maṣdar* or the original pattern *fay'il* and in the latter case al-

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[78] The variant in Q.4:59 has been amended with both black ink (C1) and red ink (C2), whereas the variants in Q.3:78 and Q.5:26 have been amended by first hands C and D. It is worth noting that in *yatihū* the first hand erased *alif* and added final *nūn*, whereas the short form with /i/ was amended by the later hand by adding an initial denticle in red ink.

[79] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §311 and 314.

[80] Both variants were written by hand D and changed by a later hand in red ink.

[81] Zewi, Tamar. 'Energicus in Saadya Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch' in Andrzej Zaborski, ed., *New Data and New Methods in Afroasiatic* Linguistics. Robert Hetzron in memoriam. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2001, pp. 223-230.

[82] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §67.

[83] See details on these variants in the *qirā'āt* literature in the section below.

Ḥasan[84] read *ṭuʻm* without *alif.* However, the common habit of this orthographic licence leads one to prefer their interpretation as orthographical variants.

As regards the lexical variants, MS PeB reads synonyms or words expressing a different meaning as well as variants related to the voice and recipient of the message:

- *Allah* instead of *il(ā)h* in *wa-mā min ilāhin illā ilāhun*, i.e. 'No god is there but Allah' instead of 'No god is there but One God' (Arb) in Q.5:73.

- Synonym *ḥikma* instead of *ḥukm*, i.e. 'wisdom' (Q.3:79).

- *aḫzā*, i.e. 'disgrace' instead of *ġarra*, i.e. 'mislead, delude' in 'Let it not delude thee, that the unbelievers go to and fro in the land' (Q.3:196).

- *ḥirj*, i.e. 'restriction' instead of *ḥijr* 'forbidden' (Q.6:138) as transmitted also in the *qirāʾāt* literature, being a reading of Ubayy and Ibn Masʻūd amongst others.[85]

- *ḏālika* instead of *ḏālikum* in Q.6:99.

- Alternative form of plural *awjuh* instead of *wujūh* in *bi-wujūhi-kum* in Q.4:43 and Q.5:6, as suggested by the beginning of the word written by the scribes, i.e. *bi-a* and corrected *in scribendo.*

- Use of verb form IV instead of form II *nazzala* in Q.4:47 and form IV instead of form I *naḍija* in Q.4:56.

- Preposition *ilā* instead of the prefixed preposition *li-* in *li-l-nās* in Q.4:79.[86]

- Plural *rasulū(na)* or *rusul* instead of singular *rasūl* in Q.5:19, although its reading is unclear and singular *rasūl* instead of the plural *rusul* in Q.5:19 and 6:124; singular

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[84] al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728) was among the authoritative readers besides the Seven Readers, see e.g. Nasser, *Variant Readings*, pp. 39, 49.
[85] See the section below on the reading transmitted by the Islamic tradition.
[86] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §107b reports one example of supersession of *li-*.

ḏakar instead of the plural *ḏukūr* in Q.6:139.[87]

- Verb *naqala*, i.e. 'to move' in *fa-tanqulū* instead of *inqalaba*, i.e. 'to turn back' in *fa-tanqalibū* (Q.5:21).[88]

- Verb *'adala*, i.e. 'to act justly' instead of *i'tadā*, i.e. 'to commit excesses' in Q.5:2, thus connecting it to the following *wa-ta'āwanū 'alā l-birri wa-l-taqwā*, i.e. 'act justly and help one another to piety and godfearing'.

- Expression of different subject in verbs by using different diacritical marks. Such variants do not affect the syntactical structure of the sentence, like the variants listed in the previous section, but they express a different point of view of the same communication process. Thus MS PeB reads first plural person instead of first or third singular person in *atayn(ā)-kum* (*ataytu-kum* in Q.3:81) and *naḥšuru-hum* (*yaḥšuru-hum* in Q.6:128); second plural 'you' instead of third plural 'they' in *turja'ūna* (Q.3:82), *taf'alū* (Q.3:115); *tukfarū-hu* (Q.3:115), *tajma'ūna* (Q.3:157), *ta'malūna* (Q.4:108), *tad'ūna* (twice in Q.4:117), *tabtaġūna* (as supposed reading in Q.5:2), *tantahū* (Q.5:73), *tu'minūna* (Q.5:81), *tuš'iru-kum* (Q.6:109). Moreover, the manuscript reads first plural person 'we' instead of second singular 'you' in *nara* (Q.4:49); 'you' instead of 'he' in *tajidu* (*fa-man lam yajid* in Q.5:89, i.e. 'whoever cannot find') as well as 'he' instead of 'you' in *ṣadaqa-nā* (*ṣadaqta-nā* in Q.5:113, i.e. 'you have been truthful to us').

3.2.1.3. MECHANICAL ERRORS

It is also possible that some variants that have been interpreted as phonetic, orthographic,

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[87] The *scriptio defectiva* of long /ū/ is common only in verbal form of verb *ajwaf*, i.e. *qāla*, thus suggesting the variant *rusul* rather than the *scriptio defectiva* of *rasūl* and the variant *ḏakar* rather than the *scriptio defectiva* of *ḏukūr*.
[88] The variant could also be a mere careless mistake in omitting one denticle, i.e. *bā'*.

morphological, syntactical and lexical variants are the result of mistakes and carelessness in copying, as the several cases of mistakes in placing diacritics seem to suggest, as well as the variants corrected *in scribendo.* In fact, at many points it is likely that in the copy of MS PeB the scribes have inverted a diacritic's position, as already observed in MS PaB. Thus the manuscript reads:

– Alternation d>ḏ in *al-dīn* (Q.3:19); n>t in *kuntu* (Q.3:44), *wa-kuntum* (Q.3 :103), *la-tu'minunna* (Q.3:81) and *wa-yanhawna* (Q.3:104); t>n in *ra'aytumū-hu* (Q.3:143); t>b in *buht(ā)n^{an}* (Q.4:112); t>ṯ in *a-aqrartum* (Q.3:81); y>b in *yajid* (Q.4:92); y>n in *taklīm^{an}* (Q.4:164) and y>n in *fī-hā* (Q.4:97); b>n in *fa-tabayyanū* (Q.4:94) and *mubīn^{an}* (Q.4:153); j>ḫ in *wa-yuḫriju-hum* (Q.5:16).

– Inversion of the position of diacritics, thus having the diacritic marking *nūn* or *tā'* above the second denticle rather than above the first denticle in combination with *yā'*, i.e. in *al-dunyā* (Q.3:154 and Q.4:74), *wa-ḏurriyyati-him* (Q.6:87) and *wa-l-yattaqi* (Q.2:282); bn > nb in *ḏunūba-nā* (Q.3:147); tb > bt in *kit(ā)b^{an}* (Q.4:103), *wa-yattabi'* (Q.4:115) and *wa-ttaba'a* (Q.4:125); ḥz > ḫr in *yaḥzun-ka* (Q.3:176) and jnb > ḫnn in *junūbi-him* (Q.3:191).

– The impossible single diacritic placed above final *tā'* in *al-āy(ā)t* in Q.6:105.

Besides the probable mistakes in placing diacritics in their wrong position, the scribes seem to have also made mistakes in inverting two non-homograph letters, thus inverting ṭy > yṭ in *wa-l-qan(ā)ṭīr* (Q.3:14); qn > nq in *ḫalaqnā-kum* (Q.6:94); mt > tm in *za'amtum* (Q.6:94)[89] and št > tš in *muštabih^{an}* (Q.6:99);[90] *wāw* and *alif* indicating long /ū/ and /ā/ written in the wrong

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[89] The scribe seems to have duplicated the denticle marking *tā'* by writing it before as well as after *mīm*. Such a mistake has been amended, probably by first hand D.

[90] As in the previous example in Q.6:94, the scribe seems to have duplicated the denticle before and after *šīn*, although in this case there is no amendment.

position in *mabsūṭat(ā)ni* (Q.5:64) and *jannāt* (Q.6:141). This phenomenon of inverting non-homograph letters seems to imply copying from an exemplar, as in the latter example. In writing *jannāt*, the scribe placed *alif* before *nūn*[91] rather than after it, thus revealing that the *scriptio plena* in marking /ā/ in the plural feminine was a characteristic of the exemplar and not an individual position of the single scribe.[92] This copying process could also explain the cases of metathesis[93] of *alif fāṣila* placed after the following conjunction *wa-* in *'aṣaw wa-kānū* (Q.5:78) and duplication of *wāw-alif* after *al-barr* in *al-barri wa-' wa-'l-baḥr* (Q.6:97). Similarly, the *involutio* observed in a few orthographical variants[94] can be interpreted as part of the copying process, as in *ṯuqifū illā* (Q.3:112) writing one *alif* instead of two for *alif fāṣila* and initial *alif* in *illā*.

The mechanism of mechanical errors made during the copy process is suggested by the two examples of haplography. Firstly, hand A omitted part of Q.4:131 due to *homoeoarcton* of *fa-inna lillahi mā fī l-samāwāti wa-mā fī l-arḍi* in Q.4:131 and the beginning of Q.4:132, i.e. *wa-lillahi mā fī l-samāwāti wa-mā fī l-arḍi.* The omitted part was later inserted with an interlinear correction which reads a further variant, probably due to carelessness, as the scribe again omitted *al-arḍ*, writing *wa-mā fī wa-kāna.* The second omission is due to *homoioteleuton*, in that hand D wrote *mā ttaqū wa-amanū* in Q.5:93, skipping the part of the verse until the following identical *ṯumma ttaqū wa-amanū.* Later, the absent expression *wa-'amilū l-ṣāliḥāt ṯumma ttaqū wa-amanū* was added with interlinear correction. It should be noted that the initial *alif* in the later added *amanū* seems to be written in new style script.[95] A further

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[91] The non-sense variant has been amended by C2 in red ink.
[92] Such orthography could have also influenced the spelling of the singular form, i.e. *jannat* in Q.3:133, written with *alif* between *jīm* and *nūn.*
[93] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §56.
[94] *Ibid.*, §54a.
[95] See Déroche's classification in Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, pp.136-137. Moreover, the amended word *wa-amanū* read an orthographic variant in that *alif fāṣila* is absent.

example of mechanical error is *wa-aḍallū* in Q.5:77, in that hand D added initial *alif* to *ḍallū*, probably influenced by the previous form *aḍallū* in the same verse.

In contrast, the probable variant in Q.5:117 is likely to denote a different mechanism. The manuscript reads *wa-anta 'alā kulli šay'in [[qad]] šahīd* with erasure of *qad*, which could be interpreted by conjecturing that the first hand B corrected *in scribendo* the variant he had started to write, that is the formula that occurs thirty-five times in the Qur'ānic text, i.e. *wa-anta 'alā kulli šay'in qadīr* ('you are powerful over everything'), instead of 'you are, over all things, a Witness' which occurs eight times.

Despite the latter variant in Q.5:117 which implies an aural dimension in the writing process,[96] the mechanical errors listed above and the several variants in which the scribes omitted part of words make the hypothesis highly probable that they were using a written exemplar. Thus the copy reads the omission of *rā'* and *ḍad* in *al-arḍ* (Q.5:21); *nūn* in *li-man* (Q.5:18) and in *fa-in* (Q.5:22); *lām* in *al-ẓalimūna* (Q.6:93); final *-īna* in *wa-llaḏīna* (Q.4:122); *hā'* in *fa-narudda-hā* (Q.4:47); *alif* in *ilay-ka* (Q.4:166); *rā'* in *ḏurriyyatan* (Q.4:9), in *kafarū* (Q.5:3) and the second *rā'* in *ġurūran* (Q.4:120), whereas in *tu'riḍū* (Q.4:135) the *rā'* has been duplicated as well as *yā'* in *(i)ṯnatayni* (Q.4:11) and an extra *lām* has been added in *taraka* (Q.4:176).

The characteristics of the execution in the copy of MS PeB beyond the limitations of a mere definition of errors and corrections show the mechanisms by which the scribe were copying, suggesting two possible scenarios: a work realized by non-expert scribes during

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[96] This aural phase of the mechanism could correspond to the phase of retention of the text by the copyist after the reading. See below, section on corrections.

their learning process[97] or a work realized by scribes skilled in a different written tradition who did not completely understand the text. Further elements implying the scribes' difficulties in organizing the page layout are in favour of the former hypothesis, as it is very unlikely that scribes skilled in other traditions would have not been able to justify their script on the left margins. In fact, in Q.5:20 hand D wrote *al-* of *al-ʿ(ā)lamīna* at the end of a line, soon realizing that there was not enough room to write the entire letter block, so he erased *lām* and wrote the letter block at the beginning of the following line. The same mechanism is likely to explain the erasure of initial *alif* so as to write the entire word *al-samīʿ* on the next line (Q.3:35); the repetition of the letter block YD in *yadayya* (Q.3:50); the erasure of LKM after *mubaddil* for rewriting the entire word *li-kalim(ā)ti-hi* on the new line in Q.6:115, and lastly, the erasure of *min* to rewrite it once again at the end of the same line in order to justify the margin, so that the manuscript reads *[[min]] min* in Q.3:30.[98]

3.2.2. The variants of the Islamic tradition and the richness of MS PeB

The richness of the textual tradition of MS PeB as reflected in its variants has few correspondences with the information given in the *qirāʾāt* literature. Despite their small number, these parallel *qirāʾāt* substantiate some of the manuscript's readings as being variants and not just possible errors. The same conclusions are supported by a few ends of verses that agree with the numbering systems transmitted by the tradition.

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[97] The dimension of the learning process was also underlined in the execution of the Sana'a palimpsest in Hilali, 'Work in Progress'.
[98] Lastly, it should be noted that there are seventeen illegible words, the probable nature of the variants of which is conjectured on the basis of the later corrections that make their reading impossible.

3.2.2.1. Variants in the copy's text compared with *qirā'āt* literature

The above listed variants of MS PeB show a complex situation, in that the four scribes had individual positions in using their own orthography, although at other points their orthography is rather consistent, thus probably reflecting the coherent situation of the exemplar. Their copy has a few anomalous variants that affect the consonantal skeleton, and not all have been amended, although traces of carelessness in copying and in planning the page layout could lead to the interpretation of their variants as mere mistakes and mechanical errors. However, comparison with the *qirā'āt* literature shows that among the anomalous variants of this manuscript are examples of distinctive readings such as *ḥirj* in Q.6:138 attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd, among the others. Moreover, the three distinctive readings attributed to the so-called Syrian codex in Q.3:184, Q.4:66 and Q.6:137[99] are present in MS PeB. This should be compared with the possible attribution of MS Parisino-petropolitanus to the Syrian codex or reading,[100] in that both manuscripts come from the same deposit, i.e. the mosque of Fusṭāṭ. On the other hand, anomalous readings like *yuḫzanna-ka* instead of *yaġurranna* in Q.3:196 have no parallel in the available *qirā'āt* literature, although the presence of distinctive anomalous readings substantiated by the tradition raises the question about the text type of these manuscripts coming from Fusṭāṭ.[101]

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[99] See Cook, 'Stemma Regional Codices', pp. 91-92. The distinctive reading in Q.6:32 corresponds to a missing part of MS PeB, i.e. the gap between the MS MIA leaves and the MS Mingana leaves.

[100] See Dutton, 'An Early Muṣḥaf'. However, Déroche cautiously underlined that there are no studies about the geographical distribution of the reading attributed to geographical areas (Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*), so it is not automatic to infer that the Syrian reading was diffused throughout Syria. It is worth mentioning that MS PP reads the same distinctive variants of the Syrian codex in the portion of text it has in common with MS PeB, i.e. in Q.3:184, Q.4:66, Q.6:32 (section missing in PeB) and Q.6:132.

[101] The presence of variants attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd does not mean that MS PeB represents a Ibn Mas'ūd text type or a Companion text type different from the 'Uthmānic text type (see Sadeghi - Bergmann. 'The Codex of a Companion' and Cook, 'Stemma Regional Codices'), but it raises the research question of investigating the relationships between manuscripts to group them.
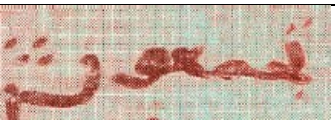
The variants that have a parallel in the *qirā'āt* literature are listed in the following table.[102]

āya	Medina *muṣḥaf*	manuscript witness	manuscript image	manuscript text	Typology of variant	>
Q.2:273	بِسِيمَٰهُم	Mar 17 f.1r, l.13		بسمهم	orthography phonetics *imāla*	N
	Source al-Bannā', *Itḥāf*, I, p.457	وأمال (سيماهم) حمزة، والكسائي، وخلف			Long vwl (± y)	
		Hamza, al-Kisā'ī and Ḥalaf[103] read *sīmā-hum* with *imāla* (i.e. shift a>e)				
Q.2:275 Q.2:275 Q.2:276	الرِّبَوٰا	Mar 17 f.1r, l.17 Mar 17 f.1r,l.20 Mar 17 f.1r, l.23		الربا	orthography phonetics	N
	Source al-Bannā', *Itḥāf*, I, p.457	وعن الحسن (الرباء) بالمد والهمز كيف جاء والجمهور بلا مد ولا همز.			Cons loss (± w)	
		On the basis of al-Ḥasan (it is read) *al-rabā'* with *madd* (lengthening of the vowel /a/) and *hamza*, whereas people read without *madd* and without *hamza*.				
	al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p.229	use of *imāla*: Hamza, al-Kisā'ī and Ḥalaf used *imāla* in reading *al-ribā'* and *al-ḍuḥā*, however they were written				
Q.3:49	بِـَٔايَةٍ	Mar 17 f.4r,l.15		بايه	orthography phonetics	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* II, p.487	وقرأ الجمهور بأنه على الإفراد، وكذلك في وجئتكم بآية من ربكم، وفي مصحف عبد الله (بآيات) على الجمع في			Long vwl (± y)	

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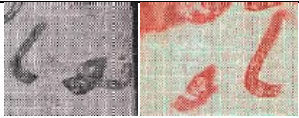
[102] The structure of the information reported in this table is the same as the table listing the *qirā'āt* of MS PaB. The first column on the right reports whether the variant reading has been adjusted (Yes or No). The colours used in the manuscript cell indicate the hands, i.e. A, B, C and D (green indicates A, blue B, orange C and purple D). Where it has been impossible to access the primary sources, the reference is Muḫtār 'Umar, Aḥmad and 'Abd al-'Āl Sālim Makram. *Mu'gam al-qirā'āt al-Qur'āniyya*. Cairo, 'Ālam al-Kutub 1997, 6 vols.

[103] Ḥalaf al-Bazzār al-Baġdādī (150-229 AH), transmitter of Hamza. He was excluded by Ibn Mujāhid, but still cited and considered by other scholars after that. See e.g. Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p. 112.

The reading of the manuscript does not correspond to the reading of the tradition. In fact, in the muṣḥaf of 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ūd there is bi-āyāt, i.e. 'with signs (from your Lord)' in the plural form, whereas the others read bi-aya, i.e. 'with a sign (from your Lord)'.

It is unclear whether the reading of the manuscript has been influenced by the variant of Ibn Mas'ūd (spelling the long /ā/ of the plural ending with yā' as it consistently spelled after the preposition bi-) or whether it is the singular form influenced by the spelling of the plural.

Q.3:83	يُرجَعونَ	Mar 17 f.5v,l.13		ترجعون	Lexicon they/you	N

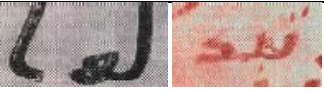Impf. y>t

| | Source Ibn Mugāhid, *al-Sab'a*, p.214 | واختلفوا فى الياء والتاء من قوله: (يَبْغُونَ .. وَإِلَيْهِ يُرْجَعُونَ).

فقرأ **أبو عمرو** وحده: (يَبْغُونَ) بالياء (وَإِلَيْهِ تُرْجَعُونَ) بالتاء مضمومة. وقرأهما الباقون: (تَبْغُونَ) (وَإِلَيْهِ تُرْجَعُونَ) بالتاء جميعًا.

وروى حفص، عن عاصم: (يَبْغُونَ) (وَإِلَيْهِ يُرْجَعُونَ) جميعا بالياء. | | | |

| | Source al-Bannā', *Ithāf*, I, p.484 and others | واختلف في (يرجعون): فحفص، وكذا يعقوب، **بالغيب**، ويعقوب على أصله في فتح الياء، وكسر الجيم، **والباقون بالخطاب على الالتفات**. | | | |

1. There is disagreement in reading yā' and tā' in his words: 'yabġūna ...wa-ilay-hi yurja'ūna, i.e. 'what, do they desire (another religion than God's, and to Him has surrendered whoso is in the heavens and the earth, willingly,) and to Him they shall be returned? (Arb.tr.)

Abū 'Amr alone reads yabġūna with yā' and wa-ilay-hi turja'ūna with tā' vocalized /u/. The others read both (words) tabġūna ...wa-ilay-hi turja'ūna with tā' all of them.

Ḥafs from 'Āṣim transmits yabġūna ...wa-ilay-hi yurja'ūna, all with yā'.

2. There is disagreement in yurja'ūna: Ḥafṣ and so Ya'qūb (read) with the third person (i.e. 'they'), and Ya'qūb vocalized yā' with /a/ and jīm with /i/ (i.e. yarju'ūna instead

				of *yurjaʻūna*), whereas the others read with the second person (you) by switching.[104]		
Q.3:115	يَفعَلوا	Mar 17 f.7r,l.6		تفعلوا they/you	Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.39	﴿وما يفعلوا من خير فلن يكفروه﴾ قرأ نافع وابن عامر وابن كثير وأبو بكر بالتاء فيهما على الخطاب واختلفوا في المخاطب			Impf. y>t	
		Nāfiʻ, Ibn ʻĀmir, Ibn Kaṯīr and Abū Bakr read in them (i.e. the two verbs *yafʻalū* and *yukfarū-hu*) *tāʼ* of the dialogue and they disagree about the interlocutor.				
Q.3:115	يُكفَروُه	Mar 17 f.7r,ll.6-7		تكفر=وه they/you	Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.39	See previous reading			Impf. y>t	
		Nāfiʻ, Ibn ʻĀmir, Ibn Kaṯīr and Abū Bakr				
Q.3:154	يَغشىٰ	Mar 17 f.8v,l.21		تـغشى he/she	Syntax	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.93	وقرأ حمزة والكسائي ﴿تغشى﴾ بالتاء حملاً على لفظ أمنة، هكذا قالوا			Impf. y>t	
		Hamza and al-Kisāʼī read *taġšā* with *tāʼ* (i.e. the feminine 'she overcomes') referred to the word *amana*, i.e. 'security' instead of the masculine *yaġšā* referred to *huwa*, i.e. 'He' in 'Then He sent down upon you, after grief, security, a slumber overcoming a party of you' (Arb.)				
Q.3:157	يَجمَعونَ	Mar 17 f.9r,l.12		تجمعون they/you	Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.103	وقرأ الجمهور ﴿تجمعون﴾ بالتاء على سياق الخطاب في قوله ﴿ولئن قتلتم﴾، وقرأ قوم منهم حفص عن عاصم بالياء أي: مما يجمعه الكفار المنافقون وغيرهم ﴿ولئن متم أو قتلتم لإلى الله			Impf. y>t	

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[104] *Iltifāt*, referring to turning one's face toward, is 'a sudden shift in the pronoun of the speaker or the person spoken about', see Gade, Anna M. *Perfection makes Practice: Learning, Emotion, and the Recited Qurʼān in Indonesia.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2004, p. 97.

					تحشرون﴾	
		Only Ḥafṣ on the basis of 'Āṣim read *yajma'ūna* with *yā'* (i.e. 'they accumulate'), whereas the majority read *tajma'ūna* with *tā'* (i.e. 'you accumulate') in the sequence of the dialogue, i.e. 'If you are slain or die in God's way, forgiveness and mercy from God are a better thing than that you amass' (Arb.). The reading *yajma'ūna* refers to unbelievers and hypocrites and others, i.e. 'If you are slain or die in God's way, forgiveness and mercy from God are a better thing than that they (unbelievers and hypocrites) amass'.				
Q.3:184	وَالزُّبُرِ	Mar 17 f.10r,l.20		وبالزبر	Syntax addiction bi- ḥarf (± bi)	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.138	وقرأ الجمهور ﴿والزبر﴾ وقرأ ابن عامر ﴿وبالزبر﴾				
		The majority reads *wa-l-zuburi*, i.e. 'and the Psalms', whereas Ibn 'Āmir reads *wa-bi-l-zuburi*, i.e. 'and with the Psalms' in 'Then if they reject thee, so were rejected messengers before thee, who came with Clear Signs, Books of dark prophecies, and the Book of Enlightenment'.				
Q.3:188	أُتُوا	Mar 17 f.10v,ll.3-4		او=نوا	Syntax active/ passive act - pass	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.144	وقرأ النخعي ومروان بن الحكم ﴿بما آتوا﴾ بمعنى أعطوا، وقرأ ابن جبير والسلمي ﴿بما أُوتوا﴾ مبنياً للمفعول				
		al-Naḫa'ī and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam read *bi-mā ātū* with the meaning 'they have given', whereas Ibn Jubayr and al-Salamī read *bi-mā ūtū* in the passive form, i.e. 'they have been given' in 'Reckon not that those who rejoice in what they have brought, and love to be praised for what they have not done, do not reckon them secure from chastisement; for them awaits a painful chastisement' (Arb).				
Q.3:190	وَالنَّهَارِ لَآيٰتٍ	Mar 17 f.10v,l.8		والنها لات والنهار لات	Phonetics Cons loss (± r)	Y 4 ?
	Source al-Safāqisī, *Ġayṯ*, p.162	المدغم. ﴿فاغفر لنا﴾ .. عن الدوري ﴿والنهار لآيات ..﴾				

		fa-ġfir la-nā (Q.3:16) … from al-Dūrī and *wa-l-nahār la-āyātin* (i.e. *wa-l-nahāl la-āyātin*) etc.[105]				
Q.4:2		Mar 17 f.11r,ll.14-15		تبد=لوا	Phonetics or Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.167	وقرأ ابن محيصن ﴿ولا تبدلوا﴾ بإدغام التاء الأولى في الثانية			Cons loss (± t) Vrb Frm (V-II)	
		Ibn Muḥayṣin[106] read *wa-lā ttabaddalū* with assimilation of the first *tā'* in the second one in *wa-lā tatabaddalū*				
Q.4:31	كَبَائِرَ	Mar 17 f.13r,l.10		كبر	Orthography/ Ph Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.243		قراءة ﴿كبير﴾		Vwl (±ā)	
		The reading *kabīr* is mentioned in commenting on the 'major sins'				
Q.4:34	المَضاجِعِ	Mar 17 f.13r,l.22		المضجع	Orthography/ Ph Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.252	وقرأ عبد الله والنخعي ﴿في المضجع﴾ على الإفراد وفيه معنى الجمع، لأنه اسم جنس			Vwl (±ā)	
		Instead of the plural form *fī l-maḍāji'*, i.e. '(banish them) to their couches' (Arb.), 'Abd Allah and al-Naḫa'ī read *fī l-maḍja'* in the singular form which has the meaning of plural as *maḍja'* is *ism al-jins* designating the species.				
Q.4:43	الغَائِطِ	Mar 17 f.13v,l.17		الغط	Orthography/ Ph Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.269	وقرأ ابن مسعود ﴿من الغَيْطِ﴾ وخرج على وجهين، أحدهما: أنه مصدر، إذ قالوا: غاط يغيط، والثاني: أن أصله فيعل			Vwl (±ā)	
		Instead of *min al-ġā'iṭ*, i.e. 'depressed piece of ground' in 'if any of you comes from the privy' (Arb.), Ibn Mas'ūd reads *min al-ġayṭ*, i.e. *maṣdar* of the verb *ġāta* or the contracted				

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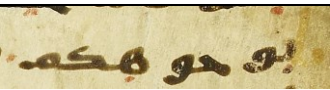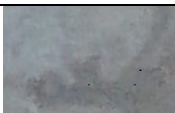
[105] Words contracted (with assimilation, i.e. *idġām*), see Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p.121.

[106] An authoritative reader, but the community of the readers of Mecca did not concur with his reading as much as they concurred with Ibn Kaṯīr's. The reading was not part of the system, see *ibid*., pp. 49, 59 and 55.
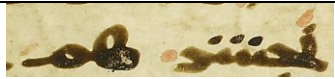
form from pattern *fayʿil*, i.e. from the original form *ġaywiṭ* > *ġayyiṭ*.[107]

Q.4:66	قَلِيلٌ	Mar 17 f.14v,l.24	<image>	الـلا فلــ / فلــل فلـ Uncertain	Syntax Case ending	Y * ?
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, pp.297-298	... وبالرفع قرأ الجمهور ، وقرأ أبيّ وابن أبي إسحاق وابن عامر وعيسى بن عمر ﴿إلا قليلًا﴾ بالنصب			I'rāb	
		The majority read *qalīl* in the nominative case, whereas Ubayy, Ibn Abū Isḥāq, Ibn ʿĀmir and ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar *illā qalīlan* in the accusative form.			
Q.4:117	يَدعونَ	Mar 17 f.17r,l.25	<image>	تدعون	Lexical variant they/you	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, pp.367	وقرأ أبو رجاء ﴿إن تدعون﴾ بالتاء على الخطاب			Impf. y>t	
		Abū Rajāʾ reads *in tadʿūna* with *tāʾ* of the speech, i.e. 'you pray' in 'In stead of Him, they pray not except to female beings; they pray not except to a rebel Satan accursed by God' (Arb).			
Q.4:117	يَدعونَ	Mar 17 f.17r,l.25	<image>	تد[عون]	Lexical variant they/you	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, pp.367	See previous reading			Impf. y>t	
		Abū Rajāʾ			
Q.5:2	يَبتَغونَ	Min 1572 f.3r,l.7	<image>	تبتغون / بتغونَ unc	Lexical variant they/you	Y ?
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.435	وقرأ حميد بن قيس والأعرج ﴿تبتغون﴾ خطاباً للمؤمنين			Impf. y>t	

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[107] See Lane, Edward William. *An Arabic-English Lexicon, derived from the best and most copious Eastern sources.* London, Williams and Norgate, 1877, p. 2317.

Q.	Reference	Manuscript	Image	Variant	Category	
			Ibn Qays and al-A'raj read *tabtaġūna* with *tā'* referring to the believers in the speech, i.e. '(you) seek(ing)' in 'O believers, profane not God's waymarks nor the holy month, neither the offering, nor the necklaces, nor those repairing to the Holy House seeking from their Lord bounty and good pleasure' (Arb)		
Q.5:3	وَاخْشَوْنِ	Min 1572 f.3r,l.18		وَاخْشَونِى	Orthography (suffix –nī)	N
	Source al-Bannā', *Itḥāf*, I, p.530	ووقف **يعقوب**، على (واخشون اليوم) **بزيادة ياء** بعد النون			Long Vwl (±ī)	
		Ya'qūb stops in reading *wa-ḫšaw-ni l-yawma* by **adding yā'** after *nūn*				
Q.5:3	مُتَجانِفٍ	Min 1572 f.3r,l.20		مُتَجنِفٍ	Orthography or Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.442	وقرأ الجمهور متجانف بالألف، وقرأ **أبو عبد الرحمن والنخعي وابن وثاب** متجنف **دون ألف**			Long Vwl (±ā) or Vrb Frm (VI-V)	
		The majority read *mutājanif*, i.e. 'not affecting an inclination to sin' with *alif*, whereas **Abū 'Abd al-Raḥman**, **al-Naḫa'ī** and **Ibn Watāb** read the word **without *alif***.				
Q.5:6	الغائِطِ	Min 1572 f.3v,l.9		الغَطِ	Orthography or Lexicon	N
	'Umar – Makram, *Mu'gam*, II,p.11	The Encyclopaedia of *Qirā'āt* lists the variant reading (الغط) mentioning the reader, i.e. **al-Zuhrī** quoted in *al-I'rāb* by Ibn al- Naḥḥās			Long Vwl (±ā) or Deriv	
Q.5:6	بِوُجوهِكُم	Min 1572 f.3v,l.11		با(وحوهكم) بوحوهكم	Lexical variant	Y*
	'Umar – Makram, *Mu'gam*, II,p.12	The Encyclopaedia of *Qirā'āt* lists the variant reading (بأوجوهكم) mentioning the reader, i.e. **Ubayy** quoted in *Lisān al-'Arab*			Deriv	
Q.5:95	طَعامُ	MIA 67 f.2v,l.22		طعم	Orthography or Lexicon	N

	Source al-Bannā', *Itḥāf*, I, pp.542-543		واختلف في (كفارة طعام): .. وعن الحسن (طعم) بضم الطاء وسكون العين بلا ألف .		Long Vwl (±ā)	
			There is disagreement in *kaffarat^un ṭa'āmu*: … and on the basis of al-Ḥasan[108] *ṭu'm*: *ṭā'* with /u/ and *'ayn* with *sukūn* without *alif*.			
Q.6:14	فاطِرِ	MIA 67 f.4v,l.12		فطر	Orthography or Lexicon	N
	'Umar – Makram, *Mu'gam*, II,p.72		The Encyclopaedia of *Qirā'āt* lists the variant reading (فَطَرَ) mentioning the reader, i.e. al-Zuhrī quoted in al-Ġarnāṭī and al-Zamaḫšārī		Long Vwl (±ā)	
Q.6:95	فالِقُ	Min 1572 f.5v,l.19		فلق	Orthography or Lexicon	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, pp.189		وقرأ عبد الله (فلق الحب) جعله فعلًا ماضياً		Long Vwl (±ā)	
	al-Bannā', *Itḥāf*, II,p.23		وعن المطوعي (فلق الحب) بفتح اللام، والقاف، بلا ألف فعلًا ماضياً، ونصب الحب			
			'Abd Allah and al-Maṭū'ī read *falaqa l-ḥabba*, i.e. the perfect form followed by the accusative instead of *fāliqu l-ḥabbi*, i.e. the *fā'il* pattern followed by the oblique case in 'It is God who splits the grain' (Arb)			
Q.6:128	يَحشُرُهُم	Min 1572 f.8r,l.15		نحشرهم	Lexicon He/We	N
	'Umar – Makram, *Mu'gam*, II,p.134		The Encyclopaedia of *Qirā'āt* lists the variant reading (نحشرهم) mentioning the readers, i.e. Nāfi', Ibn Kaṯīr, Abū 'Amr, Ibn 'Āmir, Hamza and al-Kisā'ī quoted in al-Ġarnāṭī, al-Zamaḫšārī and others		Impf. y>n	
Q.6:130	يَأتِكُم	Min 1572 f.8r,l.22		تاتكم	Syntax or Lexicon He/she	N
	'Umar – Makram, *Mu'gam*,		The Encyclopaedia of *Qirā'āt* lists the variant reading (تاتكم) mentioning the reader, i.e. al-A'raj quoted in al-Ġarnāṭī and		Impf. y>t	

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[108] al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728), non-canonical, but authoritative reader beside the Seven, see e.g. Nasser, *Variant Readings*, pp. 13 and 49.

	II,p.134	al- Naḥḥās				
Q.6:137	شُرَكاؤُهُم	Min 1572 f.8v,l.10		شركاهم شركاوهم	Syntax (I'rāb)	Y 2
	al-Bannā', *Itḥāf*, II,p.32	واختلف في (وكذلك زين لكثير من المشركين قتل أولادهم شركاؤهم): فابن عامر ...(شركائهم) بالخفض، على إضافة المصدر إليه فاعلًا.			I'rāb	
		There is disagreement about 'Thus those associates of theirs have decked out fair to many idolaters to slay their children, to destroy them' (Arb) and Ibn 'Āmir (read) ... *šurakā'i-hum* (i.e. 'their partners') in oblique case, being the second term in the *iḍāfa* construction.				
Q.6:138	حِجرٌ	Min 1572 f.8v,l.12		حرح حجر	Lexical variant	Y 2
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, p.233	وقرأ أبيّ وعبد الله وابن عباس وابن الزبير وعكرمة وعمرو بن دينار والأعمش حِرج بكسر الحاء وتقديم الراء على الجيم وسكونها			Meta	
		Ubayy, 'Abd Allah, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Ikrimah, 'Umar b. Dīnār and al-A'maš read *ḥirj*, i.e. 'restriction, limitation' instead of *ḥijr*, i.e. forbidden, interdicted' in 'These are cattle and tillage sacrosanct; none shall eat them, but whom we will' (Arb).				
Q.6:139	يكُن	Min 1572 f.8v,l.17		تكن	Syntax (accord fm.) he/she	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī, *al-Baḥr* III, pp.234-235	وقرأ أبو بكر (وإن تكن) بتاء التأنيث (ميتةً) بالنصب			Impf. y>t	
		In 'What is within the bellies of these cattle is reserved for our males and forbidden to our spouses; but if it be dead' (Arb), Abū Bakr reads *wa-in takun* with *tā'* of the feminine referred to *maytatan*, i.e. the dead animal in the accusative form.				

Among the readings of MS PeB, only thirty readings correspond to a *qirā'a* transmitted by indirect tradition. Excluding the phonetic, orthographic and morphological variants that are likely to be less distinctive inasmuch as they are more frequent in the whole of MS PeB, the other variants involve the use of you/they, i.e. switching in the pronoun of the speaker or the person spoken about[109] seven times or the syntax of the sentence as regards the use of he/she twice and we/he once, thus presupposing a different position or number of diacritics. Moreover, there are four anomalous readings in MS PeB that correspond respectively to the *qirā'a* of Ibn 'Āmir (i.e. with addition of *bi-* in *bi-l-zubur*, Q.3:184); of Ibn Jubayr and al-Salamī (i.e. the passive *ūtū* in Q.3:188), Ubayy (i.e. with an alternative form of plural in *bi-awjuhi-kum* in Q.5:6) and lastly, Ibn Mas'ūd (i.e. the lexical variant *ḥirj* in Q.6:138). The third reading *bi-awjuhi-kum* is important, because of its correction *in scribendo* in that the scribe (hand A) probably started writing *bi-aw[juhi-kum]*, but he interrupted his writing to write the other form of plural *bi-wujūhi-kum.* One important implication would be the possibility that the scribe corrected *in scribendo* the form that he was copying from the exemplar, which means that the exemplar had the reading of Ubbay, one of the scribes of Muḥammad (i.e. *kuttāb al-waḥy*),[110] whose codex had been diffused in Syria before the appearance of the 'Uthmānic codex.[111] The presence of such readings and all of the other singular readings that affect the consonantal skeleton makes the exemplar that the four scribes have used for realizing their teamwork on MS PeB extremely interesting. The analysis of the variants in subdividing the text and counting its verses contribute to reconstructing the characteristics of this exemplar.

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[109] As regards the *Iltifāt*, see above.
[110] Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p. 9.
[111] Jeffery, *Materials*, pp. 114-116.

3.2.2.2. VARIANTS IN THE SUBDIVISION OF THE TEXT: VERSE NUMBERING SYSTEMS

Comparison of the verse numbering systems marked by the four scribes with the other systems that were in use in Kūfa, Baṣra, Mecca, Medina and Syria (Damascus and Ḥimṣ) gives the results listed in Table 3.2.b., which includes the numbering system used in the codex Parisino-petropolitanus.[112]

The comparison reveals that at those points at which there is disagreement among the several systems, the reading of MS PeB agrees nine times with the Syrian system, eight times with Mecca and Medina, seven times with Baṣra and twice with Kūfa. Interestingly, MS PeB agrees nine times with the system used in the codex Parisino-petropolitanus. Moreover, MS PeB has two coexistent numbering systems, in that there are markers of end of verses traced by the first hands in brown ink and markers of groups of ten verses added by a later hand in red ink. The later system indicated in red ink agrees mainly with the Syrian system in counting ten verses and also in stating the total number of verses in the *fātiḥa* of each *sūra.* Thus, for example, in *sūra al-Nisā',* the later hand has specified that there are 177 verses that correspond perfectly to the Syrian counting.[113]

The two different counting systems present in MS PeB coexist since C2 never adjusted the markers at the end of each verse in order to correct them to mark his system. Thus, for example, in Q.3, the first hand counts eight verses between Q.3:41 and Q.3:52 and nine verses between Q.3:52 and Q.3:62, whereas C2 counts ten verses in both cases. This

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[112] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus* and Gallica (digital library of BnF, MS ar. 328a, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415207g.r=coran.langEN).

[113] The number of verses indicated in the *fātiḥa* added in red ink at the beginning of the *sūra* is 177. In MS PeB the marks for groups of ten verses correspond to the Kūfan and Syrian systems from 10 to 170, except a few lacunae in MS PeB and the absence of this mark at the end of verse 160. The fact that the Syrian system counts an extra verse in v.172 reveals that the counting of C2 agrees with the Syrian counting. Moreover, the counting system of C2 does not correspond to the counting of the first hand marked in brown ink, although C2 has not changed this previous system. It should be noted that the total number of verses in MS Parisino-petropolitanus is 177, although its system does not perfectly agree with the Syrian numbering system.

necessarily implies that C2 was not correcting the numbering indicated by the first hand, but he was reading the text, writing down his reading notes,[114] otherwise he would have added ends of verses not assigned by the first hand. This hypothesis about the perspective of C2 in writing/adding his reading notes in counting the verses should influence the approach to analysing the other 'corrections' to the text in order to understand whether they are a further level of the text, another reading and decoding.[115]

3.2.3. Analysis of the text: its corrections and reading notes

As mentioned above, MS PeB shows traces of different stages in its writing process. Among the adjustments to the text, additions have been made using three inks that are likely to correspond to three different phases. Their study shows that there are 86 adjustments by the first hand; 13 in black ink and 47 in red ink, whereas in 22 cases it has not been possible to decide with certainty in which stage the adjustments have been done. A singular addition is the amendment of the spelling that reflects the phonetic variant in *wa-l-nahā[l]-la-ayātin* (Q.3:190): a different hand seems to have inserted the letter *rā'* in Syriac script. All of these 169 adjustments are listed in Table 3.2.c. at the end of this section.

In the first stage, the four scribes in charge of writing the manuscript adjusted their writing by erasing and adding letters and words, *in scribendo* or later. The twenty corrections that the four scribes[116] made *in scribendo* imply that they were copying from a written exemplar, as it is highly improbable that they could have stopped to adjust their script during a dictation or reading session.[117] Moreover, the two mechanical errors due to haplography in

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[114] Schoeler, *From the aural.*
[115] Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p. 111.
[116] The twenty corrections were made by hand A (twice), B (five times), C (three times) and D (ten times).
[117] See also Codex Bezae and the circumstances that suggest that the codex was copied visually, in Parker, David C. 'A Dictation Theory of Codex Bezae'. Repr. in *Manuscripts, Texts, Theology. Collected Papers 1977-2007.*

Q.4:131-132 (hand A) and Q.5:93 (hand D) confirm this hypothesis. The corrections *in scribendo* concern the following:

– morphological variants of verbs (i.e. verbs *miṯāl* and *ajwaf* with short form /u/ in the imperfect and /a/ in the perfect forms);[118]

– syntactical variants due to omission of single letters, articles, conjunctions, suffixes and nouns or to a different structure in the agreement of noun and verb (i.e. dual);

– lexical variants in using *ilā* instead of *li-*, *awjuh* instead of *wujūh* and *qad[īr]* instead of *šahīd*;[119]

– orthographic variants in using the long form /ā/ instead of the short in *jādaltum* and in spelling the proper name Dāwūd and the feminine ending *–a*.

In a second stage, a later hand adjusted the text mainly using black ink to retrace the faded ink of a few words and to add letters or words that the first hand omitted, i.e. *alif* in *afa'īn* (Q.3:144) and *raḥīm*[an] (Q.4:64), *mīm* in *am man* (Q.4:109), final *nūn* in *tu'minūna* (Q.4:59), *yā'-nūn* in *allaḏīna*, the conjunction *wa-* in Q.4:164, *min* in Q.5:4; *wāw* to change the singular *rasūl* to the plural form in Q.5:19 and Q.6:124. The fact that C1 seems to have retraced the faded ink in a few cases suggests that the physical object was already in poor condition when he tried to enhance its clarity. At three points, C1 added a variant reading to the text: in Q.4:66 and

Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2009, pp. 5-18. Bellamy presupposed that mistakes were caused by dictation, in Bellamy, James A. 'More Proposed Emendations to the Text of the Koran'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 116, 2, 1996, pp. 196-204.

[118] In the analysis of the variants of MS PeB, the variants that concern /ū/, e.g. *yaq(ū)lu* have been catalogued as morphological variants, whereas the variants that concern /ā/, i.e. *qāla* have been labelled as orthographic, following the subdivisions of the features of early papyri in Hopkins. It is worth noting that among the 58 occurrences of the verb *qāla* (*qāla*, *qālū* and *qālat*) spelled without *alif*, the orthography has only twice been corrected by hand D.

[119] This variant could be explained as a variant of the exemplar or more probably as a variant occurred during the retention of the text by the copyist after having read the text, so that he dictated to himself the more common formula *wa-anta 'alā kulli šay'*[in] *qadīr*. See Jongkind, Dirk. 'Singular Readings in Sinaiticus: The Possible, the Impossible, and the Nature of Copying' in Hugh A.G. Houghton and DavidC. Parker, eds., *Textual Variations: Theological and Social Tendencies?* New Jersey, Gorgias Press, 2008, pp. 35-54, in particular pp. 46-49.

in Q.4:71 hand B and hand A omitted the conjunction *aw-*, whereas C1 inserted *wāw,* thus reading the variant *aw* in both cases, later read as *wa-* by C2; in Q.4:128 C1 added diacritical strokes above the initial denticle, thus reading the variant *tuṣliḥā* instead of *yuṣliḥā.*

Lastly, C2 wrote down his reading notes in red ink, mainly by adding vowel dots and letters probably added as aides-mémoire as above-mentioned when describing the markers inserted every ten verses.[120] Moreover, the fact that in a few cases he added a letter to facilitate his reading without erasing the consonantal skeleton that was suggesting a different reading implies a perspective of reading notes rather than a perspective of amendments and corrections. Thus, for example, in Q. 3:7, hand B wrote *ulū* with retention of *alif* in final position and absence of *wāw* which, according to Puin, is the original spelling of *ul'u,* later disambiguated by adding *wāw* and in Q.3:18 the same hand wrote *ulū* with final *yā'* and absence of *wāw.* In both cases, C2 has only added *wāw* (i.e. the ortho-epic writing of the word)[121] without modifying the previous consonantal skeleton. In a similar approach, C2 has stressed the pronominal suffix *–hu* in *nūḥī-hi* by writing it above the variant *–hā* written by the first hand in Q.3:44, but without cancelling it; has adjusted the probable mechanical error in *wa-jannatan* (Q.3:133) by joining *jīm* and *nūn* rather than cancelling the extra *alif* that the first hand had inserted. Thus, in Q.6:141 he adjusted the skeleton of the variant

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[120] The impossibility of accessing the St. Petersburg and Doha fragments through high quality colour images imposes the postponement of any final conclusion on the meaning of the red dot system used in the whole of MS PeB. However, the incomplete results from the analysis of MS Min1572b seem to confirm the nature of the red ink stage reading notes. The scribe added the red dots inconsistently, adjusting their position to the available space. Moreover, the red dot placed below *alif* to mark /i/ in *iḏā* (Q.6:109), which has been added later in New Style script, seems to establish a *terminus post quem* for this stage in the history of the manuscript's use. The nature of the reading notes represented by the red dots is suggested by: the disambiguation of homographs, e.g. *qul* and *q(ā)la* at a few points; the reading of *hamza* when there is no sustain in the consonantal skeleton, e.g. in *yas'alūna-ka* (Q.5:4) spelled without *alif* or in *mā'an* (Q.5:6); the ortho-epic writing of *šay'in* spelled with *alif* between *šīn* and *yā'* and vocalized as *ša'iyin* and lastly, the indication of the *imāla*, e.g. in Q.4:156. Similarly to the system of MS BrB, the red signs are also used for linking words, thus indicating the *alif waṣla*; for example, in Q.5:20, 21 and Q.6:93, 135 an oblique red stroke marks that the previous word with its final vowel must be read with the following letter after *alif waṣla.*

[121] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 154. The scholar observed the spelling with retention of *alif* and absence of final *wāw* in MS BnF 328a in Q.3:7 and 3:18.

jannātin by adding 'notes' but without cancelling the *alif* that the first hand had placed before *nūn* rather than after it. All of these observations suggest that C2 was writing down his reading notes, apparently without any intention of correcting the manuscript. This process should be interpreted in light of the coexistence of written and aural transmissions,[122] as recorded in the episode of the adjustments and ameliorations to the *maṣāḥif*: 'People made adjustments (i.e. *yuṣliḥūna*) to their own copies of the Qur'ān against his ['Aṭiyya b. Qays Abū Yaḥyā al-Kilābī al-Ḥimṣī al-Dimašqī] reading, while they were sitting at the entrance of the Mosque of Damascus, before it had been built by al-Walīd '.[123]

3.2.4. Conclusions

In commenting on some of the corrections and adjustments to the variants that MS PeB reads, it is worth mentioning that not all of the anomalous variants that affect the consonantal skeleton have been amended or adjusted. Thus, for example, the lexical variant *ḥirj*, i.e. 'restriction' instead of *ḥijr* 'forbidden' (Q.6:138) corresponding to the reading of Ubayy and Ibn Mas'ūd among others has been partially erased and adjusted in red ink, whereas the variant *aḫzā*, i.e. 'disgrace' instead of *ġarra*, i.e. 'mislead, delude' in 'Let it not delude thee, that the unbelievers go to and fro in the land' (Q.3:196) has been neither corrected nor adjusted, despite its being anomalous.

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[122] Schoeler, Gregor. 'Writing and Publishing. On the Use and Function of Writing in the First Centuries of Islam'. *Arabica*, 44, 3, 1997, pp. 423–435 (p. 433).

[123] Ibn al-Gazarī, Abū al-Ḫayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Dimašqī. *Ġāya al-nihāya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā'*, (ed. Gotthelf Bergsträsser). Repr. Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 2006, I, pp. 455-456, already mentioned in Fedeli, 'Variants and substantiated qirā'āt'. After the analysis of MS PeB and the study of the behaviour of C2, it is preferable to interpret *yuṣliḥūna* as making adjustments rather than amendments, as proposed in 2012. This behaviour should be compared with the observations made by Hilali in interpreting the Sana'a palimpsest, i.e. the dimension of oral recitation and correction as a technique for teaching and learning the Qur'ānic text, see Hilali, 'Work in Progress'.

Moreover, the presence of singular anomalous readings[124] that have not been amended, as well as the presence of readings that were part of a system attributed to eponymous Readers[125] should be interpreted in connection with the possible date of MS PeB, as far as the palaeographical analysis suggests. Although it should be taken into consideration that the date of a manuscript does not correspond to the date of the text written in that manuscript, the possible date of MS PeB based on palaeographical elements is extremely interesting. Thus, if it can be conjectured that the first layer of the manuscript was written in the 2nd century of Hegira, whereas the reading notes in red ink were written down at a later time, it must be noted that at such a period not all of the variants have been corrected, whether they are in agreement or not with the consonantal skeleton, whether they are attributed to Readers or whether they are singular readings. This situation reflects the great fluidity of the Qur'ānic text and its decoding, confirming that only after Ibn Mujāhid were the seven canonical readings established as a canon.[126]

On the other hand, the comparison with the *qirā'āt* literature has shown that the text of the copy PeB seems not to correspond exactly with a particular reading system, thus implying its nature of 'mixed textual type', as Bergsträsser and Pretzl had labelled the text type of early Qur'ānic manuscripts.[127] Although the presence of a few readings of both text and verse numbering that are distinctive of the Syrian system, the partial comparison with the text of the codex Parisino-petropolitanus suggests that the methodology that has been used in previous scholarship to identify the text type of these early manuscripts should be revised. It seems, in fact, that the definition of text type cannot be based only on

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[124] The paucity of analysis of early Qur'ānic manuscripts should not permit the use of such terminology (i.e. singular readings), as there are no terms of comparison.
[125] Nasser, *Variant Readings*, p. 5.
[126] *Ibid.,*, e.g. p.111.
[127] See above, Section 1.1.1.

comparison with the *qirāʾāt* literature, but that it demands comparison with the manuscript tradition by drawing phylogenetic networks between manuscripts that come from the same deposit, i.e. Fusṭāṭ.[128]

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[128] This is a further project planned after the PhD research.

TABLE 3.2.a. – COMPARISON OF FREQUENT DISTINCTIVE WORDS WRITTEN BY A, B, C and D IN MS PeB

	base text	MS PeB A		base text	MS PeB B		base text	MS PeB C		base text	MS PeB D
Q.3:105	عذاب	عداب	Q.3:4	عذاب	عداب	Q.3:77	عذاب	عذاب	Q.4:102	عذابا	عدابا
Q.3:106	العذاب	العداب	Q.3:16	عذاب	عداب	Q.3:88	العذاب	العذاب	Q.4:173	عذابا	عدبا
Q.3:188	العذاب	العداب	Q.3:21	بعذاب	بعداب	Q.3:91	عذاب	lacuna	Q.5:73	عذاب	عداب
Q.3:188	عذاب	عداب	Q.3:56	عذابا	عدبا				Q.5:80	العذاب	العذاب
Q.3:191	عذاب	عداب	Q.3:176	عذاب	عداب				Q.5:94	عذاب	عداب
Q.4:25	العذاب	العداب	Q.3:177	عذاب	عداب				Q.5:115	عذابا	عدبا
Q.4:138	عذابا	عدبا	Q.3:178	عذاب	عداب				Q.6:93	عذاب	عداب
			Q.3:181	عذاب	عداب						
			Q.4:14	عذاب	عداب						
			Q.4:18	عذابا	عدبا						
			Q.4:37	عذابا	عذابا						
			Q.4:56	العذاب	العداب						
			Q.4:93	عذابا	عذبا						
			Q.4:147	بعذابكم	lacuna						
			Q.4:151	عذابا	عدنا						
			Q.4:161	عذابا	[عـ]ـدبا						
			Q.6:15	عذاب	عداب						
			Q.6:124	وعذاب	وعذاب						
tot 35	7	zero=1 alif=6	18		zero=5 alif=12 lac=1	3		zero=0 alif=2 lac=1	7		zero=2 alif=5

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	شاى	شيء	Q.3:154	ساى	شيء	Q.2:282	شاى	شيء	Q.3:92	شاى	شيء	Q.4:113
	شاى	شيء	Q.3:154	شاى	شيء	Q.2:284				شاى	شيء	Q.5:19
	ساى	شيء	Q.3:189	شاى	شيء	Q.3:5				ساى	شيء	Q.5:68
	شاى	شيء	Q.4:4	شاى	شيء	Q.3:26				بشاى	بشيء	Q.5:94
	شاى	شيء	Q.4:126	شاى	شيء	Q.3:28				شاى	شيء	Q.5:97
				شاى	شيء	Q.3:29				ساى	شيء	Q.6:91
				شاى	شيء	Q.3:128				شاى	شيء	Q.6:93
				شاى	شيء	Q.3:165				ساى	شيء	Q.6:99
شيء				شاى	شيء	Q.4:32				شاى	شيء	Q.6:101
				شاى	شيء	Q.4:33				شاى	شيء	Q.6:101
				شاى	شيء	Q.4:59				ساى	شيء	Q.6:102
				شاى	شيء	Q.4:85				ساى	شيء	Q.6:102
				شاى	شيء	Q.4:86						
				سى	شيء	Q.4:176						
				شاى	شيء	Q.5:17						
				شاى	شيء	Q.5:117						
				شاى	شيء	Q.5:120						
				شاى	شيء	Q.6:17						
				شاى	شيء	Q.6:19						
				شاى	شيء	Q.6:80						
				شاى	شيء	Q.6:111						
tot 39	zero=0 alif=5	5		zero=0 (later=1) alif=20	21		zero=0 alif=1	1		zero=0 alif=12	12	

			Q.2:285	وقالوا	وقالوا	Q.3:72	وقالت	وقا=لت	Q.3:119	قالوا	قالوا
Q.2:275	قالوا	قالوا	Q.3:24	قالوا	فلوا	Q.3:75	قالوا	قالوا	Q.4:97	قالوا	قالوا
Q.3:147	قالوا	قالوا	Q.3:35	قالت	قالت	Q.3:81	قال	فل	Q.4:97	قالوا	قالوا
Q.3:156	وقالوا	وقالوا	Q.3:36	قالت	قالت	Q.3:81	قالوا	قا=لوا	Q.4:97	قالوا	قالوا
Q.4:72	قال	فال	Q.3:37	قال	فل	Q.3:81	قال	قال	Q.4:118	وقال	وقل
Q.4:77	وقالوا	وقلوا	Q.3:37	قالت	قالت				Q.5:20	قال	فل
			Q.3:38	قال	فل				Q.5:22	قالوا	قلوا /قالوا
			Q.3:40	قال	فل				Q.5:23	قال	فل
			Q.3:40	قال	فل				Q.5:24	قالوا	قلوا / قالوا
			Q.3:41	قال	فل				Q.5:25	قال	فل
			Q.3:41	قال	فل				Q.5:26	قال	فل
			Q.3:42	قالت	قالت				Q.5:64	وقالت	وقلت
			Q.3:45	قالت	قالت				Q.5:64	قلوا	قلوا
			Q.3:47	قالت	قالت				Q.5:72	قالوا	قلوا
			Q.3:47	قال	فل				Q.5:72	وقال	وقل
			Q.3:52	قال	فل				Q.5:73	قالوا	قلوا
			Q.3:52	قال	فل				Q.5:82	قالوا	قلو=ا
			Q.3:55	قال	فل				Q.5:85	قالوا	قالوا
			Q.3:59	قال	فال				Q.5:104	قالوا	قلوا
			Q.3:167	قالوا	فلوا				Q.5:109	قالوا	قلوا
			Q.3:168	قالوا	قالوا				Q.5:110	قال	فل
			Q.3:173	قال	فل				Q.5:110	فقال	فمال unc
			Q.3:173	وقالوا	وقلوا				Q.5:111	قالوا	قلوا
			Q.3:181	قالوا	قالوا				Q.5:112	قال	فل
			Q.3:181	قالوا	قالوا				Q.5:112	قال	فل

قال

								Q.5:113	قالوا	قالوا
			Q.3:183	قالوا	ﻫﺎﻟﻮا			Q.5:113	قالوا	ﻫﻠﻮا
			Q.4:18	قال	ﻫﻞ			Q.5:114	قال	ﻫﻞ
			Q.4:46	قالوا	ﻫﻠ[ـﻮ]ا			Q.5:115	قال	ﻫﻞ
			Q.4:141	قالوا	ﻫﺎﻟﻮا			Q.5:116	قال	ﻫﻞ
			Q.4:141	قالوا	ﻫﺎﻟﻮا			Q.5:116	قال	ill
			Q.4:153	فقالوا	ﻫﻤﺎﻟﻮ=ا			Q.6:91	قالوا	ﻫﻠﻮا
			Q.5:12	وقال	ﻭﻫﻞ			Q.6:93	قال	ﻫﻞ
			Q.5:14	قالوا	ﻫﺎﻟﻮا			Q.6:93	قال	ﻫﻞ
			Q.5:17	قالوا	ﻫﺎﻟﻮا					
			Q.5:18	وقالت	ﻭﻫﺎﻟ[ـﺖ]					
			Q.5:119	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:7	لقال	ﻟﻤﻞ					
			Q.6:8	وقالوا	ﻭﻫﺎﻟﻮا					
			Q.6:76	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:76	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:77	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:77	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:78	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:78	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:80	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:124	قالوا	ﻫﺎﻟﻮا					
			Q.6:128	وقال	ﻭﻫﺎﻝ					
			Q.6:128	قال	ﻫﻞ					
			Q.6:130	قالوا	ﻭﻫﺎﻟﻮ=ا/ﻫﺎﻟﻮا					
			Q.6:136	فقالوا	ﻫﻤﺎﻟﻮا					
			Q.6:138	وقالوا	ﻭﻫﺎﻟﻮا					

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(table, continued — totals)

	base text A	MS PeB A	base text B	MS PeB B	base text C	MS PeB C	base text D	MS PeB D
			Q.6:139 وقالوا	وقالوا				
tot 95	5	zero=1 1 qalū alif=4 1 qāla 3 qālū	52	zero=27 23 qala 4 qalū alif=25 2 qāla 16 qālū 7 qalat	5	zero=1 1 qala alif=4 1 qāla 2 qālū 1 qalat	33	zero=29 14 qala 14 qalū (2 lat corr) 1 qalat alif=3 1 qāla unc 2 qālū) ill=1

(table)

بُرْإِ		base text	MS PeB A		base text	MS PeB B		base text	MS PeB C		base text	MS PeB D
	Q.3:103	ءايته	انه	Q.3:4	بْايِتٍ	ٮاٮٮ	Q.3:70	بْايِتِ	ٮاٮٮ	Q.3:113	ءايِتِ	اٮا=ٮ
	Q.3:108	ءايتُ	انات	Q.3:7	ءايتٌ	lacuna	Q.3:97	ءايتٌ	اٮاٮ	Q.3:118	الايٮِ	الاٮت
	Q.3:112	بْايِتِ	lacuna	Q.3:11	بْايِتِنا	ٮاٮتنا	Q.3:98	بْايِتِ	ٮاٮٮ	Q.5:75	الايٮِ	الاٮت
	Q.3:164	ءايته	انه	Q.3:19	بْايِتِ	ٮاٮٮ	Q.3:101	ءايتُ	اٮاٮ	Q.5:86	بْايِتِنا	ٮاٮتنا
	Q.3:190	لَايِتٍ	لات	Q.3:21	بْايِتِ	ٮاٮت				Q.5:89	ءايِته	اٮه
	Q.3:199	بْايِتِ	بانت	Q.3:58	الايٮِ	الاٮت				Q.6:93	ءايِته	اٮه
	Q.4:140	ءايتِ	lacuna	Q.4:56	بْايِتِنا	unc ٮاٮا				Q.6:97	الايٮِ	الاٮت
	Q.5:10	بْايِتِنا	بانٮ[ٮا]	Q.4:155	بْايِتِ	ٮاٮت				Q.6:98	الايٮِ	الاٮت
	Q.6:118	بْايِتِه	با=ٮته	Q.6:4	ءايٮِ	اٮاٮ				Q.6:99	لَايٮٍ	لا=ٮت
	Q.6:126	الايٮِ	الاٮت							Q.6:105	الايٮِ	الاٮت
	Q.6:130	ءايٮى	ا=ٮى							Q.6:109	الايٮُ	الاٮت
tot 35	11		zero=5 alif=1 (alone) yā'=3 (bi-) lac=2	9		zero=1 alif=1 (alone) yā'=6 (bi-) lac=1	4		zero=0 alif=2 (alone) yā'=2 (bi-)	11		zero=9 alif=1 (alone) yā'=1 (bi-)

	base text	MS PeB A	base text	MS PeB B	base text	MS PeB C	base text	MS PeB D
عباد			Q.3:15 بالعباد	بالعباد	Q.3:79 عبادا	عبدا	Q.4:118 عبادك	lac
			Q.3:20 بالعباد	بالعباد			Q.4:172 عبادته	[عباد]ته
			Q.3:30 بالعباد	بالعباد				
			Q.5:118 عبادك	عبدک				
			Q.6:18 عباده	عباده				
			Q.6:88 عباده	عبده				
tot 9		0		6	zero=2 alif=4	1	zero=1	2	alif=1 (unc) lac=1

	base text	MS PeB A	base text	MS PeB B	base text	MS PeB C	base text	MS PeB D
وجوه	Q.3:106 وجوه	وجوه	Q.4:43 بوجوهكم	ب[[او]]هكم بوجوهكم C*				
	Q.3:106 وجوه	وجوه	Q.4:47 وجوها	وجوها				
	Q.3:106 وجوههم	وجوههم						
	Q.3:107 وجوههم	وجوههم						
	Q.5:6 وجوهكم	وجوهكم						
	Q.5:6 بوجوهكم	د[[ا]]و بوجوهكم C*						
tot 8	6	wujūh=5 awjuh=1 (qir)	2	wujūh=1 awjuh=1 (qir)	0		0	

Table 3.2.b. Verse subdivision and counting of MS PeB

according to the systems of the tradition (al-Dānī) and in MSS

Q.2	K	B	S	M	I	II	MS PaPe	MS PeB	MS PeB C2	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.140-142 اختلافها إحدى عشرة آية
الم	1	0	0-0	0-0	0	0	lac	lac	lac	﴿الم﴾ عدّها الكوفي، ولم يعدّها الباقون
	2	1	1-1	1-1	1	1	lac	lac	lac	
	268	269	267 266	267 266	267	267	lac	lac	lac	
	269	270	268 267	268 267	268	268	lac	v		
	271	272	270 269	270 269	270	270	lac	v	270	
	281	282	280 279	280 279	280	280	v	v	280	
ولا شهيد	0	0	0 0	0 280	0	0	0	0		(وفيها مما يشبه الفواصل، وليس معدودا بإجماع) : ولا شهيد
	282	283	281 280	281 281	281	281	v	v		
	286	287	285 284	285 285	285	285		v		
Total number	268	287	285 284	285 285	285	285	n/a	n/a	n/a	

K: Kufa system; B: Basra system; S: Syria system (D: Damascus, H: Ḥimṣ); M:Mecca; Md: Medina (MdI: Medina I and Md II: Medina II); G: Abū Jaʿfar Jazīd b. al-Qaʿqāʿ in al-Dānī, Abū ʿAmr ʿUṯmān b. Saʿīd. *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, (ed. Ġānim Qaddūrī al- Ḥamad). Kuwait, Markaz al-Maḫṭūṭāt wa-l-Turāṯ wa-l-Waṯāʾiq, 1994 and in Spitaler, Anton. *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung 1935, no. 11.

MS PaPe: manuscript Parisino-petropolitanus, in Déroche 2009 and Gallica (digital library of BnF, MS ar. 328a)

MS PeB: manuscript Petropolitano-birminghamiensis; MS PeB C1: later hand in black ink; MS PeB C2: later hand in red ink.

AGREEMENT AND UNIQUE READINGS IN COLOURS	
	The reading of MS PeB agrees with other systems or with MS PaPe
	Unique readings of MS PeB
	The reading of MS PeB is unique, but it agrees with the pauses indicated by al-Dānī (pauses without counting)
	Group of ten verses marked in red ink and number of verses indicated in the fātiḥa
	Agreement of group of ten verses with the systems of the tradition
	Group of ten verses marked in black ink

Q.3	K	B	D	H	M	Md	G	MS PaPe	MS PeB	MS PeB C2 200	al-Dānī, al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān, pp.143-145
basmala								1	v		
الم	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		﴿الم﴾ عدّها الكوفي، ولم يعدّها الباقون
	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0		
والإنجيل	3	2	0	0	2	2	2	0	0		و﴿الإنجيل﴾ الأول لم يعدّها الشامي وعدّها الباقون
الفرقان	0	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	1		و﴿أنزل الفرقان﴾ لم يعدّها الكوفي وعدّها الباقون
	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	3	2		
	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	0	0		
	21	21	20	20	21	21	21	19	v	20	
	30	30	29	29	30	30	30	28	v	30	
	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	29	v	30	
	41	41	40	40	41	41	41	39	v	40	
	47	47	46	46	47	47	47	lac	v		
والإنجيل	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	lac	0		و﴿الإنجيل﴾ الثاني عدّها الكوفي ولم يعدّها الباقون
بنى اسرايل	0	48	0	47	0	0	0	lac	0		و﴿رسولا إلى بني إسرائيل﴾ عدّها البصري ولم يعدّها الباقون
	49	49	47	48	48	48	48	lac	v		
	52	52	50	51	51	51	51	lac	v	50	
	53	53	51	52	52	52	52	lac	0		
	62	62	60	61	61	61	61	lac	v	60	
	72	72	70	71	71	71	71	lac	v	70	
	74	74	72	73	73	73	73	lac	v		
مى الامس سبيل	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	lac	v		(وفيها مما يشبه الفواصل، وليس معدودا بإجماع) : في الأميين سبيل
	75	75	73	74	74	74	74	lac	v		
عذاب أليم	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	lac	v		(وفيها مما يشبه الفواصل، وليس معدودا بإجماع) : أولئك لهم عذاب أليم
	91	91	89	90	90	90	90	v	v	90	
مما تُحِبّون	0	0	90	0	91	91	0	v[1]	v		﴿مما تُحبون﴾ الأول لم يعدّها الكوفي والبصري وأبو جعفر القارى وعدّها الباقون وشيبة بن نصاح
	92	92	91	91	92	92	91	v	v		
	96	96	95	95	96	96	95	v	v		
مقام ابراهيم	0	0	96	96	0	0	96	v	0		
إليه سبيلا	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	v		(وفيها مما يشبه الفواصل، وليس معدودا بإجماع) : ﴿من استطاع إليه سبيلا﴾
	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	v	v		
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	v	v	100	
	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	v	v	110	
	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	v	v	120	
	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	v	0		
	130	130	130	130	130	130	130	v	v	130	
	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	v	0		
	132	132	132	132	132	132	132	v	v		
	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	v	0		

[1] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus* edited absence of verse.

	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	v	v	140	
	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	v	v	150	
	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	v	v	160	
	170	170	170	170	170	170	170	v	v	170	
	180	180	180	180	180	180	180	v	v	180	
	190	190	190	190	190	190	190	v	v	190	
	191	191	191	191	191	191	191	v	v		
وما للظلمين	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	v		
	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	v	v		
	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	v	v		
Total number	200	200	200	200	200	200	200		n/a	200	

Q.4	K	B	S	M	Md	MS PaPe	MS PeB	MS PeB C2 177[2]	al-Dānī, al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān, pp.143-145 اختلافها آيتان
basmala								0	
	1	1	1	1	1	1	v		
	7	7	7	7	7		v		
والمسكين	0	0	0	0	0		v		
	8	8	8	8	8		v		
	10	10	10	10	10		v	10	
	20	20	20	20	20		0	20	
	30	30	30	30	30		v	30	
	33	33	33	33	33	33	v		
سبيلا	0	0	0	0	0	34	0		(وفيها مما يُشْبِهُ الفواصل، وليس معدودا بإجماع ستةُ مواضع) : ﴿فلا تبغوا عليهن سبيلا﴾
	34	34	34	34	34	35	v		
	40	40	40	40	40		v	40	
	43	43	43	43	43	44	lac		
السبيل	44	0	44	0	0	45	lac		﴿أن تضلوا السبيل﴾ عدها الكوفي والشامي ولم يعدّها الباقون
	45	44	45	44	44	46	v		
	50	49	50	49	49		v	50	
	60	59	60	59	59		v	60[3]	
	61	60	61	60	60		v[4]		
	63	62	63	62	62		0		
	70	69	70	69	69	71	v	70	

[2] The number of verses indicated in the *fātiḥa* added in red ink at the beginning of the *sūra* is 177. In MS PeB the marks for groups of ten verses correspond to the Kūfan and Syrian systems from 10 to 170, except for a few lacunae in MS PeB and the absence of this mark at the end of verse 160. The fact that the Syrian system counts an extra verse in v.172 reveals that the counting of C2 agrees with the Syrian counting Moreover, the counting system of C2 does not correspond to the counting of the first hand marked in brown ink, although C2 has not changed this previous system. It should be noted that the total number of verses in MS Parisino-petropolitanus is 177, although its system does not perfectly agree with the Syrian numbering system.
[3] The device for marking the ends of verses has been placed inside the word *baʿīdᵃⁿ*, between *dāl* and *alif*.
[4] The device has been traced in black ink.

	71	70	71	70	70	0	v		
	72	71	72	71	71	72	v		
	78	77	78	77	77	78	v		
رسولا	0	0	0	0	0	79	0		(وفيها مما يُشْبِهُ الفواصل، وليس معدودا بإجماع ستةُ مواضع) : ﴿للناس رسولا﴾
	79	78	79	78	78	80	v		
	80	79	80	79	79		v	80	
	90	89	90	89	89		v	90	
	98	97	98	97	97		0		
	100	99	100	99	99		0	100	
	101	100	101	100	100		0		
	103	102	103	102	102		0		
	110	109	110	109	109		v	110	
	120	119	120	119	119		v	120	
	130	129	130	129	129		v	130	
	140	139	140	139	139		lac	lac	
	142	141	142	141	141		0		
	150	149	150	149	149		lac	lac	
	160	159	160	159	159		v	0	
	168	167	168	167	167		0		
	169	168	169	168	168		0		
	170	169	170	169	169		0	170	
	172	171	172	171	171		v		
أليمًا	0	0	173	0	0		v		﴿فيعذبهم عذابا أليما﴾ عدها الشامي ولم يعدها الباقون
	173	172	174	172	172		0		
	176	175	177	175	175	177	0		
Total number	176	175	**177**	175	175	**177**	n/a	**177**	

Q.5	K	B	S	M	Md	MS PaPe	MS PeB	MS PeB C2 122	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.149-150 اختلافها ثلاث آيات
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		
بالعقود	0	1	1	1	1	2	1		﴿أوفوا بالعقود﴾ ﴿ويعفو عن كثير﴾ لم يعدهما الكوفي، وعدهما الباقون
	1	2	2	2	2	3			
	2	3	3	3	3	4			
بالازلم	0	0	0	0	0	5	0		
	3	4	4	4	4	6			
	9	10	10	10	10	12	10	10	
	14	15	15	15	15	17	15		
عن كثير	0	16	16	16	16	18	16		﴿أوفوا بالعقود﴾ ﴿ويعفو عن كثير﴾ لم يعدهما الكوفي، وعدهما الباقون
	15	17	17	17	17	19	17		
	18	20	20	20	20	22	20	20	
	22	24	24	24	24	26	24		
غالبون	0	25	0	0	0	0	25		﴿فإنكم غالبون﴾ عدها البصري ولم يعدها الباقون
	23	26	25	25	25	27	26		
	26	29	28	28	28	30	29	30	
	27	30	29	29	29	31	lac		
	62	65	64	64	64		lac		
	63	66	65	65	65		v		
	65	68	67	67	67		0		
	68	71	70	70	70		v	70	
	70	73	72	72	72		0		
	78	81	80	80	80			80	
	88	91	90	90	90			90	
	93	96	95	95	95		0		
	97	100	99	99	99		lac		
شديد العقاب	0	0	0	0	0		v		
	98	101	100	100	100		v	100	
	108	111	110	110	110		v	110	
	110	113	112	112	112		0		
	112	115	114	114	114		0		
	114	117	116	116	116		0		
	118	121	120	120	120		v	120	
	120	123	122	122	122		ill		
Total number	120	123	122	122	122	n/a	n/a	122	

Q.6	K	B	S	M	Md	MS PaPe	MS PeB	MS PeB C2 166	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.151-154 اختلافها أربع آيات
basmala						lac	0		
والنور	0	0	0	1	1	lac	0		﴿وجعل الظلمات والنور﴾ عدّها المدنيان والكوفي، ولم يعدّها الباقون
	1	1	1	2	2	lac	lac		
	10	10	10	11	11	lac	v	10	
	65	65	65	66	66	v	lac		
بوكيل	66	0	0	0	0	0	lac		﴿قل لست عليكم بوكيل﴾ عدّها الكوفي ولم يعدّها الباقون
	67	66	66	67	67	v	lac		
	72	71	71	72	72	v	lac		
فيكون	0	72	72	73	73	v	lac		﴿كن فيكون﴾، ﴿إلى صراط مستقيم﴾ الثاني بعده ﴿دينا قيما﴾ لم يعدّهما الكوفي وعدّها الباقون،
	73	73	73	74	74	v	lac		
	80	80	80	81	81			80	
	99	99	99	100	100			100(C1)	
	100	100	100	101	101			100(C2)	
	110	110	110	111	111			110	
	118	118	118	119	119			120[5]	
	120	120	120	121	121			120	
	130	130	130	131	131			130	
	140	140	140	141	141			140	
	160	160	160	161	161	v	lac		
مستقيم	0	161	161	162	162	v	lac		﴿كن فيكون﴾، ﴿إلى صراط مستقيم﴾ الثاني بعده ﴿دينا قيما﴾ لم يعدّهما الكوفي وعدّها الباقون، وكلهم عد ﴿إلى صراط مستقيم﴾الأول
	161	162	162	163	163	v		
	165	166	166	167	167		lac		
Total number	165	166	166	167	167	n/a		166[6]	

[5] The group of ten verses has been marked in red ink, later erased.
[6] As stated in the *fātiḥa*, there are 166 verses, but the *sūra* is incomplete.

TABLE 3.2.c. ADJUSTMENTS IN BROWN INK (C*), BLACK INK (C1) AND RED INK (C2) IN MS PeB:

COPYISTS' CORRECTIONS AND READINGS[1]

ĀYA	MEDINA MUṢḤAF AND MS TEXT	MS WITNESS	MS IMAGE	TYPOLOGY OF MS READING	ADJUSTED BY C*	ADJUSTED BY C1	ADJUSTED BY C2	OTHER COMMENTS
Q.2:271	هِيَ وَإِن واں - هى واں	Mar 17 f.1r, l.5		syntax omitted pron. or -	v interl.			
Q.2:274	أَمْوَٰلَهُم امولهم - اموالهم	Mar 17 f.1r, ll.14-15		=				Later ad. margin New style long vowl (±ā)
Q.2:279	رُءوسُ راوس - روس	Mar 17 f.1v, l.4		orthog./phon. hamza or hamz				cancelled
Q.2: 282	شَيْئًا شا - شى	Mar 17 f.1v, l.12		=			v iʿrāb(an) or phonet.	
Q.2:282	صَغِيرًا أَو صعر او - صعرا او	Mar 17 f.1v, l.18		syntax case system / involutio? Or iʿrāb /±alif			v add.	
Q.2:282	تُدِيرُونَهَا تدرونهم - تدرونها	Mar 17 f.1v, l.20		syntax agreement or pron. (hā-hum)				
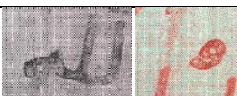
[1] C* indicate the first hand in brown ink, C1 the first corrector in black ink and C2 the second corrector/reader in red ink. The interlinear additions are indicated by inter., the corrections by the first hand in scribendo are marked in scrib. When it is not certain whether scribe (C*, C1 or C2) adjusted the text, this is indicated by prob. (probably). The colour of the MS witness refers to the hands, i.e. A in green, B in blue, C in orange and D in purple, while the text of the Medina muṣḥaf is in black, MS first readings are in green and later adjustments are in blue.
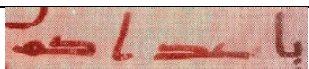
Verse	Reading	Location	Image	Category				Notes
Q.2:286	وَلا لا- ولا	Mar 17 f.2r,l.13		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)			v add.	
Q.2:286	وَلا لا- ولا	Mar 17 f.2r, l.14		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)	v			
Q.3:7	أُولُوا اولا - اولوا	Mar 17 f.2v,l.4		Ortho-epic final –ū (alif-w) or Long vowl (±ū)			v add. alif not cancel.	Reading (not correct.)
Q.3:18	وَأُولُوا واولى - واولو	Mar 17 f.2v,l.27		Ortho-epic final –ū (y-w) or Long vowl (±ū)			v add. yā' not cancel.	Reading (not correct.)
Q.3:22	حَبِطَت حبـ[..] - حبطت	Mar 17 f.3r, l.8		illegible				later adjusted
Q.3:24	بِأَنَّهُم بانهم - باينهم	Mar 17 f.3r, l.12		=			v extra dent. bi-anna-	
Q.3:27	تولِجُ تلـ ـ تولح	Mar 17 f.3r, l.18		Morphology absence w IV-miṯāl or Long vowl (±ū)	v in scrib.			
Q.3:30	مِن مں - مس	Mar 17 f.3v,l.2		= Page layout Justif.	v			
Q.3:30	لَوَأَنَّ لوں ـ لو اں	Mar 17 f.3v, l.3		orthog./phon. hamza or hamz			v add.	

Q.3:35	رَبِّ إِنّى اى ـ رب انى	Mar 17 f.3v, l.11		syntax omitted inn-ī or ḥarf (±inn-ī)	v in scrib.			added
Q.3:37	رِزقًا ررق ـ ررڡا	Mar 17 f.3v, l.18		uncertain read. syntax case system or iʿrāb (±alif)				Added (unc)
Q.3:44	نوحيهِ نوحىها ـ نوحه	Mar 17 f.4r, l.4		syntax agreement or pron. (hā-hu)			v add.	
Q.3:50	يَدَىَّ ىد=ى ـ ىدى	Mar 17 f.4r,ll.20-21		= Page layout Justif.				
Q.3:51	فَاعبُدوهُ واعبدوه ـ ڧاعبدوه	Mar 17 f.4r, l.23		uncertain read. syntax fa-/wa- or ḥarf (f-w)				
Q.3:61	وَأبناءَكُم [...] ـ وابناكم	Mar 17 f.4v,l.12		illegible	v prob.			
Q.3:61	وَنِساءَنا وَنِساءَكُم [...] ـ وىسنا ونساكم	Mar 17 f.4v, l.13		illegible	v prob.			
Q.3:64	فَقولُوا فڡلوا ـ فڡولوا	Mar 17 f.4v, l.20		Morphology absence w impv-ajwaf or Long vowl (±ū)			v add.	
Q.3:65	وَالإنجيلُ الاىحل ـ والاىحل	Mar 17 f.4v, l.22		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)	v			
Q.3:78	وَيَقولونَ	Mar 17 f.5r,l.23		Morphology absence w impf-ajwaf	v in scrib.			

	ونقل ــ ونقولون	(orange)		or Long vowl (±ū)				
Q.3:78	يَعلَمونَ نعلموا ــ نعلمون	Mar 17 f.5v,l.1		Uncertain read. Syntax Verb mood system Or Deriv	v			
Q.3:89	فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ فان ــ فان الله	Mar 17 f.5v,l.25		syntax omitted noun (allah) or -	v in scrib.			
Q.3:101	رَسولُهُ رسول ــ رسوله	Mar 17 f.6r,l.20		syntax omitted pron. –hu or -				
Q.3:103	إذ ادا ــ اد	Mar 17 f.6v,l.3		syntax iḏā / iḏ or ḥarf (iḏā - iḏ)	v in scrib.			
Q.3:105	جاءَهُمُ حا=.هم ــ حا=هم	Mar 17 f.6v,ll.9-10.		illegible ?Ortho-epic (unc)				cancelled
Q.3:112	ثُقِفوا إِلَّا ثمفو الا ــ ثمفوا الا	Mar 17 f.6v,l.23		Orthography Absence alif fāṣila or cons loss (±alif)			v add.	
Q.3:122	المُؤمِنونَ المومس ــ المومون	Mar 17 f.7v,l.2		morphology case system or iʿrāb(ūna>īna)	v prob.			
Q.3:125	تَصبِروا تصبرو ــ تصبروا	Mar 17 f.7v,l.6		Orthography Absence alif fāṣila or cons loss (±alif)	v prob.			
Q.3:132	وَأَطيعُوا اطعوا ــ واطعوا	Mar 17 f.7v,l.18		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)			v add.	

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Q.3:133	وَجَنَّةٍ وحانه ـ وحاننه	Mar 17 f.7v,l.19		Scribal error?			**V** add.	alif not cancelled
Q.3:136	جَزَاؤُهُم حزاهم ـ حزاهم	Mar 17 f.8r,l.3		Ortho-epic hamza or hamz (C2>syntax)			**V** add. + *i'rāb*	
Q.3:144	أَفَإِن فاس ـ افاس	Mar 17 f.8r,l.18		syntax omitted interr. a- or ḥarf (±a-)	**V** add.			
Q.3:152	عَنكُم اعنكم ـ عنكم	Mar 17 f.8v,l.16		Scribal error or -				cancelled
Q.3:158	لَإِلَى لالى ـ لاالى	Mar 17 f.9r,l.13		= (>ortho-epic?) or -	**V** prob.			
Q.3:189	وَلِلَّهِ وا=لله ـ ولله	Mar 17 f.10v,ll5-6.		Lexicon Wa-li-llahi/wa-llah or ḥarf (±li)				cancelled
Q.3:190	وَالنَّهَارِ والنها ـ والنهار	Mar 17 f.10v,l.8		Phonetics al-idġām al-kabīr (ri-la>lla) or assimil or amalgam				added in Syriac script?
Q.4:6	كانَ om ـ كان	Mar 17 f.11v,l.1		syntax omitted verb kāna or -	**V** interl.			
Q.4:9	ذُرِّيَّةً ده ـ درىه	Mar 17 f.11v,l.10		Scribal error? Omitted letter or -	**V**			
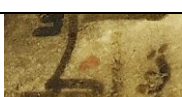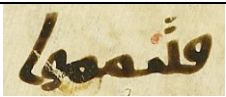
Q. ref	Text	Folio	Image	Category	col1	col2	col3	col4
Q.4:11	يوصيكُمُ بو[..]صکم ـ بوصکم	Mar 17 f.11v,l.13		illegible	**v** prob.			
Q.4:11	مِمّا ما ـ مما	Mar 17 f.11v,l.17		syntax omitted min or ḥarf (±min)	**v**			
Q.4:12	كَلَالَةً کـ [...] ـ کلله	Mar 17 f.12r,l.3		illegible	**v** prob.			
Q.4:25	نِصفُ [...] ـ نصف	Mar 17 f.12v,l.24		illegible	**v** prob.			
Q.4:34	قَوّٰمونَ فومون ـ فوامون	Mar 17 f.13r,l.18		= >orthography plena or Long vwl (±ā)	**v** >plena			
Q.4:43	بِوُجوهِكُمُ بـا=[وحـ]هکم ـ بوحوهکم	Mar 17 f.13v,ll.18-19		Lexicon Sing /Plur or Deriv	**v** prob.			
Q.4:43	وَأَيديكُمُ وادکم ـ وايدکم	Mar 17 f.13v,l.19		Morphology Plur. Or Orthography def. or long vwl (±ī)			**v** add.	
Q.4:45	بِأَعدائِكُمُ باعداکم ـ باعدایکم	Mar 17 f.13v,l.22		Ortho-epic hamza or hamz			**v** add.	
Q.4:47	نَزَّلنا انزلنا ـ نزلنا	Mar 17 f.14r,l.4		Lexicon Form IV / II or Vrb Frm (II-IV)				cancelled

Q. ref	Text	Location	Image	Description				
Q.4:59	تُؤۡمِنُونَ تومنو ـ تومنون	Mar 17 f.14v,l.6		Syntax Verb mood system Or Cons loss (±n)		**v** add.	**v** add.	
Q.4:64	رَحِيمًا رحيم ـ رحما	Mar 17 f.14v,l.20		syntax case system or i'rāb (±alif)		**v** add.		
Q.4:66	أَنَّا نا ـ انا	Mar 17 f.14v,l.23		orthog./phon. init.hamza in annā or hamz			**v** add.	
Q.4:66	أَوِ om ـ و ـ او	Mar 17 f.14v,l.23		syntax omitted aw or ḥarf (±aw)		**v** add. wāw >wa-aw	**v** add. alif	
Q.4:66	قَلِيلٌ فلــلا ـ فلل	Mar 17 f.14v,l.24		uncertain read. syntax after illā or i'rāb (±alif)	**v** prob.			
Q.4:69	وَالشُّهَدَاءِ والشهد ـ والشهدا	Mar 17 f.15r,l.3		orthog./phon. defect + hamza or Long vwl (±ā)			**v** add.	
Q.4:71	أَوِ om ـ و ـ او	Mar 17 f.15r,l.5		syntax omitted aw or ḥarf (±aw)		**v** add. wāw >wa-aw	**v** add. alif	
Q.4:73	أَصَٰبَكُم اصسكم ـ اصبكم	Mar 17 f.15r,l.7		Syntax sing.fem. (agreement) or Perf (a – at)	**v** prob.			
Q.4:75	لا الا ـ لا	Mar 17 f.15r,l.11		Syntax interrogative a- or (illā /lā) ḥarf (±a) (±illā)				cancelled

Q ref	Word	Location	Image	Description				
Q.4:78	تَكونوا تكـ[..]ـنوا ـ تكونوا	Mar 17 f.15r,l.23		Unc: Orthography? defectiva	v prob.			
Q.4:78	وَلَو ولا ـ ولو	Mar 17 f.15r,l.23		Ortho-epic Long ū with alif (la'u) Or ?Cons loss (±w ±alif)	v prob.			
Q.4:79	لِلنّاسِ الى ـ لـلناس	Mar 17 f.15r,l.28		Morphol./lexicon prep. li-/ilā or +ḥarf (li>ilā)	v in scrib.			
Q.4:90	أَن ا [...] ـ ان	Mar 17 f.15v,l.23		Scribal error (Syntax?) omitted nūn or Cons loss (±n)	v prob.			
Q.4:93	فَجَزاؤُهُ فجزاه ـ فجزاوه	Mar 17 f.16r,l.15		Ortho-epic Hamza alif or Hamz			v add.	
Q.4:109	جْدَلْتُم جا ـ جدلتم	Mar 17 f.17r,l.10		Orthography Plena ā or Long vwl (±ā)	v in scrib.			
Q.4:109	عَنهُم Om ـ عنهم	Mar 17 f.17r,l.10		Syntax Omitted 'an-hum or -	v interl.			
Q.4:109	أَم مَن ا من ـ ام من	Mar 17 f.17r,l.11		Phonetic Involutio m-m or amalgam		v interl.		
Q.4:113	إِلّا أَنفُسَهُم الا نفسهم ـ الا انفسهم	Mar 17 f.17r,l.16		Phonetic Involutio alif-alif or amalgam			v add.	
Q.4:120	غُرورًا	Mar 17 f.17v,l.5		Scribal error? Omitted letter or -	v			
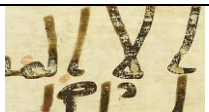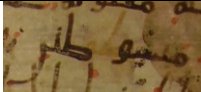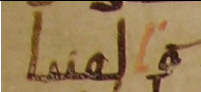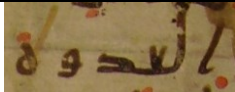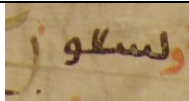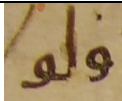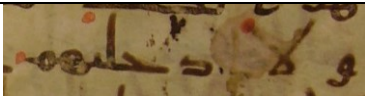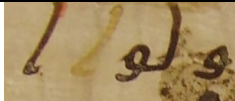
	غروا ـ غرورا						
Q.4:122	وَالَّذِينَ والد ـ والدس	Mar 17 f.17v,l.6		Scribal error? Omitted letters (īna) or Cons loss (±yn)		**v**	
Q.4:128	يُصلِحا نصلحا ـ تصلحا	Mar 17 f.17v,l.22		= >Lexicon they/you or Impf (y-t)		**V** > they	
Q.4:131-132	وَكانَ اللَّهُ غَنِيًّا حَمِيدًا |132|وَلِلَّهِ ما فِى السَّمٰوٰتِ وَما فِى الأَرضِ Omitted part فان لله ما فى السموت وما فى وكان الله غنا حمدا	Min 1572 f.9r(v),l.6-6+		Mechanical error Haplography or -	**v** prob. > omit word		
Q.4:146	عَظِيمًا عطم ـ عطما	Min 1572 f.9v(r),l.17		syntax case system or i'rāb (±alif)	**v** prob.		
Q.4:151	عَذابًا عد[..] ـ عدبا	Min 1572 f.9v(r),l.27		Illegible >defectiva	**v** prob.		
Q.4:163	داوۥدَ دودا ـ دواد	Min 1572 f.2v,l.3		Ortho-epic Dāwūd or -	**v** in scrib.		
Q.4:164	وَرُسُلًا رسلا ـ ورسلا	Min 1572 f.2v,l.3		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)		**v** add.	

Q.4:165	عَزِيزًا عزيز ـ عزيزا	Min 1572 f.2v,l.6		syntax case system or iʿrāb (±alif)			**v** add.	
Q.4:166	إِلَيكَ لك ـ الك	Min 1572 f.2v,l.6		Scribal error? Omitted letter or -			**v** add.	
Q.4:176	فَلَهُمَا [...] ـ فلهما	Min 1572 f.2v,l.27		illegible				later adjusted
Q.4:176	تَرَكَ ترلك ـ ترك	Min 1572 f.2v,l.27		Scribal error? added letter or -				cancelled
Q.4:176	مِثلُ [...] ـ مل	Min 1572 f.2v,l.28		illegible		**v**		
Q.5:2	يَبتَغونَ تبتغون ـ بتغونَ	Min 1572 f.3r,l.7		Lexicon they/you (unc.) or Impf (y-t)				unclear
Q.5:2	تَعتَدوا تعد[لوا] ـ تَعتدوا	Min 1572 f.3r,l.10		Lexicon (unc.) iʿtadā / ʿadala or -	**v** prob.			
Q.5:3	كَفَروا كموا ـ كمروا	Min 1572 f.3r,l.17		Scribal error? Omitted letter Or -	**v** in scrib.			
Q.5:4	مِنَ Om ـ مِنَ	Min 1572 f.3r,l.22		Syntax Omitted prep. min after mā or ḥarf (±min)		**v** add.		
Q.5:6	فَتَيَمَّموا فتمموا ـ فتمموا	Min 1572 f.3v,l.10		Phonetic Involutio m-m or amalgam	**v**			
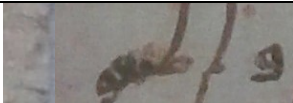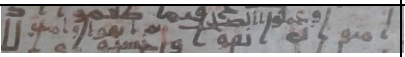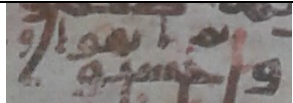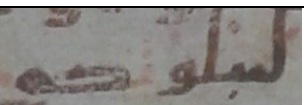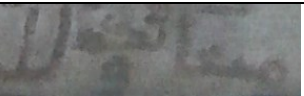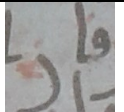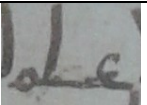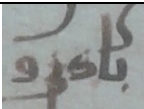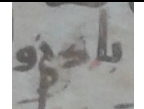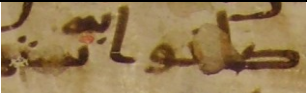
Verse	Reading	Source	Image	Category				Notes
Q.5:6	بِوُجوهِكُم بـا[وجوهكم] ـ بوحوهكم	Min 1572 f.3v,l.11		Lexicon Sing /Plur or Deriv	**v** in scrib.			
Q.5:7	نِعمَةَ نعمت ـ نعمة	Min 1572 f.3v,l.13		Orthography Tā' marbūṭa or tā' marb	**v** prob.			
Q.5:8	أَلَّا ان لا ـ الا	Min 1572 f.3v,l.18		Orthography Two elements an lā /allā or ?(non) amalgam				cancelled
Q.5:9	وَعَمِلُوا وعملوا ـ وعملوا	Min 1572 f.3v,l.20		=	**v** prob.			retracement wāw
Q.5:12	حَسَنًا حسنا	Min 1572 f.4r,l.4		=				retracement
Q.5:18	لِمَن لم ـ لمس	Min 1572 f.4v,l.2		Scribal error? Omitted letter or Cons loss (±n)			**v** add.	
Q.5:19	رَسولُنا رسلونا / رسل لنا ـ رسولنا	Min 1572 f.4v,l.5		Lexicon Plur / sing Or Transp	**v** prob.			
Q.5:19	الرُّسُلِ الرسول ـ الرسل	Min 1572 f.4v,l.5		Lexicon sing / plur or Long vwl (±ū)		**v** prob.		
Q.5:19	تَقولوا تعلوا ـ تمولوا	Min 1572 f.4v,l.5		Morphology absence w impf-ajwaf or Long vowel (±ū)	**v** in scrib.			
Q.5:20	العٰلَمينَ الـ ا=[لـ]علمس	Min 1572 f.4v,ll.9-10		= Page layout Justif.	**v** in scrib.			

Q. ref	Arabic	Manuscript	Description				
Q.5:21	الأَرْضَ الا ـ الارص	Min 1572 f.4v,l.10	Scribal error? Omitted letters or -	v interl.			
Q.5:22	قالوا قلوا ـ قالوا	Min 1572 f.4v,l.12	orthog./phon. defectiva or Long vwl (±ā)	v in scrib.			
Q.5:22	وَإنّا وبا ـ وانا	Min 1572 f.4v,l.12	orthog./phon. hamza or hamz	v prob.			
Q.5:22	فَإن فا ـ فان	Min 1572 f.4v,l.13	Scribal error? Omitted letter or cons loss (±n)	v prob.			
Q.5:22	يَخرُجوا خرجوا ـ نخرجوا	Min 1572 f.4v,l.13	Syntax verb tense pf/impf or Deriv			v add.	
Q.5:22	دْخِلونَ دخلو[..]ن ـ دخلودن	Min 1572 f.4v,l.14	Illegible and ±d or -				
Q.5:23	فَتَوَكَّلوا فتوكلا ـ فتوكلو	Min 1572 f.4v,l.16	syntax agreement dual or Perf. (ā-ū)	v in scrib.			
Q.5:24	قالوا قلوا ـ قالوا	Min 1572 f.4v,l.17	orthog./phon. defectiva or Long vwl (±ā)	v prob.			
Q.5:24	فَقْتِلا فمتلو ـ فمتلا	Min 1572 f.4v,l.18	syntax agreement dual or perf. (ā-ū)	v in scrib.			
Q.5:26	يَتيهونَ	Min 1572 f.4v,l.21	Syntax Verb mood system + Morphology	v add. n		v add. y	
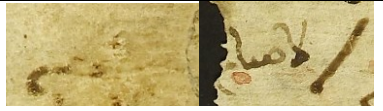
	نتهوا ـ ستهول				Absence y impf. ajwaf or Deriv and long vowl (±ī)		
Q.5:64	مَبسوطَتانِ مسطو ـ مسوطتں	MIA 67 f.1r,l.4			Scribal error Transposition w +Orthography defectiva ā or Transp and Long vwl (±ā)	**v** in scrib.	
Q.5:64	وَأَلقَينا ولفنا ـ والفنا	MIA 67 f.1r,l.5			orthog./phon. Hamza (pf. IV) or hamz		**v** add.
Q.5:64	العَدٰوَةَ العدوا ـ العدوه	MIA 67 f.1r,l.6			orthog./phon. tā' marbūṭa/alif or tā' marb	**v** in scrib.	
Q.5:64	وَيَسعَونَ سعوں ـ ويسعوں	MIA 67 f.1r,l.7			syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)		**v** add.
Q.5:65	وَلَو فلو ـ ولو	MIA 67 f.1r,l.8			syntax wa- / fa- or ḥarf (w-f)			cancelled
Q.5:65	وَلَأَدخَلنٰهُم ولادحلهم ـ ولادحلهم	MIA 67 f.1r,l.10			Ortho-epic Reading of hamza or -			cancelled
Q.5:66	وَلَو ولوا ـ ولو	MIA 67 f.1r,l.10			Ortho-epic Long ū with alif (la'u) or cons loss (±w ±alif)			cancelled
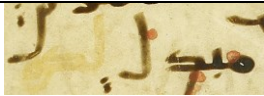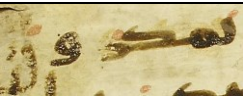
Q ref	Reading	MIA ref	Image	Description				
Q.5:66	وَالإنجِيلَ والانحل ـ والنحل	MIA 67 f.1r,l.11		Orthogr/Phonetics initial hamza or hamz	V prob.			
Q.5:68	حَتَّىٰ حما ـ حى	MIA 67 f.1r,l.17		Orthography Alif maqṣūra/alif Or ibdāl (y-alif)			V add.	
Q.5:73	إلهٌ اله ـ الله	MIA 67 f.1v,l.10		Lexicon allah / ilāh or Deriv				cancelled
Q.5:73	يَقُولونَ يمولون ـ نقد	MIA 67 f.1v,l.11		Morphology absence w impf-ajwaf or Long vowl (±ū)	V in scrib.			
Q.5:77	وَضَلّوا وصلوا ـ واصلوا	MIA 67 f.1v,l.21		Scribal error IV/I previous occ. or Vrb frm I-IV				cancelled
Q.5:78	عَصَوا وَكانوا عصوا ـ عصو واكانوا وكانوا	MIA 67 f.2r,l.1		Scribal error Methatesis alif-w or Meta	V prob.			
Q.5:89	أَوْ او ـ و	MIA 67 f.2v,l.4		syntax wa- / aw- or ḥarf (w-aw)			V add.	
Q.5:89	كِسوَتُهُم كسوتهم ـ [..] ا	MIA 67 f.2v,l.4		Illegible			V add. k	Cancelled alif
Q.5:92	وَأطيعُوا واطعوا ـ واطعوا	MIA 67 f.2v,l.11		Morphology absence y impv. ajwaf or Long vowl (±ī)	V prob.			

Q.5:92	وَأَطِيعُوا واطعو=ا ـ واطعوا	MIA 67 f.2v,ll.11-12		Morphology absence y impv. ajwaf or Long vowel (±ī)	v prob.			
Q.5:93	وَعَمِلُوا الصَّلِحَتِ ثُمَّ اتَّقَوا وَءامَنوا om - وعملوا الصلحـ ثم اتقوا وامو	MIA 67 f.2v,l.15		Mechanical error Haplography or -	v prob. Inter. > omit alif fāṣila			alif in amanū in NS
Q.5:93	وَأَحسَنوا وحسنوا ـ واحسنوا	MIA 67 f.2v,l.15		orthog./phon. Hamza (pf. IV) or hamz			v add.	
Q.5:94	لَيَبلُوَنَّكُمُ لبلوكم ـ لبلونكم	MIA 67 f.2v,l.16		syntax omitted nūn ener or cons loss (±n)?			v add.	
Q.5:96	لَكُمْ Om ـ لكم	MIA 67 f.2v,l.25		syntax omitted la-kum or ḥarf (±la-kum)	v prob. inter.			
Q.5:97	وَأَنَّ ان ـ وان	MIA 67 f.3r,l.4		syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)	v prob.			
Q.5:101	حَليمٌ حـ[...]م ـ حلم	MIA 67 f.3r,l.11		illegible	v prob.			
Q.5:109	عِلمَ [...]لم ـ علم	MIA 67 f.3v,l.4		illegible				
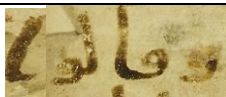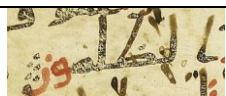
Q.5:110	بِإِذْنِى باذ. ـ باذنى	MIA 67 f.3v,l.9		Syntax unc. Omitted suf. –ī? or cons loss (±y)	**v** prob.			
Q.5:110	بِإِذْنِى باذ. ـ باذنى	MIA 67 f.3v,l.10		Syntax unc. Omitted suf. –ī? or cons loss (±y)	**v** prob.			
Q.5:110	بِإِذْنِى باذ. ـ باذنى	MIA 67 f.3v,l.10		Syntax unc. Omitted suf. –ī? or cons loss (±y)	**v** prob.			
Q.5:115	يَكفُرُ كمر ـ يكمر	MIA 67 f.3v,l.21		Syntax Pf/impf after man or Tense			**v** prob. add.	
Q.5:117	شَهِيدٌ ڡد ـ شهٮد	MIA 67 f.4r,l.6		Lexicon+ Mechanical error qad[īr]/ šahīd or -	**v** in scrib.			
Q.6:10	بِهِ Om ـ به	MIA 67 f.4v,l.6		syntax omitted bi-hi or ḥarf (±bi-hi)	**v** inter.			
Q.6:80	أَتُحَجّونّى [. .] ـ اتححونى	Min 1572 f.5r,l.10		illegible	**v** prob.			cancelled
Q.6:83	رَبَّكَ ر=بک ـ ر بک	Min 1572 f.5r,ll.17-18		=				retracement right margin (new line)
Q.6:89	بِها بها	Min 1572 f.5r,l.28		=				retracement right margin (new line)
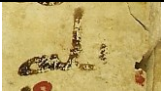
Q ref	Reading	Manuscript	Image	Note				Comment
Q.6:90	أُولَٰئِكَ او=لٮک ـ اولٮک	Min 1572 f.5r,ll.28-29		=				retracement right margin (new line)
Q.6:91	ءَابَاؤُكُم اباكم ـ اباوكم	Min 1572 f.5v,l.6		Ortho-epic Hamza alif or Hamz			v prob. add.	
Q.6:92	مُصَدِّقُ مصد=ٯ مصدٯا ـ مصدٯ	Min 1572 f.5v,ll.7-8		=	v prob. >synt case system			>syntax case system adjusted twice
Q.6:92	يَدَيِه ٮدٮه ـ ٮدٮه	Min 1572 f.5v,l.8		Morphology Dual/plur or Deriv	v prob.			
Q.6:94	خَلَقنٰكُم خلٮٯكم ـ خلٯنكم	Min 1572 f.5v,l.16		Scribal error? Metathesis (qn-nq) Or Meta	v prob.			
Q.6:94	نَرىٰ ٮرا ـ ٮرى	Min 1572 f.5v,l.17		Orthography Alif maqṣūra/alif Or ibdāl (y-alif)	v prob.			
Q.6:94	زَعَمتُم زعمٮم ـ زعمٮم	Min 1572 f.5v,l.18		Scribal error? illegible	v prob.			
Q.6:96	الإِصبَاحِ ا[لا]=صٮح ـ الاصاح	Min 1572 f.5v,ll.21-22		=		v prob.		Retracement (enhancem.)
Q.6:97	البَرِّ البراو ـ البر	Min 1572 f.5v,l.24		Scribal error Insertion w+alif (duplication)	v prob.			

Q ref	Reading	Min 1572	Image	Type / Note				
Q.6:99	ذٰلِكُم ذلک ـ ذلکم	Min 1572 f.6r,l.6		Lexicon ḏālika / ḏālikum or Cons loss (±m)			**V** prob. add.	
Q.6:105	يَعلَمونَ نعل[..]ں ـ نعلمون	Min 1572 f.6r,l.16		illegible	**V** prob.			
Q.6:109	إِذا ا[د]=ا ـ ادا	Min 1572 f.6r,ll.22-23		=		**V** prob.		Retracement (enhancem.)
Q.6:111	وَلَو أَنَّنا ولو ننا ـ ولو اننا	Min 1572 f.6v,l.2		orthog./phon. init. hamza in anna-nā or hamz	**V** prob.			
Q.6:111	وَ(كَلَّمَهُمُ) او ـ و	Min 1572 f.6v,l.2		syntax wa- / aw- or ḥarf (wa-aw)	**V** prob.			
Q.6:115	مُبَدِّلَ مبدل لكم ـ مبدل	Min 1572 f.6v,l.13		= Page layout Justif.	**V** prob.			
Q.6:121	لَمُشرِكونَ لمشركو=ں ـ لمشركون	Min 1572 f.6v,ll.27-28		=			**V**	Retracement (enhancem.)
Q.6:124	رُسُلُ رسول ـ رسل	Min 1572 f.8r,l.6		Lexicon sing / plur or long vwl (±ū)	**V** prob.			
Q.6:124	يَمكُرونَ [..]وں ـ نمكرون	Min 1572 f.8r,l.8		illegible	**V** prob.			

Q.6:126	صِراطُ صراط ـ صرط	Min 1572 f.8r,l.12	Orthography Plena/defectiva or Lng vwl (±ā)	v prob.			cancelled
Q.6:127	دارُ الدا ـ دار	Min 1572 f.8r,l.14	Syntax Absence article or al	v in scrib.			
Q.6:128	وَيَومَ يوم ـ ويوم	Min 1572 f.8r,l.15	syntax omitted wa- or ḥarf (±wa)	v inter.			
Q.6:130	قالوا وڡالو=ا ـ ڡالوا	Min 1572 f.8r,ll.23-24	orthog./phon. defectiva or long vwl (±ā)	v prob.			
Q.6:135	الظّلِمونَ الظلمس ـ الظلمون	Min 1572 f.8v,l.5	morphology case system or iʿrāb (ūna-īna)			v add.	cancelled
Q.6:136	فَلا [ف]لا ـ ڡلا	Min 1572 f.8v,l.8	=			v	Retracement (enhancem.)
Q.6:137	شُرَكاؤُهُم شركابهم ـ شركاوهم	Min 1572 f.8v,l.10	Syntax case system or iʿrāb (w-y)			v add.	cancelled
Q.6:138	حِجرٌ حرح ـ حجر	Min 1572 f.8v,l.12	Lexicon ḥirj / ḥijr or Meta (jr-rj)			v add.	cancelled
Q.6:139	لِذُكورِنا	Min 1572 f.8v,l.16	Orthography Defectiva /Lexicon sg/pl	v prob.			

	لدكر[..]ننا ـ لدكورنا			or Long vwl (±ū)				
Q.6:139	فِيهِ فِمها ـ فِمه	Min 1572 f.8v,l.17		syntax agreement or pron. (hā-hu)			**V** add	cancelled
Q.6:140	اللَّهِ [ا]لله ـ الله	Min 1572 f.8v,l.20		=			**V**	Retracement (enhancem.)
Q.6:141	أَنشَأَ [ا]نشا ـ انشا	Min 1572 f.8v,l.21		=			**V**	Retracement (enhancem.)
Q.6:141	جَنّٰتٍ حانت ـ حنات	Min 1572 f.8v,l.21		Scribal error Metathesis (n-alif) or meta			**V** add.	
Q.6:141	وَالزَّرعَ و=[ا]لزرع ـ و=الزرع	Min 1572 f.8v,l.22		=			**V**	Retracement (enhancem.)

3.3. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT OF MS CANTABRIGIENSIS-BIRMINGHAMIENSIS:

A PALIMPSESTIC READING[1]

3.3.1. Analysis of the text: variants in the collective work of the small leaves

The copy of the small leaves of MS CaB realized by three hands, i.e. α, β and γ, bears a fragment of Qur'ānic text, namely Q.7:143-174 (CUL1287, ff. 33, 60 and Birm150, f.1), Q.9:18-78 (CUL1287, ff. 61, 32 and 62) written by hand α; Q.11:17-37 (CUL1287, f. 63) written by hand γ and Q.13:18-14:8 (CUL1287, ff. 11 and 9), Q.15:85-16:39 (CUL1287, ff. 10, 12 and 8), Q.16:78-17:69 (CUL1287, ff. 34-35 and 56-59). The gap in *sūra al-Naḥl*, i.e. Q.16:39-78, is likely to have been written in two leaves arranged in about 22 lines, as the leaves before and after the interruption, whereas the fact that the scribe did not start to write the beginning of a verse at the beginning of each recto seems to suggest that there were further leaves being part of this copy of small leaves and it is probable that there was a complete sequence formed of ten *sūras*, i.e. from *sūra al-Aʿrāf* to *sūra al-Isrāʾ*. The text written by this team of three copyists coincides with the text of the Medina muṣḥaf to a great extent, although it reveals traces of the linguistic competence of the scribes, similar to the situation described in the analysis of MS PaB and MS PeB. Furthermore, the nature of the collective work itself which produced the small leaves of this palimpsest permits not only the listing of all of the variants featured in this artefact, but also the distinguishing of the individual position of each scribe as regards his own orthography. This supports the theory that variants are sometimes the expression of the linguistic competence of the person in charge of writing the exemplar, so that it would be more likely to approach the orthography of the scribe rather than the

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[1] See Dillon, *Palimpsest*, p.4 on the distinction between palimpsestic and palimpsestuous reading.

orthography of the exemplar.

3.3.1.1. GRAMMATICAL VARIANTS

The small leaves manuscript exhibits a few differences that can be related to phonetic, orthographic and morphologic features of the Arabic language and script, similarly to the characteristics observed in MS PaB. In order to comprehend the peculiarities of each scribe, these features are grouped according to their hand.

3.3.1.1.1. Phonetic variants

The shift of *ṯā'* into *tā'* described by Hopkins in the corpus of early Arabic papyri is featured in the small leaves written by hand β, who has furnished the letters with many diacritical strokes, while it is not possible to ascertain the presence of such a phonetic variant in hand α, as he has marked only rare diacritical dots.[2] On the other hand, the extant portion of text written by hand γ is too small to observe such a feature. Thus, hand β marked this shift at eight points, i.e. *aṯqāla-kum > atqāla-kum* in Q.16:7 (CUL1287, f.10v,l.3), *aṯāṯan > atātan* in Q.16:80 (CUL1287, f.34v,l.7), *wa-akṯaru-hum > wa-aktaru-hum* in Q.16:83 (CUL1287, f.34v,l.13), *ankāṯan > ankātan* in Q.16:92 (CUL1287, f.34r,l.11), *ṯamanan > tamanan* in Q.16:95 (CUL1287, f.34r,l.21), *unṯā > untā* in Q.16:97 (CUL1287, f.35r,l.3), *maṯalan > matalan* whose reading is uncertain in Q.16:112 (CUL1287, f.35v,l.10) and *Ṯamūd > Tamūd* in Q.17:59 (CUL1287, f.56r,l.20).

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[2] Nevertheless, hand α has marked three diacritical dots above the denticle in *sa-yu'tī-nā* in Q.9:59 (CUL f.32v, l.23).

As regards the disappearance of *hamza*, the manuscript bears four cases marked by hand β, namely *Qur'ān^an > Qur(ā)n^an* and *al-Qur'ān > al-Qur(ā)n*[3] with *scriptio defectiva* in Q.13:31 (CUL1287, f.11r,l.9) and Q.15:91 (CUL1287, f.10r,l.8), *yay'asi > yayasi* in Q.13:31 (CUL1287, f.11r,l.11)[4] and *wa-ītā' > wa-ītā* in Q.16:90 (CUL1287, f.34r,l.5).[5]

The third characteristic exhibited in these early manuscripts is the use of *yā'* to mark long /ā/, whose pronunciation is affected by *imāla*[6] in writing the plural of *āya* 'sign', i.e. *bi-āyāti-na* by hand α in Q.7:146 (CUL1287, f.33r,l.11), Q.7:147 (CUL1287, f.33r,l.12), Q.7:156 (CUL1287, f.33v,l.15) and by hand β in Q.14:5 (CUL1287, f.9v,ll.10-11), who also wrote *yā'* to mark /ā/ in *bi-āyāti* in Q.16:104 (CUL1287, f.35r,l.16) and Q.16:105 (CUL1287, f.35r,l19). Moreover, it is not clear whether hand α read the final /ā/ in *wa-l-ruhbān* with *imāla* in Q.9:34 (CUL1287, f.61v, l.17), and whether in Q.9:30 (CUL1287, f.61v,l.8) he read medial /ā/ affected by *imāla* in *al-naṣārā* inserting *yā'* between *ṣād* and *rā'* or whether he read the lexical variant *al-naṣīr*, as the word is unclear and the final *yā'* is illegible.

Section 3.1.1.1.1 described the investigation of the phenomenon of the *imāla* in understanding the orthography of the noun *šay'* that appears in early Qur'ānic manuscripts in its specific form ساى with the insertion of *alif* between *šīn* and *yā'*. Although it is worth mentioning their inconsistency, both hands inserted *alif* in writing this noun in a few cases, namely hand α twice in Q.7:145 (CUL1287, f.33r,l.6) and hand β three times, i.e. in Q.16:89 (CUL1287, f.34r,l.3), Q.17:12 (CUL1287, f.58v,l.7) and Q.17:44 (CUL1287, f.59r,l.7).

Lastly, the spelling of *ḥayāt* using *alif* instead of the common Qur'ānic spelling of /ā/ marked

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[3] On the omission of post-consonantal medial *hamza*, see Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §26 (and 19).
[4] The disappearance of *hamza* in imperfect verb (form I), see Hopkins §26 and 56 (metathesized root 'ys) and Nöldeke, *History*, III, p.49 (in which this MS, i.e. MS CUL1287 was mentioned).
[5] The omission of *hamza* preceded by long vowel in noun (form IV), see Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §20c and Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing'. The variant was mentioned in the *qirā'āt* tradition.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 24; Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, pp.8-9 (i.e. *imāla*). See above for the possible explanation for such a phenomenon, Section 3.2.1.1.1.

by *wāw*[7] could be interpreted as an improvement of the old spelling[8] upgraded to the contemporary pronunciation or as a mistake by hand β, who probably immediately corrected the spelling by cancelling *alif* and adding *wāw.*[9]

3.3.1.1.2. Phonetic/orthographic variants, i.e. ortho-epic writing

This practice of modifying and preserving an old orthography/pronunciation is detectable at other points in the small leaves of MS CaB. They maintain traces of the original presence of *alif* pronounced as short /u/ or /i/ which has later been disambiguated by adding a *mater lectionis wāw* or *yā',* thus producing the later elimination of *alif* according to the process suggested by Puin.[10] As already observed in MS PaB,[11] hand α ameliorated the spelling of *abā'u-nā* in Q.7:173 by writing *aba'u-nā*[12] (Birm150, f.1v,l.21) and hand β upgraded the spelling of *šurakā'u-nā* (Q.16:86) to *šuraka'u-nā* (CUL f.34v,l.18). Similarly, in *ūlū* in Q.13:19 (CUL f.11v,l.5) hand β did not spell the final *alif.* According to Puin, this final *alif* expressed short /u/, whereas its absence in early manuscripts implies the phenomenon *ūlū < ūlu.*[13] It is worth observing that a later hand added the final *alif* in a writing that seems to be different from hand β.

Lastly, hand α furnished the word *sū'* with final *alif* in Q.9:37 (CUL1287, f.32r, l.7) as attested

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[7] See the spelling of *al-zakāt* featured in Q.22:78 (BnF328, f.86r, l.13) الركوا, Section 3.1.1.1.3.
[8] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 159: the Qur'ānic *rasm* preserves the old Syriac writing and pronunciation by adding an ortho-epic small *alif*, whereas hand β upgraded the writing to the Arabic pronunciation with an /a/ sound. Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §13.
[9] The palimpsest's conditions do not permit the different stages of the first hand and the correctors in their writing process to be clearly distinguished.
[10] See Section 3.1.1.1.2.
[11] Q.21:54 in BnF328, f.80v, ll.17-18, see above section 3.1.1.1.2
[12] Hopkins mentioned the omission of *hamza* and the shortening of the long vowel (*ibid.*, §20c), whereas Puin suggested *aba'u-nā* and the later addition of a *mater lectionis wāw* which caused the disappearance of *alif.*
[13] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 154.

in other early manuscripts,[14] although his orthography is not consistent, i.e. in Q.7:165 and 167, whereas all the occurrences of *sū'* in hand β do not have final *alif* (i.e. Q.13:18, 21 and 25; Q.16:27, 28, 94 and 119).

3.3.1.1.3. Orthographic variants

The distinctive phenomenon of *scriptio defectiva* of medial /ā/ is also common in all of the leaves of MS CaB written by three different hands, although not in a consistent way. As regards nominal forms, the pattern *fā'il* occurs in its *scriptio defectiva* without *alif* as *fa'il* three times in hand α, twice in hand γ and eight times in hand β; the pattern *fi'āl* is written *fi'al* seven times in hand α, once in hand γ and eleven times in hand β; the pattern *fa'āl* as *fa'al* is present nine times in hand α and nine times in hand β, who also wrote *fa'āliya* as *fa'aliya* once;[15] the pattern *af'āl* is found as *af'al* five times in hand α, once in hand γ and eight times in hand β; *afā'il* as *afa'il* once in hand γ; *fi'lān* as *fi'lan* and *fu'lān* as *fu'lan* once in hand α; *if'āl* as *if'al* once in hand β as well as in hand γ; *mafā'il* is found as *mafā'il* once in hand α as well as in hand β; *fu'ālā* is written as *fu'alā* once by hand α. Lastly, the *scriptio defectiva* is featured in a few patterns characterized by /ā/ and by *wāw* or *yā'* among their radicals, namely *makāna-hu* as *makana-hu* in hand α (Q.7:143), *al-mī'ād* as *al-mī'ad* in hand β (Q.13:31), *mālan* as *malan* in hand γ (Q.11:29) and in hand β (Q.17:34, *māl* as *mal*); *bi-ayyām* as *bi-ayyam* in hand β (Q.14:5). Moreover, hand β wrote the particle and the pronoun *iyyā-hu* in Q.17:23 and Q.17:67 as *iyya-hu*, although the former reading is uncertain.

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[14] *Alif* remains part of the *rasm* (later symbol of accusative), see *ibid.*, p. 174, mentioning BnF328a, DaM28, 29 and BL2165.

[15] This pattern also includes the word *'aḏāb*, suggested as a keyword by Déroche in analysing codex Parisino-petropolitanus and early Qur'ānic manuscripts. The orthography of this word also permits the three hands to be distinguished from a linguistic point of view, thus completing the palaeographical analysis. See below.

Besides these patterns, *alif* of final ending –*ā* marking the dual is absent once in Q.17:23, i.e. *kilā-humā* is written as *kila-humā* by hand β and *alif* of final ending –*āt* marking the feminine plural only in *sayyi'āt*, i.e. *al-sayyi'at* (Q.7:153) written by hand α and *sayyi'at* (Q.16:34) written by hand β. Thus the total number of occurrences of *scriptio defectiva* in nominal forms against the Medina muṣḥaf is seventy-nine in sixteen leaves, precisely twenty-nine occurrences in hand α, seven occurrences in hand γ and forty-four occurrences in hand β, and none of these absent letters have been added by the first hand nor by a later hand, as far as it is possible to observe in the very damaged and faded writing of the palimpsest's *scriptio inferior*.

As regards the absence of *alif* marking long /ā/ in verbal forms, it is attested mainly in verbs *ajwaf*, i.e. twelve times in hand α, three times in hand γ and eighteen times in hand β. The most frequent case is the verb *qāla*, with its twenty-one defective forms, namely hand α wrote *qala* against standard *qāla* in five points, *qālat* instead of *qalat* once and *qalū* against *qālū* twice; hand γ wrote *qala* against *qāla* at two points and *qalū* instead of *qālū* once; hand β wrote this verbal form without *alif* in a consistent way, i.e. *qala* against *qāla* in all the four occurrences, *wa-qala* instead of *wa-qāla* in its single occurrence and *qalū* against *qālū* in all its five occurrences. The other forms of verb *ajwaf* are perfect of form I *hadū* instead of *hādū* in Q.16:118 (hand β, CUL1287, f.57r,ll.2-3), perfect of form IV *afaqa* against *afāqa* in Q.7:143 (hand α, CUL1287, f.33r,l.2), *wa-aqamū* in place of *wa-aqāmū* in Q.13:22 (hand β, CUL1287, f.11v, ll.9-10), *fa-aṣaba-hum* instead of *fa-aṣāba-hum* in Q.16:34 (hand β, CUL1287, f.12v+8v,l.9) and *aḥaṭa* in place of *aḥāṭa* in Q.17:60 (hand β, CUL1287, f.56v,l.1), perfect of form VIII *wa-ḫtara* instead of *wa-ḫtāra* in Q.7:155 (hand α, CUL1287, f.33v,l.7) and the uncertain *wa-rtabat* instead of *wa-rtābat* in Q.9:45 (hand α, CUL1287, f.32r,l.23), perfect of form X *(i)stajabū* instead of *(i)stajābū* in Q.13:18 (hand β, CUL1287, f.11v,l.1), imperfect of form I *sa-yanalu-hum*

against *sa-yanālu-hum* in Q.7:152 (hand α, CUL1287, f.33v,l.2) and *yanalū* in Q.9:74 (hand α, CUL1287, 62v,l.15) which seems to have been corrected in *yanālū*, *wa-yaḥafūna* in place of *wa-yaḥafūna* in Q.13:21 (hand β, CUL1287, f.11v, l.8) and in Q.17:57 (hand β, CUL1287, f.56r,l.14), *yazalu* instead of *yazālu* in Q.13:31 (hand β, CUL1287, f.11r,l.12).

As regards the verbal forms characterized by their elongated vowel, hand α wrote form III *wa-hajarū* instead of *wa-hājarū* in Q.9:20 (CUL1287, f.61r,l.4), *li-yuwaṭiū* against *li-yuwāṭi'ū* in Q.9:37 (CUL1287, f.32r,l.7), *yuḥadid* instead of *yuḥādid* in Q.9:63 (CUL1287, f.63r,l.9) and form VI *attaqaltum* instead of *attāqaltum*[16] in Q.9:38 (CUL1287, f.32r,l.9), whereas hand β wrote form III *'aqabtum fa-'a[qi]bū* in place of *'aqābtum fa-'āqibū* in Q.16:126 (CUL1287, f.57r,l.18).[17]

Furthermore, the proper name Ibrāhīm is supposed to have been spelled by hand β (CUL1287, f.57r,l.11) in Q.16:123 with *scriptio defectiva* of both /ā/ and /ī/, as it appears also in other manuscripts besides the spelling Ibrahīm and Ibrāhīm.[18]

Besides the several examples of *scriptio defectiva* of long /ā/ and a mere uncertain case of *scriptio defectiva* of long /ī/, the small leaves also contain examples of *scriptio plena* of long /ā/ whereas the Medina muṣḥaf does not spell *alif*, by adding a dagger *alif* in the final ending of the feminine plural *-āt* in *wa-jannātin*, *jannātin* and *jannāti*[19] of Q.9:21 and Q.9:72 written by hand α (CUL1287, f.61r,l.7, f.62v,ll.9 and 10) and in *jannātu* of Q.13:23 and Q.16:31 written by hand β (CUL1287, f.11v,l.12 and ff.12v+8v,l.2) consistently written by both hands with *alif.*

Lastly, the small leaves contain two other aspects related to the orthography of early

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[16] VI form, see Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §73c.
[17] Nevertheless these two verbal forms III with *scriptio defectiva* could be also interpreted as lexical variants as the *qirā'āt* tradition reads form II *'aqqaba* instead of form III *'āqaba*, see section below.
[18] Small, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 49-54.
[19] See *scriptio plena* of *jannāt* in MS PaB above, section 3.2.1.1.3.

Arabic, namely the spelling of *alif fāṣila*[20] and *alif maqṣūra*. In fact, *alif fāṣila* is absent in *ḫāḍū* (Q.9:69) written by hand α and in *yaraw ilā* (Q.16:79) written by hand β. In both cases, the first hand has corrected the word, adding the absent *alif* (CUL1287, f.62r,l.23 and f.34v,l.1).[21] In Q.7:143 hand α (CUL1287, f.33r,l.1) and in Q.11:28 hand γ (CUL1287, f.63v,l.3) did not preserve *alif maqṣūra* before pronominal suffixes,[22] whereas hand β (CUL1287, f.34r,l.12) showed the phenomenon of *alif maqṣūra* spelled with *alif*[23] in the perfect of form IV *arbā* (Q.16:92).

3.3.1.1.4. Morphological variants

Hand α reads a single morphological variant, i.e. *yuḥyī* in Q.7:158 (CUL1287, f.33v, l.23) spelled with two *yā'* at the end of the word, although this should be considered a mere orthographic variant rather than an alternative between long and short form in verbs *ajwaf* and *nāqiṣ*.[24] In fact when two *yā'* come together, the one indicating /ī/ is omitted,[25] except the form IV *aḥyā* with suffixes and also in this fragment without ending.[26] If *yuḥyī* has to be considered an orthographic variant, the only morphological variant exhibited in the small leaves of the palimpsest is the form *ka-ḏaka* in Q.16:33 instead of *ka-ḏālika,* as hand β reads. Despite the limits of a very lacunose and uncertain reading in editing the palimpsest, which is only a fragment of the Qur'ānic text as far as it has survived, the results of its analysis suggest that from a morphological point of view the three scribes have a professional

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[20] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §50b.
[21] The latter example in Q.16:79 could be also a mechanical error in writing a single *alif* instead of both *alif fāṣila* and the initial *alif* in the preposition *ilā.*
[22] *Ibid.*, §12 (and §12f).
[23] *Ibid.*, §12.
[24] *Ibid.*, §81 and 82.
[25] Nöldeke, *History*, III, p. 33.
[26] *Ibid.*

linguistic competence, thus copying a stable text.

3.3.1.1.5. Syntactic variants

The situation is to some extent different in observing the syntactic variants of the manuscript text in comparison with the Medina muṣḥaf as in the following:

– Use of the conjunction *wāw* instead of *fa*-in *fa-lammā* in Q.7:143 (hand α, CUL1287, f.33r, l.1).[27]

– Presence of the coordinating conjunction *wa-* in Q.13:26 by hand β (CUL1287, f.11v, l.19) who reads *wa-llahu* instead of *allahu* at the beginning of the verse, i.e. '(and) God outspreads and straitens His provision' (Arb).

– Absence of the coordinating conjunction *wa-* in Q.16:105 by hand β (CUL1287, f.35r, l.19) who reads *ūl(ā)'ika*, i.e. '(and) those, they are the liars' (Arb).

– Absence of the prefixed interrogative particle in *a-fa-man* of Q.13:19 by hand β who reads *fa-man* (CUL1287, f.11v, l.4).

– Use of the conjunction *iḏ* instead of *iḏā* by hand γ in Q.11:31 (CUL1287, f.63v,l.13), by hand β in Q.16:85 and 86 (CUL1287, f.34v,l.15 and 17). Moreover, the form of hand γ was later corrected by adding final *alif,* likely written in a different hand.

– Absence of a case system in Q.7:160 as hand α reads *asb(ā)ṭ* instead of *asbāṭ^{an}* after the numeral *(i)ṯnatay 'ašrata*,[28] although the reading of the *scriptio inferior* is uncertain at this point (CUL1287, f.60v, l.4); in Q.17:9 hand β reads *ajr* without *tanwīn alif* whereas the connected adjective has been marked by *alif*, i.e. *ajr kabiran* instead of *ajran*

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[27] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §253 underlined that *fa-* introducing apodosis of *lammā* is unusual.
[28] See absence of a case system (*tanwīn alif*) after numerals, *ibid.*, §167h.

kabiran (CUL1287, f.58v,l.1).[29]

– Absence of the pronoun in the expression *huwa allaḏī arsala* at the beginning of Q.9:33 written by hand α. The ink of the *scriptio inferior* is illegible at this point of the parchment (CUL1287, f.61v,l.15), but the fact that there is no space for both the words *huwa* and *allaḏī* and the fact that *huwa* has been written at the beginning of l.15 outside the right vertical line marking the text area suggest that *huwa* or *allaḏī* has been omitted and added later.

– Supposed use of *allaḏī* instead of *mā* by hand β in Q.16:97, i.e. 'according to the best of what they did' (Arb). Although illegible, this point of the parchment (CUL1287, f.35r, l.4) reads two vertical strokes instead of *mā* and one possible conjecture is to read the two vertical strokes as part of *allaḏī,* supported by its use for substantive relative clauses in early Arabic papyri.[30]

– Absence of mood distinction, i.e. indicative/subjunctive[31] in *la-ya'kulū* instead of *la-ya'kulūna* in Q.9:34 (hand α, CUL1287, f.61v, l.17).

– Repetition of the subject *allah* by hand β (CUL1287, f.34r, l.15) who reads *yuḍillu llahu* instead of *yuḍillu* in Q.16:93, thus repeating the subject already mentioned at the beginning of the verse,[32] i.e. 'if God had willed, He would have made you one nation; but He leads astray whom He will' whereas hand β reads 'but God leads astray whom He will' (Arb).

– Use of *status constructus* instead of the particle *min* for connecting two nouns, thus also affecting the lexicon of the expression in Q.17:28, in fact in CUL1287, f.58r, ll.17-

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[29] *Ibid.,* §165.
[30] *Ibid.,* §291.
[31] On the absence of mood distinction see *ibid.,* §138a.II (§65b).
[32] This typology of variant could be compared with the repetition of a noun instead of being referred to by a pronominal suffix in early Arabic papyri, *ibid.,* §220.

18 hand β reads *raḥmati rabbi-ka* '(seeking) the mercy of your Lord' instead of *raḥmatin min rabbi-ka* '(seeking) mercy from your Lord'.

– Supposed use of the preposition *bi-* for introducing the pronoun *–hum* in order to clarify the meaning of the expression *wa-iḏ hum najwā* 'and if they (are in) private conversation' in Q.17:47 by adding the preposition *bi-* in *wa-iḏ bi-hum najwā*. This reading of hand β is uncertain in CUL1287, f.59r, l.15.

– Use of the third singular person *zāda-kum* (hand α CUL1287, f.32v,l.3) instead of the verbal plural form *zādū-kum* in Q.9:47 unless the singular form is a lexical variant.

3.3.1.2. LEXICAL VARIANTS

Some of the syntactic variants listed above also affect the lexical area of the related words, whereas the fragment of small leaves also reads further lexical variants by using synonyms and by placing different diacritical strokes, thus expressing a different recipient of the message, as observed in MSS PaB and PeB. It is worth remarking that the latter typology of variant is present only in the leaves written by hand β, as he used diacritical strokes, whereas they are extremely rare in hand α. Thus the manuscript reads:

– use of the synonym preposition *ilā* instead of *li-* 'to' after the verb *aḏina* in Q.9:49 by hand α (CUL1287, f.32v, l.6);

– use of the synonym verb *'amila* instead of *fa'ala* 'to do' in Q.11:36 by hand γ (CUL1287, f.63v, l.22);

– insertion of the synonym *al-ḫāliq* instead of *al-ḫallāq* 'the Creator'in Q.15:86, corrected by a later hand who added *alif* to the writing of hand β (CUL1287, f.10r, l.2):

- you (plural person) instead of they: hand β (CUL ff.12r+8r,l.7) reads *tuʻlinūna* instead of *yuʻlinūna*, i.e. 'you / they reveal' in Q.16:23 and *taʻrifūna* instead of *yaʻrifūna*, i.e. 'you / they recognize' in Q.16:83 (CUL1287, f.34v, l.12) and lastly, *li-taḏḏakkarū* instead of *li-yaḏḏakkarū*, i.e. 'that you may remember / that they may remember'.

Furthermore, there are a few words whose traces are now illegible because they have been cancelled during the writing process of the small leaves or during their use, before the palimpsestic process of cancelling the entire pages in order to reuse them. Although they are illegible, it is possible to form a few conjectures. Thus, for example, the illegible word in Q.7:157 corresponding to the reading *bi-l-maʻrūf* in the Medina muṣḥaf, reads an extra letter after *ʻayn* (CUL1287, f.33v, l.17), suggesting the possibility of a correction *in scribendo* by hand α.[33] In Q.9:61 the Medina muṣḥaf reads *rasūl* in *allaḏīna yuʼḏūna rasūla llahi*, i.e. 'those who hurt God's Messenger' (Arb), whereas *lām* of *rasūl* has been traced in its medial form by hand α (CUL1287, f.62r, l.7), implying a further letter after it,[34] although erased and illegible. The variant of *wa-ḥāqa*, i.e. 'to surround' is also illegible in Q.16:35 where hand β (CUL1287, ff.12v+8v) reads two letters instead of the single *qāf* after *ḥāʼ* and *alif*, although these are illegible.

Lastly, in Q.9:19 the word *wa-ʻimāra*, i.e. 'the building/inhabiting (of the Holy Mosque)' has been written by hand α (CUL1287, f.61r, l2) without *alif* and *tāʼ marbūṭa*, the latter having been added later, although it is not clear whether this was a mere mistake immediately corrected by hand α or whether it was a lexical variant consisting in a shift of gender[35] and later amended by a different hand.

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[33] The extra space within the word and the cancelled letter suggest correction *in scribendo*. On the basis of the shape of the remnants of the letters cancelled and added to amend the error, it is possible to conjecture *bi-l-maġfūr*, as *fāʼ* is among the possible readings of the extra letter and *wāw* seems to have been retraced over *rāʼ*.
[34] The letter could be a pronoun, i.e. *rasūla-hu*.
[35] *Ibid.*, §83.

3.3.1.3. MECHANICAL ERRORS

As in MSS PaB and PeB, there are a few cases in which the scribe reads a variant by placing diacritics or letters in a different position against the text of the of Medina muṣḥaf, although the resulting non-sense readings imply as a possible explanation of their non-sense the fact that they were mistakes, possibly due to the mechanism of copying from an exemplar. MS CaB reads as follows.

- Omission in *balā šahidnā*, i.e. 'Yes! We testify' (Arb) in Q.7:172: hand α (Min150, f.1v, l.19) reads *bā* (ﺑ) *šahidnā* being the final tail of *yā'* absent.

- Omission in *ātā-na*, i.e. '(if) he gives us' in Q.9:75: hand β (CUL1287, f.62v, l.19) does not read the initial *alif* that has been later added.

- Confusion with final *hā'/mīm* in *ḫilāla-kum*, i.e. 'among you' in Q.9:47: hand α (CUL1287, f.32v, l.4) reads a final *hā'* instead of *mīm* in the pronoun –*kum* although such a reading is quite uncertain, being partially covered by the ink of the *scriptio superior*.

- Alternation t>ṯ in *sa-yu'tī-na*, i.e. '(God) will bring us' in Q.9:59: hand α (CUL1287, f.32v, l.23) reads *ṯā'* instead of *tā'* by placing three diacritical strokes above the first denticle of the second letter block. It is worth noting that hand α traced a few rare diacritical dots and this is the only occurrence of *ṯā'* marked by diacritics, whereas hand β reads several phonetic shifts ṯ>t as above illustrated.

- Alternation b>n in *qulūbu-hum*, i.e. 'their hearts' in Q.16:22: hand β has placed the diacritical stroke above the denticle, thus reading *nūn* instead of *bā'*, which is likely to be a mechanical error in copying.

- Although uncertain, metathesis l>n in *la-nas'alanna-hum*, i.e. 'we will surely question them' in Q.15:92: hand β (CUL1287, f.10r, l.8) wrote *lām* and *nūn* in reverse order, which is likely to be a mechanical error in copying.

- Although uncertain, possible metathesis s>t in *mastūran*, i.e. 'hidden' in Q.17:45: hand β (CUL1287, f.59r, l.10) reads initial *mīm* and *tā'* suggesting among other possibilities the metathesis of the second and third letter, although only *tā'* is readable.

In these small leaves, two cases of correction seem to reflect the mechanism by which the scribe executed the writing, although the correction itself hides their uncertain reading. Firstly, it is likely that in CUL1287 (f.63v, l.16) hand γ has written *q(ā)la* in defective writing at the beginning of Q.11:34 which in the Medina muṣḥaf starts reading *wa-lā yanfa'u-kum nuṣḥī*, i.e. 'and my sincere counsel will not profit you'. The first hand reading *qāf-lām* and *alif* has been corrected *in scribendo* in order to read *wa-lā*. Moreover, after the following letter block, a vertical stroke is visible that could be *alif*, although the lacuna at the bottom of the stroke does not allow us to ascertain whether it is the base of *alif* or the tail of *lām*. The possible explanation for such a variant is that hand γ has repeated the verb opening the previous verse, i.e. *qāla* in Q.11:33. However, the *alif* after *qāla* and the probable *alif* after the letter block corrected in *yanfa'u-kum* could correspond to the beginning and ending of *innamā* of Q.11:33, i.e. *qāla innamā*. This would mean that hand γ has reduplicated the beginning of the previous verse and therefore was probably copying from an exemplar rather than writing by dictation or by memory, as dittography is a frequent mechanism in the copying process.

The second case is Q.16:86-88, which hand β has partially written in a smaller script in order to fit the space limits, probably due to a previous shorter variant of this portion of text, as

the small writing arranged outside the text area reveals in comparison with the regular script that characterizes hand β and his mastery in writing. The text that hand β wrote in Q.16:86 (CUL1287, f.34v, ll.17-19) corresponds to a great extent to the reading of the Medina muṣḥaf from its beginning to *fa-alqaw ilay-him*,[36] whereas the following part at ll.19-21 is the result of a later intervention. In fact, after *ilay-him* he reads *al-qaw* instead of *ilay-him al-qawl*, probably because of the similarity of the last part of Q.16:86 to the beginning of Q.16:87, i.e. *fa-alqaw ilay-him al-qawl inna-kum la-kaḏibūna* followed by *wa-alqaw ilā llah*. Thus, the scribe could have omitted the words *al-qawl* in Q.16:86 and *alqaw* in Q.16:87 although it is impossible to reconstruct the first writing of hand β. It is worth mentioning that even the later correction reads a variant at the beginning of Q.16:88, i.e. an uncertain *inna* before *allaḏīna*.[37] As in the previous case, the haplography denotes that the scribe was probably writing by copying from an exemplar.

3.3.1.4. VARIANTS IN THE SUBDIVISION OF THE TEXT: VERSE NUMBERING SYSTEM

The three hands marked the ends of verses by tracing six thin strokes or six oval dots disposed obliquely and arranged in a triangular shape and used in a very consistent way through all of the leaves as far as the images and the retracement reveal, with one exception at the end of *sūra al-Ḥijr* where hand β traced six oblique strokes, arranging them one above the other (CUL1287, f.10r, l.14). Although some of the six oblique traits are illegible in a few cases, the shape and position of the readable remnants suggests a triangular cluster of six traits. As regards the points at which the parchment is very

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[36] Excepting a few orthographical variants already mentioned.
[37] Despite the lacuna, part of an ascender and part of a descender are still visible, thus giving *inna* as one of the possible readings. Despite the uncertainty, it is clear that there is an extra word before *allaḏīna*, the beginning of Q.16:88 in the Medina muṣḥaf.

damaged or the ink of the *scriptio inferior* has been perfectly cancelled, the presence of *fāṣila* has been supposed and thus marked as illegible if there is enough space for it according to the habit of the scribes. On the other hand, if the scribes have not placed the regular space between the last word of a verse and the beginning of the following verse, the absence of *fāṣila* has been assumed, even when its absence is illegible. There is no evidence for assuming later stage(s) in the writing process which added further information to the subdivision of the text, and the amendments by both cancelling and adding ends of verses are likely to be interventions of the first hand.

None of the variants in reading the ends of verses read in the small palimpsest leaves matches any of the other system recorded by the Islamic tradition, thus revealing a unique counting system at a few points. Considering the great uncertainty in reading markers of ends of verses and the absence of agreement between the manuscript's system and Islamic sources such as *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān* by al-Dānī,[38] the variants have not been arranged in comparison with data of other traditions as proposed in listing the variants of MSS PaB and PeB. These variants are:

Medina muṣḥaf and other systems		MS CaB	hand	manuscript variant	Writing process
Q.7:146	absent	f.33r,l.10	α	end of verse in Q.7:146 after وَإِن يَرَوْا سَبِيلَ الرُّشْدِ لَا يَتَّخِذُوهُ سَبِيلًا *uncertain*	later cancelled
Q.7:146	absent	f.33r,l.11	α	end of verse in Q.7:146 after وَإِن يَرَوْا سَبِيلَ الغَيِّ يَتَّخِذُوهُ سَبِيلًا *uncertain*	later cancelled
Q.9:34	end of verse	f.61v,l.20	α	absent	illegible no space
Q.13:38	end of verse	f.9r,l.12	β	absent	illegible

[38] al-Dānī, Abū ʿAmr ʿUṯmān b. Saʿīd. *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, (ed. Ġānim Qaddūrī al- Ḥamad). Kuwait, Markaz al-Maḫṭūṭāt wa-l-Turāṯ wa-l-Waṯāʾiq, 1994.

					uncertain	no space
Q.15:97	end of verse	f.10r,l.13	β	absent		illegible no space
Q.15:98	end of verse	f.10r,l.14	β	absent		illegible no space
Q.16:105	absent	f.35r,l.18	β	end of verse in Q.16:105 after الَّذينَ لا يُؤمِنونَ		X
Q.17:14	end of verse	f.58v,l.10	β	absent different shape		later added
Q.17:17	absent	f.58v,l.17	β	end of verse in Q.7:146 after وَكَفىٰ بِرَبِّكَ بِذُنوبِ عِبادِهِ خَبيرًا uncertain		X
Q.17:31	end of verse	f.59v,l.2	β	absent		illegible no space
Q.17:61	end of verse	f.56v,l.6	β	absent		illegible no space

Among the eleven variants, hand α reads two ends of verses, both within Q.7:176, that are not present in the Medina muṣḥaf and he does not read the end of verse Q.9:34, whereas hand β reads two ends of verses not present in the Medina muṣḥaf and does not mark ends of verses in six places. As regards the ends of verses that are not present in the Medina muṣḥaf, the fact observed in hand α is interesting, as he subdivided the long verse Q.7:146 into further units, stopping after *wa-in yaraw sabīla l-rušdi lā yattaḫiḏū-hu sabīlan* and after the following segment *wa-in yaraw sabīla l-ġayyi yattaḫiḏū-hu sabīlan*, i.e. 'and though they see the way of rectitude they will not take it for a way, and though they see the way of error, they will take it for a way' (Arb). The purpose in marking this unique reading and subdivision of the verse in smaller segments of text could have been related to the consequent effect of rhyme, similarly to the data observed by Déroche in the codex Parisino-petropolitanus.[39] The situation in Q.17:17 is different, as hand β seems to have marked *fāṣila* at the end of the line (CUL f.58v,l.17) after *wa-kafā bi-rabbi-ka bi-ḏunūbi ʿibādi-hi ḫabīr^{an}*, whereas at the following line he wrote the last word of the verse *baṣīr^{an}*, again

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[39] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, pp. 138-143.

marking the end of the verse. The rhyme in *ḫabīr^an baṣīr^an* and the physical interruption of the written text at the end of l.17 could have caused this sequence '*ḫabīr^an* + *fāṣila* /end of line/ *baṣīr^an* + *fāṣila*' producing the short verse composed of a single word. Moreover, in Q.16:105 the unity of text has been interrupted by *fāṣila* after *innamā yaftarī l-kaḏiba llaḏīna lā yu'minūna* interfering with the continuity of the text in *allaḏīna lā yu'minūna / bi-āyyāti llahi*, i.e. 'who believe not / in the signs of God' (Arb).[40] As in the previous example, the *fāṣila* has been placed at the end of the line, i.e. CUL1287, f.35r, l.18 in a sequence of three signs of the end of a verse placed at the end of the line, i.e. ll. 17, 18 and 19. However, these additional *fāṣila* read by hand β seem not to have been amended, whereas the two additional *fāṣila* read by hand α have been cancelled as far as a correction can be undoubtedly distinguished from the text that has later been totally erased in its palimpsesting process.

3.3.1.5. CORRECTIONS

The fact that there is no evidence of systematic correction of the subdivision of the text into units or of the other variants suggests that the three later interventions in Q.7:146 and Q.17:14 were realized soon after the copying. Moreover, as the small leaves do not present traces of their later use, e.g. corrections, amelioration of the orthography and further information addressed to readers about the subdivision of the text,[41] it is likely to argue that the object was not used very much after its production, and this could suggest the reason for its being reused and becoming a part of a codex *rescriptus.*

It is possible to detect eighteen corrections in these sixteen palimpsest leaves, which means

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[40] The sign of interruption has been added to Arberry's translation.
[41] See Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, p. 94 as regards the subdivision of the text and all of the additional information on the codex that mirror its long use. See also the sign for a group of ten verses in PaB and the several corrections to ameliorate the orthography in PaB.

about one third of the corrections observed in the eighteen leaves of MS PaB, although the parchment's condition is completely different. Whereas the corrections to the writing of MS PaB are mainly related to its orthographic variants with the purpose of improving the orthography of the manuscript, in MS CaB only three corrections are aimed at improving the orthography. In fact the majority of corrections are corrections *in scribendo* resulting from mechanical errors that had necessarily to be corrected during the writing process.

As mentioned above when listing all of the variants read in the small leaves, hand α corrected the two additional *fāṣila* added in Q.7:146; the syntactic variant in using *huwa allaḏī* in Q.9:33; the probable lexical variant instead of *wa-ʿimāra* in Q.9:19 and the reading of *rasūla llahi* in Q.9:61 that was corrected *in scribendo* like the orthographic variant of absent *alif fāṣila* in Q.9:69 and the mistake in Q.9:75. Among the forty-five cases of s*criptio defectiva* in marking /ā/ by hand α, the only one that has been corrected is the imperfect form of verb *ajwaf* in Q.9:74.

The single leaf written by hand γ features the syntactic variant of using the conjunction *iḏ* instead of *iḏā* in Q.11:31 and the correction of the mechanical error in writing in Q.11:34. Further mechanical errors were corrected by hand β in Q.16:86-87, where he rewrote its entire text by using the margin space outside the text area so precisely planned and maintained by this regular hand; in Q.16:79 where he omitted *alif fāṣila* probably because of the following *alif* of *ilā;* and in Q.15:92 where he inverted two letters in *la-nas'alanna-hum.* Moreover, hand β changed the non-Qur'ānic orthography and pronunciation of *ḥayāt* in Q.16:97; the syntactic variant in omitting the conjunction *wa-* before *ūlā'ika* in Q.16:97; and lastly, he seems to have changed the word *al-ḥall(ā)q* which corresponds to the text of the Medina muṣḥaf in Q.15:86 by introducing the variant *al-ḥāliq*, although its reading is

uncertain.

It is worth underlining that the same variant, i.e. *iḏ* instead of *iḏā* was corrected by hand γ, whereas hand β reads the variant without later changes at two points, i.e. in Q.16:85 and Q.16:86.

3.3.1.6. Collective work and individual habits in writing: hands and text(s)

The different way of dealing with the text and its variants by correcting or by maintaining *iḏ* instead of *iḏā* mirrors the individual positions of the three hands in relation to the orthography and in general to the linguistic performance, so that their different styles of writing correspond to different textual habits, thus supporting the hypothesis of three different writing hands rather than a single scribe who has experienced an evolution in his style over time. A further element to be considered is the correction of an additional end of verse in hand α, whereas hand β kept it.

As regards the orthography, it seems advisable to begin by comparing the writing of frequent and distinctive words, imitating the example of Déroche in order to produce a common instrument of comparison,[42] i.e. investigating the writing of *‘aḏāb* and *qāla* with their alternative *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva* of /ā/; the orthography of *šay* with or without *alif*; the orthography of *āyāt* with its alternative *alif* indicating /ā/ and *yā’* probably expressing the *imāla*. The fifth word considered by Déroche, i.e. *‘ibād*, has not been considered in this analysis, as it is present only in the portion of text written by hand β, thus not leading to any conclusion about the orthography of the different hands, whereas

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[42] As regards the verse counting system, see above.

the word *sū'* has been added to this list. The details of these frequent words as written by hand α, β and γ in MS CaB are shown in Table 3.3.a.

As regards the first word, i.e. *'aḏāb*, the three hands show specific positions, hands γ and β being different from hand α. In fact hand α wrote the word without *alif* seven times and once with *alif*, whereas in his small portion of text hand γ wrote the word with *alif* in two cases out of two and hand β wrote *'aḏāb* with *scriptio plena* fifteen times out of seventeen and only twice did not write *alif*. In the case of the verb *qāla*, hand α wrote its forms without *alif* nine times and seven times with *alif,* thus exhibiting an incoherent orthography that is likely to coincide with his irregular script. On the contrary, both hands γ and β had a consistent position in always writing the verb with *alif* in its *scriptio plena,* thus corresponding to the mastery observed in their script, particularly as regards hand β. The orthography of the word *sū'* is constant in hand β, being written without final *alif* in all its seven occurrences, whereas hand α wrote the word twice without *alif* and once with *alif.*

The positions of hand α and β in writing the two other distinctive words, i.e. *šay* and *āyāt*, are quite similar: both hands always wrote the latter word with an extra denticle between *yā'* and *tā'*, i.e. three times out of three in hand α and the same in hand β, whereas both hands have an inconsistent position in the orthography of *šay,* written both with and without *alif* between *šīn* and *yā'*. The notion of the specificity of the positions expressed by the three hands not only in the aspect and letter shape, but also in the orthography and subdivision of the text does not exclude the fact that the three hands were part of a collective work, sharing a common linguistic background. The specificity of the three individual positions in the small palimpsest leaves is confirmed by the similar situation analysed by Déroche in the codex Parisino-petropolitanus. The scholar underlined that the

different treatments in the orthography of a few words suggest that these were personal decisions of the scribes and not different orthographic habits present in the exemplar that they were copying, otherwise it would be quite improbable that the scribes had to copy an exact portion of text containing a coherent orthography of such words. Assuming that the small palimpsest leaves are also the result of a copying process from an exemplar, the presence of a coherent orthography in this possible exemplar coinciding with the portions of text copied by hand α, β and γ is also highly improbable.

Therefore, the notion of the linguistic competence of the scribes in charge of writing the Qurʾānic text as suggested by the linguistic situation mirrored in early Arabic papyri is also confirmed by the individual positions of scribes involved in a team-work, thus leading to the description, for example, of the orthography of (a) scribe(s) rather than the orthography of a copy or the orthography of a text.

3.3.2. Analysis of the text: extant variants in the large leaves

The large leaves of the Cambridge palimpsest are only fragments, so the analysis of their text is only the incomplete analysis of remnants, not only because of their palimpsestic nature, as with the small leaves, but because the extant text area represents about 75 per cent of the original text area before the leaves were adjusted to the new codex. Moreover, besides the parchment trimmed from the original Qurʾānic leaves, the consumption of the material by folding and use must also be considered. When Agnes Smith Lewis studied the text of the Qurʾānic leaves, publishing her work in 1902 and later in 1914 with Alphonse Mingana, she was unable to read two entire leaves (i.e. ff. 87 and 88) and three pages (i.e. the verso of ff. 93 and 94 and the recto of f.92) out of seven leaves, which means that she did not

edit 50 per cent of the large leaves.[43] This implies both that the large leaves were in poor condition even when they were purchased in 1895 and that they were illegible despite the use of hydrosulphide of ammonia. Thus the use of digital images for a complete reading and recovering of their *scriptio inferior* has not been successful, although it has been possible to read at least part of the two leaves and three pages that Lewis and Mingana did not edit. The seven leaves bear Q.19:76-98, Q.20:1-6 and 10-40 on f.88 (the probable two missing lines between recto and verso suggesting Q.19:76-98 and Q.20:1-40); Q.22:34-46 and 48-65 on f.87 (the probable three missing lines between recto and verso suggesting Q.22:34-65); Q.24:2-15 and 16-30 on f.94 (the probable three missing lines suggesting Q.24:1-30); Q.28:29-39 and 40-52 on f.92 (the probable three missing lines between recto and verso suggesting Q.28:29-54); Q.29:18-31 and 33-43 on f.93 (the probable four missing lines between recto and verso suggesting Q.29:16-44); Q.40:78-85, Q.41:1-7 and 9-21 on f.89 (the probable three missing lines between recto and verso suggesting Q.40:78-85 and Q.41:1-22) and lastly, Q.44:37-59, Q.45:1-7 and 10-21 on f.90 (the probable three missing lines between recto and verso suggesting Q.44:36-59 and Q.45:1-22). The seven leaves do not constitute a sequence, as they seem to be seven separate fragments, and it is quite probable that they were fragments of larger portions of the Qur'ānic text, although the evidence cannot point to the existence of the text of entire sūras, i.e. Q.19, 20, 22, 24, 28, 29, 40, 41, 44 and 45.

3.3.2.1. GRAMMATICAL VARIANTS

The fragmentation of the extant leaves and the noise in retracing their text limit our

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[43] See section below (palimpsestuous reading). In 1902, Agnes Smith Lewis specified that 'Folia I, II. Scripti inferioris = ff.147+154, 148+153 scripti superioris legi non possunt', i.e. the two entire leaves, and 'ff.160b et 157a legi non possunt' Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, pp. xlix and l. In the 1914 edition there is no mention of such absence.

comprehension of the fragments, whose reading is for the most part impossible or uncertain leading to an incomplete and mere list of variants. Despite the uncertainty in editing the text, in a few cases it seems that the scribe has been rather consistent in spelling a few words and in reading a few variants, so that an uncertain reading has substantiated another uncertain reading.

3.3.2.1.1. Phonetic variants

It has been possible to read two typologies of phonetic variants that also affect word orthography, namely the disappearance of *hamza* and the possible phenomenon of the *imāla* in understanding the orthography of the noun *šay'*. The fragment reads the latter typology in Q.29:20 (CUL1287, f.93r, l.5) adding *alif* between *šīn* and *yā'*.[44] As regards the former typology, the manuscript reads *fa-ka'ayyin > fa-kayyin* in Q.22:45 (CUL1287, f.87r, l.23) with the disappearance of *hamza* between homogeneous vowels,[45] *(i)'ti-nā > (i)ti-nā* in Q.29:29 (CUL1287, f.93r, l.23) whose uncertain reading is partially confirmed by the similar case *(i)'tiyā > (i)tiya* in Q.41:11 (CUL1287, f.89r, l.4)[46] and lastly, the fragment reads *Qur'ānan > Qur(ā)nan* in Q.41:3 (CUL1287, f.89v, l.16).[47]

3.3.2.1.2. Phonetic/orthographic variants, i.e. ortho-epic writing

The reading *aba'i-nā* in Q.28:36 (CUL1287, f.92r, l.20) spelled only with *alif* before the suffixed

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[44] See above Sections 3.2.1.1.1 and 3.4.1.1.1. The portion of text of the large leaves contains two occurrences of the noun *šay'*, in Q.29:20 and in Q.29:42. The latter case is illegible.
[45] Without resolving into the corresponding long vowel, as in Hopkins §25.
[46] For the disappearance of *verba primae hamzatae*, see Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §77. The reading in Q.41:11 is also transmitted in the *qirā'āt* tradition. See section below.
[47] The small leaves also have this reading in Q.13:31 and Q.15:91, see section 3.4.1.1.1.

pronoun seems to confirm Puin's hypothesis regarding the later insertion of a *mater lectionis* for reading /i/, whereas the manuscript keeps the ancient spelling with *alif*.[48] Moreover, as with hand α in the small leaves,[49] the scribe has furnished the word *sū'* with final *alif*, although its reading in Q.28:32 (CUL1287, f.92r, l.9) is uncertain. Lastly, the final *nūn* of the apocopate of *kāna* in Q.40:85 is retained (CUL1287, f.89v, l.12), different from the use of both classical Arabic and early papyri.[50]

3.3.2.1.3. Orthographic variants

Similarly to the situation featured in the small leaves, the scribe of the large leaves spelled long /ā/ with its *scriptio defectiva* in nominal forms rather than in the verbal ones. The most frequent pattern is *fā'il* spelled as *fa'il* eight times; the pattern *fā'āl* as *fā'al* three times; both the final ending of the feminine plural *–āt* and the noun *ayyām* have been written without *alif* twice. As regards the latter noun, in Q.41:10 (CUL1287, f.89r, l.2) the scribe has added it to the numeral *arba'at* in a later stage, thus correcting the initial omission, and the addition itself shows the *scriptio defectiva*. All of the other patterns have been spelled with their *scriptio defectiva* only once: *f(ā)'ūl*, *fa''(ā)l*, *fa'(ā)'il*, *fi'(ā)l*, *fa'(ā)l* and *fu'(ā)l*. Moreover, *alif* of final ending *–ā* marking the dual is absent in Q.28:48 (CUL1287, f.92v, l.18) reading *siḥr(ā)ni* as well as *alif* marking form III in the active participle *muh(ā)jir^un* in Q.29:26 (CUL1287, f.93r, l.16).

As regards verbal forms, *alif* is absent nine times in the perfect of the verb *ajwaf qāla*[51] and

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[48] See Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p.149. See also above Section 3.2.1.1.2. and Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus.*
[49] Hand α is inconsistent in spelling this word, see the above section. The large leaves read only one occurrence in Q.28:32, while the parchment is missing in the other occurrence, i.e. Q.20:22.
[50] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §45a: final *nūn* may disappear. See also George, 'Le palimpseste', pp. 404-405.
[51] The form *yan(ā)la* in Q.22:37 (f.87r,l.7) is likely to be a morphological variant, i.e. *yanal* after *lan* rather than an orthographic variant. See Section 3.4.2.1.4.

once in form VI,[52] namely *fa-taṭāwala* in Q.28:45 (CUL1287, f.92v, l.8). The former verb has been written without *alif* six times in its third person masculine singular *q(ā)la*; twice in its third person masculine plural *q(ā)lū* and once in the third person feminine dual *q(ā)latā*. Although the missing or damaged nature of the parchment does not allow the forms of the perfect verb *qāla* to be read nineteen times out of a total of thirty-four occurrences, it is possible to note that the scribe was not consistent in spelling this verb. In fact, among the seven occurrences of *qālū*, he spelled the verb five times without *alif* and twice with *alif*, whereas all the seven extant occurrences of the singular person *qāla* and the unique occurrence of the dual person *q(ā)latā* have been spelled with *alif.* However, the lacunae do not lead us to infer any rule about the coherent *scriptio defectiva* of the singular and dual person and incoherent *scriptio plena* of the plural person.[53]

Beside these thirty-three cases of *scriptio defectiva* in writing /ā/ both in nominal and verbal forms, the large leaves also show examples of *scriptio plena* of a few words spelled without *alif* in the Medina muṣḥaf, namely the proper name Hārūn; the final ending *–āt* marking the feminine plural in *al-muḥṣanāt* (Q.24:23 in CUL1287, f.94r, ll.13-14) and the dual form of the pronoun *ḏānika.* As regards the uncertain spelling of *la-aẓunnu* in Q.28:38 (CUL1287, f.92r, l.26), it is not clear whether the extra *alif* between *lām-alif* and *ẓā'* marks the *scriptio plena* of the intensifying particle *la-*[54] or a syntactic variant.[55]

Lastly, three other aspects are to be noted in the orthography of this fragment of the

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[52] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §73c; see also the examples in PaB and in the small leaves of CaB.
[53] The missing or damaged material also limits any conclusion about the spelling of another frequent word indicative of the scribe's consistency, i.e. *'aḏāb.* In fact, all of the seven extant occurrences show *scriptio plena* of /ā/, although they represent only one third of the total number, as fourteen cases are illegible. Moreover, the word *'ibād* is not significant in this sequence of the Qur'ānic text as it appears only once in Q.40:85 where the manuscript shows *scriptio plena* of /ā/.
[54] Hopkins §4a mentions an example of *scriptio plena* of *la-* in a late 3rd century papyrus. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the reading of this extra *alif* is uncertain as it partially overlaps a lacuna in the parchment.
[55] Cfr. UbTMa VI 165 f.65b, l.17: to distinguish the reading *la-'ātaw-hā* from *ātā* from the reading *la-'ataw-hā* from *atā,* see Fedeli, 'Variants and substantiated qirā'āt'.

palimpsest, namely the presence of *alif fāṣila* in spelling the third plural person *jā'ū* (CUL1287, f.94v, l.16 and l.21),[56] which is absent in the Medina muṣḥaf (Q.24:11 and 24:13); the *alif maqṣūra* not being preserved before pronominal suffixes[57] in *atā-hā* (Q.28:30) and *hawā-hu* (Q.28:50), in that the manuscript reads *alif* instead of *yā'* (CUL1287, f.92r, l.3 and f.92v, l.22); and the spelling of the feminine ending in *status constructus* with *tā'*, whereas the Medina muṣḥaf has *tā' marbūṭa*.[58]

3.3.2.1.4. Morphological variants

The scribe of the large leaves seems to read two typologies of morphological variants, although they could be interpreted as mere orthographic variants in spelling the verbs *yanālu*, *fa-alqā-hā* and *fa-anjā-hu* with *scriptio defectiva* of /ā/. The context and comparison with other data make probable their reading as morphological variants. As regards the former typology, the manuscript reads the short form of the verb *ajwaf* after *lan* instead of the long form of the conjunctive (i.e. *lan yanālu*) at the beginning of Q.22:37 (CUL1287, f.87r, l.7), whereas in the middle of the same verse (CUL1287, f.87, l.8) it reads the long form of the indicative (i.e. *wa-lakin yanālu-hu*). Thus it is probable that *yanala* is a morphological variant of *yanāla*, or it could also be a syntactic variant, being the apocopate *yanal* after the conjunction *lan*.[59] Lastly, the variants *fa-alq(ā)-hā* in Q.20:20 (CUL1287, f.88v, l.12) and *fa-*

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[56] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §50a and 50b; Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 155. See also Sections 3.2.1.1. 3. and 3.4.1.1.3.: PaB and small leaves show the opposite phenomenon, that is absence of *alif fāṣila* against its presence in the Medina muṣḥaf.

[57] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §12 (and §12f). See also the orthography in the small leaves of the palimpsest in Q.7:143 and Q.11:28.

[58] On this not uncommon spelling, see *ibid.*, §47.

[59] *Ibid.*, §81b observed that the short form instead of long are rare in the verb *ajwaf*. However, this phenomenon is quite common in early Qur'ānic manuscripts. The fact that the same verb has been spelled with its *scriptio plena* in the following line makes improbable that the first occurrence is an orthographic variant. The variants could be related to the absence of mood distinctions (i.e. apocopate/conjunctive) in the

anj(ā)-hu in Q.29:24 (CUL1287, f.93r, l.11) read the short forms of the perfect form IV of verb *nāqiṣ* which is likely to be related to pseudo-corrections.[60]

3.3.2.1.5. Syntactic variants

The extant syntactic variants of the large leaves are:

− absence of the conjunction *inna* and the pronoun *-hu* in Q.29:26: the manuscript (CUL1287, f.93r, l.16) reads *innī muh(ā)jirun ilā rabbi huwa al-'azīzu al-ḥakīmu* instead of the syntactic structure *innī muhājirun ilā rabbi inna-hu huwa al-'azīzu al-ḥakīmu* in the Medina muṣḥaf;

− although uncertain, use of the imperfect instead of the perfect in Q.40:79: the manuscript (CUL1287, f.89v, l.2) reads *allahu allaḏī [ya]j'alu lakum al-an'(ā)m* instead of *allahu allaḏī ja'ala lakum al-an'(ā)m* in the Medina muṣḥaf;

− use of the perfect instead of the imperfect in Q.40:85: the manuscript (CUL1287, f.89v, l.12) reads *fa-lam yakun nafa'a[-hum]*[61] instead of *fa-lam yaku yanfa'u-hum* i.e. 'but (their belief) was not going to profit them'[62] in the Medina muṣḥaf;

− use of the passive instead of the active in Q.41:11: the manuscript reads (CUL1287, f.89r, l.3) *fa-qīla la-hā [wa-li-l-ar]ḍ* instead of *fa-qāla la-hā wa-li-l-arḍ*, i.e. '(the Lord of all Being) said to it (heaven) and to the earth' in the Medina muṣḥaf.[63]

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imperfect (see *ibid.,* §65b) or to pseudo-corrections constituted by the short form where CA requires a long (*ibid.,* §82f).

[60] *Ibid.*, §82f.

[61] *Ibid.*, §238a, kāna + perfect need not always be translated as past perfect. George, 'Le palimpseste', pp. 404-405 mentioned this variant. As regards the variant *yakun*, see the above section on phonetic/orthographic variants.

[62] *The Holy Qur'ān.* Text and Translation, by 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī. Islamic Book Trust, Kuala Lumpur 2007.

[63] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §69 mentioned the common passive in set phrases in early papyri.

3.3.2.2. LEXICAL VARIANTS AND ILLEGIBLE WORDS

Due to the illegibility of a great amount of the text of the large leaves, a few variants have only been supposed to affect the lexical meaning of the text, although words are illegible. Thus the manuscript shows the following situations:

- In Q.20:27-28, CUL1287, f.88v, l.17 ends reading *'uqdatan* and the lacuna and illegible part at the beginning of l.18 has space for reading about 7-8 letters before the legible beginning of Q.20:29, whereas the Medina muṣḥaf reads 17 letters.[64]

- In Q.24:8, CUL1287, f.94v, l.13 has space for reading about 3-4 letters between *šah(ā)d(ā)t* and *la-min*, whereas the Medina muṣḥaf reads 8 letters, i.e. *bi-llahi inna-hu*.[65]

- In Q.44:45-51, the entire portion of the Qur'ānic text between the beginning of Q.44:45, i.e. *ka-l-muhli* and the end of Q.44:51, i.e. *amīnin* is illegible. On the basis of the layout and text area of the previous and following verses, it has been conjectured that the correspondent portion of the text of the Medina muṣḥaf should have occupied four lines, whereas the manuscript has only three illegible lines. Thus the equivalent of an entire line of text is missing, so it is plausible that the text had a different wording in Q.44:45-51.

- After *[wa-]qad* in Q.29:38, f.93v,l.10 reads an illegible word ending with *alif* that does not fit the reading of the Medina muṣḥaf *wa-qad tabayyana*, i.e. 'it has become clear to you'.

In the four listed cases, it is plausible that the missing or illegible letters and words

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[64] On the basis of mere letter counting, one possible conjecture is the omission of Q.20:28, i.e. *yafqahū qawlī.*
[65] On the basis of mere letter counting, one possible conjecture is the omission of *bi-llahi*, thus reading *šah(ā)d(ā)t [inna-hu] la-min.*

constitute lexical variants. Moreover, there are two lexical variants whose reading seems to be probable, although uncertain:

- different recipient of the message in Q.24:26 as the manuscript (CUL1287, f.94r, l.19) reads *la-[ku]m* instead of *la-hum*, i.e. 'for them/for you there is forgiveness';[66]
- probable synonym of *ṭaʿām*, i.e. 'food', in Q.44:44 as the manuscript (CUL1287, f.90v, l.6) reads *alif* after initial *ṭāʾ*, although the letter before final *mīm* is illegible.

Lastly, it should be noted that in Q.20:12 the manuscript (CUL1287, f.88v, l.4) has traces of ink between *ṭāʾ* and *wāw* of Ṭūwā, the name of the sacred valley. The unusual length of the trait linking *ṭāʾ* and *wāw*, the traces of a parallel line to the vertical trait of *ṭāʾ* and the comparison with the variant read in PaB as well as in three other witnesses, lead us to mention the possible reading of such a lexical variant in the large leaves of the palimpsest, i.e. *ṭāwī*,[67] as well.

3.3.2.3. MECHANICAL ERRORS

In analysing such a difficult object, it is rather impracticable to identify the episodes of mechanical errors by the scribe in copying from an exemplar. This hypothesis can be conjectured in two places:

- In Q.29:23 the scribe (CUL1287, f.93r, l.9) seems to have written *aw la-hum*, later corrected to read *wa-ūlaʾika la-hum* as in the Medina muṣḥaf. In this case, it could be possible that he omitted the conjunction *wa-* and the segment *–ʾika* after *lām* in *ūlaʾika*, thus copying the segment *-hum* after the second *lām*.

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[66] *kāf* in *la-kum* has been corrected in *la-hum*.
[67] See the Section 3.2.2.1. on the variant in PaB.

– In Q.41:10 (CUL1287, f.89r, l.2) the omission of the noun *ayy(ā)m* after the numeral *arbaʿat* could be interpreted as a mistake in copying rather than a lexical variant, as the later insertion of the missing noun seems to suggest.

3.3.2.4. VARIANTS IN THE SUBDIVISION OF THE TEXT: VERSE NUMBERING SYSTEM

Although the great majority of the devices marking *fāṣila* are illegible, in a few situations the fragment shows five oblique strokes to mark subdivisions of the text into smaller units. As this marker implies a quite regular distance between two following verses, the absence of such a distance has been interpreted as an absence of the ends of verses in eight cases, although the condition of being illegible in a palimpsest is an ambiguous phenomenon. However, in five out of eight illegible ends of verses, the comparison with the counting system of the Islamic tradition[68] has confirmed the hypothesis of their meaning as absence of *fāṣila*.[69]

The large leaves agree with Baṣra and with both Damascus and Ḥimṣ four times in counting Q.22:43, Q.41:1, Q.41:13 and Q.45:1, whereas they also agree with Ḥimṣ in counting the end of Q.44:43. As regards Mecca and Medina, the large leaves agree with their system at three points, namely in counting Q.41:1; Q.44:43[70] and Q.45:1. Thus, despite the lacunae, there is an important agreement with Ḥimṣ, whereas the manuscript's variants never agree with the counting system of Kūfa. It should be noted that in one instance the counting system featured in the manuscript has a parallel in MS PaB, i.e. in not reading the end of verse

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[68] The same table and structure proposed in PaB analysis has been used, following the examples of Spitaler, *Verszählung* and Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, although only the extant legible ends of verses have been listed.

[69] See Table 3.3.c listing all of the details of the comparison with the other counting systems.

[70] Only Medina II reads end of verse Q.44:43, see al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd.*

Q.22:43. Lastly, in three instances, the counting system of the manuscript is singular, i.e. in not counting the ends of verses in Q.44:44, Q.44:53 and Q.45:11.[71]

As regards the writing process, the parchments' condition does not permit any later intervention in cancelling or updating the counting system of the first hand to be distinguished.

3.3.2.5. CORRECTIONS

The only corrections that it has been possible to observe in the text of the large leaves concern the lexical variant in Q.24:26, where it seems that the pronoun -*kum* of the first writing has been corrected with –*hum*; the probable mechanical error in Q.29:23; and lastly, the omission of the noun after the numeral in Q.41:10. However, there is a substantial change to the three lines in CUL1287, f.90v, ll.6-8, due to the space being insufficient for writing the entire portion of Q.44:45-51 and the illegible letters on the right margin of the page. This suggests that there were probably later interventions to the text, and the palimpsestic treatment applied to the parchment has cancelled other corrections and previous erasures. Thus, as far as the images used in this research reveal, it is impossible to know whether all of the non-orthographic variants implying a different consonantal skeleton have been corrected or not.

3.3.3. The variants of the Islamic Tradition: substantiated *qirā'āt* in MS CaB

The same limitations arising from the palimpsesting process in reusing the Qur'ānic leaves

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[71] Incomprehensible sign at the end of Q.29:21.

necessarily also concern the comparison with the *qirā'āt* literature, as the reading of the *scriptio inferior* is incomplete and the lacunae are numerous. In the small and large leaves there are respectively three and two variants that correspond to a *qirā'a* transmitted by the Islamic tradition. Moreover, in the large leaves the possible reading of the sacred valley of Ṭuwā is very uncertain, such that it is preferable not to connect the manuscript's text with the reading of 'Īsā b. 'Umar and Ḍaḥḥāk, above observed in MS PaB. As regards the reading of *al-qāni'a* in Q.22:36 without *alif*, it is more likely to be a mere orthographic variant corresponding to scribal habit rather than a variant corresponding to the *qirā'a al-qani'a* of Abū Rajā'.[72]

The variants of the small and large leaves that have a parallel in the *qirā'āt* tradition are listed in the following tables.

ĀYA	MEDINA MUṢḤAF	MANUSCRIPT WITNESS (SMALL LEAVES)	MANUSCRIPT IMAGE	MANUSCRIPT TEXT	TYPOLOGY	AMEND.
Q.9:47	زادوكُم	CUL1287 f.60v+53r 32v,l.3		[ر]ادكم	Lexical (+syntactic) variant: sing/pl verb	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī *al-Baḥr* V, p.50	وقرأ ابن أبي عبلة (ما زادوكم) بغير واو، يعني : ما زادكم خروجهم إلا خبالًا والإيضاع			Perf ū-a	
		Ibn Abī 'Abla reads *mā zādū-kum* without *wāw*: *mā zāda-kum*, i.e. 'they (sg) would not have increased you except in confusion and hurry'				
Q.15:86	الخَلّقُ	CUL1287 f.18r+15v 10r,l.2		الحلو later corrected الحالى	Lexical variant: Synonym inserted later hand	Y
	Source al-Bannā' *Itḥāf*, p. 179	وعن المطوعي (هو الخالق) بكسر اللام. والجمهور (الخلاق) بالفتح والتشديد.			Long vwl (±ā)	

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[72] The same reading of *al-qāni'a* in Q.22:36 occurs in MS PaB, see above, Section 3.1.

	Source al-Ġarnāṭī *al-Baḥr* V, p.452		وقرأ زيد بن علي والجحدري والأعمش ومالك بن دينار هو الخالق، وكذا في المصحف أبيّ وعثمان			
		On the basis of al-Maṭū‘ī (it is read) *huwa al-ḫāliq* with /i/ for the *lām*. The majority (reads) *al-ḫallāq* with /a/ and *tašdīd* + Zayd b. ‘Alī and ‘Āṣim al-Juḥdarī, al-A‘maš and Mālik b. Dīnār (read) *huwa al-ḫāliq*, and thus also in the muṣḥaf of Ubayy and ‘Uṯmān.				
Q.16:126	عَاقَبْتُم فَعَاقِبوا	CUL1287 f.101r+96v 57r,l.18		عقسم فع[ـڡ]ـوا	Orthographical or lexical variant: defectiva ā or III/II form	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī *al-Baḥr* V, p.531		وقرأ ابن سرين (وإن عقّبتُم فعقّبوا) بتشديد القافين		Long vwl (±ā)	
		Ibn Sirīn reads *wa-in ‘aqqabtum fa-‘aqqabū* with *tašdīd* of the two *qāf*.				

ĀYA	MEDINA MUṢḤAF	MANUSCRIPT WITNESS (LARGE LEAVES)	MANUSCRIPT IMAGE	MANUSCRIPT TEXT	TYPOLOGY	AME ND.
Q.41:11	ائتيا	CUL1287 f.152v+149r 89r,l.4		اتا	Orthographic phonetic variant: hamza	N
	Source al-Ġarnāṭī *al-Baḥr* VII, p.466		وقرأ ابن عباس وابن جبير، ومجاهد (أتيا) على وزن فعلا		Hamz (±)	
		Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Jubayr and Mujāhid read *atyā* on the pattern *fa‘lā*				
Q.44:43	شَجَرَتَ	CUL1287 f.151r+150v 90v,l.5		سحر[ه]	Orthographic variant: *tā’ marbūṭa* (in status constr.)	N
	Source al-Bannā’ *Itḥāf*, p. 463		ووقف على (شجرت) بالهاء ابن كثير وأبو عمرو والكسائي ويعقوب			
		Ibn Kaṯīr, Abū ‘Amr, al-Kisā’ī and Ya‘qūb stop after *šajara(t)* with *hā’*				

This comparison seems not to supply sufficient elements to conjecture the provenance of the large and small leaves, given the fact that the *qirāʾāt* are attributed mainly to readers from Kufa and Basra as regards the small leaves and to Mecca, Kufa and Basra as regards the large leaves.

3.3.4. Palimpsestuous reading[73] of the Mingana-Lewis manuscript and verification of its 1914 edition

Studies on the notions and mechanisms behind palimpsestic practices have underlined that writing about palimpsests is also an act of palimpsesting, as the writer adds a new layer to the layered nature of the palimpsest by erasing the previous texts of the palimpsest's history, so that 'writing about the palimpsest is a process of writing *on* the palimpsest'.[74]

This process is even more evident and intricate in the case of Mingana-Lewis palimpsest, as a consequence of its inaccessibility. In fact the palimpsest disappeared – physically - when it was sent to the international exhibition of books in Leipzig in 1914, as mentioned above. Soon after the edition's publication, for example, Henri M. Léon wrote a negative review of Mingana-Lewis' work, complaining that he was forced to only be able to study the manuscript through its edition as Agnes Lewis regretted 'her inability, at present, to produce the documents in question, inasmuch as the same were detained in Germany'.[75] Similarly, the Maulvie Sadr-ud-Din lamented the unfortunate fact that 'the learned possessor of the palimpsest has temporally deprived herself of it, and it is not accessible to

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[73] 'Palimpsestuous' is an adjective recently coined by Philippe Lejeune to indicate the relational reading caused by the hypertext (i.e. *lecture palimpsestueuse*), as mentioned in Dillon, *Palimpsest*, pp. 4-5. The reading of the Qurʾānic palimpsest, its 1914 edition and reviews 'can only be deciphered together, in their inextricable totality' whose exploration is a reading of the stratigraphic readings over time.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
[75] Léon, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', p. 240.

any critic'.[76] The inaccessibility of the palimpsest, added to the lack of details about its purchase in Suez, even caused the suspicion that the artefact was faked.[77] The disappearance did not cease in 1936, when the palimpsest was returned to Cambridge University Library, as the unknown location of the palimpsest in a list of manuscripts compiled in 1996 seems to imply.[78] Its presence in Cambridge and part of its history was disclosed only recently in an article published in 2005.[79]

Thus in accessing manuscript CUL1287,[80] the 1914 edition published by Lewis and Mingana superseded the manuscript itself, while Muslim and non-Muslim scholars were demanding a verification of this edition by accessing the original artefact.[81] This means that all the studies of this palimpsest have been studies of the edition, thus writing *on* the palimpsest's edition.

In this regard, the fate of Mingana's edition in superseding the manuscript itself can be compared to the emblematic case – albeit in a totally different context – of the wall paintings from Christol Cave in South Africa. Recently the interpretations of the paintings have been discussed, particularly in terms of distinguishing between the accepted reading of the paintings and the paintings themselves. The invitation is always the same: 'il faut

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[76] Sadr-ud-Din. 'Leaves from three ancient Qurans', Review of Mingana – Smith Lewis, Leaves from three ancient Qurâns possibly pre-'Othmânic. *Islamic Review & Muslim India*, 3, 1915, pp. 219-233 (p. 225).
[77] al-Qidwai. 'A glance at the Quranic palimpsest', Review of Mingana – Smith Lewis, Leaves from three ancient Qurâns possibly pre-'Othmânic. *Islamic Review & Muslim India*, 3, 1915, pp. 234-236 (p. 235). This suspicion about a faked artefact is probably to be connected with the similar rumours about the faked manuscript sold to the Library of Berlin. See details in Samir, 'Alphonse Mingana'.
[78] Déroche, François. 'Les manuscrits du Coran en caractères higâzî. Position du problème et Eléments préliminaires pour une enquête'. *Quinterni*, 1, 1996, pp. 3-1, i.e. 'indéterminé (coll. A.S.Lewis)' p. 14.
[79] Fedeli, 'Mingana and the manuscript'.
[80] MS Min150 has only been known as part of the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest (i.e. MS CUL1287) since 2011 and there are no editions of its text, thus the palimpsestuous reading concerns only the Cambridge codex.
[81] See Chapter 1 and *ibid.* and Fedeli, 'Digitization project'.

peut-être se rendre à l'évidence visuelle'.[82]

3.3.4.1. 'WRITING ABOUT THE PALIMPSEST AND WRITING ON THE PALIMPSEST'

The palimpsesting writing on the edition published through several reviews and comments has been mainly a polemic against Mingana, considered to be the only editor of the manuscript's text, whereas the responsibility and therefore the contribution of Agnes Smith Lewis and her sister Margaret D. Gibson have been underestimated.[83]

The reviews came soon after the edition was published and some contained ethical judgments about Mingana and his purpose in making such an edition, together with ferocious criticisms of his knowledge of the Arabic language and culture. Thus, for example, Mingana was 'not free from religious bigotry and prejudice';[84] he proposed such an early date of execution for the Qur'ānic leaves in order to build up 'that fanciful superstructure';[85] his introduction was 'irrelevant and pedantic'[86] and was motivated by 'his overzeal to find a variant',[87] by 'a missionary zeal',[88] 'religious bias and bigotry'[89] and by jealousy of the authenticity of the Islamic sacred text, so that he forced mistakes into interpolations and

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[82] See Le Quellec, Jean-Loïc – François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar – François Bon, eds. *Vols de vaches à Christol Cave. Histoire critique d'une image rupestre d'Afrique du Sud*. Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009. I thank Anne Regourd for this reference.

[83] Although Mingana often referred to the edition of the Cambridge palimpsest as his own work, using the singular person (i.e. 'my edition', 'I have edited' etc.) in this 1914 edition as well as in following works, the respective contribution of each scholar is not clear. Mingana in fact wrote, 'every variant found in the preceding pages has been verified with a magnifying glass, and sometimes by means of a fresh touch with the re-agent, by the learned ladies Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson', see Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. xli. Moreover, it should be noted that in the Arabic part of the edition, every four leaves (pp. 17, 25, 33, 41, 49, 57, 65, 73) there is a capital letter M. probably meaning Mingana with reference to the format in-8, whereas the incomplete edition of the text at p.6 reads the initials A.S.L., likely to refer to Agnes Smith Lewis.

[84] Sadr-ud-Din, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', p. 220.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[86] *Ibid*, p. 220.

[87] *Ibid*, p. 224.

[88] *Ibid*, p. 226. Léon defined his motivations as 'fanatical zeal against Islam', Léon, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', p. 250.

[89] Al-Qidwai, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', p. 236.

'preferred to risk his own reputation as an Arabic scholar rather than to give up the idea of assailing the authenticity of the Quran by supplying a few variants'.[90] The variants themselves are 'childish and absurd'[91] and 'even a child who knew Arabic could say that'[92] it was not as Mingana had interpreted. Lastly, Mingana was 'ignorant of Islamic history and traditions' and 'blind even to obvious explanations'[93] and his work was not 'honest and frank'.[94] If these were the reactions from the Muslim side, from the non-Muslim side the great importance attributed initially to the manuscript in view of its pre-'Uthmānic variants was put into perspective, so that the Mingana-Lewis theory was 'unfortunate',[95] as the significative variants numbered only five words according to Nicholson, whereas Tisdall invited people to carefully 'enquire whether it is so [real] or not', concluding that despite their being pre-'Uthmānic, the newly discovered leaves 'did not in any way affect any doctrine of Islam'.[96]

In terms of the later studies of textual criticism, one should mention Bergsträsser, who evaluated every variant read in the 1914 edition to conclude that the orthographic variants were merely different dialectical interpretations, whereas the importance of the significant variants had to be limited. Moreover, the scholar underlined the inaccuracy of Mingana and Lewis in judging the palaeographical characteristics and period of the palimpsest script and defined some of their readings 'unlikely', and in the footnotes Bergsträsser claimed a verification of the 1914 edition, as suggested, for example, in 'the edition needs expert verification' and 'the alleged spellings ... still need to be confirmed' or 'the apparent *imāla* ...

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[90] Sadr-ud-Din, 'Review Mingana - Lewis'p. 226.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[93] Al-Qidwai, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', p. 236.
[94] Sadr-ud-Din, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', p. 231.
[95] Nicholson, Reynold A. 'Review of Mingana – Smith Lewis, Leaves from three ancient Qurâns possibly pre-'Othmânic'. *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1915, 16, pp. 437-440 (p. 440).
[96] Tisdall, William St. Clair. 'New Light on the Text of the Qur'ân', Review of Mingana – Smith Lewis, Leaves from three ancient Qurâns possibly pre-'Othmânic. The Moslem World, 5, 1915, pp. 143-149 (pp. 148-149).

seems equally incredible as …'.[97] The same doubts seem to be expressed in the comments of Jeffery, who reduced the importance of the edition's variants,[98] and in the invitation of Blachère to confirm the variants 'par un nouvel examen du palimpseste'.[99]

Despite the suspicion and polemics, the manuscript continued to be studied and commented on through its edition, as it is evident in al-Aʿẓamī's study published in 2003. Similarly to the reviews published in 1915, the scholar concluded that Mingana created variants, used tricks and 'takes advantage … through an absolutely ludicrous transposition', although it should be noted that al-Aʿẓamī did not have access to the manuscript and wrote on the edition superimposed upon the manuscript,[100] thus adding a new act of palimpsesting.

The polemics, suspicion of fake artefacts and of fake variants, ethical evaluation of studies and interpretation of a manuscript's text concurred in claiming to verify the 1914 edition.[101]

3.3.4.2. 'Some of their readings are extremely unlikely', 'remarkable' or 'insignificant'[102]

It is worth mentioning that the first verification of the 1914 edition was partially executed by Mingana himself when he added some handwritten notes to his personal prepublication copy of *Leaves from three ancient Qurâns*, mainly comments, corrections and question marks

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[97] Nöldeke, *History*, III, pp. 53-57 and 97-99.
[98] Jeffery, *Materials*, pp. 14-15.
[99] Blachère, *Introduction*, pp. 36-37.
[100] In al-Aʿẓamī, the concept of manuscript and manuscript edition overlap, i.e. the object and the interpretation, see al-Aʿẓamī, *History Qur'ānic text*, p. 313, the label "Mingana's manuscript" refers to Mingana's edition.
[101] This was the starting point for a research question that later led to this doctoral research after obtaining access to the manuscript through its digital avatars, and it merged with the quest for the matching fragment purchased by Mingana, i.e. the 'stray leaf' Min150.
[102] Nöldeke, *History,* III, pp. 97-99.

to be included in the final version of the edition.[103] Not all of Mingana's comments and corrections were changed in the final version of the book, so the two versions represent a compelling example of an edition with "editor's variants" with the purpose of editing a Qur'ānic text with its variants.[104]

The reviews of the 1914 edition and the comments about the content of the variant readings of the manuscript were written by scholars without having access to the manuscripts. The hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior* and the interpretation of the images led to analysis and edition of the manuscript text, thus making a comparison with the Mingana-Lewis edition and with the reviews written by scholars possible. In particular, the comparison with the variants not related to the orthography has revealed that in nineteen cases out of thirty-one,[105] the text interpreted through the images agrees with the text of the Medina muṣḥaf, whereas in five cases there is a lacuna or the manuscript text is illegible and in seven cases the images reveal a reading that corresponds with the Mingana-Lewis edition, which means that in 61% of the cases scholars have discussed variants that are likely not to exist in the manuscript as only in 16% of the cases has it been possible to confirm Mingana-Lewis' readings, as they are listed in Table 3.3.d.

It is worth noting that some of the likely non-existent variants read by Mingana-Lewis are the result of the noise of the palimpsest, as its communication system transmitted by ink

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[103] The prepublication personal copy of Mingana is now held at the Library of the University of Birmingham, whereas the final printed version of the book that has been used in this research is the copy held at the University Library of Leiden.

[104] On the digital philology for editing author's variants see Fiormonte, 'Varianti digitali' and his Digital Variants project (see http://www.digitalvariants.org/).

[105] The thirty-two variants that have been considered in this comparison are the variants that Bergsträsser did not consider as orthographic variants, i.e. Nöldeke, *History,* III, pp. 97-99 and the variants that were criticized by scholars in reviewing the book, i.e. Sadr-ud-Din, Nicholson, al-Aʿẓamī, Tisdall and Léon. The *b(ā)raknā* in Q.17:1 which al-Aʿẓamī mentions as an example of a variant that Mingana altered in the standard text in order to create a variant is also included.

and parchment is affected by disturbance due to several elements,[106] e.g. faded ink, spots and holes, besides the overlapping layers, i.e. *scriptio superior*, *scriptio inferior* and at certain points also the layer of the ink of the other side of the leaf that has penetrated through the parchment, e.g. in Q.13:33 *zuyyina* and in Q.16:111 *mā ʿamilat*. In the latter example, the manuscript (CUL1287, f.35v) reads *ʿamilat*, but the editor(s) read the round *hāʾ* or the round *mīm* of the recto of the folio as the round head of a final *hāʾ* after *ʿamilat* thus reading *ʿamilat-hu*. In fact MS CUL1287, f.35r, l.9 has *bi-hi mušrikūna* (Q.16:100) whose ink has partially penetrated into the parchment. Thus, the superimposition of the reflected letters *bi-hi mušrikūna* upon the verso of the parchment reveals that they amalgamate together with *mā ʿamilat,* thus giving form to the misreading of the 1914 edition that Bergsträsser explained as 'the more common syntax' after *mā*, 'but differing from the Koranic linguistic usage'.[107] The noise of the palimpsestic object in disturbing the reading of the *scriptio inferior* can be hypothetically represented in the following way.

MS CUL1287, f.35v *scriptio inferior*	MS CUL1287, f.35r reflected *scriptio inferior*	MS CUL1287, f.35r *scriptio inferior*

amalgam of *mā ʿamilat* (verso) and *bi-hi mušrikūna* (recto)
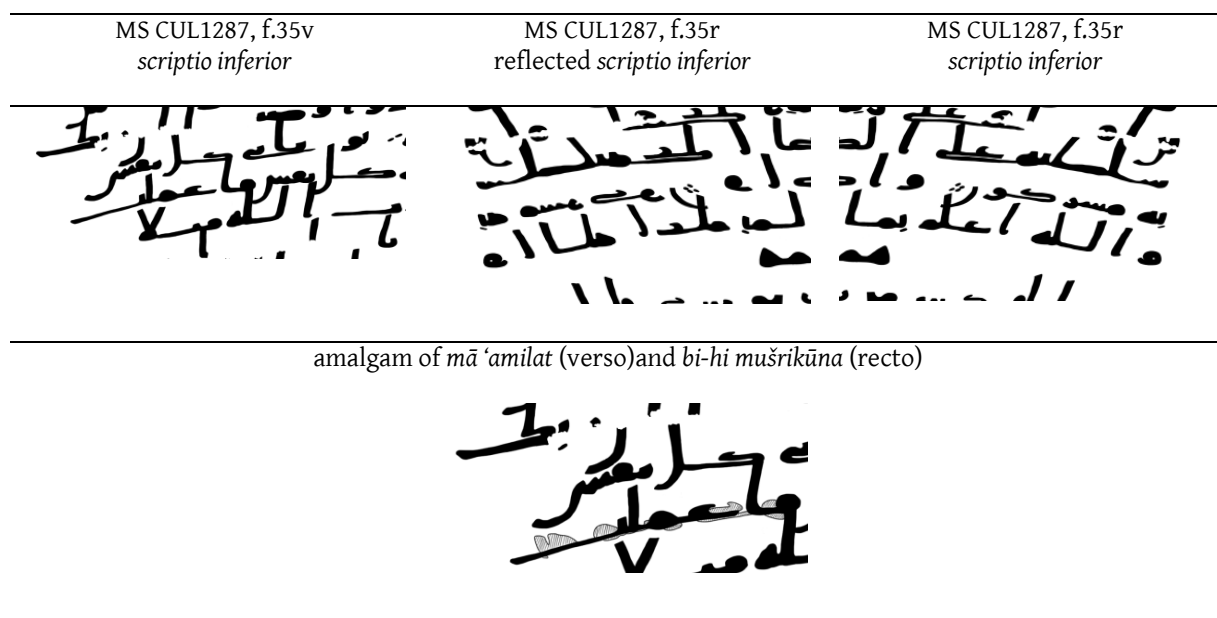
As regards other variants, the use of the digital images led to the researcher interpreting the text differently from Mingana-Lewis, although in some points the explanation of the reason for their interpretation is unclear, where the parchment seems to be in a good condition and the ink of the *scriptio inferior* is clearly visible and defined. There are points of the parchment in which the traces of the *scriptio inferior* are so distinct and clear that they can be read without any ambiguity in a different way from the interpretation given by Mingana-Lewis, i.e. in reading a variant that they did not recognize as well as in reading a non-variant that they recognized as a variant, e.g. in reading a non-existent *wa-salām* instead of *wa-raḥmat* of their parallel text in Q.7:154 and in reading *ya'rifūna ni'mata-llahi* like their parallel text in Q.16.83, whereas the manuscript reads diacritical strokes above the first denticle, thus marking *tā'* of *ta'rifūna ni'mata-llahi*.[108]

Using the interpretation of a manuscript, i.e. its edition, implies the comprehension of the mechanism in editing a text that is to some extent similar to the mechanism of the scribes in copying from a written exemplar. The 1914 edition of the *Leaves* is a particular case of such a mechanism. In fact it is significant that Bergsträsser, who could only comment on the manuscript's text from the 1914 edition, defined some of the readings as 'likely a mistake in copying' or even 'out of place in this context'. On the basis of the results of the hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior*, Bergsträsser's interpretation proved to be correct, although it has to be attributed to Mingana-Lewis rather than to the copyist. Thus, the copyists are Mingana and Lewis.[109]

As a result of his interpretation of the Mingana-Lewis variants as mistakes in copying,

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[108] Moreover, the 1914 edition reads a final *tā' marbuta*, whereas the manuscript clearly reads *tā' maftūḥa*.
[109] The editor is a scribe; see Robinson, Peter M.W. 'Manuscript Politics' in Warren Chernaik, Caroline Davis and Marilyn Deegan, eds., *The Politics of the Electronic Text*. Oxford, Office for Humanities Communication, 1993, pp. 9-16, quoted below in the section on digital philology.

Bergsträsser argued that some of the variants 'clearly indicate a written original',[110] although this argument is based on the stage of the process in which Mingana-Lewis copied/edited from the written palimpsest.[111]

A further point should be noted in comparing the manuscript text, the 1914 edition and the polemics of scholars who claimed to provide an expert verification of the edition: the Qur'ānic text that has been used as a reference in the parallel text edited with the edition itself. The observation of al-Aʿẓamī in criticizing Mingana's reading in Q.17:1 is indicative of the methodological question of the consensus[112] in choosing the 'base text' for observing variants of a text. According to al-Aʿẓamī, Mingana edited the reading *b(ā)raknā* corresponding to the manuscript's reading with *scriptio defectiva* of ā, but he added *alif* in the parallel text that reads *bārakna* with *scriptio plena* in order to create a variant.

Lastly, a further aspect to be connected to the access to the artefacts emerged in the studies of the Qur'ānic variants read in the 1914 edition, the divorce of the critics from the object and its physicality. Thus, for example, the criticism of Sadr-ud-Din reveals that not only was the scholar unable to access the artefact, but he also had no knowledge of the characteristics of the script of the manuscript in *ḥijāzī* style, so that he conjectured a misreading in *min-a-llahi šay'an* (Q.45:18) as being due to Mingana's incompetence in reading Arabic script, presupposing, for example the presence of *hamza* and the systematic use of all of the diacritics in such an early manuscript, which were impossible in that manuscript.[113]

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[110] Nöldeke, *History*, III, p. 459.

[111] The variants that led to suggest copying from a written exemplar in the small leaves were not all edited by Mingana-Lewis in 1914, so the evidence used in Bergsträsser and in this doctoral research is different and is likely to lead to different conclusions. In fact, many of the variants used by Bergsträsser do not exist according to the interpretation proposed in this research.

[112] Nasser, *Variant Readings*, pp. 45-47.

[113] Sadr-ud-Din explained that Mingana read *šay'an* incorrectly because he confused *hamza* as being the upper part of *kāf* and the three diacritics of *šīn* as being the upper part of *hā'*, thus revealing himself to be unaware

3.3.5. Conclusions

The political-diplomatic dimension of the hidden Birmingham fragment and the polemical controversies about the disappeared Cambridge codex strongly influenced the reception of the object of MS CaB and its text. The edition of the *Leaves from three ancient Qurâns, possibly pre-'Othmânic* was 'trumpeted'[114] before its publication, as far as we know from the reviews published soon after in 1915. This expectation, together with a sort of diffidence towards the 'learned Assyrian scholar' and 'self-appointed twentieth-century Daniel come to judgment'[115] and the disappearance of MS CUL1287 after 1914 caused a series of negative reviews and suspicion, and most of all the creation of a third layer on the palimpsest, i.e. the studies on the edition divorced from its manuscript.

The case of Bergsträsser's study is emblematic of such an approach, in that he conjectured that MS CUL1287 was a copy from a written exemplar, probably on the basis of the mistakes made by Mingana-Lewis in copying the manuscript.

Moreover the 'trumpeted' definition of pre-'Uthmānic referring to the leaves influenced the perspective of the studies on the edition/manuscript that had automatically to criticize such a definition. The implications of this pre-'Uthmānic attribution influenced the study of the manuscript.

The retracement of the *scriptio inferior* resulting from the use of digital images of the palimpsest does not agree at many points with the 1914 edition in interpreting variants that the editors did not read as well as variants that the editor read. The description of the artefact that emerged from this analysis is similar to the situation described, for example, in

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that these early manuscripts do not include the modern sign of hamza. See Sadr-ud-Din, 'Review Mingana - Lewis'.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[115] Léon, 'Review Mingana - Lewis', p. 248.

the analysis of MS PaB and PeB, and the richness of the object is another piece of the history of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text, beyond its not being pre-'Uthmānic. Thus the small leaves turn to be the result of a team work in which three scribes were probably copying from a written exemplar, showing their individual positions regarding the orthography of the exemplar, whereas the limited number of morphological and syntactical variants could suggest the linguistic maturity and competence of the scribes. On the other side, the large leaves can only allude to their characteristics, because of their being extremely lacunose and difficult to read. Thus there are no remnants of a mechanism of copying from a written exemplar, and at a few points, as described above, they seem to allude to a different word order and substantially different length of the text.

Lastly, it should be noted that these small and large Qur'ānic leaves are only part of the parchments that were used to assemble the codex of Christian homilies, so complete comprehension of the artefact means the study of the entire object, not merely one of its fragments, as the nature of the palimpsest itself expresses and demands interdisciplinary encounters.[116]

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[116] Dillon, *Palimpsest*, p. 2.

TABLE 3.3. A – COMPARISON OF FREQUENT DISTINCTIVE WORDS WRITTEN BY α, β AND γ IN MS CaB SMALL LEAVES

	base text	MS CaB α		base text	MS CaB γ		base text	MS CaB β
عَذابٌ	Q.7:156	عَذابى	عد[بى]	Q.11:20	العَذابُ	ال[عد]ا[ب]	Q.13:34	عَذابٌ	عداب
	Q.7:164	عَذابًا	عدنا	Q.11:26	عَذابَ	عداب	Q.13:34	وَلَعَذابُ	ولعد[ا]ب
	Q.7:165	بِعَذابٍ	بعدب				Q.14:2	عَذابٍ	[ع]لذا[ب]
	Q.7:167	العَذابِ	العـدب				Q.14:6	العَذابِ	[ا]ل[ع]لدا[ب]
	Q.9:34	بِعَذابٍ	بعداب				Q.14:7	عَذابى	ع[لذ]ى
	Q.9:39	عَذابًا	illegible				Q.16:26	العَذابُ	[ا]لعدا[ب]
	Q.9:52	بِعَذابٍ	lacuna				Q.16:85	العَذابَ	العداب
	Q.9:61	عَذابٌ	عدب				Q.16:88	عَذابًا	عد=نا
	Q.9:68	عَذابٌ	عـدب				Q.16:88	العَذابِ	ال[ع]لداب
	Q.9:74	عَذابًا	عـدنا				Q.16:94	عَذابٌ	عداب
							Q.16:104	عَذابٌ	عداب
							Q.16:106	عَذابٌ	عداب
							Q.16:113	العَذابُ	العداب
							Q.16:117	عَذابٌ	عداب
							Q.17:10	عَذابًا	[عذ]انا
							Q.17:57	عَذابُهُ	[عذ]=انه
							Q.17:57	عَذابَ	عداب
							Q.17:58	عَذابًا	illegible
	10		zero=7 (1/7 unc) alif=1	2		zero=0 alif=2	18		zero=2 (1/2 unc) alif=15 (1/15 unc)

	base text	MS CaB α		base text	MS CaB γ		base text	MS CaB β
شَيءٍ	Q.7:145	شَيءٍ	ساى				Q.16:35	شَيءٍ	سى
	Q.7:145	شَيءٍ	ساى				Q.16:35	شَيءٍ	[ش]لى
	Q.7:156	شَيءٍ	س[لى]				Q.16:89	شَيءٍ	ساى
	Q.9:39	شَيءٍ	lacuna				Q.17:12	شَيءٍ	[ش]لاى
							Q.17:44	شَيءٍ	ساى
	4		zero=1 (1/1 unc) alif=2	0			5		zero=2 (1/2 unc) alif=3

	base text	MS CaB α		base text	MS CaB γ		base text	MS CaB β
بِآيِتنا	Q.7:146	بِآيِتنا	باسا				Q.14:5	بِآيِتنا	سس[س]لا
	Q.7:147	بِآيِتنا	اسسا				Q.16:104	بِآيِتٍ	سـاسـب
	Q.7:156	بِآيِتنا	سـاسا				Q.16:105	بِآيِتٍ	باس

قال

Q. ref			Q. ref			Q. ref		
	3	zero=0 yā'=3		0			3	zero=0 yā'=3 (2/3 unc)
Q.7:143	قالَ	ڡل	Q.11:27	فَقالَ	illegible	Q.14:6	قالَ	ڡل [unc]
Q.7:144	قالَ	ڡل	Q.11:28	قالَ	ڡل	Q.14:8	وَقالَ	illegible
Q.7:149	قالوا	ڡالوا	Q.11:32	قالوا	[unc] ڡلــوا	Q.16:24	قالوا	ڡلوا
Q.7:150	قالَ	ڡل	Q.11:33	قالَ	ڡل	Q.16:27	قالَ	ڡل[ڡ]
Q.7:150	قالَ	ڡل [unc]				Q.16:30	قالوا	ڡلوا [unc]
Q.7:151	قالَ	ڡال				Q.16:35	وَقالَ	وڡل
Q.7:155	قالَ	ڡال				Q.16:86	قالوا	ڡلوا
Q.7:156	قالَ	ڡل				Q.16:101	قالوا	ڡلوا [unc]
Q.7:164	قالَت	ڡلٮ [unc]				Q.17:49	وَقالوا	وڡلوا
Q.7:164	قالوا	ڡلوا				Q.17:61	قالَ	ڡل[ڡ]
Q.7:172	قالوا	ڡلوا				Q.17:62	قالَ	ڡل
Q.9:30	وَقالَتِ	وڡالٮ				Q.17:63	قالَ	lacuna
Q.9:30	وَقالَتِ	وڡالٮ						
Q.9:59	وَقالوا	و[ڡ]لـلـو ا[ا						
Q.9:74	قالوا	ڡالوا						
Q.9:74	قالوا	ڡالـوا						
	16	zero=9 (3/9 unc) alif=7		4	zero=3 (1/3 unc) alif=0		12	zero=10 (5/10 unc) alif=0

سوء

Q. ref			Q. ref			Q. ref		
Q.7:165	السَّوِءِ	السو				Q.13:18	سوءُ	سو
Q.7:167	سوءَ	[س]ـو				Q.13:21	سوءَ	[unc] س[ـو]
Q.9:37	سوءُ	سوا				Q.13:25	سوءُ	سو
						Q.14:6	سوءَ	illegible
						Q.16:27	وَالسَّوءَ	والسو
						Q.16:28	سوءٍ	سو
						Q.16:94	السَّوءَ	الـسـو
						Q.16:119	السَّوءَ	السو
	3	zero=2 alif=1		0			8	zero=7 (1/7 unc) alif=0

TABLE 3.3. B – COMPARISON OF FREQUENT DISTINCTIVE WORDS WRITTEN IN MS CaB LARGE LEAVES

		base text	MS CaB		base text	MS CaB
عذاب	Q.19:79	العَذابِ	illegible	Q.29:29	بعَذابٍ	illegible
	Q.22:47	بالعَذابِ	lacuna	Q.41:16	عَذابَ	illegible
	Q.22:55	عَذابُ	lacuna	Q.41:16	وَلَعَذابُ	ولعداب
	Q.22:57	عَذابٌ	illegible	Q.41:17	العَذابِ	العـداب
	Q.24:2	عَذابَهُما	illegible	Q.44:48	عَذابِ	illegible
	Q.24:8	العَذابَ	الـ[عد]ا[ب]	Q.44:56	عَذابَ	[عد]اٮ
	Q.24:11	عَذابٌ	[عذ]اٮ	Q.45:8	بعَذابٍ	lacuna
	Q.24:14	عَذابٌ	illegible	Q.45:9	عَذابٌ	lacuna
	Q.24:19	عَذابٌ	[عذ]اٮ	Q.45:10	عَذابٌ	illegible
	Q.24:23	عَذابٌ	lacuna	Q.45:11	عَذابٌ	lacuna
	Q.29:23	عَذابٌ	ع[ـد]ا[ب]			
Tot 21	unknown lac=6 ill=8 **tot.14**	scriptio defectiva **tot. 0**		scriptio plena **tot.7**		

		base text	MS CaB		base text	MS CaB
شيء	Q.29.20	شَيءٍ	ساى	Q.29.42	شَيءٍ	illegible
Tot 2	unknown ill=1 **tot.1**	with alif **tot. 1**		without alif **tot. 0**		

		base text	MS CaB		base text	MS CaB
بآياتنا	Q.22:57	بآيتِنا	illegible	Q.28:36	بآيتِنا	باسا
	Q.28:35	بآيتِنا	باسا unc	Q.41:15	بآيتِنا	باس[ـٮ]ـا unc
Tot 4	unknown ill=1 **tot.1**	with yā' **tot.0**		without yā' (2/3 unc) **tot.3**		

		base text	MS CaB		base text	MS CaB
سوء	Q.20:22	سوءٍ	lacuna	Q.28:32	سوءٍ	سو[ا] unc
Tot 2	unknown **tot.1**	With alif (1/1 unc) **tot.1**		Without alif **tot.0**		

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	Q ref	reading	manuscript	Q ref	reading	manuscript
قال	Q.19:88	وَقالُوا	illegible	Q.29:25	وَقالَ	[و]قل
	Q.20:10	فَقالَ	illegible	Q.29:26	وَقالَ	lacuna
	Q.20:18	قالَ	lacuna	Q.29:28	قالَ	قال unc
	Q.20:19	قالَ	[ق]ـل	Q.29:29	قالُوا	قالوا
	Q.20:21	قالَ	lacuna	Q.29:30	قالَ	قل
	Q.20:25	قالَ	قل	Q.29:31	قالوا	lacuna
	Q.20:36	قالَ	illegible	Q.29:32	قالَ	lacuna
	Q.24:12	وَقالوا	وقل[ـو]ا	Q.29:32	قالوا	lacuna
	Q.28:33	قالَ	illegible	Q.29:33	وَقالوا	[و]قـلـوا
	Q.28:35	قالَ	قـل	Q.29:36	فَقالَ	illegible
	Q.28:36	قالوا	lacuna	Q.40:84	قالوا	illegible
	Q.28:37	وَقالَ	وقل	Q.41:5	وَقالوا	illegible
	Q.28:38	وَقالَ	illegible	Q.41:11	فَقالَ	فصل syntactic variant
	Q.28:48	قالوا	illegible	Q.41:11	قالَتا	قلتا
	Q.28:48	قالوا	illegible	Q.41:14	قالوا	قالوا
	Q.28:48	وَقالوا	وقالوا	Q.41:15	وَقالوا	و[ق]ـالـوا
	Q.29:24	قالُوا	قالوا unc	Q.41:21	وَقالوا	illegible

Tot 34	unknown	scriptio defectiva		scriptio plena	
	lac/ill=18		q(ā)la=7		
	syn.var.=1		q(ā)lū=2		qālū=5
			q(ā)latā=1		
		(1/10 unc)		(1/5 unc)	
	tot.19		**tot.10**		**tot.5**

TABLE 3.3.C. VERSE SUBDIVISION IN THE LARGE LEAVES OF MS CAB

	K	B	S		M	Md		MS CUL	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*
			D	H		I	II		
Q.22									اختلافها خمس آيات
وقومُ لوطٍ	43	0	0		41	41		0	﴿وقومُ لوطٍ﴾ [٤٣] لم يعدها البصري والشامي وعدها الباقون،
Q.41									اختلافها آيتان
حم	1	0	0		0	0		0	﴿حم﴾ [١] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون،
عادٍ وثمودَ	13	0	0		12	12		0	﴿عادٍ وثمودَ﴾ [١٣] لم يعدها البصري والشامي وعدها الباقون،
Q.44									اختلافها أربع آيات
شجرة الزقوم	43	41	41	0	0	41	0	0	﴿إن شجرة الزقوم﴾ [٤٣] لم يعدها المدني الآخر والمكي، وعدها الباقون،
الأثيم	44	42	42	41	41	42	41	0	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
متقبلين	53	51	50	50	50	50	50	0	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
Q.45									اختلافها آية
حم	1	0	0		0	0		0	﴿حم﴾ [١] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون،
رجز أليم	11	10	10		10	10		0	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*

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Q.22	K	B	S	M	Md	MS PaB	MS CUL	al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy al-Qurʾān*, pp.189-190
								اختلافها خمس آيات
basmala	0	0	0	0	0	1	lac	
	1	1	1	1	1	2	lac	
	18	18	18	18	18	19	lac	
الحَميمُ	19	0	0	0	0	20	lac	اختلافها آية ﴿مِن فوق رؤوسهِمُ الحميمُ﴾ [١٩] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون،
والجُلودُ	20	0	0	0	0	0	lac	﴿والجلُودُ﴾ [٢٠] عدها الكوفي ولم يعدها الباقون،
	21	19	19	19	19	21	lac	
	22	20	20	20	20	0	lac	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
	23	21	21	21	21	22	lac	
	41	39	39	39	39	40	✓	
وعاد وثمودُ	42	40	0	40	40	0	ill	﴿وعادٌ وثمودُ﴾ [٤٢] لم يعدها الشامي وعدها الباقون،
وقومُ لوطٍ	43	0	0	41	41	0	0	﴿وقومُ لوطٍ﴾ [٤٣] لم يعدها البصري والشامي وعدها الباقون،
	44	41	40	42	42	41	ill	
	48	45	44	46	46	45	lac	
	49	46	45	47	47	0	ill	Difference in counting not mentioned in al-Dānī, *Bayān fī ʿadd*
	50	47	46	48	48	46	lac	
	58	55	54	56	56	lac	ill	
	59	56	55	57	57	lac	ill	
	60	57	56	58	58	lac	ill	
	61	58	57	59	59	lac	ill	
	62	59	58	60	60	˅	ill	
	72	60	59	61	61	lac	lac	
	76	73	72	74	74		lac	
	77	74	73	75	75			
سمَّاكم المُسلِمين	0	0	0	76	0	0	lac	﴿هو سَمَّاكُمُ المسلمين﴾ [٧٨] عدها المكي ولم يعدها الباقون.
	78	75	74	77	76		lac	
total number	78	75	74	77	76	n/a	n/a	

Agreement: Baṣra 1; Damascus (and Ḥimṣ) 1. In one instance the counting system featured in the manuscript has a parallel in MS PaB.

ĀYA	MEDINA MUṢḤAF	INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT IN THE 1914 EDITION MINGANA-LEWIS-GIBSON (+ MINGANA'S NOTES)	PALIMPSESTUOUS READING BY SCHOLARS WITHOUT ACCESSING THE MANUSCRIPT	HYPOTHETICAL RETRACEMENT AND INTERPRETATION THROUGH DIGITAL AVATARS
Q.7:154	وَرَحمَةٌ	وسلم (؟) +C	**Bergsträsser** Typical confusion of synonyms; out of place in this context	ورحمه
			Nicholson It does not seriously affect the meaning	
Q.9:23	وَمَن	فمن	**Bergsträsser** insignificant	illegible [و]مں
Q.9:33	هُوَ	Omission >later added x	**Bergsträsser** Later added by different hand; indispensable	Illegible, *huwa* later added (*allaḏī* is illegible)
			Sadr-ud-Din Omission; Mingana forced these slips into interpolations	
Q.9:36	فِيهِنَّ	فيها	**Bergsträsser** The more common syntax	فيهں
Q.9:36	كَافَّةً	Omission	**Bergsträsser** Omitted by accident before the following one	كافه
			Sadr-ud-Din Omission; Mingana forced these slips into interpolations	
Q.9:37	النَّسيءُ	ال = ناسي	**Bergsträsser** Wrong interpretation of the orthography	ا= لـ[نـ]ـسى
Q.9:37	لا يَهدِى القَومَ	لا يهدا لقوم	**al-Aʿẓamī** Scribes dropped vowel (that is silent here) Mingana did an absolutely ludicrous transposition	لا يهدى القوم
Q.9:38	ما لَكُم	Omission	**Bergsträsser** missing (indispensable)	ما لـ[كـ]ـم
			Nicholson It suits the context ('what ails you?)	
			Sadr-ud-Din Omission;	

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[1] The table lists the Mingana-Lewis edition and also the corrections indicated by Mingana in his personal prepublication copy. A cross (i.e. X) has been added to those variants that Mingana verified by putting a cross beside them. See above (i.e. Section 3.3.4.) for references to the works and scholars quoted in the fourth column.

			Mingana forced these slips into interpolations	ونعلم
Q.9:43	وَتَعلَمَ	ومنهم (ومَن هم)	**Bergsträsser** remarkable variant (Mingana correctly interprets as wa-man hum)	
			Tisdall remarkable variant, but he reads *alâlika* 'thy lie' (='thy lie in derision') pre-'Uthmānic	
			Nicholson It does not seriously affect the meaning + Makes the following word ungrammatical	
			Sadr-ud-Din Mistake in decipherment or calligraphy	
Q.9:54	وَما	ما	**Bergsträsser** insignificant	Space for the letter, but illegible
Q.11:23	وَأَخبَتوا	وخبتوا	**Bergsträsser** Very unlikely here (although frequent I/II and IV)	Lacuna (initial 4 letters)
			Nicholson Nearly or entirely synonyms	
Q.11:32	جٰدَلتَنا	جدلت x	**Bergsträsser** Hard but not impossible, therefore noteworthy	حدلـ[ـ]ـا
Q.13:26	اللَّهُ	والله	**Bergsträsser** Hardly fitting, Probably mistake in copying	والله
			Sadr-ud-Din Mistake in spelling It does not alter the sense	
Q.13:33	زُيِّنَ	فزين	**Bergsträsser** Hardly possible	رس Ink penetrated from recto
Q.14:3	ضَلٰلٍ	ضل Corrected in list X	**Bergsträsser** misreading	صلل
			Nicholson Nearly or entirely synonyms	
			Sadr-ud-Din Mistake in spelling It does not alter the sense	
Q.15:94	وَأَعرِض	واعرضن Corrected in list?	**Bergsträsser** Insignificant (perhaps wrong reading in copying)	ا[عر]ص
			Sadr-ud-Din Mistake in spelling It does not alter the sense	
Q.16:17	أَفَلا	اولا	**Bergsträsser** insignificant	افلا

			Sadr-ud-Din Mistake in spelling It does not alter the sense	
Q.16:28	بَلِىٰ	بل x	**Bergsträsser** Very inappropriate (likely to be a mistake in copying)	[ىـ]لـىٰ
			Nicholson Nearly or entirely synonyms	
Q.16:34	فَأَصابَهُم	فاصبتهم	**Bergsträsser** insignificant	فاصبهم
Q.16:36	فَانظُروا	وانظروا	**Bergsträsser** insignificant	فانطروا
Q.16:85	وَإِذا	واذ x	**Bergsträsser** Mistakenly assimilated to narrative with *wa-iḏ*	واد
Q.16:86	وَإِذا	واذ x	**Bergsträsser** Mistakenly assimilated to narrative with *wa-iḏ*	واد
Q.16:93	لَجَعَلَكُم	جعلكم	**Bergsträsser** insignificant	[لح]علكم uncertain
Q.16:93	يُضِلُّ	يضل الله x	**Bergsträsser** Addition (wrong position)	نصل الله
			Sadr-ud-Din Omission; Repetition of MS is not correct (=assail the authenticity of the Qur'ān)	
Q.16:111	ما عَمِلَت	ما عملته	**Bergsträsser** the more common syntax	[عمـ]لـت Ink penetrated from recto
Q.17:1	بٰرَكنا	بركنا	**al-Aʿẓamī** Mingana leaves it [alif] out to create a variant	[بـ]رك[ـ]ـا
			Sadr-ud-Din Difference of calligraphy or style of writing	
Q.17:23	أَلّا	فلا	**Bergsträsser** Likely a mistake in copying (indispensable object)	[ا]لا
Q.29:25	وَقالَ	قال	**Bergsträsser** insignificant	[و]ـل illegible
Q.40:85	فَلَم يَكُ يَنفَعُهُم	فلم يكن نفعهم	**al-Aʿẓamī** Trick used by Mingana (transposition with sophistication Y>final N)	فلم [ىك]ـى نفع[ـهم]
Q.41:5	إِنَّنا	انما	**Bergsträsser** senseless, possibly misreading	[ا] = ىـ[ـىا] uncertain
Q.41:11	فَقالَ	فقيل x	**Bergsträsser** fits poorly (written text interpreted incorrectly)	فصل
Q.45:18	مِنَ اللَّهِ شَيئًا	من الـ[ـكم]]؟ هكما	**Bergsträsser** completely senseless and	[مـ]ـں الله [س]ـىا

		x	impossible; probably an erroneous reading	*Hā'* in *allah* and *yā'* in *šay'an* are unclear and *šīn* in *šay'an* is illegible
			al-A'ẓamī Scribal error (glaringly obvious), Mingana's linguistic gymnastics	
			Nicholson ἅπαξ λεγόμενα + no tolerable sense = corruption	
			Sadr-ud-Din Combination of letters without any meaning; Uncertain in the edition but part of the list + corruption of final kāf because of the pumice stone or slip of the pen + Mingana read three diacritics of šīn as upper part of hā' and hamza as upper part of kāf	
			Léon Allakm is not 'obscure', it is non-existent, pure and unadulterated jargon	

3.4.1. Papyrus Mingana 115 (IX.16), a fragmented quotation of Q.4:69-70

Papyrus Mingana 115 (IX.16) contains a fragment of Qur'ānic verses. The papyrus starts bearing the fragmented text of Q.4:69-70 from *(a)l-nabiyyīn* to the end of Q.4:70, that is *ʿalīma*, although the fact that the first line bears initial *lām* without *alif* of the article reveals that there was at least a further line in some missing material that it is impossible to calculate before the Qur'ānic text.

The meagre fragment exhibits a distinctive feature of the orthography of early Qur'ānic manuscripts and papyri, namely *alif maqṣūra* spelled with *alif* in *wa-kafā* at line 4, although this orthography is not consistent in such materials.[1] Moreover, at line 3 it shows *ḏālika faḍl^{un} min-a-llāh* against the Medina muṣḥaf *ḏālika al-faḍlu min-a-llāh*, i.e. 'that is the bounty from God' (Arb). The Islamic tradition does not report such a variant of this expression,[2] nor do the papyri confirm such a syntactic usage, as Hopkins did not mention any case of a demonstrative coupled with an indefinite noun.

The missing text at the beginning and end of this mutilated fragment, the few lacunae inside the extant material, the uncertain letters of key words that are difficult to interpret[3] and the common characteristic that the script is underspecified, mean that the comprehension of P. Ming. 115 is doubtful, although one probable interpretation is that it

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[1] Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §12; Blau, *A Handbook*, p.32 (§16); Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 166.
[2] Muḫtār - Makram, *Muʿgam* II, p. 103.
[3] As Khan pointed out with regard to the editing work on papyri fragments, 'in many cases the reading of the document can be no more than an interpretation of the script, other readings being equally possible' (Khan, *Papyri Khalili Collection*, p. 26).

exhibited pious expressions quoting Qurʾānic verses, namely the words that Muhammad said during the illness before his death, according to al-Bukhārī:[4] 'Whosoever obeys God, and the Messenger - they are with those whom God has blessed, Prophets, just men, martyrs, the righteous; good companions they! That is the bounty from God; God suffices as One who knows', thus alluding to the human condition that has to face death.

Because the document is incomplete, it is difficult to interpret its use, although the script seems to reflect a very early and official document rather than a private object.

In the absence of context surrounding the isolated and fragmented text, further elements can be added to comprehend it only by comparing it with other Qurʾānic papyri, whereas the transcription von Scherling furnished with the papyri acquired by Mingana should be ignored, due to its not being accurate and reliable, as already highlighted through the correspondence between the two scholars.[5] Papyri fragments that bear part of the Qurʾānic text are mainly interpreted as amulets, like for example: the verso of P.Berol. 8505 bearing an amalgam of Qurʾānic suras;[6] P.Heid. Schott-Reinhardt Arab. 1249 bearing Q.2:255 and Q.9:129;[7] the verso of P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 10059 bearing part of *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ*;[8] the verso

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[4] See Ibn Kathīr. *Tafsīr*, tr. Abdul Malik Mujahid as *Tafsir Ibn Kathir (Abriged)*. Riyadh, Darussalam, 2000, II, pp. 508-509.

[5] Handwritten letter with signature from Erik von Scherling to Alphonse Mingana, Cairo, 19 December 1935, in Mingana Papers, DA66.

[6] P. Berol. 8505 edited by Grohmann in Bilabel, Friedrich and Adolf Grohmann. *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit.* Heidelberg, Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1934, pp. 416-18 (no.143). The recto of the papyrus bears a private letter, while the verso has an amalgam of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* followed by the last three suras, i.e. *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ, Sūrat al-Falaq* and *Sūrat al-Nās* not introduced by the *basmala*. Grohmann indicated the variant readings of their text in the footnotes.

[7] P.Heidel.SR 1249 edited by Grohmann in *ibid.,* pp. 420-21 (no. 146). The recto of the papyrus bears the fragmented text of the verse of the throne followed by Q.9:129 and concluded by the expression *lā ḥāfiẓa illā'llah.* See also the online catalogue of Arabic papyri of Institut für Papyrologie at: http://zaw-papy.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/fmi/xsl/Arabisch/home.xsl

[8] The images from the Papyri Collection Erzherzog Rainer are available in the online database of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek at: http://www.onb.ac.at/ev/collections/papyrus.htm.
The verso of P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 10059 was published by Grohmann, in *ibid.*, pp.442-3 (no.161). The recto bears a fragment of a letter, whereas the verso exhibits part of Q. 112:1-2 used as an amulet against dog bites. See also Hanafi, Alia. 'Two unpublished Paper Documents and a Papyrus' in Petra Sijpesteijn and Lennart

of P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 10143 showing the fragmentary text of *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* followed by *Sūrat al-Sharḥ*, not introduced by the *basmala*;[9] the recto of P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 1687 exhibiting the fragmentary text of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*;[10] P.Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 9074 having part of Q.2:255,[11] the verse of the throne also written in P. Ryl. Arab. C II 12, B, although arranged in a different and more concise form;[12] P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 6328 displaying an amalgam of Qur'ānic parts.[13] As regards the presence of Qur'ānic verses quoted in a non Qur'ānic text, there are examples of verses used within a letter, such as P. Khirbet al-Mird A31 a1, which exhibits Q.3:102 and part of Q.3:103, as interpreted by Kister;[14] P. Cambr.Michaelides, Q12, which is a fragment of a letter closing with pious phrases based on the Qur'ān;[15] P. Heid. Schott-Reinhardt Arab. 438, in which some Qur'ānic verses were quoted among two disputations between Muslims and Christians; [16] other Qur'ānic citations in a *fiqh* text such as P. Utah Or. 205, which quotes Q.6:161-163 and commentaries on Qur'ānic verses like P.

Sundelin, eds., *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*. Leiden, Brill, 2004, pp. 45-61, note 6 regarding the interpretation of such amulets as protection against the evil eye.

[9] The verso of P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 10143 was published by Grohmann, in Bilabel and Grohmann, *Griechische, koptische*, p. 419 (no.145). The recto of the papyrus shows traces of a letter, whereas the verso is an amulet bearing the two suras.

[10] The recto of P.Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 1687 was published by Grohmann, in *ibid*., pp. 418-19 (no.144). The verso of the papyrus shows traces of a letter dated AH 227, whereas the recto is an amulet bearing part of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* as text is missing from the right side of the recto of the fragment.

[11] P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 9074 has been written on one side only and was published by Grohmann, in *ibid*., p. 423 (no. 148). See also Karabacek (von), Joseph. *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*. Wien, Selbstverlag der Sammlung, 1894, p. 168 (no. 644).

[12] P. Ryl.Arab. C II 12, B (old number 322) has five written lines bearing Q. 2:255, see Margoliouth, David S. *Catalogue of Arabic papyri in the John Rylands Library. Manchester*. Manchester, The Manchester University Press, 1933., pp. 158-159 (no. 19). The catalogue description, i.e. *5 lines Qur'an ii. 256*, does not specify that the papyrus exhibits a different word order and a more concise form of the verse of the throne.

[13] The text of the papyrus bears such a sequence: verse of the throne, Q. 17:110-111 introduced by the *basmala*, *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* and Q.11:55-56. It was translated and interpreted as an amulet by Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog*, p. 230 (no. 856).

[14] Kister, Meir Jacob. 'On an Early Fragment of the Qurʾān' in S.R.Brunswick and J.C. Greenfield, eds., *Studies in Judaica, Karaitica and Islamica presented to Leon Nemoy on his eightieth birthday*. Ramat-Gan, Bar-Ilan University Press, 1982, pp. 163-166.

[15] Khan, Geoffrey. *A Catalogue of the Arabic papyri in the Michaelides Collection. Cambridge University Library*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, 2000-2009, 27 parts, online resource: http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/neareastern/michaelides/

[16] P. Heid.SR 438 is available in the online catalogue of Arabic papyri of Institut für Papyrologie: http://zaw-papy.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/fmi/xsl/Arabisch/home.xsl See the analysis of this papyrus as an example of polemical writing against Islam, reporting quotations from the Qur'ānic text in Hoyland, Robert G. *Seeing Islam as Others saw it. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on early Islam*. Princeton, The Darwin Press, 1997, p. 504.

Utah Or. 365, which is a *ḥadīṯ* commentary on Q.4:34.[17] Other examples illustrate a different structure, such as P. Cambr.Michaelides D512, which bears a fragment of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and *Sūrat al-Baqara* on the recto, whereas on the verso are pious sentences based on the Qur'ānic text, and P. Cambr.Michaelides D947 showing a fragment of *Sūrat al-Kahf* on the recto and a writing exercise on the verso.[18] However, the possible amalgams in which Qur'ānic verses are combined with other texts are relatively numerous, so there is an example of a fragment of *Sūrat al-Taḥrīm* written on the recto of P. Cambr.Michaelides D787 whose verso displays a fragment of an account.[19] One further example to be mentioned is P. Cambr.Michaelides D1081, which has been written on only one side bearing 'pious phrases and quotations from the Qur'ān',[20] as in P. Ming. 115.

3.4.2. Papyrus Mingana 156, a fragmented text of Q. 18:49-57

The recto of the second Qur'ānic fragment, i.e. the main part of Papyrus Mingana 156, contains the fragmented text of Q.18:50-57, namely from *wa-ḏurriyyatahu* to *mā qaddamat.*

The text of the fragment exhibits a few differences in comparison with the Medina muṣḥaf. At the end of line 2, the scribe has written *wa-mā kuntu muttakhidhan ʿaḍu*[...] thus omitting *al-muḍillīna* (the misleaders) in Q.18:51 (I would not ever take those who lead others astray to be My supporters) and using *muttaḥiḏan.* Later, he or a later hand has corrected the text, interlining *al-muḍi*[*llīna*]. Moreover, at the beginning of line 5 the word *šay'in* is spelled with

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[17] As regards the analysis of P. Utah Or. 205, see Samji, Karim. 'Studies in Arabic Literary papyri', MA thesis, University of Utah, 2008, pp. 32-44. Q.6: 161-163 is quoted in a creative way inside the prayer's instructions. The author defined the text as a pericope. As regards the analysis of P. Utah Or. 365, see *ibid.*, pp.45-60. Both of the papyri are part of digital archive of the Marriott Library, in the Middle East Collection of Aziz S. Atiya, see http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/az?page=61.
[18] Khan, *Catalogue Michaelides,* no. D512 and D947.
[19] *Ibid.*, no. D787.
[20] *Ibid.*, no. D1081.

a final *alif*, thus marking an accusative form after *akthara*[21] in Q.18:54 [*wa-kāna'l-insan aktara*] *šay'in jadala* (man is the most disputatious of things). Lastly, at line 7 *wa-ttakhaḏū* (and they have taken) in Q. 18:56 is spelled without *alif al-waṣl* as is common in early Arabic papyri where it is placed after *wa*.[22]

Whereas P. Ming. 115 reveals a text based on Qur'ānic verses and P. Ming. 156 has a portion of *Sūrat al-Kahf* on its recto, probably bearing a letter on its verso, there are other examples of papyri exhibiting merely a portion of the Qur'ānic text, although the intrinsically fragmented nature of these papyri should limit their interpretation, as it is impossible to know whether they were executed as independent objects or as part of a larger unit. In considering the content of the extant fragments, the examples of papyri bearing solely a portion of Qur'ānic text have been labelled as amulets or prayers in relation to their use; as Qur'ānic quotations,[23] pericopes or excerpts according to their characteristics as isolated verse(s); and lastly, as fragments related to the Qur'anic text and fragments of codex,[24] considering their codicological features, which means the hypothetical entire part of which they were fragments or that they have been simply catalogued reporting their content, that is Qur'ān specified by sura and verse(s).[25]

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[21] The case in which *tanwīn alif* occurs against an unrequested accusative form is common in early Arabic papyri and it is considered to be a pseudo-correction. See Hopkins, *Grammar Early Arabic*, §170-171. However, the *tanwīn alif* form of *shay'* is probably to be considered an invariable form in papyri, see *ibid.*, §169b and §170d.

[22] *Ibid.*, §49d.

[23] The unpublished papyrus P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 1407 is likely to be Q. 9:36 from *al-šuhūr* to *ḥurum* rather than a Qur'ānic citation of Q. 7:54 (He created the heavens and the earth) as mentioned in the online database of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: http://www.onb.ac.at/ev/collections/papyrus.htm.

[24] Noja Noseda, Sergio. 'A third Koranic Fragment on Papyrus: an Opportunity for a Revision'. *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche,* 137,1, 2003, pp. 313-326. The scholar interpreted the papyrus as a fragment of codex and not of volume, bearing no characteristic of amulets.

[25] See the above-mentioned papyrus at the John Rylands Library, i.e. P.Ryl.Arab. C II 12, B and the papyri above mentioned from Cambridge University Library, see Khan, *Catalogue Michaelides.*

3.4.3. Papyrus Mingana 107 (IX.9), a protocol reused as a *bifolium* for writing an amalgam of Qur'ānic parts

The third fragment, i.e. Papyrus Mingana 107 (IX.9), contains an extract of the Qur'ānic text that has been written reusing a protocol, as described in Section 2.4. The left side of the verso bears *sūrat Āl 'Imrān* from verse 7, *fī al-'ilm*[26] to verse 11, *fa-aḫaḏahum*, which continues on the right side of the recto, from *allāh bi-ḏunūbihim* to the end of verse 13, which is concluded by a series of three small circles and a horizontal stroke at line 8. From the following line to line 11, the first verse of *Sūrat al-Ḥashr* is written. The left side of the recto exhibits *Sūrat al-'Ādiyāt*, whereas the right side of the verso shows the complete text of *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* followed by *Sūrat al-Falaq*, which is not introduced by the *basmala*. Moreover, a comparison between this fragment's text and the Medina muṣḥaf leads to the identification of further differences: the absence of *min qablihim* (before them) in *wa'llaḏīn ka[ḏḏa]bū* (Q.3:11) instead of *wa'llaḏīn min qablihim kaḏḏabū* (and the people before them, who cried lies); the absence of *alif* before *falā* at the beginning of Q.100:9; the presence of a further but illegible word between *wa'llāh* and *shadīd* in Q.3:11 and between *wa tuḥsharūn* and *ilā jahannama* in Q.3:12; and the presence of *min šarri mā* in the repetition of such a word in Q.113:2-5. As regards the use of pronouns to reflect a point of view about the communication process,[27] the copyist avoided the use of the first person plural, thus writing *bi-ayāt allah* in Q.3:11 instead of *bi-ayātinā* (Our signs), but he wrote *lahum* instead of *lakum* in *qad kāna lakum ayat* (There has already been a sign for you) in Q.3:13, and *inna rabbaka* (surely your Lord) instead of *inna rabbahum* (surely their Lord) in Q.100:11. Moreover, he

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[26] Although illegible, the fragment should have started bearing the final *nūn* of *al-rāsiḫūna* in Q. 3:7 as the right margins of the four square text areas are justified and there is space before *fī'l-'ilm*.

[27] This is a quite frequent variant reading in early Qur'ānic manuscripts, as mentioned above. See a few examples on the listener of the message in manuscripts and in the *qirā'āt* tradition in Fedeli, 'Variants and substantiated qirā'āt'.

spelled *li-ūlī* (for the owners) in Q. 3:13 with a final *alif*[28] and in Q.113:3 *iḏā* has been spelled without a final *alif.* At lines 5 and 6 of the left side of the recto, Q.100:7 has been omitted, probably due to a mechanical error in skipping from Q.100:7 to Q.100:8 as both start with *wa-innahu* and end in the former with *la-šahīd* and in the latter with *la-šadīd.*[29]

Moreover, instead of *wa-huwa'l-ʿazīzu'l-ḥakīm* (He is the All-mighty, the All-wise), the first verse of *Sūrat al-Ḥašr* exhibits *sabbaḥa li-'llahi mā fī'l-samāwāti wa-mā fī'l-arḍi wa-huwa'l-malik,* which can be compared with Q.62:1 *yusabbiḥu li-'llahi mā fī'l-samāwāti wa-mā fī'l-arḍi'l-maliki'l-quddūsi'l-ʿazīzi'l-ḥakīm* (All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God, the King, the All-holy, the All-mighty, the All-wise) and with Q.64:1 *yusabbiḥu li-'llahi mā fī'l-samāwāti wa-mā fī'l-arḍi la-hu'l-mulku* (All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God. His is the Kingdom, and His is the praise, and He is powerful over everything), although it is unclear whether there was a further word after *al-malik,* as the ink has faded at this point.

As regards the sequence of the Qur'ānic verses - namely on the probable first folio of the *bifolium* Q.3:7-13 followed by Q.59:1 with a reading that resembles Q.62:1 or Q.64:1 and on the other folio *Sūrat al-ʿĀdiyāt* followed by *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* and *Sūrat al-Falaq* on the other side of the *bifolium* - it is not uncommon to find such amalgams of Qur'ānic verses featured in papyri. Thus, to the examples above mentioned, particularly in Wien, P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 6328 and P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 10143 verso, we can add P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 7719, which bears on its verso the end of Q.2:137 from *fa-sayakfīkahum* to *al-ʿalīm* followed by the

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[28] Puin explained the spelling of *ūlū* with final *alif*, (i.e. *alif* + *wāw* + *lām* + *alif*) in Q. 3:7 in MS BnF Ar. 328a as a trace of the later addition of *wāw* as *mater lectionis* for marking the reading /u/ previously expressed by a mere *alif*, see Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p.154. The spelling in the papyrus fragment could imply the same value of *alif* expressing /i/ later disambiguated by *mater lectionis yā'* as in the case of the spelling *dhāl* + *alif* indicating both *dhi'* and *dhu'*, see *ibid.*, p.152.

[29] This example of *homoeoarcton* and *homoeoteleuton* causing haplography in writing the Qur'ānic text can be compared with other instances, e.g. the above-mentioned examples and the omission of Q.26:41 due to *homoeoteleuton* in P. Utah Or. 342, see below and the omission of Q. 26:41 in MS UbT MaVI 147, f.10a, l.8, later written by the scribe in the margin. As regards the process in Islamic manuscripts, see Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, p.201 and note 118.

end of Q.7:182 as well as of Q.68:44, i.e. *sa-nastadrijuhum min ḥaythu lā yaʿlamūn* and concluding with the text of *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* not introduced by the *basmala* and its starting imperative *qul* ('God will suffice you for them; He is the All-hearing, the All-knowing; We will draw them on little by little whence they know not; He is God, One; God, the Everlasting Refuge who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him s not any one'), and at the last line a series of circles and a six-pointed star have been traced. This situation is also observable on other materials such as parchment,[30] but particularly in graffiti and inscriptions.[31]

One of the two distinctive aspects of P. Ming. 107 is the fragmented beginning of Q.3:7 on the left side of the verso, which implies the possible existence of a previous fragment bearing at least the complete text of this verse. In his work about the Leiden papyrus Or.8264, Noja Noseda noted that its beginning is located in the middle of Q.71:10, i.e. *rabbakum*,[32] thus inferring that it could be a codex fragment as a result of its being part of a *bifolium* or of a quire.[33] However, the Leiden papyrus is a single leaf, whereas the second peculiar feature of P. Ming. 107 is its being a *bifolium*. Thus, it seems interesting to compare the Mingana *bifolium* with two *bifolia* on papyrus bearing a Qurʾānic selection: the *bifolium* of

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[30] A further example of a similar pattern is P. Erzherzog Rainer Ar. 12, labelled as an amulet and bearing at ll. 1-4 the text of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* where verse 3 is missing, followed at ll.5-8 by *Sūrat al-Nās* and at ll.8-10, without breaking into a new line, the text of *Sūrat al-Falaq* in which verse 5 is absent. *Sūrat al-Falaq* is continued by *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* at ll.11-13. The second half of the parchment is difficult to read from the digital image available on the website of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (http://aleph.onb.ac.at/), except for the text of the verse of the throne at ll. 18-24.

[31] On examples of mélanges of Qurʾānic verses, see Fedeli, 'I manoscritti', pp. 38-41; Imbert, Frédéric. 'Le Coran dans les graffiti des deux premiers siècles de l'hégire'. *Arabica* 47, 2000, pp. 381-390 and Ory, Solange. 'Aspects religieux des textes épigraphiques du début de l'Islam'. *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 58, 1990 (*Les premières écritures islamiques*, Alfred-Louis de Prémare ed.), pp. 30-39.

[32] The papyrus fragment ends by bearing the incomplete beginning of Q. 71:25, i.e. *mimma ḫaṭiʾātihim*, at line 7 of its verso, which means in the middle of the page whose second half is blank.

[33] Noja Noseda, 'Koranic Fragment', pp. 322-323.

Duke University (P. Duk.inv.274)[34] and the *bifolium* of University of Utah (P. Utah.Inv.342).[35] The former papyrus has been held at the Library of Duke University since its purchase in 1970: it is an incomplete *bifolium* composed of thirteen partly joined fragments written on both sides whose maximum dimensions are 7.1 x 18.4 cm and feature margins of 0.5 cm and bearing a string attached to the spine.[36] The second fragment is P. Utah.Inv.342, a much-damaged single fragment of brown papyrus measuring 21.2 x 32.5 cm and featuring signs of folding into five columns like P. Ming.107. On the other hand, it still has a small cord in the upper middle of the *bifolium* as with P. Duk.inv.274.[37] The content of the two *bifolia*, compared with the Mingana *bifolium* is listed in Table 3.4.a.

A few elements of the content should be noted: firstly, the presence of *Sūrat al-Falaq* in all three fragments, of *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* in both P. Ming.107 and P. Utah Inv. 342, of *Sūrat al-Nās* in both P. Duk.inv. 274 and P. Utah inv. 342;[38] secondly, the flexibility in using the *basmala* at the beginning of the *sūra*s[39] or as an independent formula that can be repeated;[40] thirdly, the omission of Q.114:2 and Q.114:3 in P. Utah Inv. 342 due to *homoeoteleuton,* as verses 1, 2 and 3 end with the same last word (*al-nāsi*) and the omission of Q.100:7 in P. Ming.107 due to

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[34] This unpublished papyrus has already been mentioned by Noja Noseda, see *ibid.*, p.316, note 11. Its images are available in http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/274.html as it is part of the online Duke Papyrus Archive.

[35] This papyrus was published and edited in Malczycki, William Matthew. 'Literary Papyri from the University of Utah Arabic Papyrus and Paper Collection', PhD thesis, University of Utah, 2006. Its images are available in the digital archive of the Marriott Library, among the Middle East Collection of Aziz S. Atiya, see http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/uuappp/id/4058

[36] See the catalogue record at http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/274.html.

[37] Malczycki highlighted that this cord is a remnant of the binding, see Malczycki, 'Literary Papyri', p.98.

[38] These last three suras are frequently quoted, see the above-mentioned papyri and parchments, and see their presence in Islamic architecture in Dodd, Erica Cruikshank and Shereen Khairallah. *The Image of the Word. A Study of Quranic Verses in Islamic Architecture, vol. II: Indexes.* Beirut, American University of Beirut, 1981, pp. 151-156. Rezvan mentioned the use of combinations of parts from the verse of the throne, Q. 9:129, *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and the last three suras for magical purposes used in amulets, listing the specific usage of these Qurʾānic parts, see Rezvan, Efim A. 'The Qurʾān and its World: VII. Talisman, Shield, and Sword'. *Manuscripta Orientalia* 4,3, 1998, pp. 24-34.

[39] The *basmala* can be on the same line as the rest of the first verse or separate from the first verse and occupying an entire line; on the other hand, it can be absent.

[40] Malczycki interpreted the *basmala* on the last line of the right side of the recto as the opening line of the left side and thus implied a sura order different from the traditional one; see Malczycki, 'Literary Papyri', pp.103 and 107.

homoeoarcton and *homoeoteleuton*; lastly, the fact that only in P. Ming.107 has the scribe started his writing in the middle of the verse, in Q.3:7. As regards the arrangement of the *sūras*' order, the sequence attributed to Ibn 'Abbās is probably not to be taken into consideration where he placed *Sūrat al-Ḥašr* after *Sūrat Āl 'Imrān* and *Sūrat al-Falaq* after *Sūrat al-'Ādiyāt*,[41] as *Sūrat Āl 'Imrān* is not complete in P.Ming.107 and, moreover, the first verse of *Sūrat al-Ḥašr* seems to be an amalgam of echoes of Q.59:1, Q.62:1 and Q.64:1. Moreover, the repetition of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, *Sūrat al-Falaq* and *Sūrat al-Nās* in P. Duk.inv. 274 seems to suggest that the person who wrote this selection of Qur'ānic passages was producing a personal object expressing his faith rather than executing a professional work based on a copy of the Qur'ānic text. This seems to be confirmed by the use of pronouns in P. Ming.107, in that the writer preferred not to report direct speech in Q.3:11, that is to say, 'signs of Allah' instead of 'Our signs', and in Q.3:13 'there has already been a sign for them' instead of 'for you', but he used the second person in Q.100:11: 'surely on that day your Lord shall be aware of them' instead of 'their Lord', as mentioned above. A similar adaptation of pronouns for writing fragmented verses and amalgams has also been observed in Qur'ānic graffiti and inscriptions.[42]

There are no elements present to either identify a specific reading of the papyrus variants or to attribute the work to a school exercise. As regards possible copying from an exemplar, the presence of mechanical errors such as haplography could imply such a mechanism, although this seems to contrast with the personal and private nature of the copy.

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[41] Jeffery, *Materials*, p. 194.

[42] See for example the observations of Ory about the fact that in these amalgams verb tenses and pronouns '*se plient aux nécessités de la phrase*' (Ory, 'Textes épigraphiques', pp.32-33), underlining that this '*désinvolture vis-à-vis de l'intégralité du texte*' was characteristic of early inscriptions and disappeared at the end of the Umayyad period. Moreover, Imbert recognized a similar adaptation in the graffiti he analysed, so that a Qur'ānic sentence can be adapted as a direct expression of the writer rather than assertion of a third person, e.g. in Q. 11:47, see Imbert, 'Coran dans les graffiti', p.388. Adaptations of pronouns in Qur'ānic verses for personalizing the quotations are mentioned in Hoyland, 'Documentary texts', p. 408.

3.4.4. Conclusions

These preliminary results[43] concerning the characteristics of the written transmission of fragmented pieces of amalgams of the Qur'ānic text in comparison with other papyri fragments seem to suggest the importance of analysing such a corpus in its entirety, despite its apparently meagre numbers, in order to both explore its Qur'ānic text and understand how it has been used in the first centuries of Islam beyond the important projects for producing *codices*,[44] according to our fragmentary knowledge. Despite the impossibility of knowing the categories to which the scrappy papyri once belonged, they reveal the variety of ways in which the Qur'ānic text was used and regarded in early Islam, such that it was an elastic and flexible text used in a creative and personal way, beside the exemplars that were to be copied and transmitted.[45]

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[43] The collection of Mingana Arabic papyri has not yet been completely and studied in depth.

[44] See for example the codex parisino-petropolitanus and its distinctive features expressing a specific visual identity for public use; see its analysis in Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus.*

[45] See Imbert, 'Coran dans les graffiti', p. 382, and his idea of a Qur'ānic system with two speeds for people who had access to Qur'ānic rare exemplars and people who had access only to an oral Qur'ānic transmission. As regards the inventive use of the Qur'ān and its creative citation and handling in inscriptions, see Hoyland, 'Documentary texts', pp. 407-408.

Table 3.4.a. Comparison of the content of Papyrus Mingana 107,

			Left side	Right side
P.Mingana 107 10 x 19.5 cm.		verso[46]	Q. 3:7-11	Q. 112 (complete with *basmala*) Q. 113 (complete, absence of *basmala*)
		recto	Q. 100 (complete with *basmala*)	Q. 3:11-13 Q. 59:1
P.Duk.inv.274 max. 7.1 x 18.4		recto	Q. 1 (complete with *basmala*) Q. 113 (complete with *basmala*) Q. 114 (lacunose text with *basmala*)	Q. 1 (complete with *basmala*) Q. 114 (lacunose text of vv.1-4, with *basmala*) Q. 1 (fragmented, with *basmala*) + illegible fragments
		verso	*basmala* *basmala* Q. 114:5 illegible (lacunae)	Q. 113 (complete with *basmala*) horizontal line *basmala* + illegible text (lacunae) illegible
P.Utah.Inv.342 21.2 x 32.5 cm		recto	Q. 36:1-13 (absence of *basmala*)	Q. 112 (complete with *basmala*) Q. 113 (complete with *basmala*) Q. 114 (complete with *basmala*) *basmala*
		verso	traces of writing too faint[47]	traces of writing too faint

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[46] The traces of the protocol are on this side of the *bifolium*.

[47] See Malczycki, 'Literary Papyri', pp. 98-99 and note 17 referring to Lola Atiya's inventory. Although the traces of writing are not discernible through the digital images of the Library of University of Utah, it is probable that Malczycki's reference to 'too faint traces of writing' is referring to the presence of a protocol.

3.5.1. Writing code in MS Brunensis-Birminghamiensis: red dots and alternative readings

The detailed analysis of MS BrB is not part of this research project as its writing system is different from that inferred from the analysis of the previous manuscripts because of their different dates, i.e. 1st and 2nd century for MS PaB, PeB, CaB and papyri on one side and possibly late 3rd century of Islam for MS BrB on the other side. Its study deserves a separate analysis, particularly after the identification of the fragment at the Brown University Library and because it would require a specific encoding system for its electronic edition. However, a few notes and examples for the characteristics of its text and its writing code and the system used for encoding and communicating alternative readings have been introduced as part of this research project as a term of comparison with the other manuscripts.

Firstly, the extant leaves of MS BrB bear a very fragmented portion of the Qur'ānic text from Q.2:150 to Q.79:35 with lacunae between almost every single leaf and the next. Only at seven points does MS BrB have two leaves that run a continuous sequence of the text, i.e. twice in MS Br 9, twice in MS Min 1563 and three times one leaf of the Minassian collection and one of Mingana collection were once contiguous, whereas only once is there a continuous sequence of three leaves, i.e. MS Br 9, f.13, MS Min 1563, f.17 and MS Br 9, f.14. In this latter succession, the isolated leaf in the Mingana collection has a trace of the impression of a decoration from a missing leaf, as mentioned above. The hypothesis

formulated at the beginning of this research has been confirmed by the fact that MS Min 1563, f.17 was once placed between two leaves that are now in the Minassian collection.[1]

This extremely fragmented situation of MS BrB, as illustrated in Table 3.5.a., makes the existence of further leaves corresponding to the lacunae between all the single leaves highly probable, particularly at those points in which a leaf starts by reading the final part of a verse or even the final letter(s) of a word. On the other hand, this situation raises the question of the modality and reason why this codex has been disintegrated in such a way, possibly by Minassian and by the one of von Scherling's "dealers" in the 1930s.

As regards its writing system, the *naqqāṭ* added vocalization to the consonantal skeleton traced by the first hand by adding red dots, i.e. a dot above a letter to mark /a/, a dot below a letter to mark /i/ and a dot to the left of a letter to mark /u/, whereas the *tanwīn* was marked by two dots in the respective positions. If these are the basic principles of the vocalization system used in Qur'ānic manuscripts before the introduction of the modern signs in the 3rd/9th century,[2] the situation expressed in MS BrB is much more composite.

In fact the *naqqāṭ* has also used red dots to note further ortho-epic and orthographic signs as well as alternative readings, whereas they were commonly indicated by means of green, yellow and blue dots.[3] This practice of using only red produced ambiguities and confusion, as also stated by al-Dānī in his *Kitāb al-Muḥkam fī naqṭ al-maṣāḥif*:

As for the people of Iraq, they use red only, for vowels and other things, and for

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[1] MS Br 9, f.19r bears the decoration that has been impressed over MS Min1563, f.26v. This means that all the leaves of MS BrB were separated from their original structure after the ink had left its traces on the contiguous leaves.

[2] Dutton, Yasin. 'Red Dots, Green Dots, Yellow Dots and Blue: Some Reflections on the Vocalisation of Early Qur'anic Manuscripts (Part I)'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 1,1, 1999, pp. 115-140 and Dutton, Yasin. 'Red Dots, Green Dots, Yellow Dots and Blue: Some Reflections on the Vocalisation of Early Qur'anic Manuscripts (Part II)'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 2,1, 2000, pp. 1-24; Gacek, *Vademecum and* Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*.

[3] Dutton, 'Dots, I'and Dutton, 'Dots, II'.

hamzas, and in this way their Qur'ans can be recognised and distinguished from others. Some groups, however, among the people of Kufa and Basra mark irregular variants in their Qur'ans using green dots, although sometimes they use green for authentic, generally accepted readings and red for irregular, rejected readings. This, however, causes confusion and alteration, and is disliked by a number of scholars.[4]

It is worth noting that the use of only red could suggest a possible provenance of MS BrB from Iraq, although the *naqqāṭ* of these leaves has also used only red for noting different readings (i.e. alternative readings).

To this composite system according to which the vocalizer has used only red for vowels, ortho-epics and the coexistence of alternative readings, the bad conditions of the analysed parchments contribute to confusing the comprehension of such a system, since in many places the parchments also bear spots of red ink that are likely to be meaningless.

The preliminary results of the manuscript analysis reveal interesting details about the system of red dots used in MS BrB, as follows:

– MS BrB retains an early spelling of a few words involving *hamza,* not only in their consonantal skeleton, but also in the vocalization, as for example *ha'ulā'i* in Q.26:54 (Min1563, f.26v). Puin proposed that in many words presenting long /ā/ and *hamza,* the *alif* originally did not indicate the long vowel, as above mentioned in the analysis of *ḥijāzī* manuscripts. The red dot placed below *alif* in *ha'ulā'i* reveals and confirms such a function of *alif.* In fact, the vocalizer should have placed a red dot after *alif* to mark *hamza* and the vowel /i/, whereas the dot below *alif* can only communicate a

[4] al-Dānī, Abū 'Amr 'Uṯmān b. Sa'īd b. 'Uṯmān. *al-Muḥkam fī naqt al-maṣāḥif*, (ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismā'īl). Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmīyah, 2004, already quoted and translated in Dutton, 'Dots, I', p. 118.

reading of *ha'ula'i.*

– A further example of an early spelling and pronunciation[5] is given by the red dots marking the reading of *afa'i(y)n* in Q.21:34 (Min 1563 f.24r). Bergsträsser proposed that the original reading and spelling of the word was *afa'in* with only *yā'*,[6] whereas Puin discussed this hypothesis, concluding that in the actual spelling *yā'* is to be considered a *mater lectionis* for a /i/ sound before and not after it.[7] However, the vocalization added in MS BrB confirms Bergsträsser's hypothesis, thus retaining the memory of an old spelling and pronunciation. The vocalizer had in fact placed a dot below *yā'*, thus marking the pronunciation /'i/ and only at a later stage was *yā'* furnished with diacritics marking /y/, while the red dot seems to have been cancelled.[8]

MS Min 1563, f.24r, l.8	
Medina muṣḥaf	أَفَاِئِيْن
Bergsträsser	أَفَئِن
Puin	أَفَإِان
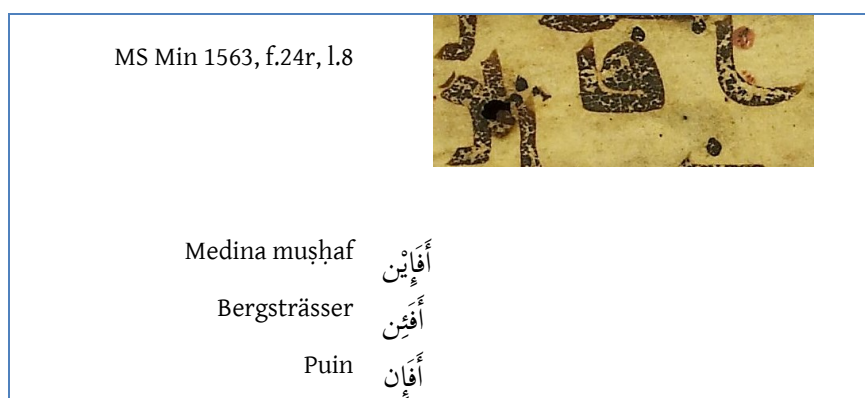
– The MS also shows cases in which the vocalizer has written down his reading, although his reading does not fit the consonantal skeleton, but would rather

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[5] As regards the dot system in Syriac, Segal quoted the definition of their study as "linguistic geology", see Segal, Judah Benzion. *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac*. London, Oxford University Press, 1953, p. 4. The same definition seems to emerge from the study of MS BrB with regard to the dot system in Qur'ānic manuscripts.

[6] Nöldeke, *History,* III, p. 48.

[7] Puin, 'Ortho-epic writing', p. 160.

[8] The caution regarding the erasure of the dot below *yā'* is due to the fact that in correspondence with the dot the parchment is missing and there is a hole. This could be explained as erasure of the dot, but it could also be an effect of the composition of the ink used for adding these dots.

presuppose a different consonantal skeleton,[9] e.g. the reading of *haḏāni* in Q.20:63 (Min1563, f.22r). The vocalizer marked both the readings *haḏāni* and *haḏayni*, by placing a dot above *ḏāl,* thus marking the /a/ of *haḏāni*, but also a dot below *alif*, thus suggesting the reading /i/ in *haḏayni*, attributed to Abū ʿAmr, Ibn ʿUbayyid and al-Aʿmaš amongst others. At a later time, the dot above *ḏāl* was eliminated, thus leaving only one reading. This situation suggests that the *naqqāṭ* was not completing the production process of the manuscript by furnishing the skeleton with dots, but he was noting his reading in a perspective similar to what was observed for the vocalizer in MS PeB described in Section 3.2. Moreover, the red dot system seems to be addressed to the reader rather than being a perfection of the script, as has been interpreted by Segal in the dot system of Syriac.[10]

– The text of MS BrB is likely to be a process, as it is the result of a settlement of differences or a compromise between systems that could be coexisting or competing. The *naqqāṭ* had the bad behaviour of the 'ignorant vocalizers' in mixing together different readings in one codex, thus causing confusion. From a different perspective, it can be said that the *naqqāṭ* wanted to note two alternative readings that were both admitted, e.g. in Q.26:52 (MS Min 1563, f.26v) the *naqqāṭ* noted both the readings *an asri* and the variant attributed to Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kaṯīr and Abū Jaʿfar, i.e. *an-i-sri*, by placing a dot below *nūn* marking /i/ and a dot between *alif* and *sīn,* thus marking the connection between the words.

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[9] The mechanism of vocalization of the Hebrew script is similar, as observed for example by Tov. In fact the Masoretes added their vowels to a consonantal skeleton without changing it (see Tov, Emmanuel. *Textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.* Repr. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2001, pp. 42-43).

[10] Segal, *Diacritical Point*, p .41.

|	
MS Min 1563, f.26v, l.2	
Medina muṣḥaf	أَنْ أَسْرِ
Nāfiʿ, Ibn Katīr and Abū Jaʿfar	أَنِ اسْرِ
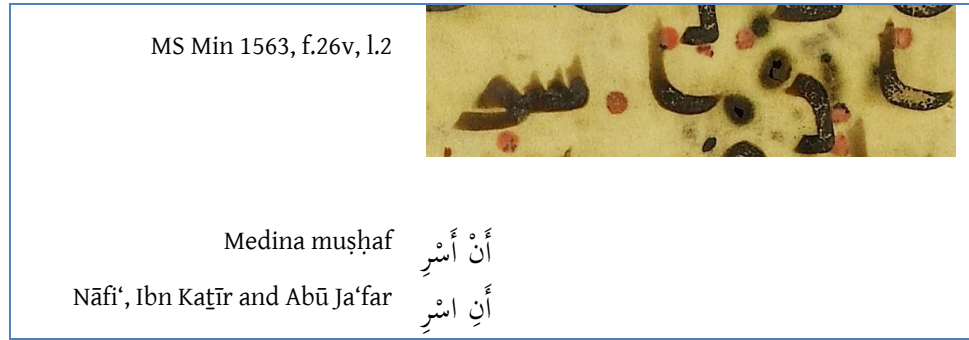
The presence of two alternative readings implies that the two reading systems were not competitive with each other in the second stage of the writing process, i.e. the *naqqāṭ* stage.

— However, it should be noted that in the great majority of cases - as far as the preliminary results suggest - the alternative reading marked by the *naqqāṭ* has been erased in the third stage of the writing process, corresponding to the addition of diacritics in black ink. During the third stage, the scribe did not admit the coexistence of two systems of readings, so the competition led to the suppression of one of the two systems, e.g. in MS Mingana 1563, *wa-ʿiṣiyyu-hum* (eliminating /u/ of *wa-ʿuṣiyyu-hum*) in Q.20:66 (f.22v); *kaydu* (eliminating /a/ of *kayda*) in Q.20:69, (f.22v); *amantum* (eliminating /ā/ of *āmantum*) in Q.20:71, (f.23r) and *al-ḥayawata* (eliminating /u/ of *al-ḥayawatu*) in Q.20:72, (f.23r).[11]

— Beside the elimination of an alternative reading whose coexistence was permitted by the characteristics of the Arabic script and by the use of red dots, during the third stage a few single readings that the first (brown) hand marked by using diacritics

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[11] These are only a few examples from a long series of eliminations of alternative and coexistent variant readings observed in MS Min 1563.

have also been cancelled and adjusted by adding different diacritics in black ink, e.g. the variant reading *anjaytu-kum* (Q.20:80 in Min1563, f.23v) read by C1 by diacritics marking *tā'* and by C2 by a dot placed on the left of *tā'* for marking /u/ in *anjaytu-kum*. In the third stage, such a variant attributed to Hamza, al-Kisā'ī, Ḫalaf and Ṭalḥa has been eliminated by changing the two diacritics of *tā'* to a single diacritic of *nūn* and the dot marking /u/ has been eliminated.

MS Min 1563, f.23v, l.4	
Medina muṣḥaf	أَنجَيْنَكُم
Hamza, al-Kisā'ī, Ḫalaf and Ṭalḥa	أنجيتُكم
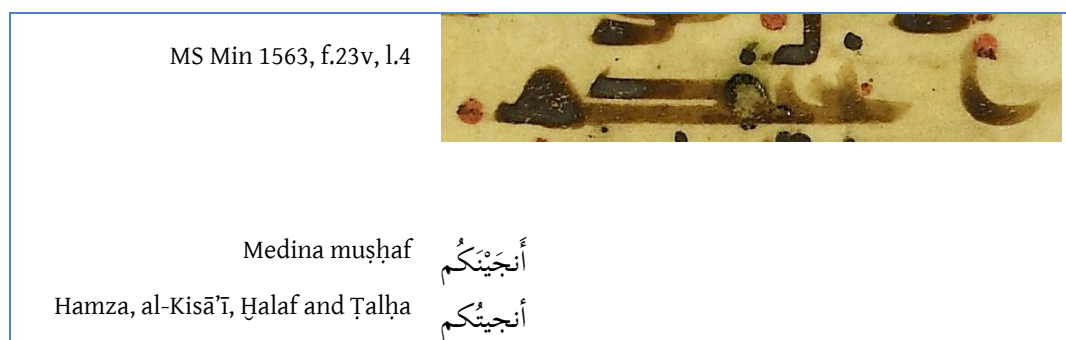
3.5.2. Conclusion

The preliminary results of the analysis of MS BrB regarding the coexistent alternative readings confirms that only in later periods, i.e. after Ibn Mujāhid, was there a change in perspective on the variant readings, if the date based on the palaeographic elements is correct, i.e. 3rd century. However, the readings expressed in this copy mirrored completely the situation transmitted by the *qirā'āt* literature, without bearing variants that are not part of the readers' system as has been observed through the analysis of the earlier *ḥijāzī* manuscripts.

As regards the dating, we must add to the palaeographic element of the group D.IV within early Abbasid script that the use of only red in the dot system is considered a characteristic of the beginning of this tradition of manuscripts. On the other hand, the remnants of early

orthography and spelling as above described cannot contribute to dating this manuscript, as the date of a manuscript does not correspond to the date of its text. Moreover, the complex system of red dots used in this witness is still to be explored, possibly in comparison with the Syriac tradition as the several examples of dots introducing variations and pronunciations, rather than "perfection of the script"[12] seem to suggest.

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[12] *Ibid.*

TABLE 3.5.A.
CONTENT OF MS BRB

Folio	Content
Br.Min.f.1	Q.2:150-162
Min f.1	Q.2:275-282
Br.Min.f.2	Q.3:27-37
Br.Min.f.3	Q.3:56-68
Br.Min.f.4	Q.3:86-99
Br.Min.f.5	Q.3:152-157
Min f.2	Q.3:186-195
Min f.3	Q.4:11-15
Min f.4	Q.4:23-28
Br.Min.f.6	Q.4:44-54
Min f.5	Q.4:62-73
Br.Min.f.7	Q.4:74-80
Min f.6	Q.4:129-137
Br.Min.f.8	Q.5:6-13
Br.Min.f.9	Q.5:67-76
Min f.7	Q.8:60-68
Br.Min.f.10	Q.9:39-46
Bar f.1	Q.9:119-122 (one side not accessible)
Min f.8	Q.10:15-22
Br.Min.f.11	Q.10:22-29
Br.Min.f.12	Q.10:61-71
Min ff.9-10	Q.10:83-104
Min f.11	Q.11:44-54
Min f.12	Q.11:85-94
Min f.13	Q.12:43-54
Min f.14	Q.14:7-13
Min f.15	Q.15:74-99
Min f.16	Q.16:14-28
Br.Min.f.13	Q.16:117-128 + Q.17:1
Min f.17	Q.17:1-13
Br.Min.f.14	Q.17:13-25
Br.Min.f.15	Q.17:51-61
LC f.1	Q.17:105-111 (one side pasted on paper)
Min f.18	Q.18:22-31
Min f.19	Q.18:52-63
Min f.20	Q.18:79-94
Min f.21	Q.19:48-64
Br.Min.ff.16-17	Q.19:80-98 +20:1-38
Min ff.22-23	Q.20:54-86
Min f.24	Q.21:30-44
Br.Min.f.18	Q.24:59-64
Min f.25	Q.22:19-30
Min f.26	Q.26:40-67
Br.Min.f.19*	Q.26:67-103
Min f.27	Q.27:40-52
Min f.28	Q.27:81-93 + Q.28:1-2
Min f.29	Q.28:13-23
Br.Min.f.20	Q.28:77-87
Min f.30	Q.29:65-69 +Q.30:1-9
Br.Min.f.21	Q.30:24-34
Min f.31	Q.31:9-18
Min f.32	Q.33:33-38
Br.Min.f.22	Q.34:22-33
Br.Min.f.23	Q.35:10-18
Br.Min.f.24	Q.36:7-23
Br.Min.f.25	Q.37:117-152
Min f.33	Q.38:30-48
Schø f.1	Q.39:11-22
Br.Min.f.26	Q.39:35-45
Min f.34	Q.40:24-33
Min f.35	Q.40:55-66
Min f.36	Q.41:27-39
Min f.37	Q.42:14-22
Br.Min.ff.27-28	Q.44:35-59 + 45:1-15
Br.Min.f.29	Q.63:6-11 + 64:1-6
Br.Min.f.30	Q.65:6-12 +66:1
Min f.38	Q.66:8-12
Br.Min.f.31	Q.72:3-20
Br.Min.f.32	Q.78:40 + 79:1-35

* The decoration in Br.Min.f.19 has impressed its shape on Min.f.26v

CHAPTER 4

EDITING THE EARLY QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MINGANA COLLECTION

> Il markup dichiarativo, Word, i linguaggi dei MUD ecc.
> non sono solo strumenti per realizzare certi scopi semiotici,
> ma *sono* e *producono* essi stessi una dimensione segnica separata.
>
> Domenico Fiormonte, *Scrittura e filologia nell'era digitale*, 2003

4.1. PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS

4.1.1. Printed editions

The first edition of a Qur'ānic manuscript is the incomplete edition of MS CUL or.1287 published by Agnes Smith Lewis in 1902, [1] as above mentioned. The scholar in fact chose to edit the text, reporting just the lines at the top and bottom of each half-page of the palimpsest leaves because these lines contained the most visible traces of the faded ink, not covered and hidden by the *scriptio superior* of the codex of Arabic homilies.

The distinctive feature of this edition is the fact itself of its being incomplete and the comments added by the editor about every variant reading that she had observed against "her" base text. The former characteristic, i.e. the edition of first and last lines, is not only a consequence of the difficulties in reading and editing the palimpsest text, but it also mirrors the general assumption that the Qur'ānic text has been transmitted as a stable and invariable text in all manuscripts. [2] The latter characteristic, i.e. the comment "sic" added to every variant read by the editor, mirrored the same perspective on the presence of variant readings. [3]

The later complete edition of the palimpsest was published in 1914 by Agnes Smith Lewis and Alphonse Mingana, and it is characterized by the layout of the edited text and by the chosen transliteration. In fact, the editors placed the edited text of the manuscript on the

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[1] Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca,* p. XIX.

[2] See the explanations of Agnes Smith Lewis about her choice in editing the text in 1902, already mentioned in Fedeli, 'Digitization project', in particular Smith Lewis' comment 'I was also prepossessed by the belief that all copies of the Qurân are in duty bound to be exactly alike'.

[3] It should be noted that the editions of the *Corpus Coranicum* published in the Cambridge Digital Library also add an exclamation mark to some variants, e.g. transcription of MS CUL Add.1125, f.1v, ll.13, 19 and 21, (http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01125/2) consulted on 29 October 2014, see below.

right page and the parallel base text on the left page to collate the palimpsest's text. The parallel text (i.e. the standard or base-text) is an amalgam of the texts of four different manuscripts and of the available printed edition of Gustav Flügel, as stated by Smith Lewis,[4] although Mingana in his *Introduction* to the edition underlined that the palimpsest's text had been compared with 'the established *textus receptus* of the Qurân, as known to-day'.[5] As regards the transliteration, the editors followed 'as faithfully as we could, the orthography used in our manuscripts',[6] i.e. they did not normalize the orthography, although the transcription did not reproduce the situation of the palimpsest text with regard to the diacritic signs and the letters unfurnished with additional signs,[7] probably because of the technical limits of typography in that period. The illegible parts were indicated by a few rows of dots, whereas the supposed missing words 'of the standard Qurân' were indicated in square brackets.[8]

Despite the polemics against this edition and its palimpsestuous reading, it remained the only manuscript text that had been edited from that point onward for about a century, as part of the general situation of Qur'ānic studies before and after the Second World War,[9] as above described. The lack of editing activity coincided on one side with the assumption that all Qur'ānic manuscripts read an identical text, as recognized by Smith Lewis and confirmed

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[4] Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. X: texts of MSS British Museum Or.1340 and 1401, MS Cambridge University Library Nn.3.75 (i.e. an illuminated Qur'ānic manuscript from the library Tippoo Sahib donated by the East India Co. to the University of Cambridge in 1806, see Cambridge Digital Library, http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00003-00075/1), a private and non-specified manuscript of Alphonse Mingana.

[5] Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. XXXVI. The concept of standard and accepted text has varied over time, see Nasser, *Variant Readings*.

[6] Mingana – Lewis, *Leaves*, p. XXXVI.

[7] Every letter is furnished with diacritics and *kāf* contains small *'ayn*, independent of the manuscript's situation.

[8] *Ibid.*, p.IX.

[9] The situation seems to be similar in New Testament studies in the same period, as in the 20th century there were no critical editions, but only essays and monographs on specific issues and readings, and 'a good deal of fulmination about the shortcomings of the editions', see Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, p. 109.

by George Vajda still in 1978 in the report of Déroche.[10] Moreover, the attention of scholars in studying the manuscript text was focused on the variants themselves rather than on the analysis (and edition) of complete manuscripts, presuming that textual criticism could be based only on the study of the *qirā'āt* literature.[11]

In the 1990s, a project started by Déroche and Noja Noseda was an innovative voice in this field when they planned the edition of the text of all of the extant oldest Qur'ānic manuscripts to be published with parallel colour images of the manuscripts themselves. Only two volumes of this planned series have been published, i.e. MS BnF328c and the first part of MS BL or.2165.[12] The introduction to the first volume informed the reader about the choices in editing the text, i.e. a faithful edition, colour reproduction of the manuscript's leaves in their original size, retention of all diacritical signs[13] among which the bold ones marked the original diacritics present in the manuscript[14] and the electronic format of the transcription (CD-Rom).[15] In the second volume of the Series, the editors also created software (i.e. il Comparatore) for the automatic comparison of the manuscript's text with

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[10] Vajda omitted the Qur'ānic manuscripts in his catalogue in 1978 and admitted with Déroche that the study of about 600 items whose text is identical would have been a waste of time and effort (Déroche, 'Studying the manuscripts', p. 163).

[11] Textual criticism of the Qur'ānic text is often commented on with such opinions, e.g. 'In the absence' (Jeffery, *Materials*, p. 14) and recently, Sfar, Mondher. *In Search of the Original Koran: The True History of the Revealed Text*, tr. Emilia Lanier. New York, Prometheus Books, 2008 (orig. pub. as *Le Coran est-il authentique?*, Paris, Les editions Sfar, Diffusion Le Cerf, 2000), p. 76: 'Unfortunately, the palaeographic data are of no help to us, [...]. Lacking the ancient manuscripts of the first century of the Hijra, the historian must be content with the testimony that has come down to us' (i.e. works on Qur'ānic readings).

[12] Déroche - Noja Noseda, *Le manuscrit arabe 328 (a)* and Déroche - Noja Noseda, *Le manuscrit Or.2165.*

[13] The choice of editing all the diacritical sign of the text independently from the manuscript's situation is justified by the editor because of the purpose of making an electronic format of the text available to be used by scholars.

[14] Only in the first volume, (i.e. Déroche - Noja Noseda, *Le manuscrit arabe 328 (a)*) was such a technical device used, whereas in the second volume (i.e. MS BL Or.2165) all of the diacritics were reproduced without any distinction.

[15] In the second volume it was used a base text for the electronic format of the transcription, i.e. the computer disc edition produced by Islamic Computing of London, adapted to the Egyptian printed edition (see Déroche - Noja Noseda, *Le manuscrit Or.2165*, p. XXIII).

the Cairo edition used as the standard text.[16]

Both in the Lewis-Mingana and Noja Noseda-Déroche editions the editors chose to reproduce the layout of the manuscript page and did not represent the movements of the text, i.e. corrections and reading notes to the text or its subdivision. Moreover, Lewis and Mingana showed the comparison with their standard text by publishing a parallel text on the left page of the edited text, whereas Noja Noseda and Déroche tried to introduce an automatic comparison by using software in the second edited volume.

The two main questions around presenting/producing the comparison with a base text and editing the movement of the manuscript's text were solved by Elisabeth Puin in her articles about the text of the Sana'a palimpsest.[17] The scholar published the manuscript text by presenting every line of the manuscript page separately with a comment about its content. Every line of the manuscript page includes the correspondent line of the standard text and two lines in which the scholar edits the movements of the text, i.e. a line that indicates the presence of corrections, erasures and additions and a line that presents the supposed first

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[16] *Ibid.*, p.XXIV reproduced a sample of the results of such a comparison by means of the software. Noja Noseda had already used the possibilities offered by the use of computers in the 1970s (i.e. Noja, Sergio. 'L'impiego di un elaboratore elettronico per l'analisi quantitativa della tradizione medieval del testo ebraico della Bibbia secondo le collazioni del De Rossi', appendice II a Sacchi, P., 'Analisi quantitativa della tradizione medievale del testo ebraico della Bibbia secondo le collazioni del De Rossi'. *Oriens Antiquus*, 12,1, 1973, pp.13-14) and unfortunately he did not discover the use of digital editions that would have been the inevitable evolution of his approach in editing texts.

[17] Elisabeth Puin has published part of the Sana'a palimpsest text in five articles. Puin, Elisabeth. 'Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1) in Markus Groβ – Karl-Heinz Ohlig, eds., *Schlaglichter. Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte.* Berlin, Hans Schiler, 2008, pp. 461-493; Puin, Elisabeth. 'Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1). Teil II in Markus Groβ – Karl-Heinz Ohlig, eds., *Vom Koran zum Islam: Schriften zur Frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran.* Berlin, Hans Schiler, 2009, pp. 523-581; Puin, Elisabeth. 'Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1). Teil III: Ein nicht-ʿuṯmānischer Koran' in Markus Groβ – Karl-Heinz Ohlig, eds., *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion I. Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam.* Berlin – Tübingen, Hans Schiler, 2010, pp. 233-305; Puin, Elisabeth. 'Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1). Teil IV: Die *scriptio inferior* auf den Blättern 17, 18 und 19 der Handschrift DAM 01-27.1 (Sure 9:106-Ende, dann 19:1-67 und weiter)' in Markus Groβ – Karl-Heinz Ohlig, eds., *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II. Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam.* Berlin – Tübingen, Hans Schiler, 2011, pp. 311-402 and Puin, Elisabeth. 'Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1). Teil V: Die *scriptio inferior* auf den Blättern 14 und 15 sowie Auseinandersetzung mit den Thesen und der Edition des Koranpalimpsests von Behnam Sadeghi und Mohsen Goudarzi' in Markus Groβ – Karl-Heinz Ohlig, eds., *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III. Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion.* Berlin – Tübingen, Hans Schiler, 2014, pp. 477-618.

writing of the scribe. The script of the edited text reproduces faithfully the presence or absence of diacritics in the manuscript. In order to facilitate the representation and perception of these movements and of the comparison, in her articles Puin used different colours which mean respectively, text identical to the base text, additions or omissions or different words against the base text, uncertain reading, as well as different symbols added to the edited text to indicate illegible words or letters, erasures, words or letters written over the erasures and non-corrected words or letters. The verse ends have been edited in the base text by retaining the verse number of the base text, whereas the edited text shows two ornate parentheses without a numbering system. Puin's great innovative solution and approach consists in representing all of the possible movements of the manuscript text together with an immediate term of comparison with the base text, although the edited text does not correspond to the manuscript page, as every line is followed by a comment. Moreover, the encoding system based on colours is difficult to compare with other texts, and it is an individual solution, not processable by a machine.[18]

A different solution was presented in the edition of the codex Parisino-petropolitanus published by Déroche in 2009. The scholar chose to reproduce the layout of his base text, i.e. the Cairo edition, thus divorcing the text from its manuscript context. The symbol ¬ was introduced in the Cairo edition layout to indicate the beginning of a page in the manuscript. No other details about the page layout were reproduced in this edition. Moreover, the script of the base text was adapted to reproduce the peculiarities of the manuscript,[19] e.g. the small *'ayn* inside final *kāf* has been removed, thus leaving an ambiguous sign without any

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[18] The representation of information in a form that could be processed by a machine is characteristic of data collected as the basis of digital editions/representations, see Buzzetti, Dino. 'Digital Editions and Text Processing' in Marilyn Deegan and Kathryn Sutherland, *Text Editing, Print and the Digital World.* Ashgate Publishing, Farnham, 2009, pp. 45-61 (p. 46).

[19] Déroche, *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, 'Avertissement', p. 2 in the Arabic section.

distinctive trait of the letter, whereas the diacritics correspond to the manuscript's situation.[20]

As regards the corrections to the text, only the original text was edited and a wavy line indicated the erasure process, whereas corrections made by the later hand have not been edited. The markers of ends of verses have been edited using the Arabic symbol for the end of a verse and the Indic number of the Cairo edition independently from the numbering system of the manuscript. The edition represented the variants in the subdivision of the text and the later subdivision into groups of ten verses, while it did not edit the addition of a later hand to mark groups of five verses. The result of using this mixed system for marking ends of verses is confusing, and only the detailed analysis in the first part of the book contains all of the relevant details.

A different procedure was applied in the recent edition of the Sana'a palimpsest by Sadeghi.[21] The scholar has maintained the layout of the manuscript page, editing the palimpsest's text in lines and adding his comments and supposed readings in footnotes. He uses symbols to open and close uncertain, illegible, absent and conjectured text, although he chose not to reconstruct the missing sections or to insert all of his conjectures within the edited text. The result is an extremely disintegrated reading of the text, in that the symbols are sometimes more numerous than the text in certain segments of the edition and the movements of the text are commented only in footnotes. Moreover, blank spaces used for unreadable and missing parts are sometimes indistinct from the blank space used for

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[20] There are a few discrepancies between the edition of the entire manuscript and the edition of a few words mentioned in the book, e.g. *bayanāt* in Q.3:97, with *yā'* to mark the plural feminine ending: at p.63 the scholar provides *yā'* with two diacritics, whereas in the edition the same words is not furnished with diacritics (already mentioned in Fedeli, Alba. 'Review of François Déroche, La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'Islam. Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus. Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2009'. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 59, 2010, pp. 149-157, p.156).
[21] Sadeghi – Goudarzi, 'Ṣanʿāʾ 1', Der Islam, 87.

separating two words. It is not clear why at certain points the scholar has inserted his conjectures between square brackets in the edited text, whereas at other points he presented his conjectures in footnotes related to blank spaces of the text enclosed between two slashes. As regards the subdivision of the text into verses, he edited the readable markers using the empty symbol for the end of a verse, without any reference to numbering systems.[22]

Lastly, among the printed editions of early Qur'ānic manuscripts, the edition of the codex attributed to 'Uthmān bin 'Affān held at the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul must be mentioned: this is a later codex, written in early Abbasid script and provided with vowel dots. The edition[23] represents the text structured in lines according to the manuscript page, whose image has been reproduced above the text. The script reproduces only the consonantal skeleton with all of the signs of modern Arabic (e.g. final *kāf* or *tašdīd* and superscript *alif* in *Allah*), but without vowels.[24] The footnotes contain all the results of the comparison with the text of the muṣḥaf printed in Medina from 1984 onward.[25]

4.1.2. Online editions

The same aspects and problems characterize a few editions that are available online, as they seem to reproduce on the web the approach and shape they have in printed form.[26] For example, the manuscript texts edited by the *Corpus Coranicum* project are rigid and static

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[22] See also Puin, 'Koranpalimpsest. Teil V'.
[23] Altikulaç, Tayyar. *al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharif attributed to 'Uthmān bin 'Affān. The copy at the Topkapı Palace Museum.* İstanbul, IRCICA, 2007. The justification of the choice in editing the text is described at pp. 85-86.
[24] Choice justified in *ibid.*, p. 85.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[26] A critical electronic edition should not be an online version of a printed edition (Parker, *An introduction*, p. 216).

texts that imitate online the rigid constraints of the printed edition. They have edited the layout of the manuscript page and have not placed blank spaces between words, thus representing the *scriptio continua* of the script and avoiding any over-interpretation of the letter blocks. The diacritics correspond to the situation of the manuscripts and lacunae are between square brackets. Moreover, markers of the ends of verses have been edited by using the empty symbol for the end of a verse, whereas the marker of a group of ten verses has been indicated by adding a number 10 between brackets after the empty symbol for the end of a verse. However, the edition does not represent the movements of the text, despite the possibilities of its digital presence. Thus the corrections have been edited by reproducing only one of the two stages of the writing process, i.e. the changed words or letters have been put between curly brackets, whereas the traces of the word or letter(s) that have been erased are ignored.

The Cambridge Digital Library displays on its website some transcriptions of Qur'ānic manuscripts undertaken by Corpus Coranicum, so that it is possible to observe some of the above-mentioned features. In comparison with the methodology used in the Corpus Coranicum website, the edition published in the Cambridge Digital Library does not mark groups of ten verses, and has used an exclamation mark probably to underlining variants that the manuscript reads (e.g. in editing MS Add.1125, f.1v.). Moreover, there are a few technical problems in the Cambridge editions probably due to the mixing of left-to-right and right-to-left script (e.g. the correctness in displaying opening and closing brackets).[27]

The intrinsic characteristic of previous editions is their linearity, as they are structured by

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[27] At the time of submitting this research project, further editions of early Qur'ānic manuscripts are forthcoming and thus not yet accessible, i.e. Asma Hilali and Hadiya Gurtmann editing MS DaM 01-27.1, Keith Small and Michael Marx editing MS BL Or.2165 and the manuscripts whose forthcoming edition was mentioned in Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads*.

lines and the editors interpret and represent the manuscript's text by lines in their printed books as well as in their images formed on screen, as described above. The two strategies used for representing the non-linearity of Qur'ānic manuscript texts are the use of more lines in Puin and the use of notes in Sadeghi and Altıkulaç.

4.2.1. Digital philology and encoded mobile text(s)

The non-linearity of these editions is not a mere problem with displaying the stratigraphic nature of early manuscripts, but a methodological problem, in that the editor chooses, for example, to omit the text read by the first writing and edits only the corrected text or the contrary. The traditional editions cannot represent the process of the text.[28] The second methodological question in editing these manuscripts is the idea of the critical edition, which limits the collection of data from manuscript texts to a comparison between different texts rather than a comparison between the stages involved in the process of producing a single manuscript text.[29] Apart from the delicate implications of the concept of critical edition and original text in editing sacred texts, it should be noted that the quest for a critical edition[30] aims to produce a static text that inevitably does not perform the process

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[28] Fiormonte, *Scrittura e filologia*, p. 226 (the writing process in the non-linear knowledge process); Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, pp. 21, 100 et foll. (every written work is a process and not an object, it is an overall flow). The transcription itself of a text is a process that performs an image of the text, see Segre, *Semiotica filologica*, pp. 64-65.

[29] In critical editions, the apparatus is used to represent the alternative readings of the edited text as they appear in other manuscript texts, whereas in digital philology the apparatus records all of the variants within a single manuscript text, see Fiormonte, Domenico, Valentina Martiradonna and Desmond Schmidt. 'Digital Encoding as a Hermeneutic and Semiotic Act: The Case of Valerio Magrelli'. *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 4, 1, 2010 (online journal, accessed on October 2014: http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/4/1/000082/000082.html#), §2.1.2.

[30] The quest for a critical edition of the Qur'ānic text has been recalled by scholars and is still recalled today, e.g. the goal of the Corpus Coranicum in publishing manuscript images and edited texts is the production of the critical edition of the Qur'ānic text. It is worth quoting Burton's polemic against Bell's perspective in his commentary to the Qur'ānic text published in 1991: 'Working from the already outdated Flügel text, Bell speaks to us from another age when European scholars still spoke of preparing a critical edition of the Qur'ān with complete apparatus, including occasional references to 'oriental copies', and incorporating so-called 'variants' supplied by, for example, Baiḍāwī', in Burton, John. 'Review of Richard Bell, A commentary on the Qur'ān'. *Bulletin of the School of Orienatl and African Studies*, 58, 1, 1995, pp. 119-121.

of the text. According to digital philology, a critical edition is not a text reduced to order by eliminating its richness, but should be a description of the work that includes all of its different forms, as they appear in manuscripts:[31] it should be the complete transcription of all witnesses.[32] A digital edition is an encoded transcription of the richness of all of the ways in which a text has been transmitted and seen;[33] it is the edition of the process of the written (and read) text and the editors are part of this process, too,[34] in any period.[35] A critical edition presents the text as a single editorial artefact, whereas digital philology builds a text presented as a series of manuscripts.[36] The former produced a fixed text, whereas the latter performs a mobile text.[37]

The methodology applied in this research project adopts the approach of digital philology by using mark-up languages, as they seem to be the most flexible and suitable instrument for representing manuscript texts[38] that have a variantistic and non-linear nature in all their phases and whose "alterations" are traces of their passage through time,[39] as described in Chapters 2 and 3. Chronology, page spaces and alternative readings[40] can be represented in electronic editions through an encoding system.

If digital philology seemed to be the ideal solution for approaching and displaying early

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[31] Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, p. 104.

[32] Parker, *An introduction*, p. 216.

[33] E.g. the reading notes in MS PeB described above and the perspective of the later hand in red ink.

[34] Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, p. 63.

[35] Editors are transcribers, see Robinson, 'Manuscript Politics', p. 9 ('But now I am no such editor. I am a software compiler and developer, a writer of letters to libraries, an accumulator of desultory information, a manuscript entrepreneur; worst fate of all, a transcriber').

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[37] Mobile text is the topic of a conference, see in its proceedings, Fiorentino, Francesco - Domenico Fiormonte. 'Introduzione: Il testo è mobile'. *Humanist Studies & the Digital Age*, 2, 1, 2012, pp. 5-7.

[38] Fiormonte - Martiradonna – Schmidt, 'Digital Encoding', Conclusions.

[39] Segre, *Semiotica filologica*, p. 14: 'quelli che noi, razionalisticamente, chiamiamo errori o deformazioni o rimaneggiamenti, costituiscono il risultato di successive sovrapposizioni di sistemi. Il sistema originario viene ogni volta contaminato con quello dei copisti o rifacitori. Ogni manoscritto è un diasistema'. Segre's theory on the image of the text has been quoted and expanded in Buzzetti, 'Digital Editions', pp. 45-46.

[40] Fiormonte - Martiradonna – Schmidt, 'Digital Encoding'.

Qur'ānic manuscript texts because of the characteristics observed before starting this research project, it is worth underlining that this methodology has influenced the analysis of the artefacts itself during the research project, because mark-up expressions can have either a descriptive force (i.e. they are an external description of the structure of the text) or a performative force (i.e. they are part of the text).[41] Mark-up expressions are and perform a separate semiotic dimension.[42]

The encoding of manuscript texts has required a continuous explanation and justification of the choices during the editing and encoding process, thus forcing the researcher, for example, to understand the temporal sequence of first writing and corrections as well as to understand the nature of variant or alternative readings in the manuscripts described above.[43] Moreover, digital philology and its procedures of tagging the text with mark-up language oblige the editor to decode the code of the text of early Qur'ānic manuscripts, thus, for example contributing to conjecturing and shaping the perspective that the code of the script in these manuscripts (i.e. skeleton without diacritics and vowels) could possibly not be the reason for the formation of variant readings, but the contrary: the code of such a script system[44] was the flexible and ideal instrument for encoding the fluidity and flexibility of the text at the beginning of Islam. This flexibility cannot be excluded from the editing of the text, and it requires a further and new encoding into the digital form.[45]

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[41] Buzzetti, 'Digital Editions', pp. 55-56.

[42] Fiormonte, *Scrittura e filologia*, p. 219. In particular, the scholar quoted the theory of cognitive artefacts as thought instruments.

[43] Only during the transcription and tagging of the text has it been possible to understand the temporal sequence of brown ink, black ink and red ink in MS PeB as well as the probable perspective of the reading notes of the addition in red ink. Before this research project, the temporal sequence of the two later hands was unclear and the additions in red ink had been interpreted as corrections.

[44] Nasser, *Variant Readings*, pp. 105 and 111.

[45] In fact the editors do not transcribe a text, but their 'model of it, expressed with the best language to hand' (Fiormonte, 'Varianti digitali').

4.2.2. Guidelines on XML-encoding the early Qur'ānic manuscripts from the Mingana collection

The starting point of the strategies chosen in editing and tagging the manuscript texts and manuscript characteristics are the guidelines gathered by ITSEE,[46] Parker's manual[47] and the suggestions arising from Parker and from the staff of ITSEE in solving the problems related to early Arabic (Qur'ānic) manuscripts. The ITSEE *Guidelines* are a manual specifically pertaining to the transcription of Greek manuscripts within the International Greek New Testament Project, so it has been adapted to the characteristics of the early Arabic manuscripts of the Birmingham collection. The representation of the manuscript text has been encoded according to the following mark-up expressions.[48]

4.2.2.1. BASE TEXT AND FONTS OF THE TRANSCRIPTION

- The transcription of the Qur'ānic fragments is done by adapting the Qur'ānic text of the Tanzil Project.[49] The base text is to be intended as a starting point for the transcription of every single witness and as a reference for any future research within the witnesses. The Tanzil Project makes a standard Unicode Qur'ānic text

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[46] Kevern, Rachel and Marie Luise Lakmann, Bruce Morrill and David C. Parker. *IGNTP-INTF guidelines for the transcription of manuscripts using Unicode. Version 5.* International Greek New Testament Project - Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster NTF, 2012 (Unpublished manual, online resource: http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1676/1/Unicode_Transcription_Guidelines5.pdf); Houghton, Hugh A.G. *IGNTP guidelines for XML transcriptions of New Testament manuscripts. Version 1.4.* International Greek New Testament Project, 2013 (Unpublished manual, online resource: http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1727/5/IGNTP_XML_guidelines_1-4.pdf) and Houghton, Hugh A.G. 'The Electronic Scriptorium: Markup for New Testament Manuscripts' in Claire Clivaz, Andrew Gregory, David Hamidović, eds., *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish and Early Christian Studies*. Leiden, Brill, 2014, pp. 31-60.
[47] Parker, *An introduction.*
[48] The description of all the tags that are in common with the transcription of manuscripts in other languages is omitted, e.g. the location markers (folio, line), the marker of the text's subdivision (*sūra* and verse), the presence of a lacuna or a correction. See ITSEE, *Guidelines*, pp. 13-14.
[49] See Tanzil website, in particular the several types of 'Tanzil quran': http://tanzil.net/download/.

available on their website, based on the Medina Muṣḥaf, i.e. the copy of the Qurʾān printed by the King Fahad Complex for Printing of the Holy Quran. The text provided by Tanzil is based on the Muṣḥaf according to the narration of Ḥafṣ. Furthermore, the Tanzil Project allows the text to be downloaded in several types, all in UTF-8 format. The base text used in the transcription of the early manuscripts from the Mingana collection is the 'simple clean' type without vowel signs, *hamza* and other ortho-epic signs, having a great resemblance to the script of the early manuscripts.[50]

— As regards the fonts, the two Unicode fonts used in the transcription are Scheherazade for the Arabic alphabet and Gentium for the Latin alphabet.

— In order to avoid any problem arising the simultaneous presence of writings typed from left to right and from right to left, it seemed preferable to separate every sequence of letters in Arabic fonts from every sequence of letters in Latin fonts, using a return, so that the first character in Arabic, following a sequence in Latin fonts, will be typed at the beginning of a new line, and vice versa the first character in Latin. This was decided after problems arose at the beginning of the work, where Arabic and Latin fonts occurred in the same line, causing inversions in the sequence of the words. It was after the first experimental stages in converting the text into XML that Houghton proposed to separate each Arabic word or unit of words from the next, using a return.

— A joining character (Arabic Tatweel, 0640 Unicode hex) was inserted inside a word

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[50] The other formats are Simple, Simple Enhanced, Simple Minimal, Uthmani and Uthmani minimal. There are also further options for including pause marks, *sajda* signs, *rubʿ al-ḥizb* and superscript *alif*. Given that the transcription of the second stage of the writing process in MS Min1572 (and MS Min1563) includes the vowels added by the *naqqāṭ*, the other available format of the text, i.e. the vocalized text, could be used in the phase of comparison between the witnesses and the base text.

divided by a tag typed in Latin font, e.g., the tag of lacuna [º]...[\º], in order to avoid the modification of the letters from their initial or median position shape to the isolated position shape, thus reproducing the characteristics of the letters as they are in the manuscript.[51]

4.2.2.2. COMMENTARY FILES ON THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSCRIPTION

A separate status note accompanies the transcription, in order to gather the distinctive features of the text that the manuscript contains and the characteristics of the manuscript itself as a physical object. The form that has been created[52] includes essential information also reported in the transcription file, that is:

- MS Number

- Name of sūra transcribed (both in the Arabic alphabet and transliterated into the Latin alphabet)

- Number of sūra transcribed

- First folio transcribed

- Base text used: (i.e. Medina muṣḥaf - riwāya Ḥafṣ - of Tanzil Project)

- Transcribed by (the initials of the transcriber's name)

- Transcription begun: (the date)

- Transcription finished: (the date)

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[51] A filter should be introduced to ignore the presence of the joining character so that it will not generate a variant reading during the comparison between the manuscript and the base text.

[52] The status note was created according to the information given in the status note suggested in ITSEE Guidelines, expanded on the basis of the characteristics of the early Qur'ānic manuscripts analysed in this research project.

There is also a question that requires a yes or no answer, relating to the presence of vowels added to the skeleton of the consonantal text, using the early system of coloured dots instead of the actual vowel system. If the vowels have been marked with the dot system, the transcription of the single witness consists of two separate files, reproducing the two separate phases of the writing process, answering the question: Does this manuscript contain al-*tanqīṭ* (the *naqqāṭ* has pointed the fragment, i.e., has added the vowels)? Yes (separate file)/No[53]

In addition to these essential details, the commentary file also reports information about the subdivision of the text:

–   Division of the text into *sūra*s:

  sūra heading (*al-fātiḥa*): No/ Yes/ Not applicable

  sūra ending (*al-ḫātima*): No/ Yes/ Not applicable

  blank space (+ number of lines): No/ Yes/ Not applicable

  decoration: No/Yes (description of the decoration, later addition of the *sūra* name and its number of verses)

–   Division of the text into *āyāt*, i.e., into verses and groups of verses:

  1. Separating pauses, separators at the end of a verse (*fawāṣil*): No /Yes (dots or in the shape of a wedge, number of dots or wedges, e.g., &fāṣila3; &fāṣila4; &fāṣila5; &fāṣila6; etc.). As Qur'ānic manuscripts indicate the end of the verse instead of the beginning of a new verse, it was decided to show in the transcription both the block marker flagging the beginning of a new verse and

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[53] It should be noted that in a few circumstances the *naqqāṭ* also inserted reading notes - in red ink - to the verse numbering and to the consonantal skeleton of the text. These typologies of insertions were recorded in the main transcription file.

the entity marker that indicates the presence of a *fāṣila*, the separator between the end of a verse and the beginning of a new one, e.g., &fāṣila6; <V 4>. The possible presence of a different numbering system in the manuscript and the necessity of including the standard numbering system (i.e., the numbering system of the base text) suggested this option of recording both the entity marker (&fāṣila;) and the block marker (<V 0>), so that it is possible to compare the manuscript transcription with the base text at the end of the work.

2. *al-ʿawāšir* (the signs that mark a division of a ten-verse group in a copy of the Qurʾān): No/Yes (indicating the number of the verse + description of the shape of the sign and the ink used to trace it). In the transcription this was recorded as &fāṣila ʿāšira.

3. *al-ḫawāmis* (the signs that mark a division of a five-verse group in a copy of the Qurʾān): No/Yes (indicating the number of the verse + description of the shape of the sign and the ink used to trace it). In the transcription this was recorded as &fāṣila ḫāmisa.

– Numbering system:

Does the manuscript contain a different numbering of verses? No/Yes:

1. is the marker of the end of the verse absent? No/Yes

2. between the end of verse X and beginning of verse Y. Is there any reference in al-Dānī/Spitaler? No/Yes

3. at the end of the last verse of the sūra: No/Yes

4. is there an extra end of the verse marker inside verse X, after the word ... and is there any reference in Spitaler? No/Yes.

Moreover the commentary file reports:

– the presence of *al-tanqīṭ*, i.e. has the *naqqāṭ* pointed the fragment, thus adding vowels? No/Yes

– the presence of matching fragments: Does this manuscript match another fragment? No/Yes (MS no. and related literature on the MS and history of the scattered fragments).

Lastly, a section on other remarks includes the parchment's condition; palaeographical features of the script according to Déroche's classification;[54] codicological information about the presence of rulings and folios or binding.

It is inevitable that the above 'commentary file' is a provisional and incomplete document related to the characteristics of the analysed manuscripts and it should be expanded in a future research study on a larger corpus of manuscripts.

4.2.2.3. TYPOLOGIES OF NOTES RECORDED IN THE TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription of the manuscript's text tends to insert as many editorial and local notes as possible in order to describe the process of the making of the manuscript and to share with other readers the uncertainties occurring during the interpretation of the manuscript text. Thus the editorial notes, whose hierarchical structure created several layers, led to a dynamic and mobile text that contributed to creating the image of the text itself as defined by Segre.[55] These editorial notes constitute a database, a processable collection of information, as they are XML-encoded.

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[54] Déroche, *Catalogue* and Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*.
[55] Segre, *Semiotica filologica*.

Thus, for example, there are editorial notes related to the writing process, i.e. traces of a non-linear process of writing whose temporal layers are recognizable. They could build a database of information about the writing process in copying/writing the Qurʾānic text and a mine of linguistic information about the early grammar of Arabic. Furthermore, the corrections are fingerprints of the variant reading situation and its related standardization process. This typology of "editorial" notes has been added to the changes indicated within "corrector tags". These are three examples:

- Partial correction of an homoeoteleuton in MS Min1572, f.9b, l.7, Q.4:131-132: <note type="editorial" id="correctionprocesses">the first hand's eyes skip from *fī-l-ʿarḍ* in verse 131 to the text after *fī-l-ʿarḍ* in verse 132, i.e. homoeoteleuton, thus he omitted the end of verse 131 and the beginning of verse 132. The first hand has replaced the forgotten text, adding a new line because there was no room to replace all of the missing text. In the replaced text, C* omitted the word *al-ʿarḍ* in verse 131, the cause of the eye skip. No later hand has replaced the omission</note>

- A further example of corrections added at different stages in MS Min1572, f.3a, l.22, Q.5:4: <note type="editorial" id="correctionprocesses">the omission of the first hand has been replaced in black ink, by a later hand, i.e., C1. A red dot has been added to the replaced word *min* to indicate the vowelization, i.e., *mina.* Such a detail seems to suggest that the black ink was used by C1, whereas the red ink was used at a following stage, by C2. It appears almost certain that the insertion of red dot vowels is later than the corrections in black ink</note>

- A third example of the mechanisms in the scribe's work process: MS 1572, f.4b, l.10, Q.5:20: <note type="editorial" id="correctionprocesses">the first hand started to write the word *al-ʿālamīna* but after having written *alif* and *lām*, he noticed that there

was not room to write the whole word. Thus he erased the *lām*, writing the rest of the word at the following line. This correction has been supposed, although the parchment is missing at the beginning of the following line</note>

During the transcription process, the details related to the verse numbering system, the indication of groups of verses and the subdivision between the *sūra*s were recorded. This typology of "editorial" notes was added to the end of a verse entity or to its absence indicated within the "markers of entity", i.e., &fāṣila; or &fāṣila ʿāšira; Examples of editorial notes with an "id" attribute related to the subdivision of the text (i.e. corrections / additions / replacements) are:

- In MS Min1572, f.9v (thus bound), l.3, Q.4:130: <note type="editorial" id="fāṣila">the first hand marker has been replaced by C2, i.e., the *naqqāṭ* with the letter *hā'* inside a circle in red ink. The later sign marks a division of a ten-verse group, an *'ašr*</note>

- In MS Min1572, f.2b, ll.12-13, Q.4:170: <note type="editorial" id="fāṣila">it is not clear whether the first hand marked the division between verse 170 and verse 171 because of the lacuna of the parchment. The *naqqāṭ*, inserted the division of a ten-verse group, i.e., the letter *hā'* inside a circle in red ink, between lines 12 and 13, before *yā-'ahla*, replacing the lacuna of the parchment or the omission of the first hand</note>

- In MS Min1572, f.3v, l.21 and f.4v, l.4, Q.5:9 and 18: <note type="editorial" id="fāṣila">the first hand marker has been replaced by the *naqqāṭ* with a decoration, a circle in red. The later decoration marks a division of a ten-verse group, an *'ašr*</note>

Examples of editorial notes expressed with the <note> element, linked to the relevant marked feature of end of verse entity with an "id" attribute at the occurrence of the end of

sūra are:

<note type="editorial" id="ḫātima"> and <note type="editorial" id="fātiḥa">, e.g.: later addition marking the end of *sūra*, in MS Min1572, f.3r, ll.1-2, Q.5:1: <note type="editorial" id="ḫātima">a decoration marks the chapter ending of the *sūra* and the beginning of *sūra al-Māʾida* between lines 1 and 2, i.e., a fish bone decoration ending in a wavy line. The empty space at the end of the last line bearing the end of the *sūra* has been filled with the *fātiḥa* of the following *sūra*, in red ink</note>

It was decided to also insert notes containing information about significant palaeographic features, for example the insertion of later script. In fact the fragments, written in ḥijāzī script, present a few interesting fingerprints of later additions, written with a different style of writing that seems unlikely to be explained as different hands in a sole writing process. This typology of "editorial" notes was added to the word/s written in a different style and expressed with the <note> element, linked to the relevant word/s with an "id" attribute, e.g.:

  – <note type="editorial" id="script">the *alif* has not been written in *ḥigāzī* style. It can be argued that the first line was empty and the text has been written in order to match the two fragments, i.e., ff. 9 and 2 bearing Q.4 and ff. 3 and 4 bearing Q.5. The hand of the script in f.2b is different from the hand of the script in f.3a</note>

Other notes concern the different layers of the diacritical dots/strokes process, i.e., the *iʿgām al-ḥurūf*, e.g. <note type="script"> the two diacritical dots of *qāf* have been added later, after the first hand has written the diacritical strokes </note> or the temporal layer of the *naqqāṭ* work, i.e.. <note type="editorial" id="naqqāṭ">... </note>.

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The *"naqqāṭ* notes" were developed essentially with reference to the work of al-Dānī (*Muḥkam*) and to the study of Dutton.[56] An example is from MS Min1572, f. 9v (thus bound), l.23, Q.4:139, <note type="editorial" id="naqqāṭ">according to al-Dānī, appendix, p.138, nos. 6 and 7, the *wāw* in whose 'return', i.e., *ṣadr*, there is a dot, this marks a *hamza* with the vowel *ḍamma*, whereas the *wāw* in whose 'bell', i.e. *baṭn*, there is a dot, this marks a *hamza sākina*. The *naqqāṭ* of MS 1572 has placed the dot in the 'whiteness', on the left side of the bell of the *wāw*, transcribed as a *hamza sākina</note>*.[57]

As regards the representation of the text of MS CaB, its palimpsestic nature and reading required the insertion of a few editorial notes regarding the difficulties in interpreting the text and in retracing the *scriptio inferior,* as well as regarding the justification of a few details of this retracement, e.g. <note type="editorial" id="scriptio inferior clarity">, <note type="editorial" id="iʿgām clarity">, <note type="editorial" id="lacuna">.[58] Moreover, a few editorial notes were linked to the words that Mingana and Lewis read in a different way, tagging the note as <note type="editorial" id="Mingana Lewis edition">.

Lastly, a few observations related to the linguistic features of the manuscripts text were

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[56] Dutton, 'Dots, I' and Dutton, 'Dots, II'.

[57] In the first attempt – during this research project - to edit MS BrB whose incomplete results have not been included in the work submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the editorial notes added to the transcription and interpretation of the manuscript's text concern in particular the complex system of dotting and the system for noting alternative readings, e.g. <note type="editorial" id="red dot">, <note type="editorial" id="faded red dots">, <note type="editorial" id="iʿgām, absence">, <note type="editorial" id="iʿgām, redundancy">, <note type="editorial" id="iʿgām, hamza">, <note type="editorial" id="connective dot">, <note type="editorial" id="ortho-epic red dots">. Due to the complexity and ambiguity of the red dot system which uses the same symbol for marking vowels, *hamza*, connections between words and alternative readings, the editorial note id="red dot" contains doubts about their interpretation and justification of their interpretation. Moreover, in transcribing the text of MS BrB, the entities for filler of end of line and for uncertain dots were created, i.e. ˙ and &line-filler;

[58] An example of the information contained in this editorial note could be <note type="editorial" id="lacuna">despite the missing material, the shape of the parchment's lacuna enables us to read part of the final *lām-yāʾ* in *ʾilā</note>*, as the palimpsest edition attempts to justify and explain the retracement of the script that has been done at a few points despite the lacunae.

inserted and expressed as "local" notes,[59] e.g. <note type="local" id="lexicon">, <note type="local" id="ortho-epic">, <note type="local" id="orthography">, <note type="local" id="orthography-phonetics">, <note type="local" id="phonetics"> and <note type="local" id="syntax">. These notes express the richness of the manuscript text without reducing its analysis to a list of variants.

The editions of the manuscript text attempted to be as detailed as possible in order to yield processable information.

4.2.3. Conclusions

The above-mentioned editorial notes and XML-encoding expressions interpret and represent the non-linearity of the manuscript and its texts and make the transcription (i.e. the interpretation of the editor) processable. Thus, for example, it would be possible to select specific details from the transcription, e.g. the editorial notes about the writing process. Although not included in this research project, editorial notes or expressions marking the linguistic features of the manuscript text could also be conceived and inserted in the edition as well as any element about the *qirāʾāt* literature.

The plain text transcriptions were converted to XML by Hugh Houghton and made available online[60] using an XSL transformation developed by Houghton and the transcriber/editor.

The electronic edition of the early Qurʾānic manuscripts from the Mingana collection has been an experiment tested on a small corpus to be analysed and edited, thus expressing all

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[59] ITSEE, *Guidelines*.
[60] http://arts-itsee.bham.ac.uk/itseeweb/fedeli/start.xml. A few samples of these transcriptions available online were reported in their (fixed) printed form in Appendix B.

of its limits, but also all of the possible further developments of the methodology, especially because it uses a standard encoding that could be shared by all scholars working on editing Qur'ānic manuscripts.

FINAL REFLECTIONS AND PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

nunc arma defunctumque bello
barbiton hic paries habebit,
laevom marinae qui Veneris latus
custodit.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Odes*, Liber III, Ode XXVI

This research project started in 2011 when the unknown text of MS Min150 was identified as being the Qur'ānic stray leaf matching the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest in Cambridge. The exploration of the Mingana papers and manuscripts collection led to making a new contribution to the history of the manuscripts as well as recent European cultural history, while the approach allowed by digital philology in accessing and editing the manuscript text has suggested a new perspective in editing the movements of the text. However, the exploration through private correspondence and Arabic manuscripts has opened many interesting questions that unfortunately had to be abandoned because of the limits of this doctoral research.

Through exploration of the private correspondence and documents of Mingana from the Mingana papers and through access to the manuscript collection it has been possible to identify some documents: firstly, the Qur'ānic papyri fragment among the uncatalogued and almost unknown papyri collection; secondly, the probable index of the entire codex of Christian Arabic homilies, attesting its Sinai origin and movements; and lastly, the matching fragments of codex BrB now scattered among the Brown University Library in Providence, the Library of Congress, the private collection of Martin Schøyen and the Barakat Gallery. Moreover, it has been possible to trace Tischendorf's implication in the story of MS Min150 as well as part of the historical and cultural situation in which Qur'ānic studies developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, in particular through the correspondence between Mingana and Jeffery.

As regards the analysis of the early Qur'ānic manuscripts from the Mingana collection and related fragments, the approach implied by using digital philology and the perspective in considering the manuscripts as a process led to the reconstruction of some of the

mechanisms of the writing process, e.g. the copying from a written exemplar implied by the corrections *in scribendo*. The palaeographical and textual analysis has shown the execution of a collective work in the small leaves of MS CaB and in MS PeB, to which the scribes have contributed while maintaining their individual positions as regards the orthography of the text that they were copying.

Moreover, the analysis has revealed the use of such objects through time, as suggested by the traces of scribes, correctors and readers. In particular, it has been proposed that the red ink traces in MS PeB are likely to be reading notes rather than corrections or amendments, thus representing an example of the aural dimension being entangled in the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text.

One of the results of this research has been the hypothetical retracement of the *scriptio inferior* of the palimpsest MS CUL1287, which is an attempt to reply to the polemics and quests for the verification of the Mingana-Lewis edition of 1914. However, the application of Hort's principle that 'knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings' led to the research process not reducing the palimpsest to its edition and to the list of variants compiled by Mingana in 1915. Judgement upon the text type of the analysed documents in comparison with the *qirā'āt* literature has been reduced to mere observations and suspended until further studies have been completed on the expansion of the readings in early times. Besides the preliminary conclusion that the text of these manuscripts is a mixed type, the partial agreement between manuscripts that have the same origin, i.e. MS PeB and the codex Parisino-petropolitanus, coming from the deposit of Fusṭāṭ, has emerged. The fact that they share singular readings should change the perspective in studying manuscript reading toward the establishment of pre-genealogical coherence between

witnesses, despite the caution in using the definition of singular readings in a written transmission that is mostly still unexplored.

Furthermore, the research has attempted to analyse the readings of the manuscripts as an expression of the linguistic competence of the scribes, by structuring the readings according to the data gathered by Hopkins in analysing early Arabic papyri. The linguistic characteristics of these early Qur'ānic manuscripts should contribute to the study of the grammar of early Arabic, beyond the limitations of the concepts of mistakes and errors. The limitations of such a perspective in detecting the errors of a scribe have been confirmed not only by the corpus of early papyri (i.e. Hopkins), but also by the comprehension of the mechanism of the red ink stage in MS PeB as reading notes.

The use of digital philology and XML-encoding expressions to edit early Qur'ānic manuscripts and their texts has been tested on a small selection of documents, revealing its potentialities and flexibility in editing the mobile and multi-layered text of the manuscripts, differently from the previous examples of editions of early Qur'ānic manuscripts which have produced a fixed text. Lastly, the variantistic nature of manuscripts represented by digital editions lays claims on the editing of all of the witnesses of a text, so that each form of text and all of the variants have their own existence beyond the creation of a critical text.

Despite the results and new contributions that have emerged during this doctoral research, the awareness of the space-time constraints has forced the researcher to abandon some suggestions for deepening a few interesting matters that have been mentioned above, mainly in the footnotes. These matters include:

- the study of the provenance of the Lewis palimpsest, possibly through the study of Lewis' correspondence held at the Archives of the Westminster College in Cambridge in order to trace any possible connection with Tischendorf's affairs;

- direct inspection of the Beuron leaves, which should match the codex of Arabic homilies, in order to reconstruct another piece of the history of this Sinai codex;

- exploration of Tischendorf's collection of manuscripts and their history in order to trace the movements and dispersion of the manuscripts that he brought to Europe in the mid 19th century;

- identification of the manuscripts to which the scattered Tischendorf fragments acquired by Mingana in 1936 once belonged;

- creation of an electronic edition of Mingana's correspondence on the Arabic manuscripts he bought and on the cultural context of Qur'ānic studies constituted by the network of scholars and exchange of ideas, opinions and polemics at the beginning of the last century;

- identification of the actual location of the early Qur'ānic manuscripts that the antiquarian dealer Erik von Scherling offered to the Selly Oak Colleges Library after Mingana's death and were not acquired by the new librarian;

- analysis of the entire MS BrB, after identification of the thirty-two leaves held at the Brown University Library, in order to comprehend its complex system of dots, which is likely not to be reducible to a system for marking vowels, but also, for example, for marking connections between words to be compared with the dot system in MS Min1572b;

- use of phylogenetic software to draw relationships between manuscripts, e.g. to evaluate the relationship between MS PeB and codex Parisino-petropolitanus;

- accessing the *qirā'āt* literature through the manuscript tradition rather than through the editions of the works that have been used in this research and possible merging of the digital editions of *qirā'āt* works with the edition of the Qur'ānic manuscripts;

- accessing the palimpsest's *scriptio inferior* through better images, in particular for the large leaves;

- obtaining an analysis of the ink used in the manuscripts in order to confirm the reconstruction of the stages of the writing process, which cannot rely only upon the visual analysis and reconstruction of the logical sequence;

- development of the mark-up encoding for editing early Qur'ānic manuscripts in order to produce a processable database of information that could be shared among scholars to represent and understand the process of the written transmission of the Qur'ānic text.

Although it could seem that there are more limits in this research and matters not yet explored than results and elements of new contribution, these limits could also been seen as a challenging invitation, and a couple of them have already been transformed into new projects for further research.

APPENDIX A

HYPOTHETICAL RETRACEMENT OF THE *SCRIPTIO INFERIOR*

OF THE QURʾĀNIC PALIMPSEST (MS CAB)

MS CaB	Q.7:158–165	recto	f.60v	sup. f.103a +Min150	quire 14	22 ll.	script α C	image no.1446+

MS CaB	Q.9:59-69	recto	f.62r	sup. ff.105a+108b	quire 14	23 ll.	script α C	image no.1443

استجابوا لربهم الحسنى والذين لم يستجيبوا له لو ان
لهم ما في الارض جميعا ومثله معه لافتدوا به اولئك
لهم سوء الحساب وماواهم جهنم وبئس المهاد ۞ افمن يعلم انما انزل اليك من
ربك الحق كمن هو اعمى انما يتذكر اولوا
الالباب الذين يوفون بعهد الله ولا
ينقضون الميثاق والذين يصلون ما امر الله
به ان يوصل ويخشون ربهم ويخافون سوء الحساب
والذين صبروا ابتغاء وجه ربهم واقاموا
الصلوة وانفقوا مما رزقناهم سرا وعلانية ويدرون
بالحسنة السيئة اولئك لهم عقبى الدار جنات
عدن يدخلونها ومن صلح من ابائهم
وازواجهم وذرياتهم والملئكة يدخلون عليهم من
كل باب سلم عليكم بما صبرتم فنعم عقبى الدار والذين
ينقضون عهد الله من بعد ميثاقه ويقطعون ما امر الله به
ان يوصل ويفسدون في الارض اولئك لهم اللعنة ولهم سوء الدار
الله يبسط الرزق لمن يشاء ويقدر وفرحوا بالحياة
الدنيا وما الحياة الدنيا في الاخرة الا متاع ۞
ويقول الذين كفروا لولا انزل

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الر كتب انزلنه اليك لتخرج الناس من الظلمت الى النور باذن ربهم الى صرط العزيز الحميد

الله الذي له ما في السموت وما في الارض وويل للكفرين من عذاب شديد

الذين يستحبون الحيوة الدنيا على الاخرة ويصدون عن سبيل الله ويبغونها عوجا اولئك في ضلل بعيد

وما ارسلنا من رسول الا بلسان قومه ليبين لهم فيضل الله من يشاء ويهدي من يشاء وهو العزيز الحكيم

ولقد ارسلنا موسى بايتنا ان اخرج قومك من الظلمت الى النور وذكرهم بايم الله ان في ذلك لايت لكل صبار شكور

واذ قال موسى لقومه اذكروا نعمة الله عليكم اذ انجيكم من ال فرعون يسومونكم سوء العذاب ويذبحون ابناءكم ويستحيون نساءكم وفي ذلكم بلاء من ربكم عظيم

واذ تاذن ربكم لئن شكرتم لازيدنكم ولئن كفرتم ان عذابي لشديد

وما خلقنا السماوات والارض وما بينهما الا بالحق وان الساعة لاتية فاصفح الصفح الجميل ان ربك هو الخلاق العليم ولقد اتيناك سبعا من المثاني والقران العظيم لا تمدن عينيك الى ما متعنا به ازواجا منهم ولا تحزن عليهم واخفض جناحك للمومنين وقل اني انا النذير المبين كما انزلنا على المقتسمين الذين جعلوا القران عضين فوربك لنسالنهم اجمعين عما كانوا يعملون فاصدع بما تومر واعرض عن المشركين انا كفيناك المستهزين الذين يجعلون مع الله الها اخر فسوف يعلمون ولقد نعلم انك يضيق صدرك بما يقولون فسبح بحمد ربك وكن من الساجدين واعبد ربك حتى ياتيك اليقين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اتى امر الله فلا تستعجلوه سبحانه وتعالى عما يشركون ينزل الملائكة بالروح من امره على من يشاء من عباده ان انذروا انه لا اله الا انا فاتقون خلق السماوات والارض بالحق تعالى عما يشركون خلق الانسان من نطفة فاذا هو خصيم مبين

| MS CaB | Q.17:1-9 | verso | f.57v | sup. ff.101b+96a | quire 13 | 20 ll.+2 | script β B | image no.1453 |

MS CaB	Q.17:9-19	recto	f.58v	sup. ff.97a+100b	quire 13	21 ll.	script β B	image no.1450

APPENDIX B

SAMPLES OF THE ONLINE TRANSCRIPTIONS IN THEIR FIXED PRINTED FORM

(http://arts-itsee.bham.ac.uk/itseeweb/fedeli/start.xml)

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

Qur'anic Transcriptions
Alba Fedeli, ITSEE, University of Birmingham

Birmingham, Mingana 1572 ▾ | Cambridge, UL Or. 1287 ▾

Comparison window Home page

Welcome to this XML transcription site in conjunction with Alba Fedeli's doctoral work on the Qur'an.

Please navigate through the manuscripts using the drop-down menus above.

The **comparison window** splits the browser into two frames to enable users to view two transcriptions side by side; clicking on the link to the home page will restore the browser to the original view.

This site is designed for use with the free Mozilla Firefox browser.

The transcription files are in Unicode. We recommend the free Scheherazade font for Arabic.

Text visible in the manuscript is printed in dark-brown letters: Normal text,

Unclear text is printed in light brown letters: Unclear text,

Where the manuscript is extant but the text is illegible, it is printed in khaki letters: illegible text

Where the manuscript is no longer extant a reconstruction is printed in light blue letters: Lacunose text

Editorial notes are indicated by *. When the mouse pointer is placed on the *, the content of the note will appear in a mouseover box; *

Corrections are shown within braces: {first hand/correction}

The symbol = is used to indicate a word which breaks over a line.

For any questions about this site, please use the feedback form.

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Qur'anic Transcriptions
Alba Fedeli, ITSEE, University of Birmingham

Cambridge, University Library: Or. 1287; surah 7

-Page 33r

[Lacuna 1-142]

[Lacuna]　143

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الحل فان اسفر مكـــه ٭ فـسوف دـر ابی ٭ ٭ ولما ٭ بحلی ر به

للحل حعله دكا وحر موسی صعقا ٭ فلما افو ٭ فل

سحـنـک سـ ٭ الک وانا اول المومس ٠٠ فل ٭ بموسی　144

ابی اصطفـــیک عـلی الناس برسلتی وبكلمی فخد ما

ادـــیک وكی من الـــسكر ن ٠٠ وكـــســا له فی الالوح ٭ من　145

كل سای ٭ موعطـه وبعصلا لكل سای ٭ فخد هــا بمو ه و=

امر فومک باحدوا باحسها ساوربکــم ٭ د ار

146 الفسفس ⁖ * ساصرف عن اسى الدس سكرون فى الار=
ص ـ غـ ـر الحق وان بروا كـ ـل ادـ ـه لا بومـ ـ ـ ـ وا بها وان بروا
سـ ـبل الر سـ ـد لا سحدوه سـ ـبلا * وان بروا سـ ـبل العى
سحدوه سبلا * دلك بابهم كدبوا باسنا * * وكا=

147 نوا * عـ ـنهـ ـا عـ ـفلـ ـس ٠ والدس كد ـ ـوا باسنا * * ولفا الا ـ حر =
ه حطب اعملهم هل بحرون الا ما كانو ا يعملـ ـو ن

148 ⁖ وانحد فوم مـ ـوسى من بعد ه مـ ـن حـ ـلبهم عحلا حسدا
لـ ـه * حوا ر الم بروا اه لا بكلمهم ولا بهدبهم سبلا

149 انحدوه وكا ـ ـوا طلمس ⁖ ولـ ـمـ ـا سفط فى ادبهم و=
راوا ابهم فد صلوا فالوا لس لم برحمـ ـنـ ـا ر ـ ـبـ ـا و=

150 بعمر * لبا لبكوس من الحسـ ـر ـس ⁖ و لما رحـ ـع موسى الى فو=
مه عصس ا سـ ـفا فل * بسما حـ ـلـ ـفـ ـموبى من بـ ـعد ى ا=
عحلبم امـ ـر ربكم والفى الالـ ـو ح * واحد برا س
احـ ـ ـ ـه بحره اله فـ ـل * اس ام ان الفـ ـو م ا سـ ـ ـصعـ ـفوبى و=
كادوا بفلوسى فلا ـ ـ ـمت بى ا الا عدا و لا تجعـ ـلـ ـ ـى مـ ـع
ـ ـفوم الطلمس ⁖ * فا ل * رب ا غفرلى و لا حى و لا د =

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152 حلـ ـنـ ـا فى ر حـ ـمـ ـتـ ـك وابـ ا ر حم الرحمس ⁖ * اں الد ـ ـس ا=
بحدوا الـ ـعـ ـحل سبلهم * غـ ـصـ مـ ـس ربهـ ـم ودله فى ا=

153 لـ ـحوه الدسا وكدلك ـ ـحـ ـرى المـ ـفـ ـر ـس ⁖ والدس عـ ـمـ ـلوا ا=
لسـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ * * بم بادـ ـ و ا مں ـ ـعدها وامسوا ان ربك مں بعدها

154 لعفور رحسم ⁖ ولـ ـمـ ـا سـ ـكـ عں موسى العصں احـ ـد
الالوح * وفى ـ ـسحها هدى ورحمه * للدس هم لر=

بهم * برهون · واحر * موسى قومه سعس رحلا لمقدسا *

فلما احدتهم الرحمه قال * رب لو سب * ا=

هلكتهم * من قبل وانى ا دهلكنا بما فعل السفها منا

ان هى الا فتسك تصل بها من سا وبهدى من سا ات

ولسنا فاغفر لنا و ار حمنا وابت حبر العفرس · و =

كتب لنا فى هده الدنا حسنه وفى الاحره ا نا

هدنا ا لك فل * عد بى ** ا صب به من اسا و رحمى

وسعت كل سى * فسا كتبها للد دس سقون وبوبو ن الر =

كوه والدس هم * داسا * بومون ∵ الدس دسعون الر سو=

ل الدسى * الامى الدى بحد وبه مكتو با عندهم فى ا=

لورنه * و الاىحل بامر هم بالمعا1روف *** وسههم

عن الدمسكر * وىحل لهم الطسس وبحرم عللهم ا=

لحست وبصع عنهم ا صر هم والاعلل الدسى كاب

عللهم فالدس ا منوا به * وعر روه * وبصر و ه * وا=

سعوا الدور الدى ا نزل معه اولسك هم المفلحون ∵

قل يايها الناس انى ر سول ا لله النكم حمسعا الدى

له ملك السموت و الار ص لا اله الا هو ىحى * و=

و دمس ** قا منوا بـالله و ر سولـه النبى الامى الدى

دو من بالله و كلمته واسعوه لـعلـكـم بهد ون · ومن

قوم موسى امه بهدون بـالحـق و بـه بـعد لـون · و =

قطعسهم ادنسى عسره اسسط ** امما واوحسا الدى

موسى ا د استسقـه * قومه ان اصرب بـعـصـاك ا=

لحجـر * قا نبحست مـه اىتا * عـسـره عسا قد علـم كل

ان ناس مستربهم وطلـلـنا علبهم الـعـمـم وابرلنا *

علـيهم الـمـن والسـلوى كلـوا من طـسـت ما ررفـكـم *

161 ومـا طلمونـا ولكن كـانـوا انفسهم يـطلمون ۚ وا=

10 د فيـل لـهم اسكنوا هذه الـقريه وكلوا منهـا

حيث سـتم وفولوا حطه وادحلوا الباب *

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*

[Lacuna 162-164]

165 [Lacuna]

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166 كـانـوا ابـسـمـون · فلما عتوا عن ما نهوا عنه *

167 فلنا لـهـم كو نوا فرده حـسـيـن · واد تادن ر= *

بك لـبعثـن عـلـيهم الى يوم القيا مـه من بـسومهـم *

سـو العدب ان ربـك لـسـرع العقاب وا به *

168 لـعـفور رحيم ۚوقـطـعنـهم فى الارص امما 5 *

منهم الـصا لـحون ومنهم دو ن د لك وبلوبهـم *

169 بالحـسـنـات والـسيات لـعلهم يرحعون · فحلف من *

بعدهم حـلـف ورنـوا الـكتـب يـا حدون عرص *

هذ اا لادنى ويفولون سيعفر لنا وان بـا تـهـم عرص *

10 [Lacuna]

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[Lacuna 171-206]

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[Lacuna 1-17]

[Lacuna] 18

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19 اولک ان نکوبوا من المهـــــدس ٠٠ ا حعـلم سفـــه ٠ ا=

لحاح ٠ { وعمر / وعمره } ٠٠٠ المــســـحد الحـــرم کمں ا مـں با لـلـه و الـىوم

الاحر وحهــد فى ســـى ـل الله لا ىسوں عىد ا لـله و الله

20 لا ىهدى الفوم الطلمں ٠٠ الد ـىں ا مىوا وهــحر وا ٠ وحهدو =

5 اـفـى ســبل الله باـمـو لهم وانـفسـهـم ا عطم درحه عــد

21 الله و اولـــک هم الفـــسرون ٠٠٠ ٠٠ ـىـبـــسرهرمـ ربهـــم ىر حـــمه مه

22 و ر صـــوں و حاں ٠ لـهـــم فىها نعىم مقىم ٠ حـلـدىں فـىها ا ىـد =

23 ا اان الله عنده احـر عطم ۞ ٮاٯها الـد ـٮ امىوا لا ٮحد وا

ادٮا كـم و احوٮكم اولٮا ان اسـٮـحـٮوا الـكـٯر على الاٮمں و مں

24 سـو لـهم مـٮـٮكم ڡاوٮك هم الكلـٮمون ۰ ٯل اں كاں اٮا=

وكم واٮـٮا وكم و احوٮـكم و ا روحكم وعسىركم

وامو ل ا ٯرٯموها وٮحرہ ٮحسوں كسادها ومسكں ٮر =

صوٮـٮا احٮ الـٮكـٮم مں الله ورسوله وحـهد ڡـى

سـٮـٮـٮله ڡـٮر ٮصو ا حٮى ٮاٮى اللـه ٮامرہ والله لا ٮهـدى ا =

25 لٯوم الٯسٯں ۞ لـٯد ٮصركم الـلـه ڡى موطں كـٮـٮـرہ و=

ٮـوم حسں ا د ا عحـٮـٮكم كـٮـر ٮكم ڡـلـم ٮـعـں عـٮـٮـكم سا وصا=

ڡٮ علـٮـٮكـٮم الا ر ص ٮما رحٮٮ ٮم ولٮـم مد ٮربٮں ۞

26 ٮم ارل الله سـٮكـٮٮٮه على ر سـولـه و على المو مـٮں و ا=

ٮرل حـٮـو دا لم ٮـروها و عـدٮ الـد ٮ كـٯر و ا ود=

27 لك حـٮر ا الكـٯـرٮں ۞ ٮم ٮـٮوٮ الله مـں ٮعد د لـك

28 على مں ٮـٮٮا والله عٯور ر حٮم ۞ ٮادـهـا الد ـٮں امىوا

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ا ٮـٮمـٮا المسركوں ٮـحٮ ٯلا ٮٯربوا الـمسـٮحد الحـر م ٮـعـد

عـامـهـٮم هدا و اں حـٯـٮـٮم عـٮلـه ڡسـو ٯ ٮعٮـٮكـٮم الله

29 مں ٯـصله اں سـٮا اں الله عـٮلٮم حكـٮـم ۞ ٯٮلوا الدٮں

لا ٮـو مـٮوں بالله و لا ٮالٮوم الاحر ولا ٮحـٮرمون ما

حٮرم الله و ر سوله و لا ٮد ٮـٮوں د ٮں الـحـٯ مں الدٮں

ا و ٮوا الـكـٮٮ حٮى ٮـعـطـو ا الـحـٮر ٮـه عـٮ ٮد وهم

30 صـٮعـٮروں ۞ وٯالٮ الـٮـهود عرٮر اں الله وٯا=

لٮ النـٮصرى الـٮـٮسـٮح اٮں الله دلك ٯـولـهـٮم

ٮا ٯـو ههم ٮصٮٮهوں ٯـول الد ٮـں كٯـٮروا مں ٯـٮـل

31 فـلـهم الـلـه اى ـو فكـون ٠ انحدو ا احبر هـم ور = 10

هسهم ا ربادـا مـں دون اللـه والمسـح ابـں مرم و ما

امروا الا لـعـدوا الها واحدا لا اله الا هو سحـه

32 عما ـسـركون ٠: ـريدون اں ـطفوا بو ر ا للـه با قـو=

ههم وبادـى الله الا اں ـيـم بور ه ولو كـره الكـمـرون ٠:

33 {3-4 / هو 3-4} ا ر سـل رسـوله بالهـد ى ودس الـحـق لـطهره 15

34 على الدس كـله ولـو كـره المـسـركون ٠: نابها ا=

لدس امـوا اں كـيـرا مـں الا حبر و الـر هس لـياكلوا

امـو ل الـيـاس بـالطل ويـصدو ں عـں سـيـل الله و ا=

لدس بـكـيـرون الدهـب والفصـه ولا سفـو بها

35 فى سـل الله فـسـر هـم بعد اب الـيـم بوم بحمى 20

علـها فى بار حهـم فـكوى بها حـبـهـهـم وحو=

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ـهـم وطهورهـم هدا ما كـرىـم لاـفـسـكم فدوفوا ما

كـيـم بكـرون ٠ اں عـد ه الـسـهـور عد الـلـه ا بـا عسر سهرا فى

36 كـب الله بوم حلق الـسـموب والا ر ص مها اربعـه حرم

د لك الـد س الفـم فلا بطلموا فهں اـفـسـكم وفلوا المسركس

37 كافه كـمـا بقـلوبكم كافه و ا عـلموا اں الله مع المـمس ٠: اـما ا= 5

لـنـسـى ريـد ه فى الكفـر بصل به الـذ س كفر و ا بحـلوبه عـاما و بح

رـمونه عا=

ما لـسوطوا عد ه ما حـر م الله فـيحـلوا ما حـر م الله رس لـهـم سوا اعملهم

38 و الله لا بهدى القوم الـكـفـر س ٠: نادـهـا الدس امـو ا ما لـكـم ادا فل لكم

امروا فى سـبل الله اـفـلـيـم الى الارص ا رصـيتـم بالحـبوه الـد نـبا مں ا=

39 لاحـره * فما متاع الـحـيوه الد نيـا فى الا خره الا قلل ∴ * الا تنفروا يعدنكم 10

عذابا اليما ويستبد ل قوما غيركم ولا تضروه شيـا و الله على كل

40 [Lacuna] [Lacuna]

ا ثنيـن ا د هما فى الـغار اد يـقول لصـحبه لا تحزن ان الله معنا فانزل الله

سكـيـنـه علنه وايـده بحـنود لم تروها و جعـل كـلمـه الدس كفروا ا =

41 لسفلى و كـلمه اللـه هـى العلا و الله عـزيـز حكـم ٠ انـفـروا حفـفـا 15

و نقلا * وجـهـد وا بامولكم وافـسـكم فى سبل الـلـه دلكم حر لـكم

42 ان كـنـم تعلمون ∴ * لـو كـان عرصـا قـريـبا وسفـرا قـاصدا الاسـعـوك

ولكن يعدت علهم الشـقـه و سـنحلـفون بالله لـو استـطعـنـا

لحرحنا معكم بهلكـون انفـسـهـم و الله يعلـم انهم لكـذ بون ∴

43 عـفا الله عنك لم * ا ذنت لهم حـنى نـبـيـن لك الـذيـن صد فـو = 20

44 ا وبعلم * الـكـد س * ∴ لا نـستـدنـك الـد نـى بو منو ن بـالـلـه واليوم

الا خر ان نـحـهـدوا با مـولهم وانـفـسـهـم و الله عـلـم بالـمـتقيں ٠

45 انما سـنـد نك الـد ں لا يـومنوں بالله والـيـو م الاحـر و ا رسـ *

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46 فلو نـهم فهـم فـى رنـبـهم سردد وں ∴ ولو ا راد وا الـحـر وح لاعـد=

وا له عده ولكن كره الله انعـنـهم فـبـطـهم و فـسل افعدوا

47 مع الفعدس ٠ لـو حرحوا فكم ما رادكـم ** الا خـبلا * ولا و صعو=

احـلـلـكـه * سعود كـم الفسه و فكـم * سـمعوں لهـم والله علم با=

48 لطلمس ∴ * لفـد ا سعوا الفسه من فـل وفلبوا لك الامو رحى حا ا لـحق 5

وطهر ا مر الله وهم كرهوں ∴ * ومـنـهم من نقول ادن الى ** ولا نفسى

50 الا فى الفسه سفطـوا اوان حـهـنـم لمـحـطه بالكفريـں ∴ اں نصبك حسـنه

سوهم وان نصبك مصـيـبـه يـقـولوا فد احدنا امـر نا مں فـل

51 وسولوا وهـم فـرحـوں ∴ فل لـں نصـيـنـا الا ما كنب الله لـنـا

هو مو لنا * وعلى الله فلسوكل المو مـنون ⁖ فل هل ر بصو =   52   10

ن ـنا الا احـدى ا لحـسنـس ونحن نردـص نكم ان نصـسـكم الله

متر = [Lacuna]

نصـون ⁖ ** فل انفـعوا طـوعا او كرها لن سفـل مـسـكم انكم   53

كسم قو ما فسـفس ⁖ * و ما * معهم ا ن نفل منهـم ـنفقـهم الا   54

ان ـهـم كـفـر و ا ن ـا لله ورسوله و لا يـابون الصلو ه الا   15

وهم كـسـلى * و لا سفقـون الا وهم كرهـون ⁖ * فلا تعجـسك امو=   55

لـهـم و لا ا و لدهم انمـا يريـد الله لـيـعـد بهم بها فى الـحو=

ه الدسا و يـز هو ا نفسـهـم و هـم كـفرون ⁖ * ويحلفـون بالله انـهـم   56

لمـسكم و مـا هـم مـسكـم و لكـسـهم قوم سفرقـون ⁖ * لـو يحـدون   57

ملحا او مغرب او مدحلا لولوا الـيـه وهـم يحمحون ⁖ * و=   58   20

مـنـهم من بلـمـرك فى ا لـصـدقـت فان اعطوا مـسـها رضـو =

ا وان لم ىعطوا مـنـها اذا اهـم سحطـون ⁘ ولـو ابهم رصـو=   59
ا ما اسهم * الله ورسـولـه و ف ـلـوا * حسـبنـا الله سـوثنا **

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الله من فضله ور سـوله ا نـا الى الله الـه ر عـون ⁖ * ا نـما ا=   60
لصد ق ـت لـلـفقـر ا والمـسكـن والعملس عـلـيـها و ا لـمو لـفـه

فلو ن ـهم و فـى الـر قاب والغر مـن و فى سبـل الله واس

السبل فرىصه من الله والله عـلـيم حكـيـم ⁖ * و مـنـهم   61

الدس * بودون السى و ىقولون هو اد ن فل ا د ن حر لكم بوس   5

بالله ويوس * لـلمومس * و ر حـمـه للـد ن امو ا منكم والدس

بـو د ون { ر سول 1/ ر سول } ** الله لـهم عدب * الم ⁖ * بحلفون بالله   62

لكم لـىـر صوكم والله * ورسوله احق ان برصو ه ان

كانوا * مـو مـسـن ⁖ * الم ىعلموا ا نـه من بحـدد ** الله ور سـوله   63

64 فـان له نا رحهم حـلـد ا فـيـها دلک الحـرى العطم · يحـد =

ر المففون ان سرل علىهم سـوره يـيـسهم نما فى فلوبهـم فـل

65 استهزىوا ان اللـه محرح ما يحـدرون · ولـدى سـالـتهم ليقو =

ل انما كـنا يحوص وبلـعـب فل اىالله وا يـه ور سـوله

66 كىم ـىسهـرون ·.· لا ىعـدر وا فد كـفرىـم ـىعـد اىسـكـم ان

ـعف عـى طاىفه مـىكم ىعدب طاـفه ىاىهم كـاىوا

67 محرمس ·.· المـىـففون والمـففـ ـىـعـصـهم مں ىعص ىا مـرو ں

ىالمكر وىـىـهوں عں المـعـر وف وىفـصوں اىدبهم ـىسـو=

68 ا الله ڡسـهم اں المـىـففں هم الفـىـىفون ·.· وعـد اللـه ا=

لمـىـفس و المـففـ والكفا ر ىـار حهم حـلـد س فىها هى

69 حسهـىم ولعىهم الله و لـهم عـدب مفىم ·.· كالـد س

مں فـىـلكم كاىوا اسـد مىكم فـوه واكثر امولا واو=

لـدا فاسمعـوا ىحلفهم فاسمعىم ىحلـڡـكم كمـا ا ستمتع

الدس مں فـلـكـم ىحـلفهم وحـصـىم كالـدى { حاصو / حاصوا } ** او=

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لكں * حـىـطـ اعملـهـم فى الدىا والاحره وا=

70 و لكں * هم الحسـىـرون ·.· الم ىابهم ىا الدں مں فلهم فوم

ىـو ح وعاد وىمود و فـوم اىرهم واصحـ مد ـىں وا=

لموىفک * اىـىـهم ر سـىهم ىالسـ فما كان الله لـطلمهم

5 ولكں كاىوا اىـىـسـهم ىطلمون ·.· والمومىون والمو مـىـ

ىعصـهم ا و لـىا ىعص ىامرون ىالمعروف وىهوں عں المـىـكر

و ىفـىـمون الصلـوه * و يـو ـىون الركوه وىطـىـعـوں الله و=

رسـوله اولىک سـىرحمهم اللـه اں الله عـىـىر حكىم

72 ·.· وعـد الله المومـىـىـں والمومـ حـىـاـ ** ىحرى مں

بـحـهـا ا لابهر حلدں * فـهـا و مـسـکں طـسه فى حماں

عد ں ورصوں من الله اکبر دلک هو الفور ا=

73 لعطم · ٮا ٮها الٮٮى حـهـد الکفار والـٮمفقـٮں واعلط

74 علٮهم وماوٮهم * حهٮم وٮس المصٮر ∵ ٮحلفوں ٮا=

لله ما فالوا ولفد فالـو ا کلمه الکفر و کـفـر=

وا ٮـعـد اسلمهم وهـمـوا ٮمـا لم { سلوا / سالوا } *** وما ٮـفمـو ا

الا اں اعـٮـٮهم * الـلـه ور سو له مـں فـصله فـاں ٮـوٮوا

ٮک حـٮرا لهم واں سولـو ا ٮعد ٮـهم الـلـه عـدٮا ** ا=

لٮما فى الدٮا والا حر ه وما لـهـم فى ا لا رص مـں ولى

75 ولا ٮصـٮر · * ومٮهم مں عـهـد الله لٮں { ٮـٮـٮا / اٮـٮـٮا } ** مں فصله

76 لٮصـد فں ولکـوٮـں مں الـصلـحٮں · فلـما ا سـٮهـم * مـں فـصـله

77 ٮحلوا ٮـه و ٮولوا وهم معر صـوں · فا عـفبهم ٮفاٯ * فى

فلوٮـهـم الى ٮوم ٮلفوٮـه ٮما ا حـلـفوا اللـه ما و=

78 عدوه و ٮـما کا ٮـوا ٮکدٮوں ∵ * ا لم ٮعلموا اں الله

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[Lacuna 79-129]

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[Lacuna 1-16]

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سهد ٚ مه ومں فله كــٮ ٚ مـوسى امـما ٚٚ ٚ ور=

حــٮـه ا ولٮك ٮـو مــوں به و مں ٮـكـڡر ٮـه مں الا =

حرٮ ٚ ڡالنار موعد ه ڡـلا ٮـك ڡـى مـر به ٚ منه

ا ٮه الحو مں ربك ولكں ا كـــٮـر الٮـا ٮں لا ٮـو مـوں ٠ٜ

و مــں اطلم مـــمں اڡــٮرى على اللـه كـدٮا اولٮك   18

ٮعرصوں عــلى رٮهم وٮڡول الاسهد هـٚولا الد=

ٮ كــد ٮوا على رٮهم الا لـعـٮه الـلـه عـلى ا=

لطلمں ٠ٜ ٚ الدٮں ٮصــد وں عں ســٮل اللـه ٚ وٮعـو=   19

5

بها عو حـا وهم بالاحـرة هم كـفرون ٠ اولك | 20

لم يكونوا مـعـجرس فى الارص ومـا كا ن لهم مـن

دون الله من اولـدا نصـعـف لـهم الـعد ا ب

ما كا نوا يستطيعون الـسمع وما كانو ا يـبـصر و ن ٠

اولك الـديـن حسروا انفسهم و صـل عنهم | 21

ما كانوا يفترون ٠ لا حر م انهم فى الاحره هم ا= | 22

لاحسرون ٠ ان الـديـن امـا وعـملـو ا الصلـحـب | 23

واحبـتوا الى ربـهـم ا و لـك اصحـب ا لحه

هم فـيها حـلد ون ٠ مثـل الفـريقين كـلا عمى و ا لا = | 24

صم و ا لـبـصـير و الـسميـع هـل يستويان مثـلا ا فلا

ندكـر و ن ٠ ولقـد ا ر سـلـنا نو حـا الى فـومـه ا نى | 25

لـكـم نذ يـر مبين ٠ ا ن لا تعبد و ا الا الـلـه ا نـى ا= | 26

حا ف عليكم عداب يـو م الـيم ٠ فقال | 27

الملا الـدين كفروا من فومه ما نر ىك الا

بـسرا مثـلـيـا و ما نر ىـك ا سعك الا الدس

هم اردلنا بادى الراى وما نـرى لكم

عليا من فصل بل نطنكم كدبى ٠. فل بـمو= | 28

م اريتم ان كـبـت على بـيـنـه من ربى وانابى رـ=

حمه من عنده فعمـب علـيـكـم انلرمكموها

وا نتـم لها كرهون ٠ وبقوم لا اسلكم | 29

عله ملا ان احـرى الا على الله وما انا بطـر= | 30

د الدـى امـيـوا انهم ملقوا ربهم ولكى اربكم

فوما بـحـبهلون ٠. وبقوم من بـصرنى من الله ان | 30

طردبهم افلا تدكرون ٭ ٭ ولا افول لكم   31

عندى حراس الله ولا اعلم الغب ولا

ا فول اى مـلك ولا افول للدـى تـر درى ا=

عـكـم لن يوتيهـم الله حـير ا الله ا علم بـما

فى انفسهـم اى { ا د / ا دا } لمن الظلمـى ٭ فـلـوا ٭ سوح   32

فد حدلـنا ٭ فاكـرت ٭ حدلـنا فاسا بما بعد=

با ٭ ان كنت ٭ من الـصدفى ٭ فل ٭ اما باسكم   33

به الله ان سا وما ا سـم ٭معحرس ٭ { فل ا 2-3 ـا / ولا سـفعـكم }   34

تصحى ان ارد ت ٭ ان انصح لـكـم ان

كاں الله ںرد ا ں ىعوىكم هو ربكم ٭ وا=

له برحـعـوں ٭ ام ٭ ـفـولون افـر ٮه فل اں افتر=   35

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اصـٮـع الفـلـك با عينـا و وحـينـا ولا ٮحطسى

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اسحوا ٗ لربهم الحسىى والدں لم سحـــــوا له لو اں

لـهـﮩم ما فى الارص حمعا ومـــله معه لاڡدوا به

اولٮک لهم سو الحساٮ ٗ وماوٮهم ٗ حهنم

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ا ﴿ ٗٗ الالٮٮ ﴿:﴾ الدٮں ٮوڡوں ٮعهد الله ولا   20

ٮٯصوں المٮٯ ﴿:﴾ والد ﮩـٮں ٮصلوں ما امر الله   21

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5

22 ن ٠: والدس صــــروا ابتغا وجه ربهم وا=
10 فموا الصلوه وابفقوا مما رزفـنـهم ســرا
وعلنه ويدرون بالحسنه السيه اولىک
23 لهم عفبى الدار ٠: جنات *** عدن يدحلوبها
ومن صلح من انابهم واروجهم ودر ـــــهم
24 والملكه يد جــلون علهم من كل باب ٠: سلم
15 علكم بما صـرتم فـنـعم عفـــبى الدار ٠: والد=
ب ـنـفصون عهـد الله من بعد مــــ ـقـه ويفطعون
ما ا مـر الله به ان يوصل ويفسدون فى الا=
رص اولىک لهم اللـعـــه ولهم سو الدار
26 والله بسط الرزق لمن يـــ ـا ويفدر وفـ ر =
20 حوا بالحيوه الد بـا وما الـحـــيو ه الدبا فى
27 الاحــر ه الا متع ٠: وبفول الدس كفروا لولا ارل

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28 الـه من اناب ٠: الدس امنوا وتطـمــن فلوبهم
بدكر الله الا بدكر الله تطمس ** الفلوب ٠:
29 الدس امنوا وعملوا الصلحت طوبى لهم
30 وحسن ماب ٠: كدلک ارسلنک فى امه
5 فد حلت من فلها امم لتلوا علهم الدى او=
حبا النک وهم بكفرون بالرحمن فل هو ر بى
لا الـه الا هو علنه بوكلت والنه ماب ٠:
31 ولو ان فرنا سرت به الحبل او فـطعت به
10 الارص او كلم به الموتى بل لله الا مر حمعا

افلم سس * الدں امنوا اں لو سا الله لهدى

الناس حمعا * و لا برل * الدں كمروا بصـــهم

نما صنعوا و عـه ** او نحل و ـبا مں دارهم حىى

ناىى وعد اللـه اں الله لا نحلف المعد *** ··

٣٢   15   ولـهـد اسهرى ـرسل مں فلك فاملب لـلد=

ں كمروا ىم احدتهم فـكف كاں عماں ** ··

٣٣   امں هو فـ 2 ـم على كل نمس بـما كــست وحعلو=

ا لله ســركا فل سموهم ام ـــسونه نما لا ـعـلـم **

* فى الارص ام نطـهـر ** مں القـول ـل رں ** للدں

20   كهـر و ا مكرهم وصدوا عں الســل ومں نصلل

٣٤   اللـه فما لـه مں ها د ·· * لهـم عداب فى الحوه |F 9r

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٣٥   مـں واق · مل الحمه الى وعـد المسوں تحرى مں ـحـتهـا *

الا نـهـر ا كـلها د ا ىم وطلها * نلك عمى الد ـں ا=

٣٦   تـقـو ا و عمـى ا لـكمرس ا لـار · والدں اسهم الكـب

5   ـقـر حوں ـمـا انز ل ا لـك و مں الا حـرب ** مں سكر

ـعضـه فـل ا نمـا ا مـر ت اں اعد اللـه ولا اسر=

٣٧   ك * به ا لـه ا د عـوا * والـــه مـاب · وكـد لك

ا ـز لـه حكـمـا عربـا و لـس اـبع اهواهم ـعـد=

مـا * حـاك مـں العلم * ما لك مں الله مں ولى ولا

10   ٣٨   واق · ولـهـد ارسلنا رسلا مں فلك وحعلنا

لهم اروحـا ودربه وما كاں لرسول اں ناىى ىا=

٣٩   ىه الا ىادں الله لكل احل كـب * ىمحوا * الله

٤٠   ما ـىـسا و ـــىـت و عـنـد ه ا م الكـب * واں ما * ـرـنـك

ىعص الـدى ىـعـدهم ا و سوفـنـك فـانـمـا عـلـك

٤١   15   اللـع * وعلـىـا الحساب ·· * ا و لـم ـرو ا انا ناىى ا=

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٤٢   مـعـقـب لحـكـمه و هـو سرىع الحساب · وقد مكر

43 ا لـد س من فـــلهم فلله المكـر حـمـعا يعلم * مـا تكسـب

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20 الـددس كـفـروا لست مر ســلا قل كـمى بالله

شـهــدا سى و سكـم ومن عنـده علم ** الـكـس

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*

1 سم الله الرحـمـس الر حم الر كتاب ا برلـنه ا =
لـک لـحرح الـا س مں الطـلمت الـى الـنـور

2 نادں ردـهـم الى صرط الـعـز بز الحـمـد ٠٠ اللـه ٭ ا =
لدى له ما فى الـسـمـوٮ ومـا فـى الا رص و و بل

3 للكفر دـں مں عـذا ب ٭ شـدـد ٠٠ الـذ ں دـسـسحـمـو=
ں الحوه الد سـا على الا خره ودـصـد و ں عـں

سـل الله و بغـوبها عوحـا ا ولـمـک فى صلل
4 بعد ٠٠ ٭ وما ارسلنا مں رـسـو ل ا لا بلسان قو مه
لـس لهم فصل الله مں دـسـا وبهـدى ٭ مں دـسـا و=

5 هـو الـعـرٮر الـحـكـم ٠٠ ولقد ا رـسـلـٮـا مو سى ٮا=
دـسـٮـا ٭٭ ان ا خرح قـو مك مـس الـظـلمـٮ الى

الور وذكرهـم دـا مٮ ٭ اللـه ا ں فـى ذ لـک لاٮ
6 لـكـل صـبار شكور ٠٠ ٭٭٭ و ا د قل مـو سى لقو مـه ا=
دكـر و ا نعمه الله عـلمكم اذ ا حـکم مں ال

</div>

<div style="text-align:center">5</div>

<div style="text-align:center">10</div>

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23 نالاحره فلونهم * مــكر ه وهم مسكرون ∴ لا

24 حرم ان الله يعلم ما سرون * وما تعلنون *** انه لا

نحب المـــــكرس ∴ * وادا فل لهم مادا انر=

25 ل * ربكم فلوا * ** اسطــــر * الاولس ∴ * لحملوا او=

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ررهم * كمله * نوم القسمه * ومن اورر * الدس

26 يصلـــو بهم نعـــر عـلم الا ســا ما نررون ∴ فد

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عد فحر علنهم الـــــعف من فوفهم واتنهم ا =

27 لعدا ب * مـن حـــــ لا يشعرون ∴ ثم نوم القسمه

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28 م والسو عـلى الكفرس ∴ الدس سو فــهم ا=

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29 نعــمــلون ∴ فادحلوا ابوب حهنم حلدس

30 فـهـا فلس مـــوى المكــــر نـس ∴ وفل * للد نـس ا=

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ڧبلهم وما طلمهم الله ولكں كا نوا افسهم

ىطلموں ٭ فاصبهم ٭ سـ ـ ـت ٭٭ ما عملوا وحا 1-2 ٭٭ بهم 34

ما كـ ـانوا ىه سـ ـتـ ـهـ ـروں ٭ وڧل ٭ الدں اسـ ـر كوا 35

لو سا الله ما عدبنا مں د و نـ ه مـ ں سى ـ ـحں و لا

ا بونـ ـا و لا حرمنا مـ ں دونه مـ ں سـ ى كذلک فعل ٭٭

الـ ـدں مں ڧلهم فهل عـ ـلى الرسل الا البلغ ٭ ا=

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ں ٭ و افسموا باللـ ه ڃهد اىمسهـ ـم لا ىـ ـ ـعـ ـ ـ 38

الله مں ىمـ ـو ٮ بلـ ـى وعـ ـد ا علـ ـه حڧا ولكں

اكر النا س لا ىعلموں ٭ لىس لهـ ـم الـ د ى ىـ ـحتلفوں 39

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---

89 ويوم نبعث فى كل امة شهيدا عليهم من ا =

نفسهم وجما بك شهدا على هولا ونزلنا

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90 ورحمه وبشرى للمسلمـين ٭ ان اللـه با مر بـالعد =

5 ل والاحـسـن و ايـتـا ٭ دى القربى و بـهى عـن ا =

لفحسا والـمـنكر والبغى بـعـظكم لعلكـم تد =

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10 ما تفعلون ٠ ٭ ولا تكونوا كالتى نـقـصت

عـزلها من بعد قوه انكتا ٭٭ سحدون اىمنكم

دحلا ستكم ان تكـو ن امه هى ار بـا ٭٭ من ا =

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93 الـقـىـمه ما كنتم فىه تحتلفون ٭ ولو سا ا =

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95 عداب عطىم ٭ ولا تستروا بـعهـد الله

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97 باحـسـن مـا كا نوا يـعـمـلون ::. من عمل صلـحـا مـن ذ=

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98 سـهم ۚ احرهم بـا حـسـن الـ 2 ۚ كا نـوا يعملون ::. فاد=

5 اۚ فرات القران فا سعد بالله مـ اۚ=

99 لـسـطن ۚ الرحـيـم ::. انـه لس له سلطن على الدۚ=

100 سـ ا مـنـوا وعلـى رـبهم سـوكلون ::. انما

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101 به مسـركـون ::. و ا دا بد لـنا ابه مـكان ايه

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102 مفتر بل ۚ اكثرهم لا يعلـمون ::. قل نزله رو=

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103 سـ ا منوا و هـدى وسـرى للـمـسلـميـس ::. ولقد

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105 انما يفـتـرى الـكذب الدس لا يومنون ::.

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20 106 مـ كـفـر بـالله مـ بعد ا يمـنـه الا مـ اكره

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5 109 لـک هـم الـعـفلون ∴ ** لا حـرم ا هم فـى الا حـر ه

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10 112 و هم لا ىـطلـمـوں ∴ وصرت اللـه متـلا * فريه *
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15 114 ىو ه فاحد هم العداب و هم طلمو ں ∴ فـكـلو=
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20 116 عاد فاں اللـه عـفـو ر ر حـىم ∴ و لا ىـفـولوا لما
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5   للدٮں عملوا السو ٮحهله ٮم ٮابوا مں بعد د=

لک واصلحوا ٭ ان ربک من ٮعدها لعفور

120   رحٮم ∵ ان اٮر هم ٭ کان امه فٮا ٭ لله حٮٯا

121   ولم ٮک من المسرکٮں ∵ سـکرا ٭ لانعمه ا=

122   حــٮـٮه وهدٮه الى صرط ٭ مستفٮم ∵ واٮسه

10   فى الـدٮـٮـا حسنه وا نـه فى الاحره لمں الصلحٮں ∵

123   ثم اوحٮٮـا الٮک ان اٮع مله اٮر هم ٭ حنٮٯا

124   و ما کا ن من المسرکٮں ∵ ا نـمـا جعـل الـسبت

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سهم ٮوم الٯٮمه ٯٮما کانوا ٯٮـه ٮحلٮـٯـوں ∵

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      *

1   بسم الله الرحمں الرحم   * * * : * * سح الدى ا س‍رى

بعده لىلا مں المسحد الحرم * الى المسحد ا=

لاٯصا * الدى ٮ‍رك‍ـ‍ـٮا * حوله لٮره مں انٮ‍ـ‍ـٮا انه

2   هو السمع البصر * : واسنا موسى الكتٮ

5   وحعلنه هدى لٮسى اسرٮل الا ٮٮحدوا م‍ـں دونى

3   وك‍ـ‍ـٮلا * : درٮه مں حملىا مع نوح ا ٮه كاں ع‍ٮد =

4   ا ش‍ـكورا * : وٯ‍ـصٮ‍ـ‍ـٮا الى ٮى اسرٮل ٯى الكٮ‍ـٮ

ل‍ـٮٯس‍ـدں ٯ‍ـى الا ر ص مرتٮں ول‍ـٮ‍ـعلں ع‍ـل‍ـو ا كبر=

5   ا * : ٯ‍ـٮاد ا حا وعد ا ولاهما بعثنا علٮكم

10   عبادا لنا اولى باس شدٮد فجاسوا خلال الد

6   ٮار و كا ں وع‍ـٮدا مڡعو لا * : ثم رددنا لكم ا =

لكره ع‍ـلٮ‍ـهم وامد د نكم ٮامول و س و =

7   حعلنكم اكثر * ٮٯرا * : اں احسٮ‍ـ‍ـٮم احسسم لا=

نفسكم و ان اسا دـم فلـهـا ۝ فادا حا وعد

الاحـره لسـٓوا وحوهكم ولد خـلوا اا=

لمـسـحد كما دحلوه اول مره ولـسـروا

ما عـلوا تـسبـرا ۝ عسى ربكم ان برحمكم

وا ن عد ىم عدنا وحـعـلـنـا ۝ حهىم للكمرس

حصرا ۝ ان هذا القـر ان بهدى للتى هى افو=

م وبشر المو منـىٓ ا لدىٰ بعملوں الصلحٮ

ان لهم احر ۝۝ كـــرا ۝ وان الدىٰ لا ىـومنـو ں با=

لاحره ا عدد نـا لـهم عذ ابا النما ۝ ودع

الا نسـىٓ بالـسر دعاه بالحير وكان الاسس

عـجولا ۝ و حـعلـنـا الل ۝ وا لنـهـر ۝۝ اٮس فمحونا

ا يـه ا لـيـل و حعلنا ۝ ا به النهـر ۝ مصره لسعوا

فـصلا ۝ من ربكم ولتعلموا عدد السـٮ وا=

لحـــا ب ۝ وكـل شـا ى ۝۝ فصلنـاه تـفصـيـلا ۝ وكل

ا ٮـسـن الرمـه طاٮره ۝ فى عنقه وبحـرح لـه ٮوم

ا لـقـيا مـه كـٮـا ٮلقـٮه مـسـور ا ۝ افرا كسٮک

كٮى بنـفـسک ا لـيوم عـلـيـک حـسيبـا ۝ مں ا هـتدى

فانما يهتدى لٮقـٮه ومن صل فـانما ٮصـل

عليها ولا ٮرر و ا ٮزره وزر ا احرى وما كنا

معدس حـٮى ٮـعٮ ر سولا ۝ وادا اردنا

ان ٮهلک قـر ٮه امرٮا مٮر فـٮـها ففسقـوا

فها فحـٮ علـٮـها القـو ل فدمـرنـهـا ۝ ٮد مرا ۝

وكم اهلكنا من القرون من بعد نوح

وكمى بـربك بذوب عبده ٔ حبـيرا ∴ ٔ

18 بصرا ∴ ٔ من كان ترد العـحـله ٔ عجلنا لـه فـيـها ٔ

ما سا لمن نريد ٔ ثم جعلنا له جهنم نصلـهـا ٔ

19 مدموما مدحورا ∴ ٔ و من اراد الاحره ٔ

20 و سـعى لها سعها وهو مومن فاولئك

ٔ

20 كان سـعـهم مـسـكورا ∴ ٔ كـلا بـمد هولا و =

هـو لا من عطا ربك وما كـا ن عـطا

21 ربك ٔ مـحـطـورا ∴ ٔ انظر كـف فضـلـنـا

بعصـهم علـى بـعض ٔ وللاحره ٔ اكـبـر درحـب ٔ

22 و ا كبر بـفصـيـلا ∴ ٔ لا تحعل مع الـله الها

23 احر فتقعد مـبـد مـو ما محد ولا ∴ ٔ وفـصـى ر =

بـك ٔ الا ٔ بعـبـدوا الا ا يه ٔ*** وبـا لـو لـد س ا حـسنـا

اما سلـغـن عـبـد ك الـكـبـر احد هـمـا ا و

كلهما ٔ فـلا بقل لهما اف ولا تنهرهما

24 و فل لهما فولا كر بما ∴ ٔ و احفـص لهما جنا =

ح ٔ الـذل من الـرحمة وقل رب ارحمهمـا

25 كما ربيا بى صـغيرا ∴ ٔ ربكم ا عـلـم بما في نفو =

سكم ان بـكـو نوا ٔ صالحين ٔ فـا نه كـا ن للا و سـن

26 عفورا ∴ ٔ وات دا الـعـربى حقـه والمسكس

27 و ا بس السـبـل ولا بدر ٔ بدرا ∴ ٔ ان المـبـد =

ربن كانوا احون السطں و كـا ن السـبـطں

28 لربه كفورا ∴ ٔ واما تـعـر ص عـبـهـم ابـتـعا ر=

حمه ربک تـرحوها فقل لهم قولا مـسـورا ۝

29 ولا نجـعـل ندک معلـو له الى عـنـقـک ولا

20 تـبـسـطها كل الـبـسـط فتـقـعـد ملوما محسـورا =

30 ا ۝ ان ربک سـسـط الررق لمں يسا وبقـد ر

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31 انه كـا ن بعده خبيرا بصيرا ۝ ولا تقـتـلوا

اولدكم حسـيه املق نحـں نر رقهم و انكـم

32 ان قـتـلهم كان حطا كبيرا ولا تقربوا الر=

33 ى ا نـه كـا ن قـحـسه وسا سـسـبـلا ۝ ولا تقتلوا

5 الـنفس التى حـرم ا لله الا بالحق و مں قتل

مـظلـومـا فقد حـعـلـنـا لـو لـيه سـلـطـنـا فلا بـسر =

34 ف فى الـقـتـل انه كان مـنصـورا ۝ ولا تقـر =

بوا مل الـبـتـيـم الا بالى هى احـسـں حـتى بـلـع ا

شده واوفوا بالعهد ان الـعهـد كـان

10 مسولا ۝ وا وفوا الكيـل ا ذ ا كلتم وزنوا

بالقسطاس المستقيم دلک حـبـر وا حسن

36 تاويلا ۝ ولا تقف ما لـبـس لک به عـلم ا =

ن الـسـمـع وا لبصر والفواد كـل اولک

37 كان عنه مسو لا ۝ ولا تمش فى الا رض مـرحا

15 انک لـں تخرق الا رض ولں تبلع ا لجبل

38 طولا ۝ كل دلک كـا ن سـيه عـد ر=

39 نک مـکـروها ۝ د لک مـما اوحى ا=

لک ربک من الحكمه ولا تحعل مـع الله

الها ا خر فـتلقى فى حهنـم مـلوما مـدحور

ا ∴ افاصفكم ر ب ك م بالـبـــں واتحد 40

مں الملـىكه انا انكم لـتـقولوں قولا

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عطما ∴ ولقد صرفــا فى هدا القراں لتد= 41

كـروا ** وما يـريد هم * ا لا يـقـورا ∴ قل لو 42

كاں مـعـه الهـه كما يقولوں ا د ا لابعوا

الى دى العرس سلا ∴ سـبحـه و تـعالى عما 43

يقولوں عـلوا كـبـيرا ∴ تسـبح لـه السمـو= 44

ب السبع والا رص ومں فيهں و اں مں

ساى الا سـبح بحمده ولـكں لا نفـقـهـوں

سسـبحهم انه كاں حلـــما عفو ر ا ∴ واد= 45

ا قرات القراں حعلنا بك و س الد=

س لا يـو مـو ں بالاحره حجا بـا متـ2-3 را ∴ وحـعـلنا 46

على قلـوبهم ا كنه ا ں يفقهوه وفى اذانهم

وقر ا وادا ذ كر ت ربك فى القرا ں

وحده ولوا عـلـى ادبارهـم نفو ر ا ∴ نـحـں 47

اعلـم بـمـا يستمعوں به ا ذ يـسـتـمعوں الـيك

وا د بهم نـحـوى ا د يقـول الطـلـمو ں اں نتبـعـوں 48

الا رحلا مسـحـورا ∴ انطر كـف صر بوا

لك الامل فصلوا فلا يستـطـيـعوں سلا ∴

وقلوا ادا كـبا عطما و ر قـــا انا لـمـبعو= 49

بوں حلفا حد يـدا ∴ قل كـونوا حـحـره او حد= 50

يـدا ∴ او حلفا مـما بكـر فى صـد وركم 51

فسـيـقـولوں مں بعـيـدنا قل الذى فطركم

*

اول مره فـ سنغـ صو ن الــک روسـهم وبمو=

52   لـون متـى هـوفـل عـسـى ان ـد کـو ن فرسا ۰۰   بوم بد=

عو کم فتستحسـون بحـمده وبطـو ن ان لـشـم الا

53   فلـــلا ۰۰   وقـل لـعـادی ـقولو التی هی احـسـن ان

5   الـشـط نزع سـنهم ان الـشـطـی کـا ن للا نسـی

54   عد وا مبنـا ۰۰   ربکـم اعلم بکـم ا ن ـشـا بر=

حـمکم او ان نشـا ـعذبکم وما ارسلنا ک

54   عـلـ یهم وکلا ۰۰   و ربـک اعلـم بـمن فی الـسـمو=

ت والار ص و لـعـد فضـلنا بعـص الـنبسن

10   علی بعض واتنا داوود زبورا ۰۰   قل

ادعوا الذن زعمتم من دونه فلا بملکو ن

57   کشف الضر عنکم ولا تحـوـلا ۰۰   اولـک

الـدس ـد عو ن سـعو ن الی ربهم الو سـله ا=

بهم ا فـرب و ـد رجـو ن رحمته و بحمون   عذ =

15   اه ان عداب ر بـک کا ن محـدو ر�

58   و ا ن من فرنه الا بحن مـهـلـکوها قبـل بو م ا=

لقامه ا و مـعـد بو هـا عـذابا شد بد ا کا=

59   ن ذ لـک فـی الکتاب مسـطـورا ۰۰   وما

مـعـنا ان نـر سـل بالا بات الا ا ن کدت

20   بهـا الاو لـو ن و ا تنا تـمـو د   الناقه مبـص ـره

فـظلمـو ا بها وما نر سـل بالا بات الا

تحـو بها ۛ واد فلـمـا لك ا ن ر بـک ا حـط با= **60**

لـمـا س وما جعلنا الـر با الی اربـک الا

فـسـه لـلـمـا س و السحره الملعـو نـه فی الـقـرا ن

و بحو فهـم فمـا ر بـدهم الا طـعـا کبرا ۛ و= **61**

اد فلنـا لـلـمـلـمکه اسـجد و الا دم فسجد وا

الا ا بـلـیـس قل ا سـجد لـمـن حلـقـت طـیـنـا قل ار= **63**

بـک هـدا الـذی کر مـ علی لن ا خرتن الی

بـو م الفـیامه لا حـسـک د رنته الا فـللا ۛ قال ا **63**

د هـب فمـن تبعـک منهم فـا ن جهنم جزاوکم

جزا موفورا ۛ واستفزز من استطعت منهم **64**

بصوتک واجلب علهم بخلک ورجلک

و شـر کـهم فی الاموال والاولاد وعدهم

وما بعـد هـم الـشطن الا غرو را ۛ ان عـباد ی **65**

لس لک عـلهـم سلط و کمی بربک وکلا ۛ

ربـکـم الدی برجی لکم الفلک فی الـبـحر **66**

لتـبـتعوا من فصله انه کـا ن بکم رحـیـمـا ۛ وا = **67**

دا مـسـکم الـضر فی الـبحر صل مـن بد عو ن ا=

لا ا به فلـمـا نجاکـم الی البر اعرضتم و کان

الا نسـس کفـورا ۛ افـامنتم ان بحـسف بکم حـنـب **68**

الـبرا و برسل عـلـکم حاصبـا ثم لا تجدو الکم

و کـلا ۛ ام امنتم ان بعدکم فـه ـاره اخری **69**

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