TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

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THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: VI. EMERGENCE OF THE CANON: THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIFORMITY*

In previous papers in this series we have attempted to show that the Qur'ān, born in inner Arabia, was not only the natural result of the religious and social development of Arabian society, but also reflected the deep-laid links which tied the culture and religious and social ideas of the Arabians to the culture and historical experience of the peoples of Anterior Asia.

It was, after all, only superficially that Arabia was part of the "barbaric periphery" of the civilised world. Over a period of centuries, it was not only surrounded by highly developed states, but formed a part of them to a certain degree. One can recall in this regard Nabatea, Hatra, Palmyra, the states of ancient Southern Arabia, the chain of semi-nomadic kingdoms which stretched along the caravan route from Yemen to Iraq (Kinda, al-Azd, Ghassān, Nizār and Ma'add, Tanūkh), the Ḥimyarite state and the "new" Kindian kingdom, the attempt in the 560—570s to create a new Bedouin Hath'amite or Khuzā'ite kingdom, dependent on Ṣan'ā', "in the manner of Kinda" [1], the vassal principalities of the Ghassanids and Lakhmids. The latter, as we know, moved actively toward the South. In the sixth century, somewhere in the Ḥulubān region lay the border between the Lakhmid and Southern Arabian zones of influence. Finally, in the sixth and early seventh centuries, Southern Arabia was administered at first by an Ethiopian and latter by a Persian governor. Central Arabia then covered by savannah plant growth, over a period of nearly two millennia ensured trade connections between the most developed countries of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Commercial colonies were created and thrived in the ports of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. One should not forget that in the Northeast, linguistically and culturally Arab tribes inhabited the area between the rivers in Mesopotamia, penetrated to the plains of Khūzistān, and in the Northwest roamed the plains of Syria and the Transjordan. It is no accident that Ptolemy, following the ancient scholarly tradition, included in Arabia Felix all of Central Arabia and a part of Northern Arabia.

This Arabians' historical memory preserved legends about the "ancient peoples", tracing lines of cultural continuity. Social practice and ideas of power were rooted in a layer of historical experience common to many peoples of Anterior Asia. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the content structure of the Qur'ān coincides in its basic outlines with the structure of Phoenician sacred literature and Old Testament. We see, on the whole, records of myths, historical narratives, and prophetic texts.

The Arabian "prophetic movement" was a natural stage in a pattern of social and ideological development typical of the Near East. One can easily find Old Testament parallels (for example, Psalms 15 [14]; Amos 8, 5—6; Parables 23:10—11) for certain accusations of those who "trangress in the balance" (55:8), "devour usuary" (2:275) or "approach the property of the orphan" (6:152) typical of Qur'ānic utterances.

Over thousands of years, the belief took shape in the Syrian-Palestinian region that all work for the ruler, all activity for his benefit, including service at court or as a high-ranking military leader, was unacceptable from the point of view of society's basic values. All work for the ruler was viewed as slavery (see Judges 9:8—5, 1 Sam [1 Kings] 8:11—18). In accordance with beliefs based on clan-tribal democracy (recorded, as we have seen, in the Qur'ān), only the most worthless and useless person could hunger for ruling power and strive to oppress and trample others beneath him [2].

I. Sh. Shifman has shown how the Qur'ānic mythologem of Allah, which summed up the extended preceding development not only of Arabian but also of Anterior Asian Semitic mythology, was rooted in deep Near Eastern antiquity [3]. Such basic Qur'ānic mythologems as *garden—paradise—dwelling of God* had clear parallels in the ancient Near East ("And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden" (Genesis 2:8), in the gardens of Adonis of Phoenicia, in the veneration of local gods in the gardens of Palmyra).

* Tables for the current article were prepared by Maria E. Rezvan.

As we have seen, many of the concepts connected with the *hājj* go back to the most ancient layers of Semitic mythology. We recall the basis for the Israelites' demand to be released from Egypt — the necessity of performing a pilgrimage to the desert (*hag*) to venerate the supreme divinity — the similarity, if not identity, of the role and sacred status of the spring of Zamzam and the spring of Efka in Palmyra. The emergence of the cult of the Ka'ba displays numerous parallels with Hananic-Amoritic materials connected with the cult of the stars [4].

The Qur'ānic ban on the consumption of wine (a habit which, according to ideas current in Near Eastern antiquity, was characteristic of city-dwellers) goes back to ancient beliefs common to the entire Near East, where nomadic life was idealised. The ban on eating pork — general throughout the ancient Anterior Asian Mediterranean — was violated only when pigs were sacrificed. The Qur'ānic ban goes back to a set of beliefs inherited from deep antiquity and common to the northwestern and Southern Semites [5].

Numerous studies have shown that it is, in principle, impossible to reveal the direct sources of borrowing for Qur'ānic tales and parables [6]. Those echoes of canonical and apocryphal Biblical texts as well as the parallels with post-Biblical Judaic and Christian traditions which made their way into the Qur'ān were an inalienable part of Arabian culture. The latter, in turn, represented part of a unified cultural world. The Qur'ān was a part of that whole; furthermore, it is Qur'ānic evidence which allows us to attain an understanding of many important features of the whole.

The Qur'ān was the manifesto of an internal religious-political movement which grew out of the centuries-long historical experience of Arabia. History has shown, however, that both the pathos of the Qur'ānic message and its concrete component parts were a response to the spiritual needs of all of Anterior Asia, as the ancient world-view collapsed and medieval society emerged. Thanks to the military and political victories of Islam and the latter's ability to absorb the foreign and the new, the Qur'ān was fated to take a position at the center of one of the leading forms of ideologically conceiving reality in the medieval age.

In the course of the socio-ideological processes which accompanied Arab-Muslim expansion, the Qur'ān assumed a prominent place in all spheres of social life. It became the main source of religious injunctions and social institutions, ethical and cultural norms and standards of social interaction. The Qur'ān heralded the emergence of a qualitatively new, shared system of signification; members of the Muslim community conceived of themselves and of the world in its terms. The sacralisation of Qur'ānic language played an important role in the formation of a new socio-communicative system on the territory of the caliphate. The study of the Qur'ān by Muslim theologians and linguists, occasioned primarily by the need for a uniform reading and understanding of the Sacred text, led to the emergence of an entire spectrum of scholarly disciplines.

Muslim civilisation began with the denial of what was termed the *jāhiliyya*. However, as we have seen, the Islam of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs — Qur'ānic Islam — was connected by thousands of threads to the culture, world-outlook and traditions of the preceding age, ally. All the same, scholarly attention long ignored the profound and genuine gulf which separated "classical Islam," which was created in Iraq and Syria in the eighth—tenth centuries and accumulated many cultural achievements of the peoples who inhabited states conquered by the Arabs, from "Arabian" Islam. A new age began with the success of the Arab conquest, when Islam became the ideology of a society, which found itself at a different level of cultural development; Islam had to answer to new needs and requirements. It is, however, important to note that the impressive successes of Islam as an ideology would not have been possible without a deep-laid link tying the culture and religious and social beliefs of the peoples of Anterior Asia and the Middle East to the culture and historical experience of the Arabians. The synthesis, which then took shape, rested not only on common, basic values, but also on an all-encompassing group of personal beliefs shared both by conquerors and conquered.

Among the newly converted were people who had received a profound and multi-faceted education within the framework of the former religious and cultural tradition. Those Arabs who settled on the conquered territories very quickly adapted to new cultural horizons and took part in collective cultural work. To the *aqlām* of these people belong hundreds of works which made up the golden library of Islamic religious thought and which formed not only the "face" of "classical" Islam but also the ideological code which was taken up by the peoples of the Near and Middle East during this key period in the region's history.

Muslim authorities, who oriented themselves with impressive speed in the sea of religious and political teachings which roiled in the Eastern Mediterranean, took active part in the ideological conflicts of their time. The basic assertions of Islamic dogmatics took shape both as a result of intra-Islamic conflicts and in the course of polemics with representatives of other religious teachings.

Thus, the Islamic renunciation of figurative art was a consequence of a general tendency which arose in the sixth century and which concluded in the heightened disapproval with which Judaism and Christianity viewed the veneration of divinity with the aid of images wrought by hand. The latter came to be seen as concessions to heathen beliefs. The identification of God with Logos — the Word — framed the question of His necessary symbolic representation. Discussions within Judaism, the iconoclastic movement in Christianity and, finally, the ban toward the end of the eighth century on figurative depictions first in mosques and later in Islamic art in general reflected, in sum, the struggle between two tendencies, which had long coexisted in the religious thought and social consciousness not only of the Mediterranean peoples, but also in a significantly broader chronological and geographical perspective [7].

The analysis of a broad range of early epigraphic materials (in particular from: Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock; Cairo, the nilometer and the *madrasa* of Sulṭān Ḥasan; Damascus, Maristān Nūrī) convincingly shows that depictions of Qur'ānic fragments — "pictures of the Word of God" — performed in mosques the same function as did the murals of Christian churches [8]. They were an original sign system, which described, in particular, a religious-mythical view of the world.

The advancing thrust of Muslim armies went so far that the conquests soon spread far beyond the borders of Anterior Asia. In the vast expanse from the Pyrennes to the Pamirs, the states of the Muslim Middle Ages arose on the ruins of the state formations of late antiquity. For millions of people, this signified a fairly rapid shift (in the course of two to three generations) in basic cultural orientation.

The uniqueness of the process was that a new ideology, in essence, was being created on the basis of an incontrovertible law — the Qur'ān — which reflected the internal characteristics and problems of Arabian society. It was in the course of this process that the enormous adaptational potential of the teaching, which rested on the cornerstone of Muḥammad's message, manifested itself.

In conditions of a predominant non-Arab element in the territories which had entered the Muslim empire, conditions of an encounter with states endowed with "Scriptural religions", one of the most important tasks undertaken by the bearers of the new ideology was the codification of the Sacred text. We recall that the very existence or absence of a Holy scripture in the national language was one of the key ethno-consolidating and ethno-differentiating factors for inhabitants of Arabia [9]. The creation of a "competitive" Book was thus directly connected with the formation and affirmation of an Arab nation as such.

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According to Muslim tradition, when Muḥammad died he left no collection of his revelations in any official form. There is some evidence that during his last years he began assembling the revelations to produce a Scripture (*al-kitāb*) like that of the Christians and Jews. He died before he was able to complete this task, but *vita durante* portions of the revelation were written down by various persons in the community. The tradition has recorded the names of those who gathered the revelations of the Prophet during his lifetime and independently of him. Among them are 'Alī, Sālim, and Abū Mūsā. Muḥammad's followers memorised both entire revelations and parts of them, and used some portions of the text for liturgical purposes.

The history of the Qur'ānic text after Muḥammad's death is inextricably bound up with the most important events which affected the Muslim community and the caliphate. Naturally, after the Prophet's death, several of his followers immediately undertook an effort to gather all known revelations. Various sources indicate that in the twenty years following Muḥammad's death at least five versions of such a text appeared.

The decision to draw up a composite text of the Qur'ān was taken at a critical time for Islam, when many tribes had taken a stand against the power of the caliph and a struggle was underway to affirm Meccan preeminence in Arabia. It was then that the Muslim community first grasped the need to gather and preserve the divine wisdom and leadership, which Muḥammad provided in the revelation and which guaranteed the victory of the cause during the Prophet's lifetime. The so-called *al-ṣuḥuf al-bakriyya* appeared then; they were, according to tradition, gathered by the Prophet's secretary, Zayd b. Thābit at the order of Abū Bakr, Muḥammad's successor.

The second stage of work on the text is connected with the needs of a different period when victorious Muslim armies had swept over Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The spread of Islam over vast territories and the emergence of regional centres to administer the provinces of a far-flung state all demonstrated in rapid fashion the need for an "edition" of a text of the Qur'ān which would be the same for all readers. According to Muslim sources, it was in such centres as Mecca, Medina, and Damascus, al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra that local traditions of transmitting the text arose. These traditions are linked to the names of those of Muḥammad's companions and the first collectors of his revelations whom fate had scattered among the cities enumerated above. Thus, the tradition holds that Ḥumṣ and Damascus followed the variant of Mu'adh b. Jabal, al-Kūfa followed Ibn Mas'ūd, al-Baṣra Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī (d. 662), Syria as a whole Ubayy b. Ka'b [10]. The various versions of the text differed from each other in the number and order of the revelations, in certain words or expressions, in the omission or addition of certain words or phrases, and in a few orthographic features, etc.

Variant readings of the Sacred text threatened to ignite schisms within the Muslim community, especially since disagreements about the right to supreme power had already set off a bitter internal struggle. This danger was exacerbated by the fact that Muslims on the conquered territories had already come into contact with a veritable sea of religious doctrines and teachings. Against this backdrop, the third "rightly guided" caliph, 'Uthmān, undertook in Medina, where for obvious reasons the tradition was most fully represented, to produce the collection uniform for the entire community. This text (*imām*) was gathered between 650 and 656 by a special board headed by Zayd b. Thābit and was based on one of the versions preserved in Medina, though it took into account other records, the correctness of which was confirmed by two witnesses. Carefully checked copies of this text were distributed to the most important political and administrative centres of the caliphate [11].

The tradition holds that the caliph 'Uthmān, in an attempt to guarantee complete uniformity, ordered that all copies which differed from the version distributed be burnt. Although 'Uthmān's initiative was supported by the community as a whole and the version created under Zayd b. Thābit's direction encountered approval, other texts did not vanish at once. Not all were prepared to obey the caliph's order unconditionally, surrendering for destruction their most precious possession. Ibn Mas'ūd refused to carry out the order, announcing, according to tradition, that he had been gathering the Qur'ānic text when Zayd was still in the womb of a heathen mother. Moreover, many still carried in their memory texts of the Qur'ān which differed somewhat from the *rasm 'Uthmānī*. Memorisation remained the main method of preserving and transmitting the Sacred text. The sources have preserved traces of resolute opposition to the very idea of a written record of the text as doomed to reproduce mistakes.

The characteristic features of the period when the Qur'ān existed in *both written and oral form* determined the difficulties which Muslim authorities encountered as they developed rules for recording a uniform text of the Qur'ān [12].

And finally, the appearance and eventual confirmation of vowelling in the Qur'ān — the emergence of a uniform text in the full sense — was inextricably linked to the pointed ideological debates which took place in Muslim society in the eighth—tenth centuries.

In codifying the Sacred text, it was imperative for the Muslim community to complete several tasks:

— to develop a graphic form of the Qur'ānic text (*rasm* or *khaṭṭ, kitāb, kitāba, kataba*) acceptable to all authorities;

— to introduce a system of diacritics (*'ajm, i'jām, naqṭ*) and vocalization (*shakl, ishkāl, tashkīl, ḥarakāt*, sometimes also *naqṭ*) and to establish a single vocal form (*ḍabt* or *lafẓ, nuṭq*);

— to establish uniform rules for recitation (*qawā'id al-qirā'āt*), as even after the solution of the first two problems, the possibility of ambiguity remained (for example, marks were needed to indicate an obligatory full stop (*waqf tamm*) or an impermissible "revolting" pause (*waqf aqbaḥ*) in reading, in order to avoid distorting the text).

Work on the grammatical basis of the Arabic language became especially timely with the precipitous growth in the number of non-Arabs among Muslims. The real danger of distortions in the Arabic language arose; this was necessarily reflected in believers' understanding of the Sacred text and led to mistakes in its recitation.

In order to create a unified redact of the Qur'ānic text, it was imperative not only to investigate the basic grammar of Arabic and to develop an apparatus for the written representation of the text; political will and authority were needed as well. At first, this need was answered by the will and authority of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī. Later, it was the initiative of two outstanding Iraqi governors — Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 675) and al-Hajjāj (d. 714) — and the protection of two influential *wazīrs* in the caliphate — Ibn Muqla (d. 940) and Ibn 'Īsā (d. 946).

Muslim sources tell us that variants of the text (*al-qirā'āt*) based on discrepancies in the indication of a word's consonantal roots or of entire phrases existed among Muslim scholars up until the tenth century. Clearly, only those variants, which had a certain philological or theological significance, remained. It is also evident that such variants could and did serve as vitally important arguments in ideological polemics. This, in turn, stimulated the "fabrication" of variants, which arose from attempts at "necessary" interpretations of the Sacred text [13]. It should, however, be recognised that, on the whole, the distribution of the *rasm 'Uthmānī* reduced variants in the Qur'ānic text to a minimum and that the first of the above-noted tasks was completed.

Arabic writing at that time represented only the consonantal basis of a text, and even then retained a certain degree of variability: the same sign could be used to indicate several letters. Dots above and below the letters were apparently used even before Islam to differentiate letters with the same form. They have been established on two papyri dated to 643 [14], but were not used regularly [15].

Moreover, the consonantal root could be vowelled in the most varied fashion. Various systems developed in centres of Muslim scholarship, primarily the Iraqi cities of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, arose and disappeared [16]. Grammatical systems (*madhāhib*) developed in competition with one another; they arose within the framework of an initially unfactionalised group of religious and legal disciplines which shared general approaches and terminology [17]. At that time, famed "readers" (*al-qurrā'*) were also famed grammarians, for example, Ibn Abī Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 735—36) or Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 770). The generation of the Prophet's grandchildren and great-grandchildren gradually succeeded in creating an elegant system of signs above and below the line which permitted a shift from a *scriptio defectiva* to a *scriptio plena*. A tradition which possibly goes back to one of the Baṣran philologists insistently connects the first stage of this process with the name of Abū 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī (Dīlī) (d. 688). A secretary, *qāḍī*, military commander and poet, this man from the circle around 'Alī is known as the founder of *'ilm al-naḥw*. Tradition connects Abū 'l-Aswad's work first with an initiative of 'Alī and later with instructions from the noted Umayyad governor and sworn brother of Mu'āwiya, Ziyād b. Abīhi, who ruled the entire Eastern section of the caliphate. Important for us is not so much the name of the concrete individual who carried out the initiative — in the current case, Abū 'l-Aswad — as the way the tradition treats the roles of 'Alī and Ziyād b. Abīhi. The former must have understood the importance of further work on the unification of the Qur'ānic text, both for the cause of Islam and for his own reputation. As for Ziyād, a faithful servant of the Ummayyads who was famed for his intelligence and decisiveness, he was precisely the man to grasp, on the basis of state and dynastic interests, the imperative of continuing work on the text of the Scripture [18]. It is possible that at this stage the heart of the matter was the necessity of using already existing diacritical marks in copying the Qur'ān.

At the second stage, the tradition no less insistently foregrounds the role of another equally powerful, decisive and intelligent Ummayyad governor, al-Hajjāj (d. 714). With an iron hand he quelled the dissent which tore at the fabric of the caliphate and also wrote to the caliph messages in verse which became models of the genre. Al-Hajjāj instructed his clerks, Naṣr b. 'Āṣim (d. 707) and Yaḥyā b. Ya'mūr (d. 746) to bring to completion the development of a system to designate long and short vowels as well as a number of additional elements in the writing system [19]. It is important to note that such work encountered opposition, especially in Medina, where it was felt that such texts were acceptable only for children learning to read. Progress toward a *scriptio plena* threatened to reduce the significance of Qur'ānic readers (*qurrā'*), who knew the text by heart and were recognised by society as the main bearers of the tradition. An initiative of al-Hajjāj is credited with leading to the division of the Qur'ānic text into 30 equal parts (sing. *juz'*) for liturgical purposes [20].

Curiously, this same time period (seventh—ninth centuries) was witness to the activities of the Mazorites, who developed a system for vowelling the Hebrew conso-

nantal alphabet in order to ensure a uniform understanding of the books of the Old Testament.

The development of a writing system and the establishment of a grammatical system were completed, for the most part, by the end of the ninth century. One of the manuscripts from this period which has reached us, the *Ḥadīth Dāwūd* by Wahb al-Munabbih, dated to 844, already contains a collection of vocalization signs [21].

At this time, Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 786—87 or 791) developed and introduced additional diacritical signs. His pupil, the noted "Baṣran" Sībawayhi (d. 796), the grammarians al-Aṣma'ī (d. 828), Abū 'Ubayda (728—824/25), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 830/31), pupils of the above-noted Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 770), and the "Kūfan" al-Farrā' (d. 822) created works which marked the Arab grammarians' success in codifying the elements of language and the completion of an orderly grammatical system. Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* contains an innumerable quantity of Qur'ānic examples. The grammar was created for the sake of the Qur'ān, but relied on it as well.

In the ninth century, the centre of scholarly activity shifted from al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa to Baghdād, capital of the caliphate. The business of translation thrived there, famous philosophers, exegetes and lawyers worked there, a grammatical school which brought together elements of previous systems arose there, the eminent grammarians al-Mubarrad (d. 900) and his pupil al-Sarrāj (d. 928) created there their famous works. And there, the beginning of the tenth century was marked by several attempts to achieve a new level of unification in the Qur'ānic text. Three works entitled *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* were dedicated to the problem of *al-qirā'āt*. Their authors were Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 928) [22], Ibn Anbārī (d. 938/39) and Ibn Ashta al-Iṣfahānī (d. 970—71). The main role, however, would fall to Ibn Mujāhid (859—935), a pupil of Ibn Abī Dāwūd. A noted authority on the Qur'ānic sciences, who as the people believed, read the Qur'ān even in his grave, worked in Baghdād and enjoyed the successive protection of two extremely influential grand *wazīr*s, Ibn Muqla (famous reformer of the Arabic calligraphy) and Ibn 'Īsā, whose power and influence can be likened to the power of a regent to the caliph.

Ibn Mujāhid's work bore the title *Al-Qirā'āt al-sab'a* ("The Seven Readings"), pretended to near official status and established a system of permissible Qur'ānic "readings". The system proposed in the work relied on the consonantal basis of the "'Uthmānic version" and limited the number of systems of variant vowellings of the text to seven; these belonged, correspondingly, to seven authorities of the eighth century. All of them were acknowledged as equally lawful; the use of other variants (*al-ikhtiyār*), however, was forbidden.

It is important to note that after the appearance of Ibn Mujāhid's work, which rejected the use of variants from the copies of Ubayy b. Ka'b and Ibn Mas'ūd in interpretation, the implementation of this point of view began to take place with the aid of court decisions (the "cases" of Ibn Miqsam in 934 and Ibn Shannabūdh in 935). The latter (d. 939) was whipped at the order of *wazīr* Ibn Muqla and forced to renounce the six variants in the reading of the Qur'ān in the following words: " I had read texts differing from the text going back to 'Uthmān and approved by companions of the Prophet. I see clearly now that they were wrong. I atone my mistake and renounce my opinion, for the text of 'Uthmān is the right text which no one should reject or call into question" [23]. Such persistence in the struggle against "non-canonical" readings can be explained by the fact that the use or invention of textual or orthographic variants of the Qur'ānic text was inextricably linked with the development of Muslim exegesis and, finally, with ideological conflicts within Arab-Muslim society.

The seven groups of variants of the Qur'ānic text — readings (*al-qirā'āt*) — approved by Ibn Mujāhid, reproduced the predominant practice in various areas of the caliphate such as Medina, Mecca, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. The latter was represented by three "readings". For each tradition, two slightly different variants of its transmission (*al-riwāya*) were noted. Although this system gradually became very widespread, other views continued to exist. Some Muslim authorities spoke of traditions of the ten "readers", each of which was also passed down in two versions; others spoke of fourteen, noting, however, only one variant for the last four. These systems are known as "three after seven" and "four after ten". In practice, however, only two of the systems noted by Ibn Mujāhid became wide-spread: the Kūfan — *Ḥafṣ* (d. 805) *'an 'Āṣim* (d. 744), and, to a lesser degree, the Medinan — *Warsh* (d. 812) *'an Nafi'* (d. 685) [24]. The "Battle of the readings", which had hardly any effect on the understanding of the text, was accompanied by pointed polemics which, in sum, were a reflection of serious ideological and political disagreements within the Islamic community.

In 1007—08, an incident involving the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn Mas'ūd, which once again raised the question of the 'Uthmānic version of the Qur'ān, led to unrest in Baghdād and clashes between Sunnis and Shi'ites.

On the night of Sha'bān 14—15, 398/April 24—25, 1008, a certain Shi'ite in Kerbela publicly denounced the "person who burned the *muṣḥaf*," meaning by this, as is quite evident, the caliph 'Uthmān, whom the Shi'ites rebuke for supplanting the *imām* 'Alī, persecuting 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, and ordering the destruction by fire of Qur'ānic texts which differed from his own. The caliph ordered the arrest and execution of the heretic. The ensuing unrest was halted only after the caliph and the Buwayhid *amīr* intervened at the request of prominent individuals in Baghdād. A special commission appointed by the caliph came to the conclusion that the version of Ibn Mas'ūd represents an unacceptable distortion of the Qur'ānic text [25].

Among the surviving manuscripts of the Qur'ān are copies which note several parallel variant "readings". They possibly go back to the attempt by Abū Mūsā al-Qazwīnī to copy the text with dots of various colours to indicate different readings [26]. One such copy is held in the Jewish National Library (Jerusalem) (see *Plate 1*, p. 49) [27].

This was a period of growing disappointment in the state and in official Islam. The uprisings of the ninth—tenth centuries challenged the power of the caliphate: "the truth has appeared to the world, the *mahdī* has risen, the power of the 'Abbāsids, the jurists, the readers of the Qur'ān and the preachers of the tradition is coming to an end ..." The empire seethed. In 930, the Qarmatians spirited away the black stone of the Ka'ba, in 939 the "concealment" (*ghayba*) of the Shi'ite *imām* began, the message of the Ismā'īlī *du'ā* attracted thousands of followers, Ismā'īlī exegetes interpreted the hidden (*bāṭin*)

meaning of the Qur'ān, and the dawn of the New Persian literary language, into which the Qur'ān was translated, began. Finally, in 945 the Shi'ite Buwayhids seized Baghdād. The power of the caliph was abruptly diminished.

The final stage of work by Muslim authorities on the unification of the Qur'ānic text took place under entirely different historical conditions and we will discuss it later.

Even after Ibn Mujāhid and the stabilisation of the system of readings, however, it remained possible to understand the Sacred text in more than one way. The system, which had been developed, did not provide for anything analogous to punctuation.

Within the then existing system, it became possible to solve the problem within the framework of the science of Qur'ānic recitation (*'ilm at-tajwīd*), the system "which codifies the divine language and accent of Qur'ānic recitation in terms of rhythm, timbre, sectioning of the text and phonetics" [28].

In the foreword to an edition of the journal of the American Academy of religion (Dec. 1980) entitled "Studies on the Qur'ān and Tafsīr", the editor, A. Welch, sets forth his conception of the three main forms of the Qur'ān's existence: as a theological conception, as a text read during everyday services and, finally, as Scripture. Welch indicates that the second aspect of the Qur'ān's existence, its oral form — extremely important to any Muslim and, consequently, Islam as a whole — has received entirely insufficient attention from Western scholars. Somewhat earlier, W. Graham noted the need to study the Qur'ān as the "'living word' among Muslims". R. Martin sees in the study of this aspect of the "Qur'ān's existence" a possibility to reduce to a minimum "cross-cultural conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim specialists" [29].

Graham, Welch and Martin were not the first to call attention to the importance of this problem. In 1970, G. von Grunebaum noted that it had evidently remained unclear that until a certain moment in the seventeenth century, Islamic culture, like Western culture, expressing a preference for hearing over sight, and had valued the spoken above the written word, at first for theoretical reasons, and later as a consequence of its psychological effect [30]. One of the most important differences between the Qur'ān and Old and New Testament texts is that the former is a medium of ritual contact with God to a degree which significantly exceeds the analogous functions of Scripture not only in Christianity, but even in Judaism [31]. Constance Padwick, the author of an interesting work on Muslim prayer compilations, has noted that in Muslim worship, the Qur'ān is both Psalter and lectionary; its style predominates in all acts of prayer said aloud [32].

The history of how the tradition of *'ilm at-tajwīd* took shape, which is linked both to the unmediated reading of the Qur'ān — *'ilm al-qirā'āt* — and with etiquette of reading, has not yet been written, although a large literature has emerged in recent years on this aspect of the Qur'ān's existence [33]. It was closely bound up with the mystical-ascetic movement in Islam later to be termed *al-taṣawwuf*, which emerged in the second half of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries, and with the practice of Islamic ascetics (*zuhhād*, sing. *zāhid*) and zealots (*'ubbād*, sing. *'abīd*), and Ṣūfīs (*ṣūfī, mutaṣawwif*).

In parallel with the codification of the Qur'ānic text, the rules of its recitation were transformed into a canon, the bases of ritual conduct connected with the reading of the Sacred text (external etiquette) were set [34], the requirements of internal etiquette, connected with achieving a specific state for recitation and with immersing oneself in the text, were established [35], questions connected with the rhythm of breathing during recitation and means of pronouncing the text in the context of that rhythm were worked out. The recitation of the Qur'ān was intended, in essence, as a ritual return to the act of its revelation. "Each who wishes to refresh the Qur'ān by reading it in the manner in which it was sent down must read it as [did] this son of the 'mother of a servant' (that is, the mother of Ibn Mas'ūd)" [36].

Tradition holds that the first to write a special work on *'ilm at-tajwīd* was a contemporary of Ibn Mujāhid, Mūsā b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Khaqān al-Baghdādī (d. 936) [37]. As the eighth book of al-Ghazālī's famed work *Kitāb adab tilāwat al-Qur'ān* ("The Resurrection of the Sciences of the Faith") indicates, by the twelfth century, this system had already been worked out in detail and accepted by the community [38]. At that time, numerous copies of the Qur'ān which contained a set of specially developed signs appeared [39]. The set of 15 pausal signs employed by Qur'ānic readers was going back to the detailed system developed and introduced by Khalīl b. Aḥmad.

The rules for reading the Qur'ān (*qawā'id al-qirā'āt*) described in detail questions of the assimilation and dissimilation of consonants, the influence of consonants on the pronunciation of the following vowel, and the placement of accents in phrases and in accordance with meaning, etc. Understandably, the placement of pauses (*waqf wa ibtidā'*) was especially important, for it was the pause indications which filled the role of punctuation, guaranteed the intelligibility of each *āya*'s semantic content and links between them as a whole, and regulated the reader's breathing [40]. For example, in 23:115, pausing after the verb "calls" completely distorts the meaning: "And whosoever calls upon another god with God, whereof he has no proof...". Alternately, the failure to come to an obligatory full stop at the boundary between the 19th and 20th *āyāt* of the ninth *sūra* also distorts the meaning: "God guides not the people of the evildoers // Those who believe, and have emigrated..."

Although the tradition has retained information on 10 or 17 pauses which were observed by the Prophet himself [41], the system which was later developed did not rest on an *isnād* and thus did not go back to the practice of the Prophet himself or that of his closest companions.

On the whole, the system, which resulted, was very detailed, but was "by no means a complete notation system for recitation. These presume a thorough knowledge of the rules and serve only as a reminder" [42]. As a result of a long process of selection, five styles of recitation emerged as the most popular and frequently employed *taḥqīq, ḥadr, tartīl, tadwīr,* and *mujawwad* [43]. The interests of the readers (*al-qurrā'*) did not suffer: the new system was sufficiently complex that it required extended, specialised training to master it, as had the initial, extremely simple system.

This, in short, is the history of the Qur'ān's textual establishment as reported to us by the Muslim tradition. The research and findings of recent years convincingly demonstrate that the works of medieval Muslim authorities as well as works based on them by European scholars of the late nineteenth century and first half of the

twentieth century reveal only a part of a significantly more diverse and contradictory history of the Sacred text's fixation.

A discussion of J. Wansbrough's "Qur'ānic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation" by such specialists as A. Rippin, J. van Ess, E. Ullendorf, R. Paret, L. Nemoy, W. A. Graham, R. Serjeant, G. H. A. Juynboll, I. J. Boulatta, E. Wagner, K. Rudolph, and others [44] showed that research based on the Muslim tradition is no longer capable at present of providing unambiguous answers to questions connected with the early history of the Qur'ānic text.

The main problem, in our view, is the fact that the study of the Muslim tradition took place in isolation from the description and study of actual Qur'ānic manuscripts. This gap led, in large part, to the methodological crisis which Qur'ānic studies experienced in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Moreover, a substantial number of the Qur'ānic fragments which have reached us contain unique information on the initial period of the Sacred text's existence. It is already clear today that this true history preserved by early copies will differ significantly from the history which rests on the Muslim tradition and which was summarised above.

2

The study of extant Qur'ānic manuscripts shows that the tenth century was marked by fundamental changes in the history of the Qur'ānic text. In addition to the appearance of Ibn Mujāhid's work, it was then that new forms of Qur'ānic script began to spread; they were distinguished by greater decorative embellishment in comparison to their predecessors. Primary among them were "Eastern *kūfī*" (the oldest dated copy is from A.D. 972) and cursive *naskhī* (the oldest dated copy is from A.D. 1001) [45].

Writing itself, taking into account the phonetic structure of the Arabic language, arose in Northern Arabia around the fifth century A.D. on the basis of Syriac and Nabatean. Before then, Southern Arabian writing had been used in the South of the peninsula and varieties of Aramaic in the North [46]. The medieval historical tradition names Lakhmid al-Ḥīra as the birthplace of the new writing system. However, the earliest texts were discovered in parts of Syria historically linked to the Ghassanids [47], while examples of Mesopotamian Arabic writing from the pre-Islamic period have not yet been found. One can assume that two varieties (scripts) of Arabic writing arose at practically the same time. In areas near the Syrian border, a script, which would later be called *ḥijāzī*, came into use; the script, which received the name *kūfī*, arose in the Lakhmid capital, al-Ḥīra, al-Kūfa's predecessor [48].

All Qur'ānic manuscripts of the seventh—tenth centuries which have reached us can be divided into two unequal groups. The first group, the earliest and significantly smaller, consists of manuscripts in *ḥijāzī* style. These copies date from the seventh to the beginning of the ninth centuries. Manuscripts conditionally assigned to the second group continue to be called *kūfī*. Fr. Déroche has recently proposed a new term to designate this stylistic category: the 'Abbāsid tradition [49]. Taken as a whole, the manuscripts of *ḥijāzī* style and the 'Abbāsid tradition, which existed in its main manifestations until the beginning of the eleventh century, should reflect the true history of the fixation of the Qur'ānic text.

The cursive script of early Islamic business documents on papyrus is very close to *ḥijāzī*. It was evidently used in pre-Islamic Mecca for business correspondence. In time, this style gradually evolved, becoming more and more regularised, and by the end of the seventh century it could be used in the inscriptions which adorn the Dome of the Rock Mosque in Jerusalem. A new stimulus for the development of this type of Arabic cursive appeared after the decision of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik in 697 to use Arabic as the empire's official language [50].

The growing influence of Iraq in the caliphate, the initiatives of Iraqi governors in connection with the codification of the Qur'ānic text, the authority of Iraqi theologians and grammarians (three of the seven *qirā'āt*, accepted by al-Mujāhid, are linked to the *kūfī* tradition, one to the Baṣran) led to the gradual eclipse of *ḥijāzī* and the predominance of *kūfī* as a special style for copying the Scripture.

Early copies of the Qur'ān confirm that at the beginning of Muḥammad's prophetic activity, Arabia was already familiar with books and that Arabic writing was at that time sufficiently developed to convey texts of great volume and complexity. Comparisons of traces from the beloved's abandoned campground with pages covered in writing had become a commonplace in pre-Islamic poetry: "writing in a book of Yamani palm bark", "books whose pages are filled afresh by the reed pens", "lettering on parchment", "characters like those written by a Yamani slave", "like unto the lines dashed off by a Jewish scholar in Taimā' writing Hebrew with his right hand", etc. [51]. It is quite probable that Biblical texts written in Arabic existed. A legend holds that the Lakhmid Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir possessed a work which contained verses written in his honour [52].

According to the tradition, various materials were used to record the message of the Prophet at that time. Chief among them were parchment (*riqq, raqq*, see Qur'ān 52:3) and papyrus (*qirṭās*, from the Greek *chartēs*, see Qur'ān 6:7, 91). The basic term used in the Qur'ān to designate writing material is *ṣaḥīfa* (pl. *ṣuḥuf*). In pre-Islamic poetry, the term could mean "skin", "the surface of the face" [53]. In the Qur'ān, the terms *raqq* and *ṣuḥuf* could combine with derivatives of the root *nshr* ("unroll", "spread out") (52:3; 71:52) to mean scrolls.

Also used for writing were skins (*jild*), especially narrow strips akin to belts, and cuttings of palm leaves. Undoubtedly, these materials could have been used as the means at hand of recording individual revelations, especially at the beginning of Muḥammad's prophetic activity. The tradition also mentions flat rocks, wood tablets, and the shoulder blades and ribs of animals. It seems, however, that this tradition, intended to paint a vivid picture of Islam's "heroic youth" "oversimplifies" the residents of Mecca and Medina. It is possible that materials, which fell to hand were in fact used, but only because of the expense of parchment, which, according to observations based on early copies of the Qur'ān, must have been available in Arabia at the inception of Islam.

According to one of the traditions, *ṣuḥuf* ("leaves") of the first recorded Revelation formed a *muṣḥaf* ("book", "codex"). *Ṣuḥuf* were kept between wooden boards (*lawḥāni* or *daffatāni*).

By the seventh century, the main material for writing in the Near East was parchment. Goat, sheep, and gazelle hides were used in its production. The codex, which was vertical in format, had already replaced the scroll by the fourth century, a change occasioned by the spread of parchment. Even so, single-quire codices ceased to be produced after the fifth century [54]. Naturally, the first Arabic books, and these were copies of the Qur'ān [55], resembled in basic form their Coptic and Syriac predecessors, although they were possibly somewhat larger.

The absolute majority of Qur'ānic manuscripts dated to this period were copied on parchment. The parchment was sometimes dyed. This was how the orange-red or famed Blue Qur'ān, fragments of which are scattered in various collections [56], appeared. An insignificant number of fragments on papyrus has survived [57]. Parchment copies are offset by a large number of manuscripts copied from the first half of the tenth century onward in Eastern *kūfī* and later *naskhī* on Samarqand paper, which spread throughout the East of the Muslim world from the beginning of the tenth century on just as papyrus had spread in Egypt [58].

The absolute majority of these manuscripts are copied in codex form. Qur'āns copied in *ḥijāzī* are, as a rule, in vertical format, common for Near Eastern books in that period; *kūfī* copies are, in the majority, in horizontal format. The latter possibly betrays the influence of the horizontal format of Qur'ānic inscriptions in the interiors of mosques. But even leaving aside such considerations, the very script reveals a characteristic which to a certain degree demands the placement of text on material of a horizontal format — long, broad horizontal strokes, which lend the general character of the representation a certain amount of movement, despite the overall static nature which typifies *kūfī* script. Without horizontal format, these lines would be out of proportion. As long as this characteristic of the script was retained, the format was also retained. It is possible that the arrangement of worshippers in rows in the mosque also played a role; in churches, by way of contrast, with their extended spaces, worshippers filled the entire area of the structure. The horizontal arrangement may have been associated by Muslims with sacral functions [59].

Another possibility is more interesting. Despite the obvious validity of the observations introduced above, the appearance of the horizontal format, so typical of *kūfī* Qur'āns, coincides with the tendency to assert to the "specialness" of Islam. The holy writings of the Christians were codices in vertical format; the holy books of the Jews were scrolls. And while scroll copies of early Qur'āns have been recorded, they clearly stand apart from the basic tendency [60]. Codices of horizontal format would have underscored the distinction between the Sacred book of the Muslims and the Scriptures of both Christians and Jews during the period of successful initial conquests when the Muslim religious, legal, and dogmatic system was emerging in constant contact with the corresponding systems of the "peoples of the Book". Muslims were already distinguished by the *qibla*, the *adhān* as a call to prayer, the fast month of Ramaḍān, and Arabic as a sacred liturgical language... Evidently, it was necessary at a certain moment to emphasise the "independence" of Islam in the choice of a format for its Sacred book [61]. The stimulus for this may have emerged in Iraq during the period of al-Hajjāj's somewhat unclear initiatives. These circumstances may explain both the eclipse of "profane" *ḥijāzī* by monumental *kūfī*, which allowed one to identify the Sacred text, and the appearance of the horizontal format, which permitted the identification of one's own Sacred text. The large size, special script and horizontal format would have set apart the Sacred text from ordinary Arabic books, which were appearing in ever larger numbers at that time. The horizontal format was widely employed until at least the tenth century. New writing material (paper) gradually [62] brought new scripts into being [63] and occasioned the return of the vertical format. It is important to note that by the end of the tenth century, the need to stress constantly the "specialness" of Islam had disappeared. Islam was already fully formed as an independent religious and political system and was "recognised" as such by its neighbours. From the eleventh century onward, elements common to the copying of "profane" books were used more and more frequently in formatting Qur'āns.

The basic element in parchment copies of the Qur'ān of horizontal format (we know very little of vertical copies) was a quire, which consisted of five long strips of parchment folded in the middle. This produced a ten-page quire. As the horizontal, large format required long preparation and materials were expensive, "halves" came into use; these were sewn together on overlapping edges. A standard quire could be replaced either by two "halves" and four whole double folios or by eight halves and one whole double folio. The statistical material available to Fr. Déroche shows that 25% of manuscripts consisted of quires of the first type, 40% of the second type, and 35% of the third type [64].

Depending on their physical characteristics, different sides of a parchment folio were processed to various degrees. A specialist can easily distinguish the hair side from the flesh side; they differ, as a rule, in texture and colour. In order to avoid clashing textures in a quire opened to a centrefold, it was accepted practice in the European tradition to match hair sides to hair sides and flesh sides to flesh sides. In the overwhelming majority of instances, Muslim craftsmen did not follow this practice, and an open Qur'ān (with the exception of the central centrefold) usually presents the reader with a hair side matched to a flesh side. Naturally, this violated the sense of aesthetic unity. The apparent absence of attempts to deal with this problem contradicts the treatment of the centrefold as a unified and central element in the formatting of manuscripts which is so characteristic of the art of the Muslim book.

The preparation of a folio for writing usually included its preliminary ruling. The necessary lines were impressed on the parchment without ink, although ink or graphite could be used for this purpose. This practice can be observed already in the earliest examples, although traces of ruling can be discovered in far from all those fragments where the distribution of the text by definition required a preliminary ruling of the page. It is possible that scribes employed a method, which left no traces on the surface of the parchment.

Measurements of the field occupied by the text allow one to conclude that copyists were guided in their work not merely by feel, but by set parameters. Measurements of an entire group of manuscripts performed by Fr. Déroche reveal a stable ratio between the height and width of the textual field, such as 1:1.5 or 1:1.333 [65].

A fundamental problem is the dating of early copies of the Qur'ān, which has given rise to sharp discussions almost from the moment of its inception and continuing up to the present day. Typical are the exchanges between J. Karabachek and B. Moritz, as well as between M. Minovi and N. Abbot [66].

Dated copies of Qur'ānic manuscripts from the first two centuries of the Hijra are extremely rare. One such copy from the first century (98/712—13) has been established, as have two copies from the second century of the Hijra (102/720 and 107/725) [67]. A number of later copies have been dated thanks to *waqf* inscriptions. Unfortunately, such inscriptions are infrequent. In a number of cases, manuscripts may be older than extant inscriptions indicate. The oldest *waqf* inscriptions date to the second half of the third/ninth centuries (264/877—78 and 268/882) [68]. A number of manuscripts may contain on the first or last page notes about the death or birth of certain people [69]. Unfortunately, true colophons are extraordinarily rare in the type of manuscript, which interests us here.

The problem of localisation is just as difficult. The materials we possess indicate that manuscripts travelled great distances, and the place of their discovery can hardly be considered the place of their creation. Furthermore, representatives of the scholarly class were extremely mobile and might well have used their "native" *maghribī* script when working in Damascus [70].

Until recently, several methods have been used for dating early copies of the Qur'ān. Unfortunately, all have proved insufficient in answering the question of whether or not a "full" text of the Qur'ān existed in the first century of the Hijra.

Contemporary methods permit the dating of any writing materials with a window of error of 100—200 years. This is clearly insufficient for solving the problem at hand.

Most interesting in this regard is the unique experience of von Botmer, Puin and their colleagues in the group of German specialists who are studying, conserving and restoring the more than 40,000 manuscript fragments (between 12,000 and 15,000 on parchment) discovered in 1965 and 1971 during the renovation of the Great Mosque in Ṣan'ā', Yemen [71]. Moreover, of the 900 copies collected from these fragments, approximately 10% were copied in *ḥijāzī* [72].

No less significant are the results of work conducted by the French specialists J. Surdelle-Tomin, D. Surdell, S. Ori and Fr. Déroche [73], who, beginning in 1964, have published a series of works on manuscript treasures from the Great Mosque of Damascus. After a fire in 1893, these were transferred to the Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, where they awaited their hour until 1963. Among the manuscripts discovered are thousands of Qur'ānic fragments and entire copies.

Undoubtedly, the discovery of sites such as those unearthed in Ṣan'ā', Cairo, Damascus, Mashhad, al-Qayrawān and the intensive study of new materials can exert a profound influence on Qur'ānic studies, just as the findings from the Cairo *genizah* influenced Judaic studies in a most serious fashion [74]. Fr. Déroche, who has published a series of works on Qur'ānic manuscripts and has taken part in describing a number of the largest collections of such manuscripts, is today without doubt the most accomplished specialist in the field.

At the very beginning of their work, the German scholars who are studying the Qur'āns discovered in Ṣan'ā' ran up against the necessity of finding criteria for systematising and dating the fragments. By trial and error, they arrived quite rapidly at a fairly simple procedure. They counted the number of lines on each page, measured their length, established the frequency with which diacritics were employed, and analysed the characteristics of dividers between *sūras*. As a result of this procedure, it was possible to distribute 90% of the 40,000 fragments into codices (the size varies from 5.0 × 8.0 cm. to 40.0 × 45.0 cm.). They succeeded in drawing up 750 parchment copies and around 350 copies on paper.

They also established that even when scripts displayed a high level of mutual resemblence, it was sufficient to examine the form of final *qāf* and *mīm*, which were written in a number of different fashions, in order to distinguish fragments. In one case, they were able to establish that the same fragment of the Qur'ān was copied twice by one of the copyists who lived in Ṣan'ā' [75].

Déroche further developed this approach, proposing several additions to create a typology and establish a relative chronology for the copies: to *qāf* and *mīm*, he added a set of representative letters useful in classification and comparative analysis [76] (see also *Tables 2—3*). One must bear in mind that within letters and in the ligatures, which connect various signs, the copyist may have used *mashq* techniques, which allow one to extend horizontal elements. For this reason, it is important in juxtapositions to analyse not only the sign(s), but the overall appearance of the manuscript page.

It was noted that a characteristic of handwriting in the early copies is, in particular, that the vertical elements of tall signs were written in such a way that the ends of the vertical lines almost touched the line above. Common in *ḥijāzī* manuscripts is a fairly large space between letters which cannot be connected by a ligature. In *ḥijāzī* and early *kūfī* manuscripts, *alif* is written separately not only at the beginning but in the middle of words. Moreover, an orthographic characteristic of early copies is the systematic omission of *alifs* and the replacement of *hamza* with *alif* [77]. In such form, the text served only as an aid in recitation from memory.

In the majority of early fragments, when there was insufficient space at the end of the line to finish writing a word, the scribe simply transferred the remaining part of the word to the beginning of the new line. Prof. Jeffery has noted that in papyrus documents contemporary to early Qur'āns — very important as comparative material — one finds a fairly clear tendency not to break up words. This tendency, however, hardened into established practice only toward the end of the fourth century of the Hijra [78].

The analysis of fragments found in Ṣan'ā' has convincingly shown that it is much easier to date *ḥijāzī* fragments than manuscripts written in *kūfī*. Copyists of the Qur'ān were very conservative: they continued to imitate

the handwriting of their predecessors even when those styles of handwriting had long fallen out of use. No less important are questions connected with the appearance of diacritical signs in copies of the Qur'ān. Contradictory reports from Muslim authors exist on this issue (see above). It is clear that the term *naqṭ* could designate signs of vocalisation, diacritics themselves, as well as an entire set of auxiliary signs [79].

The very possibility of using the presence or absence of diacritics to date a Qur'ān is very problematic. The Muslim tradition established a point of view which held that one should not copy a Qur'ān with vowellings or add them to existing copies. It is entirely clear that the earliest fragments were not vowelled, although instances have been established where vowelling was added to manuscripts, which had been copied earlier. Among the most conservative theologians, it was "fashionable" to copy the Qur'ān without any diacritics, and such instances have been noted in comparatively late copies [80].

One of the basic difficulties in proving an early dating for a Qur'ānic text is the rarity of textual fragments of substantial size copied in a single hand. Taking into account the comparatively small amount of text on certain pages copied in large *kūfī*, it is easy to conclude that enormous, possibly multi-volume manuscripts (up to 5,000 folios) were produced by several scribes working together, each copying part of the text.

Among the manuscripts found in Ṣan'ā', 12.5% are illuminated [81]. The main elements of decoration are various dividers which indicate the beginning and end of *sūras* (these sometimes occupy an entire page), *āyāt*, and groups of five, ten, sometimes fifty, one and two hundred *āyāt*, as well as divisions into *ajzā'* (sing. *juz'* = $^1/_{30}$). Ornaments were based on geometric, plant and architectural motifs. Special "rosettes" sometimes marked the end of the final *āya* in a *sūra*. A border and decorations in the form of "rosettes" or "vignettes" orientated toward the edge of the page could sometimes appear in the margins. These were used as an additional means of highlighting information or doubled the "rosette" located within the textual field.

The signs, which divided *āyāt* and singled out groups of five or ten *āyāt* underwent a noticeable evolution. If in *ḥijāzī* manuscripts, these, as a rule, are groups of dots or short lines in the same ink as the main text and in the hand of the same copyist, they were later replaced by small circles and varied forms of "rosettes" which had earlier been used only for singling out large groups of *āyāt*. In setting out such "rosettes", various paints were used together with ink. A different person evidently, already carried out this work. One notes that if in *ḥijāzī* manuscripts dividers between *āyāt* were obligatory, then in *kūfī* manuscripts we find two groups: either "rich" colour dividers or none at all.

The origin of the small circles can obviously be traced back to the use of the letter *hā'*, in accordance with the *abjad* system, to designate a group of five *āyāt*. One richly adorned codex from the second century of the Hijra was discovered among the manuscripts found in Ṣan'ā'. The end of every 10, 20, 30, 40 and 50 *āyāt* is marked by a number of signs from the Arabic alphabet in their numerical function [82]. Such groups of *āyāt* were evidently indicated for purposes of correct breathing during recitation.

The presence or absence of illuminated dividers between *sūras* cannot serve as proof in dating a manuscript. Certainly, those copies which we consider the earliest do not contain ornamented dividers between *sūras*, and their dividers between *āyāt* are extremely simple. The end of one and the beginning of the next *sūra* was marked only by a small blank space, which at that time was common practice for delineating various sections of a commercial document or letter. Very simple ornaments, usually a composition of interwoven or intersecting lines, appeared a little later. Grohmann proposes that such ornaments go back to the tradition established by Greek and Syriac manuscripts where similar decorative elements were used to designate the beginning of a chapter or part of the text. As concerns expanded decorative elements occupying up to half of the page and more, Grohmann considers such ornaments to be largely "in imitation of the *clavi* in late-Roman fabrics" [83].

There are, however, many examples in which such ornaments were added later to manuscripts or, alternately, when manuscripts copied at a comparatively later time would imitate the ancient tradition: the copyist left a blank space between *sūras*. For this reason one cannot use the forms and elements of ornaments employed in dividers between *sūras* for reliable dating.

It now seems evident that the headings of *sūras* did not immediately appear in copies: it was considered impossible to mix the Word of God (the texts of the revelations) with profane speech (headings for *sūras*, introduced by people). The headings of a preceding or following *sūra* were frequently written in later either in the blank space between *sūras* or on the margins or above the ornament. Subsequently, the headings became a part of the ornamental illumination itself and could include information about the number of *āyāt* and the place of the revelation. In this connection, the absence or presence of a heading is not in and of itself cause to date a manuscript: following the conservative tradition and imitating the ancient tradition, the copyist, sometimes even at the end of the third/ninth century, would leave a blank space between *sūras* and, naturally, omitted headings.

In a number of cases, both in *ḥijāzī* (very rare) and *kūfī* manuscripts, double frontispieces have been found which indicate the beginning or end of a manuscript. These are usually compositions close to the elements of classical mosaics, which consist of simple geometrical figures symmetrical both to the horizontal and vertical axes and mirroring each other. The principle of supplementarity in decorating such frontispieces appeared significantly later. Gold, green, red and, more rarely, blue paints were usually used [84].

In an attempt to derive an additional means of dating the fragments found in Ṣan'ā', M. Jenkins of the Metropolitan Museum conducted a comparative analysis of ornaments in manuscripts (mainly dividers between *sūras*) and decorative elements in dated examples of Muslim architecture from the second and third centuries of the Hijra. For comparison, she examined murals on ceiling consoles of the main mosque in Ṣan'ā' (they belong to the period of the mosque's restoration under al-Walīd), fragments of mosaic and decorative elements from the bronze plate which covers the straight arch over the Northern entrance to the Dome of the Rock Mosque in Jerusalem (691—692), decorations on the facade of Qaṣr al-Khayr

al-Gharbī (724—727), elements of the floor mosaics in Ḥammām al-'Anjar (714—715), decorative fragments from the Great Mosque in Damascus (705—707) and Khirbat al-Mafjar (739—743), and a cup found during excavations in Fusṭāṭ and dated to the third quarter of the eighth century. Jenkins established a large number of solid parallels between the manuscript ornaments and architectural adornments. Her analysis allowed her to draw closer to the possibility of localising the place where manuscripts were copied. The majority of the parallels were with examples of architecture in historical Syria; a part of the manuscripts, however, were, in Jenkins' view, copied in Yemen [85].

The possibility of conflicting datings for the text itself and its ornamental illuminations casts doubt on the entire methodology of such dating. It is evident, however, that the data thus received can be seen as the highest level of dating.

We know that representatives of various schools of Qur'ānic "reading" did not agree on the number of *āyāt* in a given *sūra*. It would seem that this makes it possible for us to assign a manuscript to a certain school simply by calculating the number of *āyāt*. The problem is that even a preliminary analysis of *ḥijāzī* manuscripts showed that a substantial group of actual copies fall into none of the classifications. The same scenario results from attempts to assign a given manuscript to one of *al-qirā'āt* accepted by the Muslim tradition. Moreover, the manuscripts discovered in Ṣan'ā' revealed a large number of new readings not attested by the tradition [86]. These copies have allowed us to discover sequences of *sūra*s which coincide neither with the accepted sequence nor with the order of arranging *sūra*s in the copies of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b preserved for us by the tradition. Attested, in particular, are the following sequences: 19 > 22, 36 > 38, 72 > 51, 67 > 83. The existence of various orders led G. R. Puin to ask the question of whether "their existence [indicates] that most of the *sūra*s were not written down and put into approximately their final form during Muḥammad's lifetime?" [87]

Thus, it is today evident that the real history of the fixation of the Qur'ānic text attested in early manuscripts differs in extremely serious fashion from the history preserved in the Muslim tradition. Only an analysis of manuscripts will allow us to reconstruct the true history of the canon's establishment.

Early Qur'ānic manuscripts are important not only from the standpoint of the text's history. They provide us with unique material, indispensable for reconstructing the history of cultural interaction between various areas of Arabia on the eve of Islam. Primarily, these were al-Ḥīra of Lakhmids, the region around the Syrian border controlled by the Ghassanids, and Southern Arabia. These manuscripts are among the most important elements for studying the history of how the early Arabic grammatical tradition and the aesthetic conceptions of the first generations of Muslims took shape. Without studying early manuscripts of the Qur'ān, it is impossible to recreate the history of the Near East's written culture as a whole. In this connection, the introduction of new manuscript materials into scholarly circulation is of immediate and pressing interest. The Qur'ānic fragment held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) under call number E 20, significant in its volume, is undoubtedly one of the most important early copies of the Qur'ān to have reached us.

3

Manuscript E 20 was bought by the Institute in 1936. Academician I. Iu. Krachkovsky describes the story of its acquisition in his book "Among Arabic Manuscripts". In the autumn of 1936, an elderly lady appeared at the Institute, hoping to sell some odd folios of the Qur'ān. Krachkovsky's attempts to find out the origin of the manuscript encountered an obvious unwillingness of the lady to discuss the issue. This was not at all surprising, as people who offered manuscripts for sale at that time often feared that they would be confiscated. People were afraid, as Krachkovsky writes, "to advertise their kin relations to the former owners of large libraries or to compromise themselves with a connection to once famous families". The woman soon returned with several more folios from the same copy and a few books. On one of the bindings Krachkovsky noticed the initials "I. N." which he knew well, but showed no sign of his acquaintance with the "ex-libris". He continued the conversation, saying (we follow the account of the scholar himself):

"So the Qur'ān is probably also from the library of Irinei Georgievich Nofal?" "How did you know?" she whispered, pale and somewhat alarmed. I explained honestly how I had guessed, but invited no revelations. She could hardly wait for the promised sum and quickly left, as though fearing that someone would give chase. I do not know whether she indeed left the city or whether my discovery continued to torment her, but she did not return to the Institute.

In any case, I had said nothing terrible. Iriney (in Arabic, Sālim) Nofal was for many years a professor of Arabic and Islamic law at the School of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the second half of the nineteenth century. Like most of the faculty there, he considered himself more of an official and diplomat than a scholar, but he was a diplomat of some sparkle and nearly always represented the Ministry, and sometimes the entire government, at international congresses of Orientalists. Born into a very well-known Arab-Christian family in Tripoli, Syria, he had received a typical Levantine education and spoke French fluently. During his youth in his native land, like many Arabs of his upbringing, he divided his time between commerce, representing foreign powers, and literary endeavours. In the mid-nineteenth century, literature was undergoing a certain renaissance, and Nofal even wrote several works of fiction, which enjoyed a certain success. He came to the attention of the Ministry, and was invited to replace Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī when the latter, who had taught at the School, became terminally ill. He arrived in Russia around 1860 and integrated there so well that his children never returned to their father's homeland and even forgot Arabic ... He enjoyed a successful career in the Ministry, achieved high rank and held many decorations.

The fate of his library is, unfortunately, a sad one. Half-russified, half-gallicised, his sons were educated in elite schools and belonged to the famed "golden youth" of the time. Interested neither in scholarship nor literature, they did not make careers for themselves, preferring to live at their father's expense. The gradually reached the point where, taking advantage of his advanced years, they secretly sold off his library piecemeal to booksellers. After his death, the entire library was disposed of" [88].

The manuscript which Krachkovsky acquired consists of 81 folios of high-quality parchment which make up a fragment of a vertical codex (52.5 × 34.0 cm.). The margins are upper — 1 to 1.5 cm.; lower — around 2 cm.; left margins — 1 to 2 cm.; right — around 3 cm. In thickness, the folios fall into two groups: A (0.20—0.25 mm., sometimes 0.17—0.53 mm.) and B (0.30—0.35 mm., sometimes 0.21—0.68 mm.) [89]. At present, the folios, which after their acquisition were numbered in pencil without attention to the actual order of *āyāt* and *sūras*, are stored in a large cardboard folder together with two leather covers for binding. Certain folios have preserved notes pencilled in by specialists who worked with the manuscript. The notes indicate the numbers of *āyāt* and *sūras* (predominantly in accordance with Flügel).

On the whole, the folios are well preserved, although some are heavily damaged (especially fols. 1 and 2); some parts of fragments are lost, mainly corners. A number of pages bear traces of water damage, significant at times. Unfortunately, there are signs of incompetent old restoration (glued paper on fol. 28, for example). Follicle roots are not visible on the surface. The folios were arranged hair side to flesh side and flesh side (which is lighter) to hair side. Consequently, the folios were sewn into a quire individually and not formed by folding. Several folios have preserved traces of stitching.

The fragments of dark-brown leather binding (the outer parts of the front and back covers) show elements of imprinted design and decoration in black and white paint; they are smaller (50.0 × 32.0 cm.) than the manuscript itself. The binding dates to the fourteenth century and has preserved traces of Muslim restoration from the early to mid-seventeenth century. The binding was reinforced along its inner edge with glued-on paper. The paper contains texts in Arabic, written in non-calligraphic *naskhī* and *nasta'līq*. Among the texts are fragments of the Qur'ān (2:258—263; 274—277). There are flyleaf folios, glued earlier to the inner side of the binding; they have preserved fragments of the folios used to reinforce the binding. The flyleaf folios bear the round stamps of the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies and a small square stamp with the inscription "Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS. Inv[entory number] 1936 2780" [90].

The main text is in brown ink. The illuminated dividers between *sūras* are in red and green ink. The first stage of proofreading made use of the same red ink, which was used, for the dividers between *sūras*. Proof-reading at other stages was carried out in black ink. The lower left and upper right corners of the folios reveal custodes in *naskhī* and in the same black ink used in the last proofreading.

The surviving 81 folios contain 39.3% of the text (see *Table 1*). Simple calculations show that to copy the entire text in this fashion would require 412 folios. Consequently, at least 250 folios have been lost. The thickness of such a volume would be 18—20 cm. (the thickness of the extant folios is around 7 cm.).

The surviving fragment reveals the hands of two copyists (handwriting A and B) who shared the work evenly. The first copied the first half of the text; the other, the second (in our case, beginning with *sūra* 20; in actuality, it is possible that he began with *sūra* 17, the beginning of which corresponds to the beginning of *juz'* 15, the approximate middle of the Qur'ānic text).

In all, the surviving folios contain (in full or in part) the texts of 44 *sūras* (2—11; 20; 24—39; 43—58; 70—71). 22 of these are full (10; 25; 31—34; 36—38; 45—57) [91].

The sequence of *sūras* corresponds entirely to the *rasm 'Uthmānī*. Evidence for this is found on pages which preserve the end of one *sūra* and the beginning of another (6 > 7; 7 > 8; 9 > 10; 10 > 11; 24 > 25: 25 > 26; 27 > 28; 28 > 29; 30 > 31; 31 > 32; 32 > 33; 33 > 34; 34 > 35; 35 > 36; 36 > 37; 37 > 38; 38 > 39; 44 > 45; 45 > 46; 46 > 47; 47 > 48; 48 > 49; 49 > 50; 50 > 51; 51 > 52; 52 > 53; 53 > 54; 54 > 55; 55 > 56; 56 > 57; 57 > 58; 70 > 71).

The number of lines per page varies widely (handwriting A — 23 to 31 lines; handwriting B — 21 to 26 lines), as does the size of the letters. There is no indication of preliminary ruling.

Both of the hands established for the manuscript (see *Tables 2—3*) are paralleled in materials from Cairo, Damascus, Ṣan'ā', and in an inscription from al-Ṭā'if dated to A.D. 677—78 [92]. The standard designation of this style is "late *ḥijāzī*". In accordance with Fr. Déroch's classification, both hands correspond on the whole to styles B.I and B.II among "the early 'Abbāsid scripts". The style of medial *jīm/hā'/khā'*, however, largely corresponds to style A.I (see *Tables 2—3*). On the whole, the writing in our manuscript is indicative of a transition from *ḥijāzī* to later writing styles. As a rule, *alif* is perpendicular to the line, although it sometimes preserves a slight incline to the right, as does the vertical stroke in *tā'* and *lām*. Hand B, surer and more professional, is characterised by a rounded finish to final *jīm/hā'/khā'*, *'ayn* and *ghayn*, which serves as the main distinguishing characteristic from hand A [93]. The transfer of individual letters to a new line (see, for example *Table 11*, No. 2) or even page (see, for example, *Table 1*, 35a—35b) is attested, as is the extension of horizontal elements in order to fill out the line to the end (*mashq*) (see fol. 76b).

Diacritical marks to distinguish consonants are consistently provided in the manuscript. Dots above the *tā'* are set out vertical to the line; dots above the *thā'* are either vertical or in the shape of a triangle; dots above the *shīn* are in a single horizontal line at a slight angle to the line of the text. Initial and medial *qāf* are marked both by two dots above the letter and a dot below it (see *Tables 2—3*) [94]; here one cannot discount the possibility that the dots above the *qāf* were added later. Later, vowelling was added to a number of words in black ink (for example, fol. 6a, third line from the bottom) and certain damaged words were retraced (for example, fol. 11b, last line).

As was noted above, the manuscripts show several stages of work on the text. At the first stage, the end of one and the beginning of another *sūra* was marked by a blank space. The *āyāt* were set off from each other by extremely simple dividers, which differ somewhat in fragments copied in hand A (see *Table 4*, No. 1) and hand B (see *Table 4*, Nos. 2, 4). In three cases, the ends of *sūras* are followed by two (once — both) dividers (see *Table 6*).

In one case (fol. 52a), the end of a *sūra* is marked by eight ordinary *āyāt* dividers, filling out the space left after the text to the end of the line (see *Table 6*, No. 1).

The manuscript shows that the placement of markers at the end of *āyāt* caused difficulties at times. The copyist was compelled to add omitted dividers below or between letters (see *Tables 5, 7*). It is possible that this circumstance led him to place the dots of the divider along the curved end of *khā'* and *jīm* rather than in a group (see fol. 66a).

Later [95], the blanks between *sūras* were filled in with ornamented illuminations (see *Plate 2*, p. 49) [96], each of them an original composition of triangles and semicircles made up of parallel, interwoven and intersecting red and green lines and, in a number of cases, added vignettes. As a whole, the compositions are reminiscent of the elements of traditional Bedouin female adornments (earrings, chest decorations). The names of *sūras* and the number of *āyāt* were written inside the compositions in archaic inverse writing (*Table 8*) [97].

Additional markers every ten *āyāt* (*ta'shīr*) (in the form of colour circles), every hundred and every two hundred (in the form of colour stars, see *Table 4*, Nos. 5—19) were then written into the text.

The *bismilla* is throughout treated as a separate *āya*. In the absolute majority of cases, the number of *āyāt* in the *sūras* of our copy corresponds to the Kūfic count (with the exception of *sūra* 32), although the division into *āyāt* within the *sūras* does not coincide with any system established by the tradition (see *Tables 8, 9*). Moreover, the number of *āyāt* indicated in the ornamented illuminations together with the titles of the *sūras* differs from their actual quantity and as a whole corresponds to the Meccan count [98].

The first revision of the text's orthography was conducted at the same time that the illuminations and additional dividers between *āyāt* were written in. Corrections in red ink were added to the text in dozens of cases. For the most part, missing *alifs* in all positions were added. These changes were made when the text had already suffered water damage in a number of places. Washed out places were rewritten in red ink (for example, fol. 69b).

Although we plan to treat the orthography of our copy in a separate article, we note here its most important characteristics. They are, for the most part, connected with the writing of long vowels and the *hamza*. In the first place, one encounters the omission of *alifs* in various noun and verb forms (see, for example, *Table 11*, Nos. 1—7). As was noted above, in the majority of cases, though not in all (see, for example, *Table 11*, No. 15), missing *alifs* were added in red ink during the first stage of the text's revision. For this reason, such variants can be easily identified in the manuscript. In a number of cases, long vowels were later erased (see *Table 11*, No. 11).

The second large group of variations is connected with the writing of the *hamza*, which was conveyed where required by *alif*, *wāw* or *yā'* (see *Table 12*) or not conveyed at all (see *Table 12*, No. 4).

Finally, one should note the spelling of certain words, which can serve as original markers in comparison with other early manuscripts (see *Table 11*, Nos. 10—12, 16—17).

As a whole, the orthographic characteristics of our copy have much in common with the orthography of the earliest Qur'ānic manuscripts [99]. At the same time, there are a number of important differences (for example, the *alif al-wiqāya* in our manuscript or the writing of *shay'un* without *alif*, or *'alā* with *yā'*, rather than with *alif* at the end, as in many early copies) (see *Table 11*, Nos. 8, 17; *Table 12*, No. 7). In a number of cases, a long vowel in our text was originally set down in those cases where it is absent in other early copies (see *Table 11*, Nos. 13—14) [100]. As in the number of *āyāt* in *sūras*, the analysis of the orthography in our and other early manuscripts reveals a discrepancy between the spellings found there and the systems preserved for us by the Muslim tradition [101].

Both before correction and, to a significant degree, after correction, the text attested in our copy was indisputably only an aid for recitation from memory (see *Tables 11—12*).

As was noted above, the text was re-edited at least twice after the corrections in red ink were made. At one stage, a number of errors committed by the copyist were corrected, certain words were rendered more accurately (see *Table 13*), and, possibly, certain elements of *tajwīd* and indications of divisions into *ḥizb* and *juz'* were added (*Table 10*, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 10, 13, 15). At the second stage, number of damaged places were written anew, custodes, certain vowellings, elements of *tajwīd*, and indications of divisions into *ḥizb* and *juz'* (*Table 10*, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16) were added. Four non-canonical readings, which went back to the "reading" of Ibn Mas'ūd were corrected (*Table 13*, Nos. 1, 13, 16, 21). Thus, at the time of the first correction, in red ink, the variants, which went back to Ibn Mas' ud, were considered acceptable. Consequently, this correction was carried out at least before 934—35 (the Ibn Miqsam and Ibn Shannabūdh "affairs").

Folio 51b contains a typical error in *āya* 3:110 (*Table 13*, No. 17). After the word *al-kitāb*, the copyist, working from memory, continued with the text of *āya* 5:65, close in content and word use, finishing the phrase with *amanū*, which was later crossed out [102]. At one of the stages, signs we were unable to decipher were inserted between the lines (*Table 13*, Nos. 23, 29).

Even after all of these corrections, the text retained variants, which diverge from the tradition (for example, *Table 11*, No. 15).

Thus, both in terms of orthography and the division of the text into *āyāt*, we can verify the divergence of the "reading" found in our copy from any of the systems preserved by the Muslim tradition.

In the majority of its orthographic and paleographic features, our fragment corresponds to the *ḥijāzī* manuscripts discovered in Ṣan'ā' and belongs to the type of Qur'ān designated "type 2" by Estelle Whellan [103]. The manuscript dates to the eight or beginning of the ninth century. Furthermore, the corrections in red ink and the insertion of ornamented dividers between *sūras* could have taken place 50 to 100 years after the manuscript was copied.

The analysis of extant fragments, as well as the analysis of our copy, convincingly shows that a large number of mixed and transitional variants existed, whether one examines handwriting, orthography, the numeration of *āyāt*, or known systems of variant readings. Either all of these variants and systems were artificial from the start, or they arose after the time when the manuscripts which interest us were copied and reflect a higher level of uniformity and regularity in the copying of Qur'āns.

Our manuscript can serve as an excellent example of the level of textual unity which the community had succeeded in achieving by the end of the eighth century. Armed with knowledge of the problems, which had to be overcome, one must acknowledge that in the 150—170 years, which separate our manuscript from the death of the Prophet, an enormous amount of work was accomplished. In our view, such a level of textual unity could have been achieved only if the initial extent of variation was not terribly great.

The manuscript records the high point of development in one of the two early traditions of copying Qur'āns, namely, that closely linked to Northwest Arabia and the area around the Syrian border. The coincidence of the 'Abbāsid *dawla* in 750 with the subsequent loss of influence suffered by the Syro-Jaziran elite and the gradual supplanting of the type of Sacred book which went back to the Syrian tradition (vertical format, *ḥijāzī* script) is far from accidental.

At least one thing is clear at present: up to the mid- and possibly late eighth century, two ways of copying the text of the Qur'ān developed in parallel, each with its own internal evolution and each influencing the other. They were genetically connected to the two Arabian cultural and political centres, which gravitated, respectively, to Syria and to Mesopotamia (vertical format + *ḥijāzī* script and horizontal format + *kūfī* script). A combination of interconnected political events, cultural accomplishments and internal religious and social requirements connected with the community's self-identification led to the gradual supplanting of the "Syrian" tradition.

The revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth century convincingly demonstrate the connection between political events and the questions of culture. One has only to recall the reform of Russian orthography undertaken by the Bolsheviks. Books of the new era had to look new, bearing obvious witness to the depth of change within society. Contemporaries to the events connected with the 'Abbāsid revolution undoubtedly understood the striving of the new Mesopotamia- and Khorasan-oriented elite to inscribe its victory on the form of the Sacred book. They did this by turning away from the tradition connected with their vanquished opponents and by affirming a variant close to the Mesopotamian cultural orbit. The victory of the 'Abbāsids coincided with new achievements in the unification of Arabic grammar and the growing mastery of calligraphers and ornamentalists. The Kūfic manuscripts created in the ninth century, copied in a monumental and significantly more regular script with the obligatory employment of diacritics and marks of vocalisation, adorned with carefully copied ornaments in gold and with intricate dividers between *āyāt* and *ajzā'*, formatted horizontally to set them apart instantly from other Scriptures and books, would undoubtedly best the outwardly unimpressive *ḥijāzī* copies. Everything about their appearance indicated that a new era had begun in the community.

4

As we have seen, manuscript E 20 from the collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies bears traces of several stages of work on the unification of the Qur'ānic text. In this sense, it is a rare piece of evidence and example of how this complex problem was solved in practice.

Although, as was noted above, by the eleventh—twelfth centuries the basic problems connected with the unification of the Sacred text had been solved, centuries would be required to bring the process to completion. Among the many events, which took place during that time, we note two which played a special role.

By decree of Catherine II in 1787, one of the presses in St. Petersburg printed for the first time in Russia the full Arabic text of the Qur'ān for free distribution among the "Kirghiz". At the same time, an order was issued to build mosques at state expense. In Catherine's own words, these measures were undertaken "not to introduce Mohammedism, but as bait to lure [the Kirghiz]." The Qur'ān was printed with a type-face cast especially for this purpose; it reproduced the hand of one of the best calligraphers and surpassed all Arabic type-faces then in use in European printing-presses. The edition differed in a basic fashion from European editions, primarily because it was Muslim in character: the text was prepared for printing by the *mullā* 'Uthmān Ismā'īl. Between 1789 and 1798, the Qur'ān went through five editions in Petersburg.

In 1801—1802, after the removal of limitations on the publication of Islamic religious literature in Russia, the Arabic typeface from St. Petersburg was transferred to Kazan, where the first Muslim printing-press was opened. From 1802 to 1859, this text of the Qur'ān was published many times in Kazan (as many as 150,000 copies of the full text were printed). The edition received high praise from European Orientalists and, in essence, supplanted previous editions of the Qur'ān in Europe. The so-called "Kazan Qur'āns", viewed as the first Muslim edition, spread widely in the East and were reproduced numerous times (manuscript imitations have been attested as well). In the opinion of R. Blachère, it is possible that this very edition played a deciding role in the centuries-long process of consolidating the uniformity of the Qur'ānic text [104]. One of the publishers' achievements was the inclusion of Qur'ānic variants (*al-qirā'āt*) which reproduced the tradition of the "seven readings" in the edition of 1857 alongside the basic text in the Ḥafṣ redact. This was a unique attempt to draw closer to a critical edition; the attempt was subsequently repeated in a number of Eastern reprints.

Catherine the Great's project, conceived as an openly colonial endeavour, was continued as the result of a special confluence of historical circumstances. By the mid-nineteenth century, Kazan, the main centre of Russian Muslim life, had become one of the major intellectual capitals of Islam, and in a number of areas could compete with such cities as Istanbul, Cairo, and Beirut. This process was aided by the high educational level of the indigenous population and the ideas of religious and political rebirth which had engulfed not only the upper levels of the Muslim intelligentsia but the broad masses as well. The expansion of Russia into Central Asia was accompanied by the active penetration of the region by Tatar merchants and commercial capital. The products of Kazan printing-presses were among the main goods on the book markets

of Bukhara, Samarkand, and Tashkent. One could find Qur'āns printed in Kazan in Iran, Afghanistan, and India. Russian pilgrims brought them along to the Ḥijāz and they were used in the houses built with Russian money in Mecca for Russian Muslims. Under the Soviets, this version of the text was published twice by official Muslim organizations (Ufa, 1923, 1956).

The final stage of work on the unification of the Qur'ānic text is connected with the appearance in Cairo in 1919, 1923 and 1928 of a new edition of the text, completed under the protection of the Egyptian king Fu'ād I (1868—1936). The edition, which represents at present the final step in canonising the orthography, structure of the text and rules of reading, was drawn up by a special collegium of Muslim scholars. Work on this edition was preceded by a complete loss of interest in Qur'ānic "variants" (*al-qirā'āt*) by Egyptian modernists. The edition was based on one of the "seven readings", the most popular in the Muslim world at that time, namely, the *Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim* "reading". The members of the collegium relied in their work not on an analysis of early manuscripts, but on contemporary Muslim works on the issue of "readings" (*al-qirā'āt*). This undoubtedly narrows the significance of the work. Nonetheless, the Egyptian edition today accepted throughout the Muslim world as well as by European scholars, represented a significant step forward in the study of the text [105]. The most widespread European edition of the Qur'ān at that time, G. Flügel's, was, on the whole, not very successful. The published text did not contain a critical apparatus and G. Flügel did not follow any one of the Muslim traditions of textual transmission. The principles to which he adhered in preparing his publication have remained unclear to the present day.

As had been the case earlier, the work of Muslim authorities on the Qur'ānic text was not isolated from processes and changes then taking place in the Islamic world. The activities of Muslim reformers, who strove to renew Islam by reviving the "great Islamic traditions", were then at a peak. In this connection, the creation of a canonical text of the Qur'ān seemed a pressing matter of primary importance in establishing the unity of the Muslim world. It was then that the liquidation of the Sultanate in Turkey (1922) first separated the office of the caliphate from secular power and later abolished it (1924), events seen by many Muslims as a catastrophe. In extending his patronage to the new edition of the Qur'ān, Fu'ād I, who had become the leader of the largest Muslim state, manifested ambitious designs. Furthermore, successful work on the Qur'ānic text was intended to have demonstrate the priority of Muslim scholars over Western Orientalists in this field of such overwhelming importance to the Islamic world.

Still, the appearance of the Egyptian edition, which has become the most widely distributed edition in the Muslim world, did not signify the complete disappearance of other traditions of textual transmission. In the West of the Muslim world and in Zaydite Yemen, traditions were preserved which go back to a different transmitter of the text — Warsh (d. 197/812). Today, publications of the Qur'ān in this transmission appear not only in North Africa, but in Cairo and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, the Qur'ān was published in Tunisia in a redact which goes back to Ḥafṣ [106].

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a final solution to the problems connected with the early history of the Qur'ān and the publication of a critical text appeared to be within reach. The pupils of T. Nöldeke laboured fruitfully, continuing the work of their teacher on the "Geschichte des Qorans" (significantly, Nöldeke himself chose not to continue this work). In 1927, G. Bergstresser and A. Jeffery jointly developed a plan for a critical edition of the Qur'ānic text [107], the necessity of which was noted by A. Dérenbourg, R. Geyer, and I. Goldziher. In his 1935 work, "Progress in the study of the Qur'ānic text", A. Jeffery noted the absence not only of a critical edition, but of an overview work on "Qur'ānic theology", of an expanded scholarly commentary to the text, and of a documented dictionary to the Qur'ān. He wrote of the need to study the Qur'ānic lexicon. The works of medieval Muslim authors on the problem of the "readings" were published; in Münich, a photo archive of early copies was collected. G. Bergstresser's tragic death in the Bavarian Alps, the destruction of the Münich photo archive by Allied bombs during the Second World War, and the deaths of key participants had a disastrous effect on the project. At the same time, the methodological problems connected with the very approach began to receive consideration.

The publication of a Qur'ānic text which differs from the *rasm 'Uthmānī* seems at present unproductive, in the first place because the entire complex of Muslim religious disciplines is based on that very edition. Such a text would become a "second Flügel Qur'ān"; it would never be recognised by the Muslim tradition. The reconstruction of some original form of the text is today of lesser interest; more important for our studies is the history of the text's consolidation and the evolution of its interpretation in various eras and areas of the Muslim world.

It is symbolic that the full publication of an Encyclopaedia of Qur'ānic readings, which in conjunction with the "Cairo edition" formed in essence a critical edition, coincided in time and place with the opening in Kuwait of an exhibition of Qur'ānic manuscripts from Ṣan'ā'. It was an analysis of these manuscripts which first demonstrated in all clarity the discrepancy between that history of the Qur'ānic text which is reconstructed on the basis of the Muslim tradition and the real history of the first stages of the text's consolidation. Still earlier, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, studies confirmed the contradictory nature of this tradition.

Only the joint efforts of paleographers, linguists and historians, the careful description and study of extant manuscripts (in the first place the Qur'āns from Ṣan'ā', Or. 2165 from the British Library, the Istanbul and Cairo collections, also from the St. Petersburg collections), and the creation of a data-base of early copies [108] can provide us with objective material for reconstructing the early history of the Qur'ān. In this connection, the facsimile publication of extant fragments and their introduction into scholarly circulation is of the utmost importance [109].

In the final analysis, it is only with such efforts that we will succeed in drawing closer to reconstructing the real history of the Sacred text, a history which manifested itself in the struggle and collision of various opinions and which ended with the affirmation of the Muslim canon. It is sad enough that at the close of the twentieth century, a solution to the problem appears to us almost as far off as at its inception.

Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
1r	79a	2:17(? — فی ظلمات)—29(?—فی الارض)	A	27
1v	79b	2:30(? — قال)—47([كم]انی فضلت و)	A	26
2r	1b	2:176(بعید)—184(معدودات)	A	23
2v	1a	2:184(الذین)—190(و لا)	A	23
3r	51b	3:95(حنیفا)—112(علیهم [ضربت]و)	A	31
3v	51a	3:112(المسکنة[ا])—131(اعدت)	A	31
4r	80b	3:163(هم درجات)—179([یب]من الط)	A	29
4v	80a	3:179(وماکان الله)—191(ویتفکرون فی)	A	29
5r	4a	4:25(من فتیاتکم)—36(بالوالدین)	A	26
5v	4b	4:36(احسانا)—47(الذین او)	A	26
6r	5a	4:47(توا الکتاب)—58(الله)	A	26
6v	5b	4:58(کان)—71(الذین)	A	26
7r	6a	4:71(امنوا)—81(طایفة)	A	26
7v	6b	4:81(منهم)—91(واقتلوهم)	A	26
8r	7b	4:91(حیث)—102(منهم)	A	28
8v	7a	4:102(معك)—114(الناس)	A	28
9r	8b	4:114(ومن)—127(المستضعفین)	A	25
9v	8a	4:127(من الولدان)—136(انزل من)	A	25
10r	58b	6:82(ولم)—93(الملایکة)	A	25
10v	58a	6:93([با]سطوا)—102(ذالکم الله)	A	25
11r	17a	6:125(حرجا)—136([ن]کا)	A	24
11v	17b	6:136(لله)—144(فمن)	A	24
12r	18a	6:144(اظلم)—151(حرم)	A	23
12v	18b	6:151(الله)—159(ینبهم)	A	23
13r	19a	6:159(عا)—165 7:1—9(خفت)	A	21 + 2
13v	19b	7:9(موازینه)—22(منین)	A	23
14r	20a	7:23(قالا)—33(والبغی)	A	23
14v	20b	7:33(بغیر)—42(الصالحات)	A	23
15r	21b	7:42(لانکلف)—53(الا)	A	24
15v	21a	7:53(تاویله)—62(واعلم)	A	24
16r	22b	7:62(من الله)—73(-[اء]قدج)	A	23
16v	22a	7:73(-تکم)—84(-ا عاقبة)	A	23
17r	23b	7:84(-لمجرمین)—93(فتولی)	A	23
17v	23a	7:93(عنهم)—104(رسول من)	A	23
18r	24b	7:104(رب)—125(ربنا)	A	23
18v	24a	7:125(منقلبون)—135(الرجز)	A	23

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
19r	10a	7:168(قطعناهم)—178(من يهد)	A	24
19v	10b	7:178(الله)—190(جعلا)	A	25
20r	9a	7:190(له)—205(و)	A	23
20v	9b	7:205(اذكر)—206 8:1—9(ممدكم)	A	20,5 + 2,5
21r	55b	9:61(قل اذن)—70(قوم)	A	23
21v	55a	9:70(نوح)—78(الم يعلموا)	A	23
22r	77a	9:96(الفاسقين)—105(الغيب)	A	23
22v	77b	9:105(والشهادة)—113(ما تبين لهم)	A	23
23r	11a	9:113(انهم)—122(يحذرون)	A	24
23v	11b	9:123(يايها)—129 10:1—4(جميعا)	A	22 + 2
24r	12a	10:4(وعد)—15(يرجون)	A	23
24v	12b	10:15(لقاءنا)—23(ثم)	A	23
25r	13a	10:23(الينا)—33(كلمت)	A	24
25v	13b	10:33(ربك)—45(بلقاء)	A	24
26r	14b	10:45(الله)—61(قرءان)	A	25
26v	14a	10:61(ولا)—73(معه)	A	25
27r	15b	10:73(فى الفلك)—88(انك)	A	24
27v	15a	10:88(ءاتيت)—99(مؤمنين)	A	24
28r	16b	10:100(وما)—109 11:1—2(تعبدوا)	A	20,5 + 2,5
28v	16a	11:2(الاالله)—14([لله] ا)	A	25
29r	2b	20:89(ا[ضر])—108([اعى]الد)	B	23
29v	2a	20:108(عوج)—124(فان)	B	23
30r	78a	24:11(ان الذين)—22(لكم والله)	B	25
30v	78b	24:22(رحيم[غفور])—31(لم يظهروا)	B	24
31r	27a	24:31(على‌عورات)—39(والذين)	B	24
31v	27b	24:39(كفروا)—49(يكن)	B	24
32r	28a	24:49(لهم)—58([من]ثيابكم)	B	23
32v	28b	24:58(الظهيرة)—62(واستغفر)	B	23
33r	29a	24:63(لهم)—64 25:1—9(الامثال)	B	20 + 3
33v	29b	25:9(فضلوا)—23(عملوا)	B	23
34r	30a	25:23(من عمل)—40(نشورا)	B	23
34v	30b	25:41(و اذا)—58(و توكل)	B	24
35r	31b	25:58(على‌الحى)—74(-اعين وا)	B	25

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
35v	31a	25:75(-جعلنا)—77 26:1—19(و فعلت)	B	22 + 3
36r	32b	26:19(فعلتك)—45(يافكون)	B	24
36v	32a	26:45(فالقى)—75(افرءيتم)	B	24
37r	33b	26:75(ما كنتم)—115(مبين)	B	26
37v	33a	26:116(قالوا)—152(يفسدون)	B	25
38r	34b	26:152(فى الارض)—181(ا[لكيل])	B	24
38v	34a	26:183(اشياء)—215(لمن[اتبعك])	B	24
39r	35a	27:54(الفاحشة)—66(ادارك)	B	22
39v	35b	27:66(علمهم)—82(الناس)	B	22
40r	36a	27:82(كانوا)—93 28:1—3(فرعون)	B	20,5 + 1,5
40v	36b	28:3(بالحلق)—15(-غفلةمن ا)	B	23
41r	37a	28:15(-هلها)—25(وقص عليه)	B	23
41v	37b	28:25(القصص)—35(سلطانا)	B	23
42r	38b	28:81([د]ون الله)—88 29:1—6(جاهد)	B	21,5 + 1,5
42v	38a	29:6(فانما)—17(واعبدوه)	B	23
43r	39b	29:17(واشكروا)—29(السبيل)	B	23
43v	39a	29:29(وتاتون)—40(اغرقناوما)	B	23
44r	40b	29:40(كان الله)—51(وذكرى)	B	23
44v	40a	29:51(لقوم)—65(الى ا[لبر])	B	23
45r	41a	30:27(وهواهون)—39(تريدون)	B	24
45v	41b	30:39(وجه)—51(الظلو[ا])	B	24
46r	42a	30:51(من بعده)—60 31:1—7(و[لى])	B	22 + 2
46v	42b	31:7(مستكبرا)—19(من صو-)	B	24
47r	43a	31:19(-تك)—32(كالظلل)	B	25
47v	43b	31:32(دعوا)—34 32:1—10(وقالوا)	B	22,5 + 2,5
48r	44a	32:10(اءذا)—24(صبروا)	B	24
48v	44b	32:24(وكانوا)—33 33:1—5(تعمدت)	B	21,5 + 2,5
49r	45a	33:5(قلو)—16(ان فر-)	B	23
49v	45b	33:16(-رتم)—25(وكفى الله)	B	23
50r	46b	33:25(المومنين)—35(والصابر[ات])	B	23
50v	46a	33:35(والخاشعين)—47(و)	B	24

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
51r	47b	33:47(بشر)—53(لكم ان)	B	25
51v	47a	33:53(تؤذوا)—69(امنوا لا)	B	25
52r	48b	33:69(تكونوا)—73 34:1—8(بالاخرة)	B	24,5 + 1,5
52v	48a	34:8(فى العذاب)—20(الافريقامن)	B	26
53r	49b	34:20(المؤمنين)—33(و النهار)	B	24
53v	49a	34:33(اذ تامروننا)—44(-يد)	B	24
54r	50b	34:44(-[رس]ونها)—54 35:1—3(-اذكر)	B	22 + 2
54v	50a	35:3(-وا نعمت)—12(تلبسونها)	B	24
55r	52a	35:38(والارض)—45(بصيرا) 36 — ornament *sūra* separator	B	21,5 + 1,5
55v	52b	36:1(بسم)—21(-ا)	B	23
56r	53a	36:21(-[تب]عوا)—41(الفلك)	B	23
56v	53b	36:41(المشحون)—61(صراط)	B	23
57r	54a	36:61(مستقيم)—83 37:1(صفا)	B	24 + 1
57v	54b	37:2(فالزاجرات)—36(-ويقو)	B	25
58r	56a	37:36(-لون)—76(العظيم)	B	24
58v	56b	37:77(و جعلنا)—114(منناعلى)	B	24
59r	57b	37:114(موسى)—158(الجنة انهم)	B	25
59v	57a	37:158(لمحضرون)—182 38:1—8(من ذكرى)	B	22 + 2
60r	25b	38:8(بل)—26(جعلناك)	B	25
60v	25a	38:26(خليفة)—43(ووهبنا)	B	25
61r	26b	38:43(له)—69(لى)	B	24
61v	26a	38:69(من علم)—88 39:1—3(يختلفون)	B	20,5 + 2,5
62r	81b	43:8(مثل)—28([كل[مة])	B	25
62v	81a	43:28(باقية)—48([نريهم م[ن])	B	25
63r	59a	44:3(انزلناه [ان])—31(عاليا)	B	23
63v	59b	44:31(من المسرفين)—59 45:1—2(الكتاب)	B	22 + 2
64r	60a	45:2(من الله)—17(ان ربك)	B	24
64v	60b	45:17(يقضى)—30(الصالحات)	B	24
65r	61a	45:30([فيد]خلهم)—37 46:1—5(وهم عن)	B	21,5 + 2,5

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
65v	61b	46:5(دعايهم)—15(لى فى ذ-)	B	24
66r	62a	46:15(-ريتى)—26(مكناهم فيما)	B	24
66v	62b	46:26(انمكناكم)—35(الفاسقون) 47 — ornament *sūra* separator	B	23 + 1
67r	63b	47:1(الله [بسم])—13(قوة من)	B	24
67v	63a	47:13(قريتك)—25(الشيطان)	B	24
68r	64b	47:25(لهم [سول])—38 48:1(مبينا)	B	23,5 + 2,5
68v	64a	48:2(ليغفر)—15(يريدون)	B	26
69r	65b	48:15([انيبد]لوا)—26([الجا هلية])	B	26
69v	65a	48:26(فانزل)—29 49:1—6(-الذينءا)	B	23,5 + 1,5
70r	66b	49:6(ان[منوا]—)—16(-قل ا)	B	26
70v	66a	49:16(-تعلمون)—18 50:1—18(-الالديه ر)	B	24 + 2
71r	67b	50:18 (-قيب)—44(يسير)	B	25
71v	67a	50: (نحن)45 51:1—36(غير بيت)	B	24,5 + 1,5
72r	68a	51:36(من المسلمين)—60 52:1—11([فل]ويل)	B	23,5 + 1,5
72v	68b	52:11(يومئذ)—40(مثقلون)	B	25
73r	69a	52:41(ام عندهم)—49 53:1—23(-الاا)	B	22 + 2
73v	69b	53:23(-لظن)—45(الانثى)	B	23
74r	70a	53:46(من نطفة)—62 54:1—10(ربه انى)	B	18,5 + 2,5
74v	70b	54:10(مغلوب)—33(بالنذر)	B	22
75r	71a	54:34(انا ارسلنا)—55 55:1—2(القرءان)	B	20,5 + 2,5
75v	71b	55:3(خلق)—33(-الجن وا)	B	22
76r	72a	55:33(-لانس)—59(تكذبان)	B	22
76v	72b	55:60(هل جزاء)—78 56:1—11(اولايك)	B	19,5 + 2,5
77r	73b	56:11([المقربو]ن)—51(الضالون)	B	22
77v	73a	56:51(المكذبون)—83(فلولااذا)	B	22
78r	74b	56:83(بلغت)—96 57:1—6(-الليل فىا)	B	19,5 + 1,5

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
78v	74a	57:6(لنهار-)—13(وراءكم)	B	21
79r	75b	57:13([فالتمسوا]نورا)—20(كمثل)	B	22
79v	75a	57:20(غيث)—27(رافة)	B	22
80r	76b	57:27(ورحمة)—29 58:1—4(لتؤمنوا با-)	B	20 + 2
80v	76a	58:4(لله-)—11(ءامنوا اذا)	B	22
81r	3b	70:1(بسم)—37(عزين)	B	24
81v	3a	70:38(كل)—44 71:1—12(باموال)	B	22 + 2

Table 2

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
ا		—					
ب							
ت							
ث							
ج							
ح							
خ	*						
د		—					
ذ		—					
ر		—					
ز		—					
س							

* Missing in the manuscript.

Continuation of the Table 2

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
ش							
ص							
ض							
ط							
ظ	*						
ع							
غ							
ف							
ق							
ع							
ل							
م							
ن							
ه							

* Missing in the manuscript.

Continuation of the Table 2

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
و		—					
ي							
ة		—	—				
لا		—					

Letters are taken from the following pages: 7b, 8a, 8b, 12b, 16b, 17a, 18a, 21a, 22b, 24b.

For A.I, B.Ia, B.Ib, B.II see: F. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'āns of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD.* The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. I (Oxford, 1992), Table II, letter forms of groups A and B, pp. 38—9.

A.I = KFQ 42 and KFQ 62, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 5 in *The Abbasid Tradition* and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 330e, fol. 39a, for the *ṭā'/ẓā'* only.
B.Ia = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 331, fol. 43a.
B.Ib = KFQ 20, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 6 in *The Abbasid Tradition*
B.II = KFQ 13 and KFQ 14, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 9 in *The Abbasid Tradition*

Table 3

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
ا		—					
ب							
ت							
ث							
ج							
ح							
خ							
د		—					
ذ		—					
ر		—					
ز		—					

Continuation of the Table 3

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
س							
ش							
ص							
ض							
ط							
ظ							
ع							
غ							
ف							
ق							
ع							
ل							
م							
ن							
ه							

Continuation of the Table 3

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
و		—					
ي							
ة		—	—				
لا		—					

Letters are taken from the following pages: 2b, 24a, 35a, 37a, 37b, 45a, 48a, 60a, 60b, 61a, 66a, 69b, 71b, 73a, 81a.

For A.I, B.Ia, B.Ib, B.II see: F. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'āns of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD.* The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. I (Oxford, 1992), Table II, letter forms of groups A and B, pp. 38—9.

A.I = KFQ 42 and KFQ 62, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 5 in *The Abbasid Tradition* and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 330e, fol. 39a, for the *ṭā'/ẓā'* only.
B.Ia = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 331, fol. 43a.
B.Ib = KFQ 20, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 6 in *The Abbasid Tradition*
B.II = KFQ 13 and KFQ 14, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 9 in *The Abbasid Tradition*

Table 4

Nos.	Ornamental devices	Page number	Group of *āyāt*	Type of script
1.		8a	1	A
2.		26a	1	B
3.		66a	1	B
4.		72b	1	B
5.		8a	10	A
6.		26a	10	B
7.		33b	10	B
8.		56b	10	B
9.		72b	10	B
10.		7b	100	A
11.		15a	100	A

Continuation of the Table 4

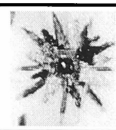
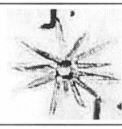
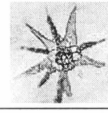
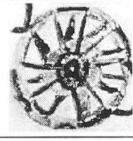
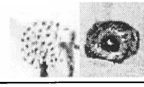
Nos.	Ornamental devices	Page number	Group of *āyāt*	Type of script
12.		23a	100	A
13.		51b	100	A
14.		58a	100	A
15.		77a	100	A
16.		33b	100	B
17.		56b	100	B
18.		9a	200	A
19.		34a	200	B

Table 5

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
1 *.		7:61	21a	A
2.		35:41	52a	B
3.		47:9	63b	B
4.		48:10	64a	B

* First device is situated at the end of the line, second device — at the beginning of the next line.

Continuation of the Table 5

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
5.		50:40	67b	B
6.		55:31	71b	B

Table 6

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
1.		6:165	19a	A
2.		35:45	52a	B
3.		53:62	70a	B
4.		55:78	72b	B

Table 7

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
1.		10:61	14a	A
2.		25:3	29a	B
3.		32:18	44a	B
4.		33:21	45b	B
5.		37:28	54b	B

Table 8

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	Text	Number of *āyāt* (declared)	Number of *āyāt* (real)	Number of *āyāt* (according to the Cairo edition)
1.	3a	71	سورة نوح ثلثون اية	30	—	28
2.	9b	8	الانفال سبعون و ست ايات	76	—	75
3.	11b	10	يونس ماية و تسع ايات	109	109	109
4.	16b	11	هود ماية و عشرون و اثنان	122	—	123
5.	19a	7	الاعراف مايتان و ست ايات	206	—	206
6.	26a	39	الزمر سبعون و اثنان	72	—	75
7.	29a	25	الفرقان سبعون و سبع ايات	77	77	77
8.	31a	26	مايتان و عشرون و سبع ايات الشعراء	227	—	227
9.	36a	28	القصص ثمانون و ثمان ايات	88	—	88
10.	38b	29	العنكبوت ستون و تسع ايات	69	—	69
11.	42a	31	لقمان ثلثون و ثلث ايات	33	34	34
12.	43b	32	السجدة سورة ثلثون ايات	30	33	30
13.	44b	33	الاخزاب سبعون و ثلث ايات	73	73	73
14.	48b	34	سبا خمسون و اربع ايات	54	54	54
15.	50b	35	الملايك اربعون و خمس ايات	45	—	45
16.	52a	36	سورة يس ثمانون و اثنان	82	83	83
17.	54a	37	الصافات ماية و ثمانون و اثنان	182	182	182
18.	57a	38	سورة ص ثمانون و ست ايات	86	88	88
19.	59b	45	الجاثية ثلثون و ست ايات	36	37	37
20.	61a	46	الاحقاف ثلثون و اربع ايات	34	35	35
21.	62b	47	[...] ثلثون و تسع ايات	39	38	38

Continuation of the Table 8

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	Text	Number of *āyāt* (declared)	Number of *āyāt* (real)	Number of *āyāt* (according to the Cairo edition)
22.	64b	48	الفتح عشرون و تسع ايات	29	29	29
23.	65a	49	الحجرات ثمان عشرة اية	18	18	18
24.	66a	50	سورة ق اربعون و خمس ايات	45	45	45
25.	67a	51	الذاريات ستون اية	60	60	60
26.	68a	52	الطور اربعون و (تسع) سبع ايات	47 (9) — ?	49	49
27.	69a	53	النجم احدى و ستون اية	61	62	62
28.	70a	54	الساعة خمسون و خمس اية	55	55	55
29.	71a	55	الرحمان سبعون و سبع ايات	77	78	78
30.	72b	56	الواقعة تسعون و تسع ايات	99	96	96
31.	74b	57	الحديد عشرون و ثمان ايات	28	29	29
32.	76b	58	المجادلة عشرون و اية	20 — ?	—	22

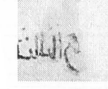
Table 9

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	*Āyāt* additionally marked as separate	*Āyāt* not marked as separate ones
1.	2b	20		92
2.	3b	70		3, 16,15
3.	4a	4	34	29 — ?, 32 — ?
4.	7b	4		96 — ?
5.	19a	6	161	
6.	19a	7		1
7.	21a	7		59
8.	26a	38		84
9.	27b	24		43
10.	30b	25	47	
11.	31a	26		1
12.	32a	26	49	51, 71, 72
13.	36a	28		1
14.	38b	29		1
15.	41a	30		
16.	42a	31		1
17.	42b	31	15	
18.	43b	31	32	
19.	43b	32		1
20.	45a	33		11
21.	46a	33		41

Continuation of the Table 9

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	*Āyāt* additionally marked as separate	*Āyāt* not marked as separate ones
22.	52a	35	41	
23.	52b	36		1, 2 — ?
24.	54b	37		8, 22
25.	56a	37		69
26.	57a	38		1
27.	57b	37		153
28.	59a	44		25
29.	59b	44		34
30.	59b	45		1
31.	61a	46		1
32.	63b	47	4, 4	
33.	64a	48		8
34.	66a	50	11	13
35.	68a	51		58
36.	68a	52		1
37.	68b	52		26
38.	69a	52		44
39.	69b	53		28, 33, 36, 42
40.	70a	54		7
41.	70b	54	22	
42.	71a	54		54
43.	71a	55		1, 2
44.	71b	55		3
45.	72a	55		33, 43
46.	73a	56	51	63, 71
47.	73b	56		49
48.	74b	56	89, 92	90
49.	81b	43		16

Table 10

Nos.	Page number	MS *āyāt* number	Cairo edition *āyāt* number	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark in the MS
1.	5b	4:61	4:58	نصف الحزب ٩	
2.	7b	4:99		ع	
3.	10a	7:170	7:170	حزب ١٨	

Continuation of the Table 10

Nos.	Page number	MS *āyāt* number	Cairo edition *āyāt* number	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark in the MS
4.	16a	11:5	11:5	جزء ١٢ /حزب ٢٣	
5.	25b	38:24	38:24	سجدة	
6.	29b	25:21	25:21	جزء ١٩ /حزب ٣٨	
7.	35a	27:55	27:55	جزء ٢٠ /حزب ٣٩	
8.	37a	28:21	28:12	نصف الحزب ٣٩	
9.	40b	29:45	29:45	جزء ٢١ /حزب ٤١	
10.	44a	32:15	32:15	سجدة	
11.	46b	46:30	46:30	ربع الحزب ٥١	
12.	61a	46:1	46:1	جزء ٢٦ /حزب ٥١	
13.	65a	49:1	49:1	ربع الحزب ٥٢	
14.	67a	51:30	51:30	جزء ٢٧ /حزب ٥٣	
15.	70a	53:62	53:62	سجدة	
16.	76b	58:1	58:1	جزء ٢٨ /حزب ٥٥	

Table 11

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Cairo edition
1.	2b	20:96	قل		قَالَ
2.	3b	70:24	امولهم		أَمْوَٰلِهِمْ
3.	3b	70:29	حفطون		حَٰفِظُونَ
4.	4a	4:33	مولى		مَوَٰلِيَ
5.	4b	4:38	الشيطن		ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ
6.	4b	4:44	الكتب		ٱلْكِتَٰبِ
7.	5b	4:61	المنفقين		ٱلْمُنَٰفِقِينَ
8.	14b	10:54	راوا		رَأَوُا۟
9.	20b	7:38	كل ما		كُلَّمَا
10.	20b	7:38	ختا		حَتَّىٰٓ
11.	25b	38:22,24, 25	دواد		دَاوُۥدَ
12.	35b	27:73 (twice)	لذوا		لَذُو
13.	54b	37:30	طاغين		طَٰغِينَ

Continuation of the Table 11

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Cairo edition
14.	54b	37:31	غاوين		غَوِينَ
15.	66b	49:6	فسق		فَاسِقٌ
16.	75a 75b	57:21 57:29	ذا		ذُو
17.	80b	3:179	على		عَلَى

Table 12

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Cairo edition
1.	7b	4:93	فجزاه		جَزَآؤُهُۥ
2.	9a	7:201	طيف		طَٰٓئِفٌ
3.	14b	10:61	شان		شَأْنٍ
4.	14b	10:61	قرن		قُرْءَانٍ
5.	15b	10:73	خليف		خَلَٰٓئِفَ
6.	35b	27:67	ابونا		ءَابَآؤُنَآ
7.	80a	3:189	شى		شَىْءٍ

Table 13

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Notes
1.	4a	4:34	المضجع	المضاجع	Variant of Ibn Mas'ūd and others
2.	4a	4:34	قومون	فوامون	

Continuation of the Table 13

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Notes
3.	4b	4:44	الضللة	الضلالة	
4.	5a	4:56	بايتنا	باياتنا	
5.	6a	4:74	فليقتل	فليقاتل	
6.	6a	4:80	اطع	اطاع	
7.	8a	4:130	وسعا	واسعا	
8.	8a	4:134	ثوب	ثواب	
9.	13a	10:28	يوم	و يوم	
10.	16a	11:5	ترون	يرون	
11.	18b	6:157	الونا	الوانا	
12.	24a	7:130	فرعو	فرعون	
13.	32b	26:42	لمن	اذا لمن	Ibn Mas'ūd
14.	37b	28:27	انكحك	ان انكحك	
15.	40a	29:56	يعبدي	يا عبادي	
16.	47a	33:68	كثيرا	كبيرا	Ibn Mas'ūd
17.	51b	3:108	الكتب امنوا	الكتاب	Cf. 5:65
18.	56a	37:69	باهم	اباَءهم	
19.	58a	6:98	وحدة	واحدة	
20.	60b	45:24	هى حياتنا	هى الا حياتنا	
21.	65b	48:15	كلم	كلام	Ibn Mas'ūd and others
22.	66b	49:6	على فعلتم	على ما فعلتم	
23.	69a	53:17			Unrecognised sign between lines
24.	71b	55:20	برزج	برزخ	
25.	73b	56:48	ابونا	اباونا	
26.	75a	57:21	ذا	ذوا	
27.	76b	57:29	ذا	ذوا	
28.	80a	3:180	خير	خيرا	
29.	80b	3:164			Unrecognised sign between lines
30.	80b	3:175	تخفوهم	تخافوهم	
31	80b	3:177	بالايمن	بالايمان	

Notes

1. M. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iuzhnaia Araviia v rannee srednevekov'e* (Southern Arabia in the Early Middle Ages) (Moscow, 1985), p. 24.

2. I. Sh. Shifman, *Vetkhiĭ Zavet i ego mir* (The Old Testament and Its World) (Moscow, 1987), pp. 145—7.

3. *Idem*, "Istoricheskie korni koranicheskogo obraza Allakha" ("The historical roots of the Qur'ānic image of Allah"), *Problemy arabskoĭ kul'tury. Pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Moscow, 1987), p. 286.

4. *Idem*, "O nekotorykh ustanovleniiakh rannego islama" ("On certain concepts in early Islam"), *Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, eds. P. A. Griaznevich and S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), pp. 41—4.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 35—41.

6. H. Speyer, *Die biblishen Erzählungen im Coran* (Nachdruck—Hildesheim, 1961).

7. V. V. Ivanov, V. N. Toporov, "Strukturno-tipologicheskiĭ podkhod k semanticheskoĭ interpretatsii proizvedeniĭ izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva v diakhronicheskom aspekte" ("A structural-typological approach to the semantic interpretation of works of depictive art in their diachronic aspect"), *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, vol. VIII (Tartu, 1977), pp. 16—32.

8. C. E. Dodd, Sh. Khairallah, *The Image of the Word: A Study of Qur'anic Verses in Islamic Achitecture*, (Beirut, 1981), i—ii.

9. See E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: V. Language, the unconcious and the "real world", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/1 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1998), notes 83 and 90.

10. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Jeffery (Leiden, 1937), p. 7. In his preliminary selection of non-canonical readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy, G. Bergstresser attempted to evaluate these two texts in comparison with the "'Uthmānic version", see G. Bergstrasser, *Die Geschichte des Qorantexts* (Leipiz, 1926), i, pp. 60—96.

11. In at least three cities — Tashkent (the library of the Administration of the Muslims of Uzbekistan), Cairo (the burial crypt of al-Ḥusayn) and Istanbul (the Museum of Islamic Artifacts and Topkapı Sarayı) — copies of the so-called "'Uthmānic Qur'ān" are stored which have allegedly preserved stains of the murdered caliph 'Uthmān's blood. These undoubtedly early manuscripts are the subject of a special literature. On the Tashkent Qur'ān in particular, see: Central State Archive of Uzbekistan, archive P-1, register 29, file 23; Archive of the Saint-Petersburg Institute of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, archive 1, register 1, file 25 (1868); A. L. Kun, "Koran Osmana" ("The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān"), *Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskogo kraia*, fasc. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1874), pp. 401—4; A. P. Khoroshin, ""Pervyĭ Koran" (Samarkandskoe izdanie)" ("The first Qur'ān: Samarqand edition"), in *idem*, *Sbornik stateĭ, kasaiushchikhsia do Turkestanstkogo kraia* (St. Petersburg, 1876), pp. 238—41; N. P. Ostroumov, *Koran i progress* (The Qur'ān and Progress) (Tashkent, 1901), pp. 124—33; N. S. Lykoshin, "Po'lza iazykoznaniia (Sartovskiĭ rasskaz)" ("The benefit of linguistics: the story of a Sart"), *Turkestanskie vedomosti*, No. 40 (1892); A. N. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki" ("The Kūfic Qur'ān from St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatosrkogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, VI (1891), pp. 69—133; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire" ("The Kūfic Qur'ān from Khedival library in Cairo"), *ibid.*, XIV (1901), pp. 119—54. A. F. Shebunin's work in many ways anticipated ideas on the necessity of concerted study and description of early copies of the Qur'ān which G. Bergstresser (1886—1933) and A. Jeffery would formulate a quarter of a century later. A. Jeffery and I. Mendelsohn, "The orthography of the Samarqand Qur'ān codex", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 3 (1942), pp. 175—94; B. V. Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii* (Central Asia in Pre-revolutionary and Soviet Oriental Studies) (Tashkent, 1965), pp. 100—8; N. S. Sadykova, "Kak "Koran Osmana" byl vozvrashchen Turkestanskoĭ respublike" ("How the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān" was returned to the Turkestan Republic"), *Materialy po istorii Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1966); T. Stetskevich, "Koran Osmana" ("The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān"), *Nauka i religiia*, 7 (1975), pp. 54—6; Salaḥ al-Dīn al-Munjid, *Dirasāt fī tārīkh al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī* (Beirut, n. d.), pp. 48—50; Solih Habibullo, "Qur'on va Usmon Muhafī", *Adabiyet va san'at, O'zbekiston adabiyeti va san'ati* (Toshkent, yil, 25 noyabr 1994); *Tārīkh al-Muṣḥaf al-'Uthmānī fī Ṭashqand*, ta'līf Shaykh Ismā'īl Makhdūm (Tashkent, 1971); A. Hasanov, "History of the Tashkent Sacred Osman's Koran", *Bulletin of SCST of the Republic of Uzbekistan* (Tashkent 1997), pp. 25—31. In Saint-Petersburg, in 1905, a facsimile traced from this manuscript (the tracing, we know now, contains a number of inaccuracies) was published as a gigantic, full-size foliant, see *Samarkandskiĭ kuficheskiĭ Koran po predaniiu pisannyĭ tret'im khalifom Osmanom (644—656)* (Samarqand Kūfic Qur'ān Writen According to the Tradition by the Hand of the Third Caliph 'Uthmān), published through the St. Petersburg Archological Institute by V. I. Uspensky and S. I. Pisarev (St. Petersburg, 1905). A reduced-size edition was published in 1981 by the American Publishing House "Haidarabad Haus". At present, a CD-ROM edition is being prepared under the auspices of the UNESCO program "Memory of the World" (see: http://www. unesco.org/webworld/mdm/en/index_mdm.html). On the "Qur'āns of 'Uthmān" see also A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (London, 1937), pp. 338—9; E. Whellan, "Writing the word of God: some early Qur'ān manuscripts and their milieu" (Part 1), *Ars Orientalis*, XX (1990), p. 132.

12. Many centuries earlier, the members of the Yamni synedrion, who were trying to develop a canonical text of the books of the Bible, encountered similar problems. Despite all their efforts, non-canonical manuscripts were not removed from circulation. Confirmation of this is provided, for example, by a papyrus dated to the second century B.C. which contains an excerpt from the Ten Commandments, cf. Shifman, *Vetkhiĭ Zavet*, p. 18.

13. A. Rippin, "Qur'ān 21:95: "A Ban is Upon Any Town"", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XXIV (1979), pp. 43—53; *idem*, "Qur'ān 7:40: "Until the Camel Passes Through the Eye of the Needle"", *Arabica*, XXVII (1980), pp. 107—13; *idem*, "Qur'ān 78/24: a study in Arabic lexicography", *ibid.*, XXVIII (1983), pp. 311—20. In Kuwait, an encyclopaedia of Qur'ānic variants has been published: 'Abd al-'Āl Sālim Makram, Aḥmad Mukhtār 'Umar (I'dād), *Mu'jam al-qirā'āt al-Qur'āniyya, ma'a maqaddima fī 'l-qirā'āt wa ashhar al-qurrā'* (al-Kuwait, 1402—05/1982—85), i—viii.

14. AP 8 = PERF No. 558 in Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienne) and No. 15002 in Staatliche Museen (Berlin). See Y. Rāġib, "L'écriture des papyrus arabes aux premiers siècles de l'Islam", *Les premières écritures islamiques*, Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranee, vol. LVIII (Aix-en-Provence, 1991), p. 16.

15. They are absent, for example, in four unpublished documents from Louvres, dated to 664—65. In official correspondence, this sometimes led to tragic misunderstandings, see Rāġib, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 4; also p. 26.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

17. M. G. Carter, "Les origines de la grammaire arabe", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XL (1972), pp. 69—97. See also G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber* (Leipzig, 1862); G. Weil, *Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer* (Leiden, 1913).

18. J. W. Fück, "Abū l'Aswad al-Du'alī", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. I (Leiden, 1961), pp. 105—6; H. Lammence, "Ziyād ibn Abīhi, viceroi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'awia Ier", extract from *Revista degli Studi Orientali*, IV (1912); C. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ* (Paris, 1953), p.130, n. 5.

19. T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*. Dritter Teil: *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*, von G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 103 f., 106, 124, 260—2; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, (Halle, 1888), i, pp. 99 ff., 139 ff.; Rāġib, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 28, n. 23; W. Diem, "Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie". I: "Die Schreibung der Vocalen", *Orientalia*, XLVIII (1979).

20. Whellan, *op. cit.*, p. 128—9, n. 36; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 260. This division was dictated by practical concerns (it is convenient to memorize, read or copy a text in sections of equal length on each day of the lunar month) and was based on the example of the Prophet's Companions. Thus, according to the tradition, the caliph 'Uthmān began on Friday night with the second *sūra*, continuing up through the fifth; on Saturday night, from the sixth through the eleventh; on Sunday night, from 12 through 19; on Monday night, from 20 through 28; then from 29 through 38; then from 30 through 55, after which on Thursday night he finished the text, from 56 through 114. Other Companions of the Prophet employed a different division, namely: first part — the first 3 *sūras*; 2 — the following 5 *sūras*; 3 — 7 *sūras*; 4 — 9 *sūras*; 5 — 11 *sūras*; 6 — 13 *sūras*; 7 — the remaining *sūras*. See A. A. Khismatullin, *Sufiĭskaia ritual'naia praktika* (Ṣūfī Ritual Practice) (St. Petersburg, 1996), p. 110; Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, pp. 119—20; Whellan, *op. cit.*, p. 128—9, n. 36.

21. Rāġib, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 24. For photo, see R. G. Khury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Wiesbaden, 1972), ii.

22. See Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, pp. 10 ff.

23. Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 195. The theologian al-'Aṭṭār, who died in 965, defended in one of his interpretations several readings which diverge from the official redact. He did this on the basis of the consonant shapes, asserting that in vowelling, everything, which produces meaning in the classical Arabic language, is permitted. He was reported to the authorities and called before a court of jurists and "readers" to repent. His renunciation was recorded in writing and signed by all present. The tradition holds that, despite these circumstances, he preserved his own variants until his death and even taught them to his pupils (*ibid.*).

24. For some time, popularity was retained by the system of al-Dūrī (d. 860) from Abū 'Amr (d. 770), al-Baṣra tradition, which had lost by now all its significance, see A. Brockett, "The value of the Ḥafṣ and Warsh transmissions for the textual history of the Qur'ān", *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), pp. 31—45. Bibliography of Western works and Muslim sources on the *qirā'āt* see in R. Paret, "Ḳirā'a", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. V (Leiden, 1982), pp. 127—9.

25. H. Laust, "La pensée et l'action politiques d'al-Mawardi (364—450/974—1058)", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, I (1968), pp. 65—6.

26. Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, p. 2, n. 4.

27. The famed *wazīr*, Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092), received as a gift a copy of the Qur'ān with variant readings written between the lines in red ink and with a commentary on rare expressions in blue ink. Various places most suitable for practical use were highlighted in gold (Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 175).

28. K. Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'ān* (Austin, 1985), p. 17.

29. A. T. Welch, "Qur'anic studies — problems and prospects", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XCVII/4 (1980). Thematic Issue: *Studies in Qur'an and Tafsir*, ed. A. T. Welch, pp. 620—1; W. A. Graham, "Those who study and teach the Qur'an", *International Congress for the Study of the Qur'an*. Australian National Univesity, Canberra 8—13 May 1980. Series 1 (Canberra, 1980), p. 27; R. C. Martin, "Understanding the Qur'ān in Text and Context", *History of Religions*, XXI/4 (1982), p. 383.

30. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam: a History. 600—1258* (London, 1970), p. 181.

31. F. M. Denny, "The Adab of Qur'ān Recitation: Text and Context", *International Congress for the Study of the Qur'an*, p. 144.

32. C. E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotion: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London, 1961), p. XXII.

33. At least two circumstances hampered the study of the Qur'ān's ritual role and its oral existence. Firstly, European and American specialists, raised on Judaeo-Christian concepts of Scripture, viewed the Qur'ān primarily as an object for historical and philological research. They stressed aspects of the written tradition (*tafsīr, lugha, balāgha, rasm*) and did not take into account other certain important facets of the Qur'ān's significance, such as the enormous role played by its recitation in the every-day life of the community. Secondly, their research should have relied first and foremost not on an analysis of corresponding works in other traditions, but on direct observations of Muslim practice. Only today in Islamic studies have scholars begun to grant ever-greater recognition to the importance of fieldwork. K. Nelson and F. Denny conducted many months of field research in Egypt and Indonesia. And only at the beginning of the 1980s was the necessity of studying the ritual aspect of the Qur'ān's role in the context of a comprehensive approach to Qur'ānic studies acknowledged. It was then that F. M. Denny in his "Exegesis and recitation: their development as classical forms of Qur'anic piety", published in *Transition and Transformations in the History of Religions: Essays in Honor of Joseph M. Kitagawa*, eds. F. Reynolds and Th. Ludwig (Leiden, 1980), pp. 91—123, formulated in general terms the conception of Qur'ānic recitation and Muslim exegesis as two particular forms of Muslim piety. The symposium "Islam and the History of Religion" at Arizona State University in 1982 represented a step in this direction for Qur'ānic studies. A group of papers presented there on the oral existence of the Qur'ān was later published in a collection edited by R. C. Martin: *Islam and the History of Religions: Perspectives on the Study of a Religious Tradition* (Berkeley, 1982). Of significant interest is W. Graham's work on the oral aspects of interpreting not only the Qur'ān, but other scriptures as well, see his *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge, 1987); on the Qur'ān, see pp. 79—115.

34. Etiquette stipulated ritual poses during reading and particular actions when reading certain *āyāt*. Thus, if during recitation one encounters in the Qur'ānic text mention of torment (*'adhāb*), prostration (*sajda*), mercy (*raḥma*), etc., one must pronounce after their mention the corresponding forms of requests for mercy, salvation, etc., and/or complete actions in correlation with them. Cf. Denny, "The Adab", where the author briefly analyses one of the best known works on Qur'ānic "etiquette", written by Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā al-Ḥizāmī al-Dimashqī (631/1233—676/1277) and Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, p. 113, where the author provides the classification of the most important elements in the etiquette of Qur'ānic reading.

35. For details see Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 109—13.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

37. 'Izzat 'Ubayd al-Da''ās, *Fann al-tajwīd* (Aleppo, 1384/1964), p. 9.

38. For English translation, see Muḥammad Abūl Quasem, *The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur'ān: Al-Ghazali's Theory* (Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia, 1979), cf. also D. Macdonald, "Emotional religion in Islam as affected music and singing: being a translation of a book of the Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazzālī with analysis, annotation and appendices", *Asiatic Journal*, I—III (1901), pp. 1—28, 192—252, 705—48.

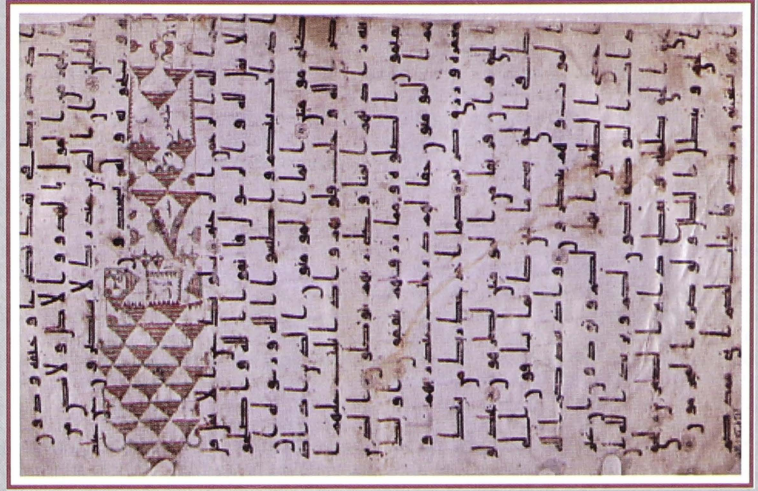


Plate 2

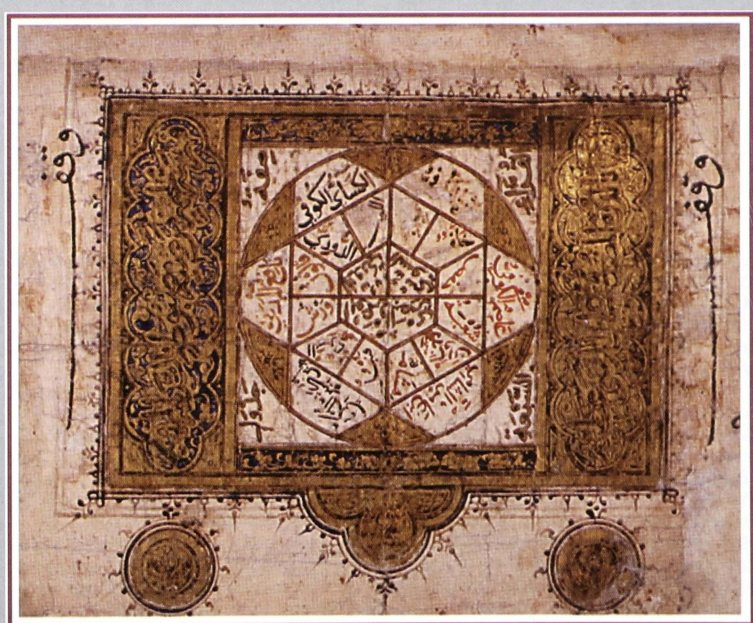


Plate 1

39. See D. James, *The Master Scribes. Qur'āns of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD*. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. II (Oxford, 1992), No. 2 (Iran or Iraq, *ca.* A.D. 1050—1150), No. 4 (Eastern Iran, 12th century).

40. Pause is understood as a stop after pronouncing a word (phrase) in order to inhale. On the system of *waqf wa ibtidā'* see Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 116—7; Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—30.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 206, n. 12

43. On the styles of recitation and *samā'* polemic, see Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 32—51 and Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 114—5.

44. A. Rippin, "Literary analysis of Qur'ān, tafsīr, and sīra: the methodologies of John Wansbrough", *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, ed. R. Martin (Arizona State University, 1985), p. 228, n. 4.

45. D. S. Rice, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwab Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin, 1955). See also James, *op. cit.*, pp. 14—9; Whellan, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and pp. 134—5, n. 97.

46. An inscription from Qaryat al-Faw (third century) can serve as an example of the first, and the epithet of Mar' al-Qays in al-Namāra is an example of the second, see A. Beeston, "Nemara and Faw", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, LII (1979), pp. 1—6. See also B. Gruendler, *The Development of the Arabic Scripts. From the Nabatean Era to the First Islamic Century, According to the Dated Texts* (Atlanta, 1993); J. Ryckmans, "Alphabets, scripts and languages in Pre-Islamic Arabian epigraphical evidence", *Sources for the history of Arabia* (Riyadh, 1984), ii, pp. 75—7; J. Sourdel-Thomine, "Les origines de l'écriture arabe, à propos d'une hipothèse recente", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XXXIV (1966), pp. 152—7; V. Colombo, "Une hypothèse sur le retour de l'alif dans l'écriture higazi", *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, sous direction de Fr. Déroche et F. Richard (Paris, 1997); O. G. Bol'shakov, *Istoriia Khalifata* (The History of the Caliphate) (Moscow, 1989), i, p. 231, n. 67.

47. An inscription from Kharāna, dated to 568, see P. Schroeder, "Epigraphisches aus Syrien", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXVIII (1884), pp. 530—4 and early Arabic documents on papyrus (642—643), see, for example, A. Grohmann, "Aperçu de papirologie arabe", *Études de papirologie*, vol. I (Le Caire, 1932), pl. IX. Cf. also Bol'shakov, *op. cit.*, p. 231, n. 68. Comparitive material (epigraphic texts and dated papyri from the first and early second century of the Hijra) is, unfortunately, scarce. See A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*. Teil II: Das Schriftwessen. Die Lapidarshrift (Vienna, 1971), pp. 28—9. — Österreichische Academie der Wissenshaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, XCIV; J. Sourdel-Thomine, "Khaṭṭ", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. IV (Leiden, 1978), p. 1119; G. Endress, "Handschriftenkunde", *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, ed. W. Fischer (Wiesbaden, 1982), p. 170.

48. The second term belongs to Jacob Adler (1756—1834), who attempted to catalogue all of the Qur'ānic manuscripts from the Copenhagen Royal Library. He discovered the term *kūfī* in the works of Ibn Khallikān and Fīrūzābādī, in whose time only a dim sense of the true evolution of early Arabic scripts, remained. Since then, and up to the present day, this term has been widely used to designate early Qur'ānic scripts, as the style of writing for which Arab authors actually used the term has remained unknown. As for the term *ḥijāzī*, it is linked to Michelle Amary (1806—1889), who catalogued a large number of Qur'ānic fragments acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris from the descendants of de Cherville, dragoman of the French consul in Cairo. Relying on a text by Ibn al-Nadīm, Amary was able to identify the Meccan style which N. Abbot would later designate as *ḥijāzī*. For details, see Fr. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'āns of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 11—2. — The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. I.

49. The early 'Abbāsid scripts (usually termed *kūfī*) and New style (usually termed Eastern *kūfī*). Fr. Déroche singled out six basic styles among the former (A—F), see his *The Abbasid Tradition*, p. 34. Naturally, the scripts of the 'Abbāsid tradition did not disappear at once. Up through the thirteenth century and in some places the fourteenth century, they were gradually supplanted by cursive *naskhī* and *muḥaqqaq*.

50. A. Grohmann, "The Problem of dating early Qur'āns", *Der Islam*, XXXIII (1958), pp. 213—5; Sourdel-Thomine, "Khaṭṭ", p. 1120; Endress, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

51. For more examples, see J. Pedersen, *The Arabic book* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 7—9; T. Nöldeke, "Fünf Mo'allaqat, übersetzt und erklärt," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenshaften in Wien*. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd. 142 (1900), p. 65; F. Schulthess, *Der Diwan des Ḥātim Ṭej* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 40, n. 4; F. Krenkow, "The Use of writing for the preservation of ancient Arabic poetry", *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Professor Edward G. Brown*, eds. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 261—8.

52. E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: II. The miracle of the book (The Qur'ān and Pre-Islamic Literaure)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1997), pp. 26—7; Krenkow, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

53. Vl. V. Polosin, *Slovar' poètov plemeni 'abs: VI—VII vv.* (Dictionary of Poets of the 'Abs Tribe: 6th—7th Centuries) (Moscow, 1995), p. 266. On writing materials used in the early Islamic period, see Rāġib, *op. cit.*, pp. 20—4.

54. A. I. Elanskaia, "Koptskaia rukopisnaia kniga" ("The Coptic handwritten book"), *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka*, ed. Yu. Petrosyan (Moscow, 1987), p. 45.

55. Another book was created at the same time as the Qur'ān: a list of Muḥammad's Companions, with an indication of the share of spoils due them in accordance with their service to Islam.

56. Orange-red Qur'ān: the Khalili Collection and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Blue Qur'ān: 75 folios in al-Qayrawān, individual folios in museums and collections in Boston, Cambridge, MA, Dublin, Geneva, London, Paris, Riyadh, Tunis and a number of other private collections. See J. M. Bloom, "Al-Ma'mun's Blue Koran?", *Mélanges D. Sourdel*, ed. L. Klaus, published as *Revue des Études Islamiques*, LIV (1986), pp. 59—64; *idem*, "The Blue Koran. An early Fatimid kufic manuscript from the Maghrib", *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, ed. Fr. Déroche (Istanbul—Paris, 1989), pp. 95—9; Déroche, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 92—5.

57. For example, Leiden, Or. 8264, Or. 8264 bis.; P. Duk. inv. 274 (Duke University Special Collections Library, Durham, USA. Descriptions and illustrations on the Internet: http://www.lycos.com/cgibin/pursuit?first=221&cat=lycos&query=Koran.

58. In the West of the Muslim world, the Maghrib, parchment retained its position until the fourteenth century. There also, and also at the turn of the tenth—eleventh centuries, the original square format evidently arose. The appearance of this format has yet to receive a satisfactory explanation.

59. M. Lings and Y. S. Safadi, *The Qur'ān. Catalogue of an Exhibition at the British Library* (London, 1976), p. 17; R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneve, 1962), p. 168.

60. S. Ory, "Un nouveau type de *muṣḥaf*. Inventaire des Corans en rouleaux de provenance damascene, conservés à Istanbul", *Revue des Études Islamique*, XXXIII (1965), pp. 87—149.

61. I am indebted to Prof. Malachi Beit-Arié for many observations, which he kindly shared with me in 1993 and which form the basis of the hypothesis expressed here. See also Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

62. Paper came into widespread use at least a century before this. Held in Leiden is evidently the earliest codex on paper in a European collection — *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (Or. 298, dated by the colophon of Dhū'l-Qa'da 252/November—December 866).

63. Starting from the fourteenth century, when paper began to replace parchment in Russia, uncial writing began to cede its dominant position to semi-uncial writing, see I. Levochkin, "Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie russkikh rukopisnykh knig" ("The artistic format of Russian handwritten books"), *Al'manakh bibliofila.* Fasc. 26: Tysiacheletie russkoĭ pis'mennoĭ kul'tury (988—1988) (Moscow, 1989), p. 139.

64. Déroche, *op. cit.*, pp. 18—9.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 20—1.

66. Grohmann, "The Problem of dating", pp. 213—5.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

68. *Ibid.*

69. Déroche, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

71. *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Dār al-Athār al-Islamiyyah,* Kuwait National Museum (Kuwait, 1985). After their work in Ṣan'ā', German specialists, with the support of a grant from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, undertook urgently needed restorations on the store-room of the mosque of Sīdī 'Uqba (founded in 672) in al-Qayrawān (Tunisia). It holds between 70 and 100 Qur'ānic manuscripts on parchment, 1,500 works by early Muslim authors (also on parchment) and more than 2,500 early manuscripts on paper.

72. G. R. Puin, "Observations on early Qur'ān manuscripts in Ṣan'ā'", *The Qur'ān as Text*, ed. St. Wild (Leiden, 1996), p. 108.

73. J. Sourdel-Thomin and D. Sourdel, "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au Moyen Age", *Revue des Études Islamique*, XXXII (1964), pp. 1—25; *idem,* "À propos des documents de la Grand Mosquée de Damas", *ibid.,* XXXIII (1965), pp. 73—85; S. Ory. "Un nouveau type de *muṣḥaf*", *ibid.,* pp. 87—149; Fr. Déroche, "Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istambul. Rapport préliminaire", *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*, volume publ. à l'occasion du 100ème anniversaire de la naissance de Kemal Atatürk in the series *Culture et civilisations médiévales* of the CNRS (Paris, 1983), pp. 145—65. At present, Fr. Déroche is at work on a collated catalogue of manuscripts from Damascus held at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul.

74. J. Sadan, "Genizah and genizah-like practices in Islamic and Jewish traditions", *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XLIII/1—2 (1986), pp. 36—58.

75. G. R. Puin, "Methods of research on Qur'anic manuscripts — a few ideas", in *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, p. 17.

76. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition,* p. 15.

77. Puin, "Observations", p. 109.

78. See p. 196 of the comprehensive critical review by A. Jeffery of Nabia Abbot's *The Rise of the Arabic Script and its Qur'anic Development* in *Moslem World,* XXX (1940).

79. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

80. *Ibid.*, p.195; Puin, "Methods", p. 14.

81. H. C. von Bothmer, "Meisterwerke islamischer Buchkunst. Koranische Kalligraphie und Illumination im Handschriftenfund aus der Grossen Moschee von Sanaa'", *Jemen, 3000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur des glückichen Arabien*, ed. W. Daum (Innsbruck—Frankfurt am Main, 1987), p. 178.

82. *Idem,* "Frühislamische Koran-Illuminationen", *Kunst und Antiquitäten,* I (1986), pp. 22—33; *idem,* "Architekurbilder im Koran. Eine Prachthandschrift der Umayyadenzeit aus dem Yemen", *Pantheon*, XLV (1987), pp. 4—20; *idem,* "Ein seltenes Beispiel für die ornamentale Verwendung der Schrift in frühen Koranhandschriften. Die Fragmentgruppe Inv. Nr. 17 — 15.3 im "Haus der Handschriften" in Sanaa'", *Ars et Ecclesia. Festschrift F. J. Ronig*, eds. H. W. Stork, Ch. Gerhardt and A. Thomas (Trier, 1989), pp. 45—67.

83. Grohmann, "The problem of dating", p. 229.

84. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition,* pp. 23—4.

85. M. Jenkins, "A Vocabulary of Umayyad Ornament", in *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, pp. 29—33.

86. Puin, "Observations", pp. 109—10.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

88. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, *Izbrannye Sochineniia* (Selected Works), i, (Moscow, 1955) pp. 116—8. The manuscript is listed in *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia. Kratkiĭ katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies. Concise Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov (Moscow, 1986), i, p. 38. Some pages of the manuscript have been published, see, e.g., Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 117 (fol. 22b); *Koran.* Perevod akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo (The Qur'ān, translation by Academician I. Yu. Krachkovsky) (Moscow, 1990) (colour insert) (fol. 66b); *De Bagdad à Ispahan. Manuscrits islamique de la Filiale de Saint-Pétersbourg de l'Institut d'Études Orientales, Académie des Sciences de Russie*, ed. Yuri A. Petrosyan (Milan, 1994), p. 85 (fol. 66b) (the same folio was reproduced in the German, English and Italian editions of the noted publication).

89. Measurements were taken in three places on every folio. Group A, see *Table 1*, Nos. 1—28; Group B, see *Table 1*, Nos. 29—81). In format, a fragment discovered in Ṣan'ā' corresponds most closely to our Qur'ān: 50.3 × 36.0 cm. (call number 00-30.1, for photo, see *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, p. 53).

90. We are indebted to Prof. O. F. Akimushkin for dating the binding. On the bindings of early Qur'āns, see G. Marcais and L. Poinsot, *Objets kairouanais, IXe au XIIIe siècle. Reliures, verreries, cuivres et bronzes, bijoux* (Tunis, 1948); U. Dreibholz, "Some aspects of early Islamic bookbindings from the Great Mosque of Sana'a, Yemen", *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, pp. 16—34.

91. Even the most preliminary statistics on manuscripts copied in *ḥijāzī* and "late *ḥijāzī*" (our copy, Or. 2165 from the British Library, materials from other European collections, the Khalili Collection, published information on Qur'āns found in Ṣan'ā') shows that the greater part of the Qur'ānic text as copied in these hands has reached us. We have, in full or in part, the texts of *sūras* 2—58, 66—67, 70—72, 76, 83, 86—88, 91—92, 100—105.

92. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, pp. 79—80, fig. 44.

93. On a comparative analysis of hands A and B with the aid of a specialized computer program called ENTRAP, see E. Rezvan and N. Kondybayev, "New tool for the analysis of handwritten script", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/3 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1996), pp. 43—53. The analysis consistently reveals differences in the writing of all main symbols. A special article on this is forthcoming in Manuscripta Orientalia.

94. See N. Abbot, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 38—9; A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952), pp. 83—7.

95. This practice is attested by early manuscripts, see *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, pp. 44—8, 51, 56, 58. In one case (p. 9b) an illumination was written in above the marker indicating the end of an *āya*.

96. Fols. 3a, 9b, 11b, 16b, 19a, 26a, 29a, 31a, 36a, 38b, 42a, 43b, 44b, 48b, 50b, 52a, 54a, 57a, 59b, 61a, 62b, 64b, 65a, 66a, 67a, 68a, 69a, 70a, 71a, 72b, 74b, 76b. Triangles were used as the main element in illuminations in a fragment from one of the earliest copies of the Qur'ān (see *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, p. 58). The vignettes in our copy are paralleled in manuscripts found in Ṣan'ā' and in decorative architectural fragments from the early and mid-eighth century. See about it Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fig. 6a. Cf. also *Arabic Palaeography. A Collection of Arabic Texts from First Centuries of Hidjra till Year 1000*, ed. B. Moritz (Cairo, 1905), pls. 1—3, 9, 11.

97. For a conclusion based on a discussion of the impossibility of using the given form of numerals for dating, see Whellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 124—5.

98. Here we find intermixed variants of the count accepted by two versions of the Medinan system. Cf. A. Spitaler, *Die Verzählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung. Jarhang 1935, Heft 11 (München, 1935).

99. Cf. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki", pp. 96—109; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire", pp. 128—43; Jeffery and Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 182—194; Puin, "Observations", pp. 108—9; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran* (Paris, 1947), pp. 150—5; W. Diem, *op. cit.*, *Orientalia*, XLVIII (1979), pp. 207—57; *ibid.*, XLIX (1980), pp. 67—106; *ibid.*, L (1981), pp. 332—83; *ibid.*, LII (1983), pp. 357—404. For a bibliography on the question, see A. Neuwirth, "Koran", *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*. Band II: Literaturwissenschaft, ed. H. Gätje (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 98—135.

100. Cf. Jeffery and Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 193; Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki", pp. 104, 109; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire", p. 143; Puin, "Observations", p. 109.

101. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki", p. 124; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire", p. 150; Jeffery and Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 194—5.

102. Such errors were quite common, as copyists wrote from memory and unintentionally confused similar variants. In a manuscript of the work *Kitāb al-awrāq* by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 947) dated to 1113, in the Qur'ānic citation on fol. 152b, one could find *āya* 3:160 cited with the end attested in *āyāt* 12:67, 14:12 and 39:38, textually close to 3:160. For this observation we are indepted to Prof. A. B. Khalidov.

103. Whellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 119—23, figs. 19—22.

104. Blachère, *op. cit.*, p. 133. On the "Kazan Qur'āns", see Anās Khālidūf, *Al-kutub al-'arabiyya allati tubi'at fī Rūsīya: 1787—1917* (Dubai, forthcoming); Ifīm Rizfān, *Al-Qur'ān al-Karīm fī Rūsīya* (Dubai, forthcoming); P. A. Griaznevich, "Koran v Rossii (izuchenie, perevody i izdaniia)" ("The Qur'ān in Russia: study, translation and editions"), in *Islam: Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, eds. P. A. Griaznevich and S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), pp. 76—82; A. G. Karimullin, *U istokov tatarskoĭ knigi* (At the Roots of Tatar Book) (Kazan, 1971), pp. 103—4; E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i koranistika" ("The Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies"), in *Islam: istoriograficheskie ocherki*, ed. S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1991), p. 15; H. Röhling, "Koranausgaben in Rissichen Buchdruck der 18 Jahrhunderts," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (Mainz, 1977), pp. 205—10.

105. G. Bergstrasser, "Koranlesung in Kairo", mit einem Beitrag von K. Huber, *Der Islam*, XX (1932), pp. 1—42; XXI, 1933, pp. 110—40.

106. Brockett, *op.cit.*

107. G. Bergstrasser, *Plan eines Aparatus Criticus zum Koran* (München, 1930). — Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, 7; A. Jeffery, "Progress in the study of the Qur'an text", *Moslem World*, XXV (1935), pp. 4—16; *idem, Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden, 1937), p. VII, n. 6; *idem, The Qur'ān as Scripture* (New York, 1952), p. 103; O. Pretzl in T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, pp. 249—51, 274; A. Spitaler, "Otto Pretzl, 20. April 1893 — 28. October 1941", *Zeitschrift der Deutchen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XCVI (1942), pp. 161—70; A. Fischer, "Grammatisch schwierige Schwur- und Beschwörungsformeln des klassischen Arabisch", *Der Islam*, XXVIII (1948), pp. 5—6. See also A. Rippin, "The present status of tafsir studies", *Moslem World*, LXXII (1982), p. 224; A. Welch, "Al-Ḳur'an", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. V (Leiden, 1975), p. 409; D. Brady, review of H. Loebenstein's *Koranfragmente auf Pergament aus der Papyrussamlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Wien, 1982), in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XXVIII (1983), p. 376.

108. See E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān: between "textus receptus" and "critical edition," *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, ed. J. Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), pp. 291—310. A similar database (Sfar-data) of dated Jewish manuscripts, emerging within the framework of the Jewish Palaeographic Project under the direction of Prof. Malachi Beyt-Arié, has convincingly demonstrated that this is not merely an ordinary computer catalogue, but a powerful tool for research.

109. A colour facsimile of manuscript E 20 will be published in the CD-ROM series "Asiatic Museum Treasures from St. Petersburg Academic Collection of Oriental Manuscripts", issue No. 4: *Late ḥijāzī Qur'ān Manuscript from the St. Petersburg Academic Collection* (see web-site: http://www.thesa.ru). We also plan to publish other early Qur'ānic fragments from the rich collections in St. Petersburg (The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, National Library of Russia, etc.).

Illustrations

Plate 1. Colour *jadwal* in MS Yahuda MSAR 900 dated *ca.* A.D. 1390. The margins of the manuscript are full of *al-qirā'āt*. Courtesy of the Jewish National and University Library.

Plate 2. Fol. 9b of manuscript E 20 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (ending of *sūra* 7 and beginning of *sūra* 8), 52.5 × 34.0 cm.