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Correlating Some Early Ḥijāzī and Kūfan Qurʾān Fragments to their Ancestral ʿUthmānī Codices

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ABSTRACT: Through a palaeographical and comparative analysis of certain Quran fragments—preliminarily deemed to have belonged in the mid-first to early second Islamic century—this paper attempts to provide a scheme of their possible ancestral codices transcribed during the reign of the third Muslim caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. It examines how those parchments reflect 44 cases of consonantal variations in their texts, which were reported and elaborated by early Quran experts, including Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 316/928) in *al-Maṣāḥīf*, and the fifth-century Andalusian Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) in his *Muqniʿ*. The paper does not aim to classify those parchments according to their readings, which were systematically canonized later by Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936), but according to their province and the earlier codices on which they were based. It would help us to test the veracity of accounts maintained in Islamic sources on the earliest codices of ʿUthmān.

Keywords & Phrases: *Quranic studies; Muṣḥaf; Qirāʾāt; Ḥijāzī; ʿUthmānī Codices.*

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Introduction

In the past century, several early manuscripts have been published in facsimile editions and were approximated to belong to the late first and second Islamic century. We presume the correlation between these fragments and the original *muṣḥafs* produced by ʿUthmān and confirmed in Islamic literary sources. We are going to examine three groups of Qurʾanic manuscripts: one group which has been confirmed as belonging to early Ḥijāzī codices, a second group which are known to be transitional Ḥijāzī and as a result, must have been transcribed at the end of the reign of al-Walid ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, and a third group which are known to be late or Kūfic manuscripts. The selection of those parchments was based on their consisting of a considerably larger number of folios, which would facilitate a successful comparison in addition to representing three presumably major stages of development. Although they have both been proven to belong to the Damascene codex and were transcribed according to the reading of Ibn ʿĀmir, we have included as well other codices since their parchments were not examined by previous scholar such as Yasin Dutton. They include Arabe 328b (14 folios), Marcel 18/1 of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg (26 folios) and Arabe 328e. The first two parchments belong to Parisino-petroplitanus while the third is a part of B.L. Or. 2165. Such is the case of Tübingen M a VI 165 Qurʾan Manuscript, which has been proved to belong to the earlier Medinan codex and transcribed in accordance with the reading of Nāfiʿ and Ibn ʿĀmir.

This paper attempts to conduct a paleographic analysis of certain portions of Ḥijāzī and Kūfan manuscripts to investigate a presumably hypothetical relationship between them and earlier codices written at the time of ʿUthmān. Such an investigation may help us to identify whether those parchments include variant readings of the Qurʾān and to what extent they reflect what was mentioned in Islamic literary sources on the earlier codices of ʿUthmān. The following list includes the parchments which were subjected to examination in this paper.

1.   Early Ḥijāzī and Kūfī Parchments Examined in this Paper

1.1   B. L. Or. 2165

Due to their similarities to Arabe 328a in the type of script used, the transcription which is according to the Syrian Ibn ʿĀmir's variant, generous patronage by the reigning court, and depiction of the same type of verse numbering anomalies as Arabe 328a,[1] Yasin Dutton could hazard the guess that manuscripts such as 328a and B. L. Or. 2165 are the products of

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[1] Ibn ʿĀmir died 118AH. His main transmitters, namely Hishām bin ʿAmmār (153/-245) and Ibn Dhakwān (173-242) died in the third century. The supposition that this manuscript follows the reading of Ibn ʿĀmir is problematic since it is proposed to belong to the first Islamic century. It is more realistic to compare the manuscript to the Damascene codex. But even conclusively presuming that it is Damascene cannot be absolutely accepted after the conclusion of Intisar Rabb who has shown that the manuscript is not Dimashqī but Ḥimṣī. See: Rabb, Intisar A., "Non-Canonical Readings of the Qurʾān: Recognition and Authenticity (The Ḥimṣī Reading)", *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 8 (2): 84–127.

a pre-Walīd time,[2] i.e., somewhere within the period 30 - 85 AH, with the end of this time range being the safer, though not necessarily the more correct, guess.[3] Prior to Yasin Dutton, William Wright[4] and Josef von Karabacek[5] dated the manuscript to the early eighth century, which is approximately the end of the first century post-*hijrah* or the beginning of the second century. But Adolf Grohmann[6] and Noseda[7] placed it in the first Islamic century. The codex comprises 128 folios scattered in three places: B. L. Or. 2165, British Library of London (121 folios)[8], Arabe 328e, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (6 folios)[9], and LNS 19 CA[ab] of Dār al–Athar al–Islāmiyyah, Kuwait (bifolio).[10]

1.2 Codex *Parisino-Petropolitanus*

The total number of its folios is 98. It comprises Arabe 328a of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (56 folios),[11] Arabe 328b (14 folios),[12] Marcel 18/1 of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg (26 folios),[13] Vaticani Arabi 1605 of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (1 folio),[14] KFQ60, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art as well as London (1 folio),[15] with all of

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[2] Dutton, Yasin, "Some Notes on The British Library's Oldest Qur'an Manuscript (Or. 2165)," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 6 (2004): 71.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Wright, William, ed., *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions* (Clowes and Sons Ltd.: London 1875–1883): LIX.

[5] Karabacek, Joseff von, "Julius Euting's Sinaïtische Inschriften," *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes* 5 (1891): 324; *idem.*, "Arabic Palaeography," *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes* 20 (1906): 137. For a similar dating of bifolio *LNS 19 CA[ab]* that is part of this codex, see: Gruendler, Beatrice, *The Development of the Arabic Scripts: From the Nabatean Era to The First Islamic Century according to Dated Texts* (Harvard Semitic Series 43, Scholars Press: Atlanta 1993): 135.

[6] Grohmann, Adolf, "Zum Problem der Datierung Der Ältesten Koran–Handschriften," in *Akten Des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten–Kongresses München, 28. August Bis 4. September 1957,* ed. H. Franke (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft 1959): 272.

[7] Noseda, Sergio Noja, "Note Esterne in Margin Al 1° Volume Dei 'Materiali Per Un'edizione Critica Del Corano'," *Rendiconti: Classe Di Lettere E Scienze Morali E Storiche* 134 (2000): 1, 19–25.

[8] Dutton, "Some Notes," 44.

[9] Déroche, François, *Catalogue Des Manuscrits Arabes: Deuxième Partie: Manuscrits Musulmans – Tome I, 1: Les Manuscrits Du Coran: Aux Origines De La Calligraphie Coranique* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983): 62.

[10] Jenkins, Marilyn, ed., *The Al–Sabah Collection: Islamic Art in The Kuwait National Museum* (London: Sotheby, 1983): 18.

[11] Déroche, *Catalogue Des Manuscrits Arabes,* 59.

[12] Ibid*,* 60.

[13] Déroche, *La Transmission Écrite Du Coran Dans Les Débuts De L'Islam: Le Codex Parisino-Petropolitanus* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 8-13.

[14] Levi Della Vida, Giorgio, *Frammenti Coranici in Carattere Cufico: Nella Biblioteca Vaticana*, *Studi e testi no. 132*, (Citta Del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Vatican City, 1947), 1-2.

[15] Déroche, François, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD, the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*, (Oxford University Pressm 1992) 1, 32.

these representing 46 percent of the Qurʾān. It was studied by Déroche, who suggested that they belonged to the third quarter of the first/seventh century[16] while Noseda dated them to the first Hijri century[17]. After examining Arabe 328a, Yasin Dutton concluded that the parchment was written as an imitation of the earlier Damascene codex sent by ʿUthmān.[18]

1.3   Arabe 330 (g)

The parchment was transcribed in Ḥijāzī script and should be dated to the second half of the first century. It consists of 43 folios, 20 of which bear the name Arabe 330g, 12 belong to Marcel 16, National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, 6 belong to Rennes Encheres 2011, Lot 151 in addition to 4 under Is. 1615 II, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ireland and 1 bearing the name Ms. 1611-MKH235, Beit al-Qurʾān, Manama, Bahrain. In total, these represent 21 percent of the text of the Qurʾān.[19] The script, thin and slender in style, also has a distinct vertical emphasis without any semblance of a rightward slant.

1.4   Tübingen VI 165 Qurʾān Manuscript

The codex Tübingen VI 165, which comprises 77 folios of a Qurʾān fragment, now belongs to Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. Radiocarbon dating was done on the parchment through Documenta Coranica. It was dated within the time frame of 649-675 CE with greater than 95.4 percent probability,[20] The manuscript contains continuous text of the Qurʾān from 17:35 to 36:57, constituting 26.2 percent of the total text of the Revelation. Gottfried brought them to Germany while he served as the first Prussian Consul to Damascus in the middle of the nineteenth century. Wetzstein acquired numerous ancient Arabic manuscripts. He forwarded a small catalogue he published along with his confirmation that more than 1,100 Kūfan folios of the Qurʾān he had collected would be of interest to those involved in paleography and Qurʾānic criticism.[21] Although he was the first to provide a brief description for VI 165,[22] he labeled those folios as Kūfic when in fact, they are all Ḥijāzī. Furthermore, he numbered the first verse of the manuscript as 17:37 instead of 17:35, with the latter being in line with modern printed editions of the Qurʾān.[23]

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[16] Déroche, *La Transmission Écrite Du Coran*, 177.

[17] Noseda, "Note Esterne," 19–25.

[18] Dutton, Yasin, "An Early *Muṣḥaf* According to the Reading of Ibn ʿĀmir," *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 2 (2001): 71-89.

[19] Déroche, *Catalogue Des Manuscrits Arabes,* 1, 145-146.

[20]   "Rarität entdeckt: Koranhandschrift stammt aus der Frühzeit des Islam" Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Germany, accessed March 18, 2019, https://uni-tuebingen.de/universitaet/aktuelles-und-publikationen/pressemitteilungen/newsfullview-pressemitteilungen/article/raritaet-entdeckt-koranhandschrift-stammt-aus-der-fruehzeit-des-islam.html.

[21] Wetzstein, Johann G, *Catalog Arabischer Manuscripte in Damaskus Gesammelt*, (Berlin: Druck von Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1863), 2.

[22] Ibid*,* 17.

[23] Weisweiler, Max, *Verzeichnis Der Arabischen Handschriften*, *Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Volume II,* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1930), 125.

1.5 Codex Ms. Qāf 47

Qāf 47 is an early Ḥijāzī manuscript consisting of 36 folios, 29 of which exist in Cairo bearing the label Qāf 47, in addition to seven folios which belong to Ms. Or. Fol. 4313, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. While a duplication of the Egyptian parchment copied by Bernhard Moritz[24] is available at the Gotthelf-Bersträßer Photo Archive, the original folios that belong to the Egyptian National Library are no longer accessible. Although Bernhard Moritz dated the fragment to the third Islamic century, paleographical and radiocarbon analysis conducted by Corpus Coranicum dated it to the first Islamic century. Noseda places the timeframe of this manuscript in the first century after Hijrah.[25] Likewise, Grohmann also dates another folio of this manuscript, which is currently at Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah in Cairo, to the first century.[26]

1.6 Saray Medina 1a Codex Topkapı Sarayı Medina 1a also known as Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi: M 1.

Though limiting his study to one Ḥijāzī style folio of Medina 1a, Grohmann compared it with first century Arabic papyri and presumed that it is ascribed to the first century post-*hijrah.*[27] Bergsträsser and Pretzl confirm that, *"der mehrere stark voneinander abweichend Schriftzüge aufweist, ... ist wohl einer der letzen Vertreter <der Ḥijāzī> Schriftgattung"* (... which shows several very different characteristics, the last representative of the Hijāzī style of writing...).[28] According to Islamic Awareness,

> "With the exception of the final hand, the manuscript is penned in differing forms of Ḥijāzī script, all of which confess acquaintance with Kūfan tendencies from the Umayyad period, evidenced by the uniformity and regularity of their appearance and the overall presentation of the page."[29]

They based their conclusion on noticeable similarities of script style found in Marcel 13 and Arabe 330c in addition to TIEM ŞE 321. The salient features of Marchel 13 have been provided by François Déroche who showed its close affinity with Medina 1a as well as falling within the boundaries of script used by ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Marwān.[30] Medina 1a

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[24] Moritz, Bernhard, ed., *Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from The First Century of The Hidjra Till The Year 1000,* (Cairo: The Khedivial Library, 1950), 44.

[25] Noseda, "Note Esterne," 19-25.

[26] Grohmann, Adolf, "The Problem of Dating Early Qur'ans," Der Islam 33 (1958): 222; Gruendler, *The Development of The Arabic Scripts,* 135.

[27] Grohmann, Adolf, "The Problem of Dating Early Qur'ans", Der Islam, volume 33 no. 3 (1958), pp. 221-222.

[28] Bergsträsser, Gotthelf; Pretzl, Otto, Die Geschichte des Qorāntexts, Dritter Teil, Lieferung 2 (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936) III: 256.

[29] "Codex Topkapı Sarayı Medina 1a - A Qur'ān Located at Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, From 1st/ 2nd Century Hijra," Islamic Awareness, accessed on March 21, 2010, https://www.islamic-awareness.org/quran/text/mss/medina1a.html.

[30] Déroche, François, "Colonnes, Vases Et Rinceaux Sur Quelques Enluminures D'Époque Omeyyade", *Comptes Rendus Des Séances, 2004,* (Académie Des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, 2006), pp. 227-264.

consists of 305 folios, which is based on the Gotthelf-Bergsträßer-Filmarchiv.[31] This is a group of Qurʾānic manuscripts collected by Bergsträßer and Pretzl and now studied, digitized, and conserved by Corpus Coranicum, which was established at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.[32]

1.7 Kodex Wetzstein II 1913 (Ahlwardt 305), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Marx dated the 210-folio fragment, representing almost 85 percent of the Qurʾān, to the second half of the first century and the first half of the second century.[33] It is transcribed in Ḥijāzī script and consists of 216 folios, 210 of which are classified as Wetzstein II 1913, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin in addition to six folios in Arabe 6087, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[34] The folios contain about 85 percent of the text of the Qurʾān, thus making it one the earliest and almost complete Ḥijāzī Qurʾāns.[35]

1.8 St. Petersburg manuscript E-20

E-20 consists of 81 folios and is probably dated to the second century *hijrah* (final quarter of the eighth century CE).[36] Rezvan based his dating on radiocarbon tests[37] in addition to paleographic analysis.[38] Déroche has also accepted this dating.[39] E-20 was originally brought to the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg) in 1936 under the inventory number 1936-2780.[40] Efim Rezvan revealed that the St. Petersburg manuscript is a part of a Qurʾān codex containing another Qurʾān fragment (12 fol.), preserved at the Museum of Katta Langar (Bukhara, Tashkent, Uzbekistan), with one fragment (1 folio) extant at the Library of the Administration of Muslim Affairs at the Republic of Uzbekistan, another fragment (1 fol., bearing no. 11604)

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[31] Marx, Michael, "The Koran According to Agfa Gotthelf-Bergsträßers Archiv Der Koranhandschrift", *Trajekte - Zeitschrift Des Zentrums Für Literatur- Und Kulturforschung*, 2009, Volume 19, pp. 25-29.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Marx, Michael. "The Qur'an - The First Arabic Book" in U. Franke, J. Gierlichs (Eds.) in collaboration with S. Vassilopoulou, L. Wagner, *Roads of Arabia - The Archaeological Treasures of Saudi Arabia,* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2011), 194, 199.

[34] Déroche, François, Catalogue Des Manuscrits Arabes: Deuxième Partie: Manuscrits Musulmans - Tome I, 1: Les Manuscrits Du Coran: Aux Origines De La Calligraphie Coranique., (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983), 67.

[35]Marx, Michael. "The Qur'an", 194, 199.

[36] Rezvan, Efim, *The Quran of ʿUthmān, St. Petersburg, Katta Langer, Bukhara, Tashkent*, (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Center for Oriental Studies, 2004), 69-70.

[37] Rezvan, Efim, "On the Dating of an "ʿUthmanic Qur'an" From St. Petersburg", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 2000, 6 (3), 19-22.

[38] Rezvan, Efim, "The Qur'an and Its World VI. Emergence of A Canon: The Struggle For Uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1998, Volume 4, No. 2, p. 26.

[39] Déroche, François, "Note Sur Les Fragments Coraniques Anciens De Katta Langar (Ouzbékistan)", *Cahiers D'Asie Centrale*, 1999, Volume 7, p. 70.

[40] Rezvan, *The Quran of ʿUthmān*, 17.

belonging to the al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent (Uzbek Academy of Sciences) as well as a bifolio, which exists at Ibn Sina Library (Bukhara). The total number of folios represent 40 percent of the Qurʾān.[41]

The St. Petersburg fragment was dated using the C-14 method by Efim Rezvan at the laboratory of the University of Groningen. The measured value gives a dating within 775-995 CE with a probability of 95.4 percent.

1.9 Cairo Great Qurʾān Codex

It is also known as "The Qurʾān of ʿUthmān" at al-Ḥusayn Mosque in Cairo. The manuscript is allegedly attributed to ʿUthmān, though it does not seem so due to its well-formed Kūfan script, which is written in dark-brown ink with sparse diacritical marks. Moritz dates it to the late first/early second century,[42] though it evidently shows, in its style, a script and layout of a later origin. Some Muslim scholars such as Muḥammad Bakhīt, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Zurqānī, the author of *Manāhil al-ʿIrfān* and Suʿād Maher,[43] claimed that it should be attributed to the Caliph ʿUthmān while others like Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid[44] and Tayyar Altikulaç, who presented a full edition of the manuscript in 2009,[45] confirmed that it is not. It is a rare manuscript of earlier times which is still extant in its almost complete form (99 percent of the Revelation). The total number of its folios is 1,087. Only four folios are missing (after folio nos. 100, 637, 883 and 1051) and others were restored by hand later (folio nos. 43, 63, 64, 65, 500, 1051, 1053, 1086 and 1087). It remained from 1305 AH / 1887-88 CE to 2006 at al-Ḥusayn Mosque in Cairo, after which it was taken to the Central Library of Islamic Manuscripts in Sayyida Zaynab Mosque.

1.10 ʿAbdur-Raḥmān ibn Zīdān Qurʾān Codex - Meknes

Though the parchment originally consists of 380 folios, only 282 folios were photographed by Pretzl in 1934. It was written in early Kūfan script.[46] However, it is obviously known to be a regular Kufi B.II script. Most dated manuscripts of this type tend to be from around the middle of the third Islamic century. The Moroccan Sharīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zīdān originally owned it. Its copy is now available at Gotthelf-Bergsträßer-Archiv. The original is stored at the Royal Lib. of Rabat[47] under the number 12610. It has been claimed that another fragment of the Kūfan Codex or a copy of it appears to have been preserved in the

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[41] Rezvan, Efim, "New Folios from ʿUthmanic Quran I. Library of Administration for Muslim Affairs of the Republich of Ozbekestan," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 10 (March): 32-41.

[42] Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, 13-16.

[43] Altikulaç, Tayyar, *Hz. Osman'a Nisbet Edilen Mushaf- I Şerîf (*Kahire *El-Meşhedü'l-Hüseynî Nüshası)*, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2009), 1, 119-120, 139-140.

[44] al-Munajjid, Salāḥ al-Dīn, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Khatt al-ʿArabī Mundhu Bidayatihi ilā Nihayat al-ʿAsr al-Umawi*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadid, 1972), 53-54.

[45] Altikulaç, *Hz. Osman'a,* 119-120.

[46] "Corpus Coranicum", accessed July 12, 2019,
https://corpuscoranicum.de/handschriften/index/sure/7/vers/194?handschrift=2

[47] "*Katalog Maroc, Les trésors du royaume*" (Paris: Musée du Petit Palais, 2002), 101.

Ṭāriq Rajab Museum in Kuwait[48] but through a comparison of the pages published by Dr. Wheeler, we found that it is not compatible at all with the corresponding pages of the Qurʾān that was published by Gotthelf-Bergsträßer-Archiv. It seems similar to Meknes in script and its landscape layout.

1.11 The Samarkand Kūfan Codex

It was published in a facsimile edition by the Russian orientalist S. Pissaref in 1905 and is well known as the Tashkent Qurʾān codex.[49] The manuscript is estimated to have had 950 folios originally but over the years, individual folios have been removed. Pissaref's facsimile edition includes 353 folios. In 1992, 15 of the original folios were stolen and sold in auctions, so today, only 338 folios of the manuscript remain. This codex is similar to other monumental Qurʾāns like BNF 324. The codex is dated to the late eighth/early second century[50] due to the more developed Kūfan script style, ornamentation, and large format.

1.12 Topkapı Saray 44/32

This manuscript is known as the *Muṣḥaf* attributed to ʿUthmān or Topkapi Palace Museum (No. 44/32) and is known as a mostly complete copy of the Qurʾān (408 folios) with the exception of two missing folios. In 2007, Tayyar Altıkulaç published it in a facsimile edition.[51] This script style dates to the late seventh/early eighth century and was used well into the ninth century.

1.13 ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Codex: Rampur Raza Library: No. 1 kūfī

It is a 345-folio parchment consisting of 287 x 202 mm sheets and is held at Rampur Raza Library, India, no.1, account: 24536D. According to Arshi, this parchment is a priceless copy ascribed to the penmanship of Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Qurashī al-Hāshimī (d. 40/661). However, this attribution is obviously impossible. Modern gold and colored borders decorate the margins of it pages.[52]

1.14 Arabe 333 d

Arabe 333 d contains 18 folios of Kūfan script from 61 through 78 of the BNF Arabe 333. Though it has a limited number of folios, it included 6 cases of consonantal variations which may help us identify its ancestor codex. It is 200 x 266 mm in measurement while the areas with writing measure 138 x 218 mm.

1.15 Petermann I 38 (Ahlwardt 339)

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[48] Mentioned by Dr. Brannon Wheeler on his website:

https://www.usna.edu/Users/humss/bwheeler/quran/kufi_393.html

[49] Pissaref, S., *Samarkandskii kuficheskii Koran*, (St Pétersbourg: l'Institut Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg, 1905).

[50] Rezvan, Efim, "Mingana Folios: When and Why," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 11 (December): 195.

[51] Altikulaç, Tayyar*, al-Mushaf al-Sharīf, Attributed to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2007).

[52] Arshi, Imtiyaz Ali, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in Raza Library Rampur, Band 1: Quranic Sciences and The Science of Traditions*, (Rampur: Raza Library Trust, 1963), 2-3.

It consists of 213 folios covering almost half of the text of the Qurʾān (from surah 19 to the end) written in Kūfan script. Clearly, it is considerably later than the manuscripts considered in this paper. It measures 130x190mm. Its sides are almost damaged and has some faults in the margins.[53]

2.   Consonantal Variations of the Text Skeleton

The manuscripts which constitute our materials are extensive enough to contain several distinctive consonantal variants marked by the addition or omission of a particular letter in the consonantal outline of the text. Muslim scholars since Ibn Abī Dāwūd and al-Dānī have discerned 43 words which are supposedly represented differently in ʿUthmān's six codices, namely the early Medinan,[54] late Medinan, Meccan, Syrian, Kūfan and Baṣran codices.

However, the exact number of ʿUthmān's codices is controversial. Abū ʿAmru al-Dānī provides two conflicting accounts on the distribution of those *muṣḥaf;* the former claims he made four copies (*jaʿalahu ʿalā arbaʿi nusakh*) three of which were distributed to Kufah, Basrah and Syria and the last which he kept for himself.[55] The other account provides that he copied seven and distributed the extra ones to Mecca, Yemen, and Bahrain. Though al-Dānī does not give credence to this account which was mentioned by Ibn Abī Dāwūd,[56] he quotes consonantal variations for the Meccan codex.[57] Moreover, he quotes two reports on consonantal variations peculiar to a Ḥimīs codex which was sent by ʿUthmān to the people of Syria.[58] Zurqānī provides a third opinion which holds that he created six copies, adding a seventh copy later, which was kept in Medina in addition to

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[53] Ahlwardt, Wilhelm, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften, Band 1 (Allgemeines und Koran: 1-1032)*, p. 123f

[54] By early Medinan I mean the *muṣḥaf* ʿUthmān kept for himself which is always referred to as *al-muṣḥaf al-imām,* which, according to Ibn Abī Dāwūd, was used by ʿUthmān for copying other codices (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 139). This is different from the later Medinan *muṣḥaf* which was well known in Muslim sources as *muṣḥaf ahl al-Madīnah.* According to Ibn Abī Dāwūd, there are 12 cases of consonantal variations between the earlier and later Medinan copies. He further emphasizes further variations between the earlier Medinan and other regional codices (Ibn Abī Dawūd). Such distinction between the earlier and late Medinan codices is further manifested by al-Dānī. See: Ibn Abī Dāwūd, Abū Bakr al-Sajistānī, *al-Maṣāḥif,* ed. Moḥammad ʿAbduh, (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah, 2002), 144; al-Dānī, ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd, *al-Muqniʾ fī Rasm Maṣāḥif al-Amṣār*, ed. Moḥammad al-Ṣādiq Qamḥāwī, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyyāt al-Azhariyyah, n. d.) 12.

[55] al-Dānī, *al-al-Muqniʿ*, 19.

[56] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif*, 1: 133.

[57] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 71, 116. Most of those quotes are reported from Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 250/862) who refers to the *Muṣḥaf* of the people of Mecca. al-Dānī usually calls it *maṣāḥif ahl Makkah,* which is ambiguous in the sense that he may refer to the copy of ʿUthmān or to later copies which were available at Mecca.

[58] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ* 106, 116.

ʿUthmān's private copy, known as *al-muṣḥaf al-imām.*[59] Through discussions of consonantal variations, Ibn Abī Dāwūd and al-Dānī provide extensive examples for six copies. I presume that by adding a Ḥimṣī codex, the number of *muṣḥafs* should be seven.[60]

We are going to examine these variations according to what is available in our fragments. This may help build relationships and patterns between those early fragments which were presumably written during the first century and prior to that.[61]

1. Q.2:116: The reading of *qālū,* without *wāw* at the beginning, is reflected in the Syrian codex[62] and earlier Medinan codex.[63] None of our current parchments contain it without the *wāw.* It is compatible with late Medinan, Meccan and Iraqi codices.[64] Furthermore, it is consistent with Samarkand (f. 20r, 3), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 186r, 14), Meknes (f. 16v, 7), H.S 44/22 and Rampur Raza1 (f. 8v, 4).

2. Q.2:132: *Wa-ʾawṣā bihā Ibrāhīmu* with an additional *alif* between the two *wāws* and a *ṣād* is reflected in the early Medinan and Syrian codices[65] as well as H.S 44/22 (f. 12r, 17). It is written as *wa-waṣṣa* without the *alif* and the *ṣād* being geminate in late Medinan, Meccan, Kūfan and Baṣran codices along with Samarkand (f. 101r, 1), S. P. E20 (f. 1r, 10) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 10r, 1).

3. Q.3:133: *Sāriʿū ilā maghfiratin* is written without the *waw* in the beginning instead of *wa-sāriʿū* with the *wāw.* It is reflected in the Syrian and Medinan codices,[66]

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[59] al-Zurqānī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, *Manāhil al-ʿIrfān fī ʿUlūm al-Quran,* (Cairo: Isa al-Bābilī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.).

[60] This is based on the conclusion of Intisar al-Rabb who observed through an investigation of B. L. Or. 2165 that "The text follows the non-canonical tradition of the Himsi reading. An initial review of the text points to a reading that aligns with the ʿUthmanic codex and seems close to the Damascene reading but contains enough divergences from the Damascene or other canonical readings to prompt further investigation." Rabb, Intisar A., "Non-Canonical Readings of the Qur'an: Recognition and Authenticity (The Ḥimṣī Reading)" *Journal of Quranic Studies* Vol. 8, No. 2 (2006), pp. 84-127

[61] Michel Cook attempted to determine the stemma of the regional Quranic codices of the early Islamic period. He based his investigation on Muslim sources without referring to early Quran manuscripts. Though he argues in favour of the traditional narratives, he concluded that "the data supplied by Muslim scholars do not enable us to determine the stemma of the regional codices." Cook, Michael, "The Stemma of the Regional Codices of the Koran." Graeco-Arabica (2004) 9–10. Marjin Van Putten provided an important corroboration of Cook's article with information on the mode of transmission of the uthmanic *rasm.* He argued that different spellings of *Ibrāhīm/Abrahām* do not stem from the fact that manuscripts have been written in the reading of Hishām "but rather that Hishām based his reading on the *rasm* of the Quranic text.

[62] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʾ,* 106.

[63] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 151.

[64] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 106.

[65] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 106.

[66] Ibn Mujāhid, Aḥmad ibn Mūsā, *Kitāb al-Sabʿah fī al-Qirāʾāt*, ed. Shawqī Ḍayf, (Egypt: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1997), 216; al-Banna, Aḥmad ibn Moḥammad al-Ḍumyāṭī, *Itḥāf Fuḍalāʾ al-Bashar fī al-Qirāʾāt al-Arbaʿat*

Samarkand (f. f. 64v, 7), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 22r, 8), Meknes (f. 58v, 4), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 83v, 1) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 37v, 7).[67] It is written with a *waw in* Qāf 47 (f. 8v, 6) and Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 6r, 7). However, according to ibn Abī Dāwūd, the earlier Medinan *muṣḥaf* included *wāw,* which contrasts with the later Medinan codex.[68]

4.   Q.3:184: *Jāʾū bi-l-bayyināti wa bi-l-zubur wa-l-kitābi,* where the preposition *bi* is added as a prefix for *l-zubur*[69] is included in the Damascene[70] and earlier Medinan codices[71] in addition to Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 22r, 3) and Meknes (f. 63r, 17). *Jāʾū bi-l-bayyināti wa-l-zubur wa-l-kitābi* is compatible with late Medinan, Meccan and Iraqi codices in addition to Samarkand (f. 75r, 9), Qāf 47 (f. 11v, 18), H.S 44/22 (f. 46r, 1), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 95v, 7), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabea 328a, f. 8v, 21), S.P E20 (f. 4v, 14) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 41v, 13).

5.   Q.3:184: *Jāʾū bi-l-bayyināti wa bi-l-zubur wa bi-l-kitābī* is written by adding the prefix *bi-* befor *l-zubur* and *l-kitāb.* This is the reading of Ibn Dhakwān, who received it from Ibn ʿĀmir.[72] Hishām was reported as adding the *bi* before *l-zubur* and deleting it. The former variant is reported through al-Dājūnī while the latter is quoted by al-Ḥalwānī; they were two students of Hishām.[73] According to a report quoted by al-Dānī, the *bāʾ* was added to both words (*bi-l-zubur* and *bi-l-kitābi*) in the Syrian codices dispatched by ʿUthmān to Damascus and Ḥimṣ[74] and it is, therefore, compatible with Rampur Raza1 (f. 41v, 13). It is written as *bi-l-bayyināti wa-l-zubur wa l-kitābī* with the preposition *bi* prefixing *al-bayyināt* only, which is in accordance with the Ḥijāzī and Iraqi codices as well as parchments like Samarkand (f. 75r, 9), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 22r, 3), Meknes (f. 62v, 17), Qāf 47 (11v, 18), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 95v, 7), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 8v, 21) and S.P E20 (f. 4v, 14).

6.   Q.4:66: *Ma faʿalūhu illā qalīlan minhum* is written by adding *alif*, rendering the word *qalīlan* in the accusative. Ibn ʿĀmir recites it this way and it is thus written in the Syrian codices. Other Readers do not add *alif* to the word. They assume it is in the

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ʿAshar, ed. Anas Muhra, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2006), 228; Ibn Mihrān, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, *al-Mabsūṭ fī al-Qirāʾāt al-ʿAshr*, (Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah, 1981), 169; al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 106.

[67] The *waw* seems to be an addition of a later origin. This is the reason I counted it as belonging to Meccan and ʿIrāqī codices.

[68] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1, 140.

[69] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʾah,* 221; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 172; al-Banna, *Itḥāf* , 233.

[70] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 106; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 233.

[71] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif* 151; al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ* 106.

[72] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 106; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 233.

[73] al-Bannā, *Itḥāf* 233.

[74] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 106.

nominative case (*qalīlun*).[75] The former is consistent with Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 30v, 6) and S.P E20 (f. 6v, 20) while the latter is compatible with Ḥijāzī and Iraqi codices in addition to Meknes (f. 70v,12), Qāf 47 (f. 16r, 8), H.S 44/22 (55a, 10), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 118v,6) Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 14v, 1) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 49v, 15).

7. Q.5:53: The reading of *yaqūlu l-ladhīna āmanū,* without the initial *wāw* instead of *wa yaqūlu* or *wa yaqūla*, is consistent with the Ḥijāzī and Syrian codices[76] along with Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 41v, 4), B. L. Or. 2165 (Arabe 328e, f. 92r, 21) and Qāf 47 (ms.or.fol. 4313, f. 6r, 7). In adhering to the reading of Abū ʿAmir, Yaʿqūb and Yazīdī, one reads the verse in the following way: *wa yaqūla l-ladhīna,* which is recited by adding *wāw* and holding the verb in the accusative case. Other Readers read it as *wa-yaqūlu l-ladhīna.* Both readings with *waw* were included in Meknes (f. 87v,12), H.S 44/22 (71b, 15), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 168r,5), Parisino-Petropolitanus, Arabe 328, f. 92r, 22) S.P E20 (Katta Langar, f. 7r, 22) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 66r, 3). However, the script of Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328e, f 92r, 22) is not visible to verify the word.

8. Q.5:54: Nāfiʿ, Abū Jaʿfar and Ibn ʿĀmir recite *man yartadid,* pronounced with two *dāls* in the jussive mode instead of *man yartadda*, with one geminate *dāl* in accusative mode. As a result, this reading appears in Medinan and Syrian codices[77] and other parchments like Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 41v, 7), Qāf 47 (ms.or.fol. 4313, f. 6r, 9), Rampur Raza1 (f. 66r, 6)[78], B. L. Or. 2165 (Arabe 328 e, f. 92r, 24), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 168r, 11) and Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328e, f. 92r, 25). The other reading is *yartadda*, with a geminate *dāl* and the verb in accusative mode. It is the reading of other Readers and is shown in Meknes (f. 87v, 16), H.S 44/22 (f. 72a, 1) and S. P. E20 (Katta Langar, f. 7r, 25).

9. Q. 6:32: Ibn ʿĀmir alone recites *wa-ladāru l-akhirati khayrun* instead of *wa-l-laddaru l-akhiratu khayrun,* with one *lām* and *dāl* with *fatḥa*. Thus, it is written accordingly in the Syrian codex[79] and Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 47r, 6). According to the readings of the majority of Readers, it is written with two *lāms* at the beginning and the geminate *dāl*. Similarly, it is written with two *lāms* in Hijazī, Iraqī codices,

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[75] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʾah,* 235; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 180; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 243. al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 106.

[76] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʾah,* 245; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 180; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 254. al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 107.

[77] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʾah,* 245; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 186; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 254. al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 107.

[78] The second *dāl* is deleted from the fragment. I suggest it belongs to Meccan and ʿIrāqī codices. This is consistent with other consonantal variations of the fragment which strongly support its Basran origin.

[79] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʾah,* 265; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 193; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 262. al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 107.

Samarkand (f. 131r, 6), H.S 44/22 (f. 81a, 7), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 193v, 7), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 23r, 23) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 74v, 4).

10. Q.6:63: *Laʾin anjānā* with *alif* after *jīm* instead of *anjaytana* with *yāʾ* and *tāʿ* after *jīm* is compatible, according to al-Dānī, with the Kūfan codex.[80] It is also compatible with Qāf 47 (ms.or.fol. 4313, f. 21v, 5). According to al-Dānī, other codices, including Ḥijāzī, Baṣran and Syrian codices, add three teeth to the word, remarking *yāʾ, tāʾ* and *nūn* in order to read it as *anjaytana,*[81] which is consistent with Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 1v, 9-10), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 48v, 5), H.S 44/22 (f. 83b, 7), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 202v, 1), B.L.Or.2165 (Arabe 328e, f. 24,v, 16), S.P E20 (f. 13r, 10) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 76v, 15).

11. Q.6: 137: *zuyyina li kathīrin mina l-mushrikīn qatlu awlādahum shurakāʾihim* instead of *zayyana li kathīrin min l-mushrikīn qatla awlādihim shurakāʾuhum.* It is transcribed in the Syrian codex.[82] The word *shurakāʾihim* includes a *yāʾ* while other codices introduce it with a *wāw.*[83] The Syrian[84] codex is further reflected in Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 28r, 8),[85] Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 7r, 9)[86] and S.P E20 (f. 11v, 2). In the Hijazī and Iraqi codices in addition to Samarkand (f. 157r, 5,6), Meknes (f. 105r, 8,9), and Rampur Raza1 (f. 82v, 15), *zayyana li kathīrin min l-mushrikīn qatla awlādihim shurakāʾuhum* was written with the verb *zayyana* in active voice and with the noun *qatla* in the accusative mode; *shurakāʾuhum* was written with a *wāw* instead of a *yāʾ* due to it being in the nominative case. In H.S 44/22 (f. 90r, 4), it is written without a *yāʾ* or a *wāw*. In the Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 223v, 2) it only has an *alif* followed by *hum.*

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[80] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʾah,* 259; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 195; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 266. al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 116.

[81] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 107.

[82] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ* 107.

[83] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʾah,* 270; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 203; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 274. al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* ١٠٧; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1: 151.

[84] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ* 107. However, Ibn Abī Dāwūd quoted an account confirming that the earlier Medinan codex complies with the Syrian (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif* 151). Most probably the report quoted by ibn Abī Dāwūd which confirms that it was written *shurakāʾihim* with *yāʾ* is an error. The account is credited to Abū al-Barahsam; ʿImrān bin ʿUthmān (a compiler of a *shādh* reading). The editor of ibn Abī Dāwūd's *al-Maṣāḥif* maintained that the addition of the earlier Medinan codex is an error made by Abū al-Barahsam (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1: 296). He based his conclusion on all other sources of *rasm* such as ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʿa,* 270, Danī's *al-Muqniʿ* (107), Samarqandī's *Kashf al-Asrār,* 1: 453; Ibn al-Jazarī's *Nashr.* 2: 265; and al-Bannā's *Itḥāf,* 217-218.

[85] There is a trace for *yāʾ* but it is erased from the text. Ibn al-Jazarī recounts a report for Ayyūb ibn Tamīm who was instructed to delete the *yāʾ* from his *muṣḥaf* by his teacher Abū ʿAbd al-Mālik but when he reviewed it with Yaḥya bin al-Ḥārith, he further instructed him to rewrite it again since it is a recognized reading. See: Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr* 1: 265.

[86] Only a dot appears on the line without decisively showing whether it is a *yāʿ* or a *wāw*.

According to the former reading, the verb *zuyyin* is in passive voice, *qatlu* is in the nominative and *shurakāʾihim* is in the genitive and thus was written with *yāʿ* instead of *wāw*.

12. Q. 7:3: The Syrian codex reads it *yatadhakkarūn* with *yāʿ* or *tāʾ* with two teeth for *yāʿ* or *tā*.[87] Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 166r, 1), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 54v, 18) and Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 63r, 9) are compatible with the Syrian and earlier Medinen codices. According to Meccan and Iraq codices, *yāʿ* and *tā* only has one tooth and can be read as *tadhakkarūn* with *tāʿ* and *dhāl*. This is Ḥamzah, al-Kisāʾī, Ḥafṣ and Khalaf's reading. It is also recited as *tadhdhakkarūn* with *tāʿ* and geminate *dhāl,* which is the reading of others. Meknes (f. 107v, 13), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 234R, 9), S.P E20 (f. 13r, 17) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 86r, 2) are all compatible with the late Medinan, Meccan and Iraqi codices.

13. Q.7:43 (f. la, 3): Others recite *mā kunnā li-nahtadiya* without an initial *waw* (Ibn ʿĀmir's reading solely) instead of *wa-mā kunna*.[88] According to al-Dānī, the Syrian codex did not include a *wāw*.[89] Such is the case of the earlier Medinan codex, according to Ibn Abī Dāwūd.[90] Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 56v, 12) and Or. 2165 (f. 1r, 3) are consistent with Syrian and early Medinan codices. Other codices where an initial *wāw* is written include the Ḥijāzī and Iraqi codices, in addition to Samarkand (f. 174v, 8), Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 12v, 16), Meknes (f. 111r, 7), H.S 44/22 (f. 96r, 10), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 244v, 3), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 31v, 24) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 91r, 11).

14. Q.7:75 (f. 2a, 22): Only the Syrian codex recites *wa-qāla l-malaʾu* with an initial *waw* instead of *qāla l-malaʾu*[91] along with B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 2r, 22), Parisino-Petropolitanus, (Arabe 328a, f. 33v, 1), Wetzstein (f. 58v, 2). Other fragments like Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 15r, 13), Meknes (f. 113v, 12), H.S 44/22 (f. 99r, 4), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 253v, 8) Samarkand (f. 183r, 4) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 91r, 111) do not include *wāw*. This is the case for the Meccan, late Medinan and Iraqi codices.

15. Q.7:141 (f. 4b, 10): Only according to the Syrian codex, *wa-idh anjākum* is written with only one tooth between the *jīm* and the *kāf,* indicating the *yāʾ* of an *alif maqṣūra* instead of the variant *rasm* that is *anjaynākum,* with two denticles between the *jīm* and the *kāf,* indicating a *yāʾ* and a *nūn*. However, there is a conflict between al-Dānī and Ibn Abī Dāwūd. Al-Dānī confirms that *wa-idh anjākum* is only found in

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[87] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʿah,* 278; Ibn abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1: 151; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 207; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 280. al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 107. However, Ibn Abī Dāwūd maintained that the *yatadhakarūn* is thus written in the earlier Medinan codex in addition to the Syrian. No other source claimed its existence in the earlier Medinan except Ibn Abī Dāwūd.

[88] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 283.

[89] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 107.

[90] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1*:* 151. It seems that Ibn Abī Dāwūd had access to more sources which enabled him to record additional information on the earlier Medinan *muṣḥaf.*

[91] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 107.

the Syrian codex[92] while Ibn Abī Dāwūd adds the earlier Medinan to it.[93] Such is the case with fragments like Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 19r, 6), Meknes (f. 117v, 13), H.S 44/22 (f. 103r, 10), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 267v, 11) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 95r, 6). On the other hand, *wa-idh anjaynākum,* written with two denticles between the *jīm* and the *kāf,* allegedly exists in the Meccan, late Medinan and Iraqi codices. It is thus written in Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 61r, 12), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 4v, 10) and Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328, f. 36r, 2).

16. Q. 9:100: *Tajrī taḥtahā* is the reading of all Readers except Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥayṣin, who read it as *tajrī min taḥtihā,* which is how it is "in the *muṣḥafs* of Mecca."[94] None of the fragments within the frame of our study was compatible with the Meccan codex but Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 75r, 11), Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 37v, 12), Qāf 47 (f. 24r, 13), Meknes (f. 137v, 6), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 337v, 4), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328, f. 43r, 10), Arabe 330g (f. 67r, 12), H.S 44/22 (f. 125r, 14) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 115r, 4) are all compatible with the Syrian, Medinan, Baṣran and Kūfan codices.

17. Q.9:107: *'L-dhīn 'l-takhadhū* is written without an intial *wāw* in the codices of Medina and Syria.[95] Such is the case with Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 38r, 10), H.S 44/22 (f. 125v, 16), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 43v, 2), Arabe 330 g (f. 67v, 3) Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 75v, 4),[96] and Rampur Raza1 (f. 115v, 5), which portray *wāw* in the beginning of *wa-l-dhīna itakhadhū.* Meccan and Iraqi codices as well as parchments like Meknes (f. 138r, 6) include an initial *wāw.*

18. Q.10: 22: Ibn ʿĀmir, Abū Jaʿfar and Ḥasan recite *yanshurukum* with dashes clearly marking the *shīn,* as recounted by al-Dānī in the Syrian codex,[97] whereas other readers recite *yusayyirukum.*[98] However, according to Ibn Abī Dāwūd, ʿUthmān's original *muṣḥaf* (earlier Medinan codex) included a *shīn,* which al-Ḥajjāj later replaced with *sīn.*[99] The *shīn* exists in H.S 44/22 (f. 130r, 14), B.L. Or. 2165 (f. 15v, 2), and Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 46r, 6), while the *sīn* exists in Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 41v, 4), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 78r, 19), Meknes (f. 142r, 10), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 351v, 2) Arabe 330g (f. 22v, 11) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 119v, 5).

19. Q.18:36 (f.7r, 20): Ibn Mujāhid confirms that *khayran minhumā,* which is written with *mīm* after *hāʾ* to indicate the dual form, is included in the Meccan, Medinan

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[92] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 108.

[93] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1: 151.

[94] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ* 108, 114.

[95] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 108.

[96] Westtenzstein does not have a *wāw* but there is a trace of its omission. It may be deleted on revising the materials, which almost complies with the early Medinan codex.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʿah*, 293; Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabṣuṭ,* 214; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 229, 235.

[99] Ibn abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1: 272.

and Syrian codices,[100] while parchments like Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 92v, 2), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 44v, 22), H.S 44/22 (f. 186v, 12), Ma VI 165 (f. 7r, 20), Samarkand (f. 113v, 10), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 523r, 11), Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 251v, 1) and Meknes (f. 194v, 15) do not have *mīm* and are thus read as *khayran minhā*.

20. Q. 18:95 (f. 10r, 16): All codices except the Meccan codex read it *mā makkannī* with a geminate *nūn* after *kāf* whereas the Meccan *muṣḥaf* reads it as *mā makkananī* with two *nūns*.[101] While H.S 44/22 (19v, 11) is consistent with the Meccan codex and Ibn Kathīr's reading, other fragments like Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 96v, 3), Ma VI 165 (f. 10r, 16), Samarkand (f. 259v, 1), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 116r, 4), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 47r, 21), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 534r, 6) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 174r, 7) are compatible with the Medinan, Syrian and Iraqi codices.[102]

21. Q. 21:4: Ibn Kathīr, Nāfiʿ, Abū ʿAmr, Ibn ʿĀmir and Shuʿbah recite *qul rabī yaʿlamu al-qawl* without an *alif* after the *qāf* while others, including Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah, al-Kisāʾī, Khalaf and al-Aʿmash, recite *qāla rabbī yaʿlamu* with an *alif* after the *qāf*.[103] According to al-Dānī, the Kūfan codex added an *alif* while others did not. Shuʿbah is from among the Kūfan Readers, but he did not pronounce it according to the script used in the Kūfan codex. All the available manuscripts do not include *alif*, such as Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 112v, 14), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 123v, 5), Meknes (f. 209v, 15), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 54v, 21), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 557v, 4), Rampur Raza1 (f. 185v, 3) Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328c, f. 79r, 15), and Petermann I 38 (f. 15r, 5).

22. Q. 21:30 (f. 20v, 18): Except for Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥayṣin, all readers recite *awalam yara* with a *waw* after the *hamza* whereas Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥayṣin recite *alam yara* without a *waw*.[104] According to al-Dānī, Ibn Kathīr's *qirāʾa* does not have a *waw* and is therefore consistent with the Meccan codex.[105] None of the fragments under discussion followed the Meccan codex. Other fragments, including Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 114r, 8), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 124r, 19), Meknes (f. 211r, 6), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 55v, 13), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 560r, 6), Ma VI 165 (f. 20v, 18), Rampur Raza1 (f. 186v, 9), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328c, f. 80r, 2) and Petermann I 38 (f. 16v, 6), are all consistent with Medinan, Syrian and Iraqi *muṣḥafs*.

23. Q. 21:112 (f. 24r, 9): The Kūfan codex read *qul rabbi ḥkum* without an *alif* after the *qāf* instead of *qāla*, while all other codices included the *alif*. None of the fragments under discussion include an *alif*. Manuscripts like Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 117r, 9), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 126v, 26), Meknes (f. 215r, 8), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 58v, 1), H.S 44/22

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[100] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʿah*, 390.

[101] al-Banna, *Itḥāf*, 37; ibn Mujāhid *al-Sabʿah*, 121.

[102] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʾ* 108.

[103] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʿah*, 428; al-Banna, *Itḥāf*, 391.

[104] al-Banna, *Itḥāf* 391.

[105] al-Dānī, al-*Muqniʿ*, 108.

(f. 209r, 17), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 569r, 2), Ma VI 165 (f. 24r, 9), Rampur Raza1 (f. 190v, 10), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328c, f. 82v, 7) and Petermann I 38 (f. 22r, 2) read it as *qul* instead of *qāla*.

24. Q. 22:23: *Wa lūluʾan* written with an *alif* at the end of the word indicates that it is in the accusative case instead of *lūluʾin*, which indicates the dative in conjunction with prior nouns.[106] Al-Dānī records conflicting reports on whether all codices added *alif* in Q. 22:23 or only the Medinans.[107] According to a report quoted by Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsa al-Aṣbahānī, Q. 22:23 does have an *alif* in the Baṣran codex. Al-Dānī further quotes Abū ʿAmr as confirming that the *alif* is found in some early original codices of Basra while it is missing in others.[108] He further clarifies that there is no disagreement on the existence of an *alif* in Q. 22:23 in all [Baṣran] codices. They did not differ on deleting it from Q. 35:33.[109] Both al-Kisāʾī and Abū ʿAmr attempted to provide a justification for the existence of *alif* in some codices. Abū ʿAmr claimed that the word should be written in the *muṣḥaf* with an *alif al-wiqāyah* like that of *kānū* and *qālū*. Al-Kisāʾī justifies the addition of an *alif* by claiming that it was a replacement of the *hamza* on *wāw*.[110] According to a report al-Danī attributed to ʿĀṣim al-Jaḥdarī, Q. 22:23 did not have an *alif* in the earlier Medinan codex. Ibn Abī Dāwūd[111] expressed a conclusion which seems compatible with current fragments. He maintained that the Baṣrans, Kūfans and Medinans added an *alif* to Q.22:33, which is then read as *luʾluʾan*, while Meccan and Syrian codices did not. However, fragments like Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 118v, 1), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 127r, 13), Meknes (f. 217r, 6), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 59v, 8), H.S 44/22 (f. 211v, 1), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 573r, 1) and Ma VI 165 (f. 25v, 9) are compatible with the Baṣran, Kūfan and Medinan codices while Rampur Raza1 (f. 192v, 3) is consistent with the Syrian and Meccan codices.

25. Q. 23:87 and 23:89: Al-Dānī confirmed that *sayaqūlūna ʾllah* written without a *lām* before the name Allah instead of *li-ʾllah* is consistent with the codices of Baṣrans.[112] He recounted Abū ʿUbayd's observation that the *alif* does not exist in the early Medinan codex. It is further consistent with Meknes (ff. 224v, 17; 225r, 2), Ma VI 165 (f. 32r, 6,8) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 200r, 9, 11). The reading of the majority is compatible with Ḥijāzī, Syrian and Kūfan codices as well as Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 125v, 6, 8), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 132r, 16, 18), H.S 44/22 (f. 220r, 11; 220v, 2), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 591v, 8; 592r, 1) Petermann I 38 (f. 34v, 4, 6) and Parisino-Petropolitanus (Marcel 18/1, f. 8v, 14, 17). According to Abū ʿAmr, al-Ḥasan affirmed the addition of multiple *alifs* by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. Though al-Dānī

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[106] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 397.

[107] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 147.

[108] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 46.

[109] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 47.

[110] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 47.

[111] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥīf,* 1: 144.

[112] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 108.

doubted the authenticity of those reports, it is difficult to chronologically verify them since both early and later manuscripts provide the *alif* and delete it.

26. Q. 25:25 All readers except Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥayṣin recite *nuzzila al-malāʾikatu* with one *nūn* and the word *malāʾikatu* in the nominative case whereas Ibn Kathīr[113] and Ibn Muḥayṣin[114] recite *nunazzilu al-malāʾikta* with two *nūns* and the word *malāʾikata* in the accusative case. Al-Dānī and Ibn al-Jazarī confirmed that the word was written with two *nūns* in the Meccan codex only,[115] while other *muṣḥafs* had one *nūn.* None of the available fragments comply with the Meccan codex while Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 137r, 8), Wetzstein II 1913 (137r, 8), Meknes (f. 233v, 17), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 71r, 6), H.S 44/22 (f. 230v, 5), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 616r, 10), Ma VI 165 (f. 39r, 3), Rampur Raza1 (f. 209r, 8), Ma VI 165 (39r, 3), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Marcel 18/1, f.13v, 16) and Petermann I 38 (f. 46v, 3) are all consistent with Medinan, Syrian and Iraqi codices.

27. Q. 26:217 (f. 45r, 9): Nāfiʿ, Abū Jaʿfar and Ibn ʿĀmir recite *fatawakkal ʿalā al-ʿazīzi ar-raḥīm* with the preposition *fa* at the beginning. Al-Dānī confirmed that the replacement of *waw* with *fāʾ* was a characteristic of the Medinan and Syrian codices.[116] Ibn al-Jazarī affirmed that the *waw* was written in the rest of the codices.[117] The *wāw* exists in Meknes (f. 242v, 5) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 217v, 12) while the *fāʾ* exists in Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 151r, 14), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 142v, 12), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Marcel 18/1, f. 18v, 6), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 77r, 7), H.S 44/22 (f. 240r, 4) and Ma VI 165 (f. 45r, 9).

28. Q.27:21: Ibn Kathīr recites *ʾaw la-yaʾtiyannanī* with two *nūns* while all other Readers read *ʾaw la-yaʾtiyannī* with one *nūn*.[118] According to al-Dānī, the former mode of reading was transcribed in the Meccan codex while the reading with one *nūn* was included in all other codices.[119] Ibn Kathīr's reading is not compatible with any of the parchments under discussion, while the reading with one *nūn* is compatible with Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 143v, 13), Petermann I 38 (f. 60r, 3), Samarkand (f. 299v, 10), Meknes (f. 244r, 7), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 78r, 11), Rampur Raza1 (f. 219r, 15), Ma VI 165 (f. 46r, 11), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Marcel 18/1, f. 19v, 3) and H.S. 44/22 (f. 241v, 13).

29. Q. 28: 37: W*a-qāla mūsā* with the *waw* at the beginning of the verse instead of *qāla mūsa* without *waw* exists in all codices except the Meccan codex.[120]. However, the *rasm* of the majority complies in Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 162r. 2), Wetzstein II 1913

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[113] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʿah,* 464. Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr,* 2: 334.

[114] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 417.

[115] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 109.

[116] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 110.

[117] Ibn al-Jazarī, al-*Nashr,* 2: 336.

[118] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 427.

[119] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 110.

[120] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 110.

(f. 69r, 2), S. P. E20 (Bukhara fragment f. 1r, 4) Meknes (f. 250v, 15), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 82v, 13), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 666r, 12), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328a, f. 83v, 7), H.S 44/22 (f. 249r, 17), Ma VI 165 (f. 51v, 1) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 226r, 12).

30. Q. 35:33: In the Medinan and Kūfan codices, *luʾluʿan* is transcribed with an alif, unlike[121] the Baṣran, Meccan and Syrian codices, which include the *alif.* Medinan and Kūfan codices are compatible with Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 195v, 3), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 147v, 16), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 103r, 7), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 195v, 3), Arabe 330 g (Chester 1615 I, f. 13r, e), H.S 44/22 (f. 282r, 4), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328 a, f. 55v, 7), Ma VI 165 (f. 75r, 4), Rampur Raza1 (f. 256r, 16) and Petermann I 38 (106r). The *luʾliʾin* reading is consistent with Meknes (f. 279r, 7).

31. Q. 36:35 According to the reading of Ibn Kathīr, Nāfiʿ, Abū ʿAmr, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥafṣ, *wa mā ʿamilathu aydīhim* is read with the *hāʾ* at the end of the verb *ʿamilat* instead of just *ʿamilat,* as is the case with the reading of Shuʿbah, Ḥamzah, al-Kisāʾī, Khalf and al-Muṭawwiʿī.[122] Al-Dānī recounted the *hāʾ* as existing in all the codices except the Kūfan codex.[123] It is worth mentioning that Ḥamzah, al-Kisāʾī and Khalaf are all Kūfan. Their violation of the *rasm* of their regional codices conflicts with Putten's conclusion that reading follows *rasm.*[124] The following fragments include a *hāʾ* which is the reading of the majority of readers and which is also apparent in Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 198r, 2), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 149r, 21), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 773r, 1), Arabe 330 g (Chester Is. 1615 II, f. 14r, 5), H.S 44/22 (f. 285r, 11), Ma VI 165 (f. 77r, 6), Rampur Raza1 (f. 259r, 3), Meknes 281v, 9 and Petermann I 38 (f. 109v, 3). In Samaqand (f. 309v, 12), *ʿamilat* is written without the *hāʿ*. Both are compatible with the Ḥijāzī, Syrian and Baṣran codices.

32. Q. 39:64: *Taʾmurūnanī* with two *nūns* is the reading of the Damascene codex but it is not consistent with any of our fragments, while *taʾmrunnī* with one geminate *nūn* is in accordance with the *rasm* of Ḥijāzī and Iraqi codices in addition to Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 158v, 19), Arabe 330 g (Chester 1615 I, f. 19v, 23), Meknes (f. 296r, 5). Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 817r, 7), and Rampur Raza1 (f. 274r, 2).

33. Q. 40: 21: *Ashadda minkum* instead of *ashadda minhum* is compatible with the Syrian codex. It does not match any of our manuscripts. *Ashadda minhum* is consistent with the Ḥijāzī and Iraqi codices, which include *hāʿ* instead of *kāf.*[125] It is reflected in Rampur Raza1 (f. 276r, 11), Petermann I 38 (128r, 2), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 160r, 21), Arabe 330 g (Chester 1615 I, f. 20v, 18) Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 217r, 11), Meknes (f. 298r, 17), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 824v, 12), and Rampur Raza1 (f. 276r, 11). In

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[121] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 47; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1: 144.

[122] Ibn Mujāhid, *al-Sabʿah,* 40; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr,* 2: 353; al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 467.

[123] al-Dānī al-*Muqniʿ,* 110; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr,* 1: 28.

[124] Putten, Marjin, " Hišām's ʾIbrāhām: Evidence for a Canonical Quranic, Reading Based on the Rasm," *JRAS,* Series 3, (2020), 1-20.

[125] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 427; al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 110.

Topkapı Sarayı M1a, an old letter has been omitted. It appears to be a *kāf* which has been replaced with a *hāʾ*.

34.	Q. 40: 26: *Wa ʾan yaẓhara fī 'l-arḍi 'l-fasādu* with the injunction *wāw* instead of *ʾan* and with the verb in active voice and *'l-fasādu* in the nominative is the *rasm* of Iraqi and earlier Medinan codices[126] in addition to Meknes (298v, 12) Westtzstein II 1913 (f. 160v, 8), and Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 826r, 3). In late Medinan and Mecan codices, on the other hand, the reading is *aw ʾan yūẓhira fī 'l-arḍī 'l-fasāda* with the injunction *ʾaw* alongside the initial *alif, yuẓhira* instead of *yaẓhara* and *al-fasāda* in the accusative form. Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī confirms that the *alif* exists in the Iraqi codex.[127] This is also confirmed by al-Farrāʾ,[128] Ibn Sallām[129] and al-Mustaghfirī.[130] Ibn Abī Dāwūd said that the *alif* existed in Baṣran codices.[131] Moreover, it is consistent with Rampur Raza1 (f. 276v, 6), Petermann I 38 (f. 128v, 1), Arabe 330 g (Chester 1615 I, f. 21r, 2), and Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 217v, 10).

35.	Q. 42:30: *Bi-mā kasabat* instead of *fa-bi-mā kasabat* (without the *fāʾ*) is consistent with Medinan and Syrian codices in addition to Arabe 330 g (Chester 1615 I, 25r, 7), Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 231r, 4), Wetzstein II 1913 (167v, 2)[132], B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 118v, 13), and Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328b, f. 59r, 13). The reading with the *fāʾ* is consistent with Meccan and Iraqi codices.[133] It is also consistent with Samarkand (f. 348r, 7), Meknes (f. 309r, 4) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 286v, 9). Wetzstein II 1913 originally appears to have been without the *fāʾ*, which was presumably added later.

36.	Q. 43:68: *Yā ʿibādī* with *yāʾ* after the *dāl* is consistent with Medinan and Syrian codices[134] in addition to Petermann I 38 (f. 144r, 6), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 170v, 12), Arabe 330 g (Chester 1615 I, f. 27r, 9), Topkapı Sarayı Madina 1a (f. 236v, 5), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 876r, 9), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 121r, 17), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328b, f. 61v, 12), and Arabe 333d (f. 66r, 7). The reading of *yā ʿibad* without the *yāʾ* is consistent with Iraqi codices. Additionally, it is consistent with Meknes (f. 313v, 13).

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[126] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 110.

[127] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 131.

[128] al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī*, 3,7.

[129] Ibn Sallām, Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, ed. Marwān al-ʿAṭiyya, *et al*, (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1995), 329.

[130] al-Mustaghfirī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Jaʿfar bin Mūḥammad, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad bin Fāris al-Sallūm (Riyadh: Dār ibn Ḥazm, 2008), 326.

[131] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥīf*, 1: 144.

[132] The *fāʾ* is clearly added in a different style which shows that it was inserted at a later period. This is the reason I regarded the fragment as following the ealy Medinan codex.

[133] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 110; al-Banna, *Itḥāf*, 492.

[134] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 110; al-Banna, *Itḥāf*, 492.

37. Q. 43:71 (f. 121b): According to al-Dānī, in the Medinan codices the reading is *wa-fihā ma tashtahīhi 'l-anfus* with two *hāʾs*.[135] Such is the case with Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 236v, 12), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 170v, 18), B. L. Or. 2165 (f. 121v, 21), Parisino-Petropolitanus (Arabe 328 b, f. 61v, 15), H.S 44/22 (f. 27r, 12), Rampur Raza1 (f. 290r, 16) and Petermann I 38 (f. 144r, 10). Other manuscripts like Meknes (f. 313v, 16), Arabe 333d (f. 75r, 10) and Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 876v, 8) include only one *hāʾ* and are thus compatible with Meccan, Syrian and Hijāzī codices.[136]

38. Q.46:15: The Kūfan codex reading is *bi-wālidayhi iḥsānana* with the *hamza* before the *ḥāʾ,* whereas Medinan, Meccan, Syrian and Baṣran codices' reading is without the hamza (*husna*).[137] Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 892v, 11) and Arabe 330 g (Cherst 1615 I, f. 29v, 22) comply with the Kūfan codex, while Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 242v, 12), Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 174v, 14), Meknes (f. 319v, 11), H.S 44/22 (f. 330v, 5) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 296r, 8) are compatible with the rest of codices.[138]

39. Q. 47:18: All readers recite *fa-hal yantaẓirūna ill l-sāʿata ʾan taʾtiyaham* with *ʾan* (instead of *ʾin*) and *yāʾ* added to the verb *taʾtiyaham* (instead of *taʾtihim*), which shows the accusative case. This is the way it was transcribed in the Medinan, Syrian and Kūfan codices. Al-Dānī narrates Khalaf ibn Hishām al-Bazzār reporting that it was written in Kūfan and Meccan codices with *ʾin* (instead of *ʾan*) and without the *yāʿ* to show the verb in jussive mode (*jazm*).[139] This report draws our

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[135] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 113. However, there are conflicting reports on the Medinan codices. According to a report quoted by ibn Abī Dāwūd from Abū al-Jahm, the first Medinan codex reads it *'tashtahī'* with one *hāʾ* (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1: 139). Abū ʿAmr provided two conflicting reports; the former is attributed to Abū ʿAmr al-Baṣrī, the well-known reciter who confirmed that the word was transcribted with two *hāʾs* in all Medinan codices (*al-Muqniʿ,* 111) while the latter ascertains that it is written with one *hāʾ* in the earlier Medinan codex (1, 116). In Arabe 333d (75r, 10), there is a addition of a *hāʿ* later on which refers to the existence of a controversy on adding the *hāʿ* or maintaining it according to the early Medinan codex.

[136] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 113. However, there are conflicting reports on the Medinan codices. According to a report quoted by ibn Abī Dāwūd from Abū 'l-Jahm, the first Medinan codex reads it *'tashtahī'* with one *hāʾ* (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1, 139). Abū ʿAmr provided two conflicting reports; the former is attributed to Abū ʿAmr al-Baṣrī, the well-known reciter who confirmed that the word was transcribted with two *hāʾs* in all Medinan codices (*al-Muqniʿ,* 111) while the latter ascertains that it is written with one *hāʾ* in the earlier Medinan codex (1, 116). In Arabe 333d (75r, 10), there is a addition of a *hāʿ* later on which refers to the existence of a controversy on adding the *hāʿ* or maintaining it according to the early Medinan codex.

[137] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 50.

[138] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 111.

[139] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 111. The reading was quoted by Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān fī Taʾwīl al-Qurʾā,* ed. Aḥmad Moḥammad Shākir (Beirut: al-Risālah, 2000), 22: 171; al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd ibn ʿAmr, *al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaqāʾiq Ghawāmiḍ al-Tanzīl,* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1986), 4: 323. Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, *al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz fī Tafsīr al-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz,* ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah 2001), 5: 116; al-Farrāʾ, Abū Zakariyyā

attention to variants which survived in the works of Muslim exegetes and philologists in the form of recorded quotations, and which are represented in early Qurʾān manuscripts. They were not a part of canonical or *shādhdh* readings of the Qurʾān. A similar example is *ṭuwā*, which was written as *ṭāwā* (Q. 20:12 and Q. 79:16) in the British Lib. Or. 2165, Tübingen VI 165, BNF Arabe 7193 and St. P. E20.[140]

However, the *an taʿtiyahum* reading is reflected in Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 246r, 8), Wetzstein 1913 (f. 177r, 6), Meknes (f. 323r, 5), Arabe 333 d (f. 72v, 9), Arabe 330 g (Cherster 1615 I, f. 31r, 21), H.S 44/22 (f. 334r, 17), Rampur Raza1 (f. 299v, 4) and Petermann I 38 (f. 154r, 7), while the *ʾin taʿtihim* reading exists in Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 902v, 9).

40. Q. 55: 12: In Syrian and earlier Medinan codices, according to al-Dānī, the reading is *wa al-ḥabbu dhā l-ʿaṣfi wa rayḥān* with *dhā* in the accusative case,[141] which is not compatible with any of the manuscripts under discussion. *Wa al-ḥabbu dhū l-ʿaṣfi wa rayḥān* with *wāw* after the *dhāl* to indicate the nominative is consistent with late Medinan, Meccan and Iraqi codices in addition to Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 261v, 16), Meknes (f. 337, 2) Wetzstein 1913 (f. 337v, 2), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 956v, 9), Arabe 333 d (f. 75r, 10), H.S 44/22 (f. 351v, 17) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 312v, 1). The *dh* exists in some manuscripts such as Arabe 3331 (f. 48v, 2), but it is not one of our selected manuscripts.

41. Q. 55: 78: Except for Ibn ʿĀmir, all readers recite *dhī l-jalāli wa al-ikrām* with a *yāʾ* after the *dhāl* as a sign of the dative case while Ibn ʿĀmir reads *dhū* with the *waw* to indicate the normative case.[142] According to al-Dānī, the second reading is compatible with the Syrian and early Medinan codices.[143] The *dhī* reading is compatible with Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 263r, 15), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 961v, 8), H.S 44/22 (f. 354r, 2), Arabe 333 d (f. 49v, 14), Rampur Raza1 (f. 314r, 3) and Petermann I 38 (f. 163v, 9), while the *dhū* reading is compatible with Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 189r, 5) and Meknes (f. 338v, 1).

42. Q. 57:10: All readers except Ibn ʿĀmir recite *wa kullan waʿada Allāhu l-ḥusnā* with an *alif* in *kullān* to indicate the accusative mode. Ibn ʿĀmir reads *wa kullun waʿada Allāhu l-ḥusnā* without the *alif*, which renders it in the nominative case.[144] According to al-Dānī, Ibn ʿĀmir's reading is compatible with the Syrian codex.[145]

Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād, *Maʿānī al-Qurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Najāti, et al (Egypt: al-Dār al-Maṣriyya n. d.) 3: 61.

[140] Fedali, Alba, "Relevance of the oldest qurʾānic manuscripts for the readings mentioned by commentaries. A note on sura Ṭā-Hāʾ," *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 15 (2009), 3-10.

[141] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 112.

[142] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,*, 528.

[143] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 112.

[144] al-Banna, *Itḥāf*, 523.

[145] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, 112.

On the other hand, Ibn Abī Dāwūd said it is compatible with the earlier Medinan and Syrian codices. However, Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 266r, 6) and Wetzstein 1913 (f. 190v, 24) did not include an *alif.* In that case, they must be consistent with the Syrian and early Medinan codices, as Ibn Abī Dāwūd said. The majority's reading is compatible with Meknes (f. 341v, 8), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 969v, 1), H.S 44/22 (f. 357, 18), Arabe 333 d (f. 78v, 1), Rampur Raza1 (f. 316v, 12), and Petermann I 38 (f. 167r, 2)

43. Q. 57:24: According to al-Dānī, in Medinan and Syrian codices the reading is *fa-ʾinna Allāha l-ghaniyyu l-ḥamīd.*[146] However, he provided a report suggesting that the Medinan codices included *huwa.*[147] This is further confirmed by Ibn Abī Dāwūd who quoted Ṣakhr ibn Abī Jahm as saying that he saw the *muṣḥaf* of ʿUthmān and found it different from the rest of Medinan codices in 12 cases. One of them was Q. 57:24, where he saw the pronoun *huwa* in *al-imām,* i.e. the earlier Medinan codex.[148] Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 267v, 7), H.S 44/22 (f. 359, 8) and Rampur Raza1 (f. 318r) are consistent with Syrian and ealier Medinan codices while Wetzstein II 1913 (f. 191v, 21), Meknes (f. 342v, 3) and Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 974v, 10) are consistent with late Medinan, Meccan and Iraqi codices and thus read it '*fa inna 'llaha 'l-ghaniyyu*' without *huwa.*[149]

44. Q. 91:15: *fa-la yakhāfu ʿuqbāha* with the *fāʾ* instead of the *yāʾ* exists in Syrian and Medinan codices,[150] in addition to Topkapı Sarayı M1a (f. 304r, 21). The reading, which includes the *wāw,* is echoed in Wetzstein 1913 (f. 49r, 2), Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 1089r, 12), Rampur Raza1 (f. 340r, 8), H.S 44/22 (f. 402r, 11) and 330 g (Chester Lib Is. 1615 II, f. 2v, 6).

Conclusion

By examining our fragments, we could conclude that three manuscripts were almost compatible with the earlier Medinan codex. They are Westenzstein II 1913, H.S. 44/22 and Petermann I 38. As far as the Wetzstein II 1913 is concerned, it included 40 consonantal variations which prove to match the earlier Medinan codex by virtue of 40 matches (100 percent). The parchment included 29 variations which were shared by the late Medinan codex and 11 unique cases which strongly suggest that it belongs to the earlier Medinan *muṣḥaf.* It also suggests a considerable difference between the two Medinan codices on the one hand, and the Medinan codex compared to Meccan *muṣḥaf.* Such is the case with Topkapı Saray 44/32, which includes 32 cases—all of them compatible with earlier Medinan codices. Similarly, Petermann I 38 belongs to the earlier Medinan

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[146] al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ,* 112.

[147] Ibid, 116.

[148] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *al-Maṣāḥif,* 1*:* 139, 140,

[149] In Wetzstein II 1913, Q. 57:24 appears to have *huwa* but is erased. The parchment is a palimpsest and most probably the erased *huwa* belongs to the inferior text. This is further confirmed by the 34 cases of consonantal variations which all confirm that it belonged to earlier Medinan codices.

[150] al-Banna, *Itḥāf,* 586.

codex by virtue of 19 consonantal variations, all of which conform with the earlier Medinan codex.

Two manuscripts coincide with both earlier and Medinan codices, namely Tübingen VI 165 and Arabe 330g. The Tübingen parchment included 10 out of 11 consonantal variations which were compatible with both the earlier and later Medinan codices. The only cases of inconsistency are Q.23:87 and 23:89, where *sayaqūlūna 'llāh* was written without the *lām* before the name Allah. This is Abū ʿAmr al-Baṣrī, Yaʿqūb and al-Yazīdī's reading. The rest of the readers read it with the *lām* before Allah, like this: *li-'llāh*. Although many Qurʾān experts in earlier as well as later periods confirmed that this is the way it was written in Baṣran codices, many earlier scholars such as Abū ʿUbayd observed that the *alif* was not present in the early Medinan codex. It seems that it was added to the parchment at a later stage. This practice is noticeable in some parchments such as Petermann I 38 (f. 34v, 4, 6) and Cairo Greater Qurʾān (f. 591v, 8; 592r, 1). Hārūn al-Aʿwar's report, which he obtained from ʿAṣim al-Jaḥdarī, affirms the addition of an *alif* by Naṣr ibn ʿAṣim al-Laythī. Abū ʿAmr recalled that al-Ḥasan confirmed the addition of *alif*s by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. This confirms that the parchment was part of a project initiated during al-Ḥajjāj's times.

After analyzing Arabe 330g, which includes 12 consonantal variations, we could safely say that ten cases are compatible with both earlier and later Medinan codices, but all cases are consistent with the late Medinan codex. Therefore, we can conclude that Arabe 330g was written in compatibility with the late Medinan codex.

Two parchments conform with the late Medinan codex, namely codices Ms. Qāf 47 and Saray Medina 1a. Codex Ms. Qāf 47 includes only seven variations which were all compatible with the late Medinan codex. The Saray Medina 1a, also known as Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, includes 29 cases of consonantal variations, all of which are compatible with the late Medinan codex. However, 27 cases are consistent with the earlier Medinan codex. This shows proximity between the earlier and Medinan codices, a conclusion which is confirmed through our analysis of Arabe 330g, where the earlier Medinan codex matches 11 out of 12 variations.

The greater part of our parchments belongs in Basra, where six of them coincide to a greater extent with the early Baṣran codex of ʿUthmān, according to early Muslim sources. Those six parchments include Arabe 339, St. Petersburg E-20, Cairo Greater Qurʾān, Mekns, Arabe 333d and Rampur Raza1. The St. Petersburg manuscript E-20 includes 10 consonantal variations within the structure of the words; nine of them are compatible with Iraqi codices—both the Baṣran and Kūfan codices. However, the tenth case confirms it was written in a way which was consistent with the Baṣran codex. So, we can presume that the codex was written in imitation of an earlier Baṣran codex.

The Cairo Great Qurʾān Codex includes 20 consonantal variations which are compatible with the Baṣran codex, as described by Ibn Abī Dāwūd and al-Dānī. However, two inconsistencies occur in Q.5:54 and Q.23:87, 89 where the former conforms with earlier

and late Medinan codices as well as Syrian codices and the latter conforms with Ḥijāzī, Syrian and Kūfan codices.

The ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zīdān Qurʾān Codex known as Meknes, BL Or. 12884, Sharīf includes 37 consonantal variations, 27 of which are compatible with Iraqi codices and 35 of which are compatible with Baṣran codices. The only case which is not consistent with the Baṣran codex is Q.47:18. However, it is compatible with Kūfan and early Medinan codices.

One parchment is compatible with the early Kūfan codex, namely the Samarkand Kūfan codex which includes 13 variations, of which 12 are consistent with Iraqi *muṣḥafs* and one is unique to the Kūfan codex, i.e., Q. 36:35. We can thus presume that the parchment is of Kūfan origin and was written in imitation of the Kūfan codex.

We could also confirm the Syrian origin of two more parchments which were discussed in previous publications, namely B. L. Or. 2165 and the Parisino-Petropolitanus, which were both examined by Dutton.[151] Dutton could examine only "seven variants which involve either the addition or omission of a letter in the consonantal text and which can thus be used to ascertain a particular manuscript tradition and/or reading."[152] Dutton's conclusion could safely be based on solid grounds in case we presume that Ibn ʿĀmir's reading is completely compatible with the Syrian codex; Intisar A. Rabb suggested that the manuscript belongs to the Ḥimṣī codex.[153] However, through examination of the 121 folios as well as Arabe 328e, which is a part of Or. 2165, we could notice 21 consonantal variants which are marked by the addition or omission of a particular letter within the consonantal outline of the text. Nineteen cases were compatible with the Syrian codex. The two exceptions are Q.22:23 and Q. 35:33, which highlight an inconsistency in the observations of early Muslim sources on the addition or omission of an *alif* at the word *luʾluʾ*. This is proven through our intensive analysis of all fragments under discussion.

After including Arabe 328a, 328b, Marcel 18/1 and Parisino-Petropolitanus, we could discern 24 variants with 20 cases of full compatibility with the Syrian codex, as Dutton confirmed. The four cases include Q. 21:4 and 21:112, where we could not discern which exact codex the text imitated since the *alif* in *qāla* is usually deleted even from places where it is read as *qāla*. The four exceptional cases include Q. 22:23 and Q. 35:33, where the word *luʾluʾan* was described with or without an *alif*, but all reports seem to conflict in a manner which we cannot reconcile or decisively determine.

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[151] Dutton, "Some Notes," 71-89.

[152] Dutton, "Some Notes," 44.

[153] Rabb, " Non-Canonical Readings," 84-127.

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Table 1: Overview of the regional codex variants.

	Verse	Med I	Med II	Meccan	Syrian	Kufan	Basran
1	Q.2:116	قالوا	وقالوا	وقالوا	قالوا	وقالوا	وقالوا
2	Q.2:132	وأوصى	ووصَّى	ووصَّى	وأوصى	ووصَّى	ووصَّى
3	Q.3:133	سارعوا	سارعوا	وسارعوا	سارعوا	وسارعوا	وسارعوا
4	Q.3:184	بالبينات وبالزبر والكتب	بالبينات والزبر والكتب	بالبينات والزبر والكتب	بالبينات وبالزبر والكتب	بالبينات والزبر والكتب	بالبينات والزبر والكتب
5	Q.5:53	بالبينات والزبر والكتب	بالبينات والزبر والكتب		بالبينات وبالزبر والكتب	بالبينات والزبر والكتب	بالبينات والزبر والكتب
6	Q.5:54	قليل	قليل	قليل	قليلا	قليل	قليل
7	Q.6:32	يقول	يقول	يقول	يقول	ويقول	ويقول
8	Q.5:54	يرتد	يرتد	يرتدد	يرتد	يرتدد	يرتدد
9	Q.6:32	والدار الاخرة	والدار الاخرة	والدار الاخرة	والدار الاخره	والدار الاخرة	والدار الاخرة
10	Q.6:63	أنجيتنا	أنجيتنا	أنجيتنا	أنجيتنا	أنجانا	أنجيتنا
11	Q.6:137	قتل أولادهم شركاؤهم زين لكثير من المشركين	قتل أولادهم شركاؤهم زين لكثير من المشركين	قتل أولادهم شركاؤهم زين لكثير من المشركين	زين لكثير من المشركين قتل أولادهم شركاؤهم	زين لكثير من المشركين قتل أولادهم شركاؤهم	زين لكثير من المشركين قتل أولادهم شركاؤهم

#	Verse						
12	Q.7:3	تذكرون	تذكرون	تذكرون	يتذكرون	تذكرون	تذكرون
13	Q.7:43	وما كنا	وما كنا	وما كنا	ما كنا	وما كنا	وما كنا
14	Q.7:75	قال	قال	قال	وقال	قال	قال
15	Q.7:141	أنجيناكم	أنجيناكم	أنجاكم	أنجاكم	أنجيناكم	أنجيناكم
16	Q.9:100	تجتبي	تجتبي	من تجتبي	تجتبي	تجتبي	تجتبي
17	Q.9:107	الذين اتخذوا	والذين اتخذوا	والذين اتخذوا	الذين اتخذوا	والذين اتخذوا	والذين اتخذوا
18	Q.10:22	ينشركم	يسيركم	يسيركم	ينشركم	يسيركم	يسيركم
19	Q.18:36	منهما	منهما	منهما	منهما	منها	منها
20	Q.18:95	مكني	مكني	مكني	مكني	مكني	مكني
21	Q.21:4	قل	قل	قل	قل	قل	قل
22	Q.21:30	أولم	أولم	أو لم	أولم	أولم	أولم
23	Q.21:112	قال	قال	قال	قال	قال	قال
24	Q.22:23	لؤلؤا	لؤلؤا	لؤلؤا	لؤلؤا	لؤلؤا	لؤلؤا
25	Q.23:87	لله	لله	لله	لله	لله	الله
26	Q.25:25	نزل	نزل	نزل	نزل	نزل	نزل
27	Q.26:217	فتوكل	فتوكل	فتوكل	فتوكل	فتوكل	وتوكل
28	Q.27:21	ليأتيني	ليأتيني	ليأتيني	ليأتيني	ليأتيني	ليأتيني

#	Ref						
29	Q.28: 37	وقال	وقال	وقال	قال	وقال	وقال
30	Q.35:33	اقول	اقول	اقول	اقول	اقول	
31	Q.36:35	وما عملت	وما عملته	وما عملت	وما عملت	وما عملت	
32	Q.39:64	تأمروني	تأمروني	تأمرني	تأمروني	تأمروني	
33	Q.40:21	منهم	منهم	منكم	منهم	منهم	
34	Q. 40:26	أو أن	وإن	وإن	أو أن	وإن	
35	Q.42:30	يا	يا	يا	فيها	فيها	
36	Q.43:68	عبادي	عبادي	عبادي	عباد	عباد	
37	Q.43:71	ما تشتهي	ما تشتهيه	ما تشتهيه	ما تشتهى	ما تشتهى	
38	Q.46:15	حسنا	حسنا	حسنا	إحسانا	حسنا	
39	Q.47:18	أن تأتيهم	أن تأتيهم	أن تأتيهم	إن تأتهم	إن تأتهم	
40	Q.55:12	ذا	ذو	ذو	ذو	ذو	
41	Q.55: 78	ذو	ذي	ذو	ذي	ذي	
42	Q.57:10	كلا	كلا	كل	كلا	كلا	
43	Q.57:24	فإن الله الغني	فإن الله هو الغني	فإن الله الغني	فإن الله هو الغني	فإن الله هو الغني	
44	Q.91:15	فلا يخاف	ولا يخاف	فلا يخاف	ولا يخاف	ولا يخاف	

Table 2: Overview of variants as transcribed in manuscripts.

Manuscript	Q.2:116	Q.2:132	Q.3:133	Q.3:184	Q.5:53	Q.5:54	Q.6:32
Arabe 333 d							
Petermann I 38							
Rampur Raza	وقلوا	وؤصّى	سرعوا	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	قليل	ويقول
H.S 44/32	وقلوا	وؤصّى		بالبينت والزبر والكتب		قليل	ويقول
Samarkand	وقلوا	وؤصّى	سرعوا	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب		
Meknes	وقلوا		سرعوا	بالبينت وبالزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	قليل	ويقول
Cairo Great Quran				بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	قليل	ويقول
E-20				بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	قليلا	ويقول
Wetzstein II 1913	وقلوا		سرعوا	بالبينت وبالزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	قليلا	يقول
Medina 1a							
Qāf 47			وسرعوا	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	قليل	يقول
VI 165							
Arabe 330 (g)							
CPP			سرعوا	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	قليل	ويقول
B. L. Or. 2165			سرعوا				يقول
Verse	Q.2:116	Q.2:132	Q.3:133	Q.3:184	Q.5:53	Q.5:54	Q.6:32
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		برتيد	وللدار الاخرة	أكجينا	قال من كيد المشركين أولادهم شركاؤهم		تلكرون	وماكبا
			وللدار الاخرة	أكجينا				وماكبا
			وللدار الاخرة		قال من كيد المشركين أولادهم شركاؤهم			و ماكبا
		برتيد			قال من كيد المشركين أولادهم شركاؤهم		تلكرون	وماكبا
		برتيد	وللدار الاخرة	أكجينا			تلكرون	وماكبا
		برتيد		أكجينا	قال من كيد المشركين أولادهم شركاؤهم		تلكرون	
		برتيد	وللدار الاخرة	أكجينا			بلكرون	ماكبا
				أكجينا	قال من كيد المشركين أولادهم شركاؤهم		بلكرون	وماكبا
		برتيد		أكجانا				
		برتيد	وللدار الاخرة		قال من كيد المشركين أولادهم شركاؤهم		بلكرون	وماكبا
		برتيد		أكجينا				ماكبا
8	Q.5:54							
9	Q.6:32							
10	Q.6:63							
11	Q.6:137							
12	Q.7:3							
13	Q.7:43							

#	Reference										
								قل			
								قل	أوتوا	قال	
14		قال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم	تخفوا	الذين	يبشرهم		يكفيكم		أوتوا	قل	اقرءوا
15		قال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم	تخفوا		يبشرهم	منها	يكفيكم			قل	اقرءوا
16		قال ثلاثة				يبشرهم	منها	يكفيكم				
17		قال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم	تخفوا	والذين	يبشرهم	منها		قل	أوتوا	قل	اقرءوا
18		قال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم	تخفوا		يبشرهم	منها	يكفيكم	قل	أوتوا	قل	
19												
20		وقال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم	تخفوا	الذين	يبشرهم	منها	يكفيكم	قل	أوتوا	قل	اقرءوا
21		قال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم	تخفوا	الذين	يبشرهم	منها	يكفيكم	قل	أوتوا	قل	اقرءوا
22				تخفوا								
23							منها	يكفيكم		أوتوا	قل	اقرءوا
24				تخفوا	الذين	يبشرهم						
Q.7:75	وقال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم	تخفوا	الذين	يبشرهم			قل	أوتوا	قل	
Q.7:141	وقال ثلاثة	أغنياءكم			يبشرهم	منها	يكفيكم	قل	أوتوا	قل	اقرءوا

#	Reference
14	Q.7:75
15	Q.7:141
16	Q.9:100
17	Q.9:107
18	Q.10:22
19	Q.18:36
20	Q.18:95
21	Q.21:4
22	Q.21:30
23	Q.21:112
24	Q.22:23

#	Āyah	الله	نزل	فتوكل	بآياتي	وقال	اقوا	وما عبدته	تأمرون	منهم	أو أن
25	Q. 23:87	الله	نزل		بآياتي		اقوا	وما عبدته		منهم	أوأن
26	Q. 25:25	الله	نزل	وتوكل	بآياتي	وقال	اقوا	وما عبدته	تأمرون	منهم	أوأن
27	Q. 26:217	الله	نزل	فتوكل	بآياتي	وقال	اقوا	وما عبدته			
28	Q. 27:21				بآياتي			وما عبدت			
29	Q. 28:37	الله	نزل	وتوكل	بآياتي	وقال	اقوا	وما عبدته	تأمرون		وقال
30	Q. 35:33	الله				وقال		وما عبدته	تأمرون		وقال
31	Q. 36:35					وقال					
32	Q. 39:64	الله	نزل	فتوكل	بآياتي	وقال	اقوا	وما عبدته	تأمرون	منهم	وقال
33	Q. 40:21	الله	نزل	فتوكل		وقال	اقوا	وما عبدته		منهم	أوأن
34	Q. 40:26	الله		فتوكل	بآياتي	وقال	اقوا	وما عبدته		منهم	وقال

No.	Reference	فيها	عبادي	ما تشتهيه	حسنا	أن تأتيهم	ذو	ذي	كلا	فإن الله ... العلي	ولا
35	Q. 42:30	فيـنا	عبادي				ذو	ذي	كلا		ولا
36	Q. 43:68		عبادي	ما تشتهيه		أن تأتيهم		ذي	كلا		
37	Q. 43:71	فيـنا		ما تشتهيه ما تشتهي	حسنا	أن تأتيهم	ذو	ذي	كلا		ولا
38	Q.46:15				حسنا	أن تأتيهم	ذو	ذي	كلا	فإن الله العلي	ولا
39	Q. 47:18	فيـنا		ما تشتهي ما تشتهي	حسنا	أن تأتيهم	ذو	ذو	كلا	فإن الله هو فإن الله هو العلي العلي	
40	Q. 55: 12		عبادي	ما تشتهيه	إحسانا	إن تأمّ	ذو	ذي	كلا	فإن الله هو العلي	ولا
41	Q. 55: 78	لا	عبادي	ما تشتهيه	حسنا	أن تأتيهم	ذو		كل	فإن الله هو العلي	ولا
42	Q. 57:10	لا	عبادي	ما تشتهيه ما تشتهي	حسنا	أن تأتهم	ذو	ذي	كل	فإن الله	فلا
43	Q. 57:24	لا	عبادي	ما تشتهيه	إحسانا	أن تأتهم					ولا
44	Q. 91:15	لا	عبادي	ما تشتهيه ما تشتهي							

Table 3: Overview of the regional codex variants, manuscripts and *qirāʾāt*.

I used the following symbols for the 14 Readers and their respective students according to *Shāṭibiyya, Nashr* and *Itḥāf:* N: Nāfiʿ, Q: Qālūn, W: Warsh, K: ibn Kathīr, B: Bazzī, Qu: Qunbul, Ia: Ibn ʿAmir, H: Hishām, Dh: Ibn Dhakwān, Ab: Abū ʿAmr, D1: Dūrī, S: Sūsī, A: ʿAṣim, Sh: Shuʿbah, Ḥ: Ḥafṣ, Ḥz: Ḥamzah, Kh: Khalaf, Khl: Khallād, Ks: Kisāʾī, Ḥr: Abū al-Ḥārith, D2: Dūrī of al-Kisāʾī, Y: Yaʿqūb, R: Ruwyas, Ra: Rawḥ, J: Abū Jaʿfar, Wr: Ibn Wardān, Jz: Ibn Jammāz, Kh10: Kalaf al-ʿAshir, Is: Isḥāq, Id: Idrīs. Ḥs: Ḥasan, Am: Aʿmash, Ya: Yazīdī, Mḥ: Ibn Muḥayṣin, Sha: Shannabūdhī. Mṭ: Muṭawwiʿī. I also used the followng symbols for the seven codices of ʿUthmān: MII: Early Medinan, MII: Second Medinan; M: Meccan, S: Syrian, K: Kufi and B: Basri.

Quran	Q. 2:166			Q. 2: 132		
	Qālū	*Wa-qāalu*		*Wa-ʾawṣa*	*Wa-waṣṣa*	
	H, K and B codices. (Ib)	Syrian codex	(N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Id, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)	MI, MII and S codices. (N, J, Ia)	M, K and B codices	(K, Ab, Hz, Ks, Ya, Kh10, Ḥs, Am, Ya, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)
Arabe 333 d						
Petermann I 38						
Rampur Raza	وقلوا			ووصّى		
H.S 44/32	وقلوا			ووصّى		
Samarkand	وقلوا			ووصّى		
Meknes	وقلوا					
Cairo Great Quran						
E-20						
Wetzstein II 1913	وقلوا					
Medina 1a						
Qāf 47						
VI 165						
Arabe 330 (g)						
CPP						
B. L. Or. 2165						

Q. 3: 133	*Wa-sārūʾū* S codex (N, J, Ib)	*sārūʾū* MI, MII, M, K, B codice (K, Ab, Hz, Ks, Ya, Kh10, Ḥs, Am, Ya, Mḥ, Sha, Mt)	شروحوا		شروحوا		شروحوا		شروحوا			شروحوا
Q. 3: 184	*Wa-bi-l-zuburi* MI, S codex (Ib)	*Wa-al-zuburi* (MI, MII, K, B codices) (N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Y, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mt)	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	وشروحوا بالبينت والزبر	بالبينت والزبر والكتب		بالبينت والزبر والكتب	
Q. 3: 184	*Wa-bi-l-kitābi* S codex (H)	*Wa-l-kitābi* (MI, MII, K, B codices) (N, K, Ab, A, Dh, Ks, Y, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mt)	وبالكتب بالبينت		بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب	بالبينت والزبر والكتب		بالبينت والزبر والكتب	

ويقول		يرتد		والدار الآخرة		أنجينا						
ويقول				والدار الآخرة		أنجينا						
				والدار الآخرة								
ويقول		يرتد										
ويقول		يرتدد		والدار الآخرة		أنجينا						
ويقول		يرتد				أنجينا						
يقول		يرتدد		والدار الآخرو		أنجينا						
						أنجينا						
يقول		يرتدد				أنجينا						
ويقول		يرتدد		والدار الآخرة								
يقول		يرتدد				أنجينا						

	Wa yaqūlu/ wa-yaqūla	Yaqūlu l-dhaīna
Q. 5: 53	K, B codices	MI, MII, S codices
	(Ab, Y, Kh10, Ḥ, Am, Ya, Mḥ, Sha)	(N, K, Ia, J, Mḥ)
Q. 5:54	Man yartadda	Man yartatidid
	MII, M, S, K, B codices	MI codex
	(K, Ab, Kh10, Ḥ, Am, Ya, Mḥ, Sha)	(N, J, Ia)
Q. 6:32	Wa la dāru l-akhirati	Wa la ad-dāru l-akhiratu
	MII, M, S, K, B codices	MI codex
	(Ia)	(N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mt)
Q. 6:63	laʾin anjāna	laʾin anjaytana
	K codex	MI, MII, M, S, B codices
	(H, Ks, Kh10, Am, A)	(N, K, Ia, Ab, Hz, J, Ḥ, Am, Ya, Mḥ, Sha)

Q. 6: 137	*shurkāʾuhum* MI, MII, M, K, B codices (N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)	*shurkāʾahum* S codex (Ia)	
Q. 7:3	*Mā tadhakkarūn/mā tadhdhakkarūn* MI, MII, M, K, B codices (N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)	*Mā yatadhakkrrūn* S codex (Ia)	
Q. 7:43	*ma kunna* S codex (Ia)	*wa-ma kunna* MI, MII, M, K, B codices (N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)	

			قال الملأ	قال الملأ	قال الملأ	قال الملأ	قال الملأ		وقال الملأ	قال الملأ				وقال الملأ،	الملأ، وقال
Q. 7:75	wa-qāla ʾl-malaʾu	S codex												أنجيناكم	أنجيناكم
	qāla,l-malaʾu	MI, MII, M, K, B codices													
	(Ia)	(N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mh, Sha, Mt)													
Q. 7:141	wa-idh anjāakum		أنجيناكم	أنجيناكم		أنجيناكم	أنجيناكم	أنجيناكم	أنجيناكم						
	Anjaynākum	S codex													
	(Ia)	MI, MII, M, K, B codices													
		(N, K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mh, Sha, Mt)													
Q. 9:100	alla-dhīn itakhadhū masjidan		تخيروا	تخيروا	تخيروا	تخيروا	تخيروا	تخيروا	تخيروا	تخيروا		تخيروا	تخيروا		
Q. 9: 107	wa ll-dhīn itakhadhū masjidan	S codex		الذين		والذين		الذين	الذين			الذين				
		MI, MII, M, K, B codices													
	(N, Ia)	(K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mh, Sha, Mṭ)													

Q. 10:22	*Yanshurukum*	S codex	(Ia, J, Ḥ)	*Yusayyirukum*	MI, MII, M, K, B codices	(K, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, K10, Am, J, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)												
Q. 18:36	*khayran minhumā*	MI, MII, M, S codices	(N, K, Ia, J, Mḥ)	*khayran minha*	K, B codices	(A, Ks, Ya, K10, Am, J, Sha, Mṭ)												
Q. 18:95	*mā makananī*	M codex	(K)	*mā makannī*	MI, MII, S, K, B codices	(N, Ia, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)												
Q. 21:4	*qul rabī yaʿlamu al-qawl*	MI, MII, M, S, B Codices	(K, N, Ab, Ia, Sh)	*qāla rabbī yaʿlamu*	K codex	(H, Hz, Ks, Kh10, Am)												

Verse	Reading 1 / Codices	Reading 2 / Codices
Q. 21:30	*alam yara* M codex (K, Mḥ)	*awalam yara* MI, MII, S, B, K codices (N, Ia, Ab, A, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Sha, Mṭ)
Q. 21:112	*Qāla rabbī iḥkum* K (Ḥ)	*qul rabbī iḥkum* MI, MII, S, B codices (N, K, Ia, Ab, Sh, Ks, Ya, J, K10, Ḥs, Am, Ja, Mḥ, Sha, Mṭ)
Q. 22:23	*wa lūlu'ā* MI, MII codices (N, A, Y, J)	*lūlu'in* M, S, K, B codices (K, Ia, Ab, Ḥz, Kh10, Ḥs, Ya, Mḥ, Sh, Am)
Q. 23:87 and 23:89	*sayaqūlūn Allah* B codex (Ab, Y, Ya)	*sayaqūlūn li-llah* MI, MII, K, S codices (N, K, Ia, A, Ḥz, Ks, J, Kh10, Ḥ, Am, Mḥ, Sh)

	Q. 25:25	Q. 26:217	Q. 28:37
	nunazzilu al-malāʾikta	*fatwakkal ʿala al-ʿazīzi ar-raḥīm*	*wa qāla mūsa*
	M codex	M, K, B codices	MI, MII, S, K, B codices
	(K, Mḥ)	(N, J, Ia)	(N, Ia, Ab, J, Y, Kh10, Ks, Ḥ)
	nuzzila al-malāʾikatu	*watwakkal ʿala al-ʿazīzi ar-raḥīm*	*qāla mūsa*
	MI, MII, S, K, B codices	MI, MII, S codices	M codex
	(N, Ia, Ab, A, Hz, Ks, Y, J, Kh10, Ḥ, Am, Ya, Sha)	(K, Ab, A, Hz, Ks, Y, Kh10, Ḥ, Am, Ya, Mḥ, Sh)	(K, Mḥ)
	نزل	فتوكل	وقال
	نزل	فنوكل	وقال
	نزل	فنوكل	وقال
			وقال
	نزل	فتوكل	وقال
		فتوكل	وقال
	نزل		وقال
	نزل	فتوكل	وقال
	نزل	فتوكل	وقال
	نزل		
	نزل	وتوكل	وقال
		فتوكل	
	نزل	فتوكل	وقال
	نزل	وتوكل	وقال

Q. 33:35	*Lūlūwā* MI, MII codices	*lu'lu'in* M, S, K, B codices (K, Ia, Ab, Hz, Ks, Y, Kh10, Ḥs, Am, Ya, Mh, Sha)	ابوليو	ابوليو	ابوليو				ابوليو	ابوليو		ابوليو	ابوليو ابوليو
	(N, A, J)												
Q. 36:35	*wa mā 'amilathu aydīhim* MI, MII, M, S, B codices (K, N, Ab, Ia, Ḥ)	*'amilat* K codex (Sh, Hz, Ks, Kh10, Mṭ)	وما عملته		وما عملته	وما عملته	وما عملته		وما عملته	وما عملته	وما عملته		وما عملته وما عملت
Q. 46:15	*Bi-wālidayhi iḥsānan* K codex (Hz, Ks, Am)	*Bi wālidayhi ḥusnan* MI, MII, M, S, K, B codices (N, K, Ia, Ab, A, J, Kh10, Y, Ḥs., Mh, Sha)	حسنا	إحسانا		حسنا	حسنا		حسنا			إحسانا	حسنا