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THE RISE OF THE NORTH ARABIC SCRIPT AND ITS ḲUR'ĀNIC DEVELOPMENT, WITH A FULL DESCRIPTION OF THE ḲUR'ĀN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

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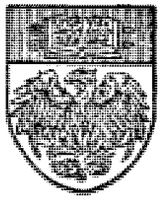
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THE RISE OF THE NORTH ARABIC SCRIPT AND ITS ḲUR'ĀNIC DEVELOPMENT, WITH A FULL DESCRIPTION OF THE ḲUR'ĀN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

By
NABIA ABBOTT



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FOREWORD

Handwriting as a fine art is no small part of artistic endeavor in the history of Arabic Islām. It has, therefore, received some attention from Western students ever since they became interested in the study of Arabic and Islām. The decipherment of difficult, sometimes intricate, scripts, especially on papyri, state papers, and inscriptions, drew the lion's share of such attention. Fairly extensive studies on the development of Arabic script from Nabataean have appeared. The beauty of fine Ḳur'āns was given a considerable amount of aesthetic appraisal. The descriptive terminology and nomenclature of a rather extensive literature in Arabic on Ḳur'ānic and other calligraphy was scarcely touched. Without descriptive text the great paleographic album of Moritz remained in large part a sealed book. This study is a brave, keen, and penetrating attempt to bring difficult literary statements to bear on actually existing manuscript evidence. This is a long step forward from the old period of "*naskhī* and Kūfic"—terms used for the most part with confusing looseness. It is a step in the right direction, not the end attained. New students with more means at their disposal should be stimulated thereby. There are other problems as well. The influence of Manichaean practice especially on sacred calligraphy has barely been broached. In this connection Druze sacred calligraphy forms an interesting and important chapter. If interested readers do their duty by this excellent pioneer work of Dr. Nabia Abbott, it will elicit not merely constructive criticism, but a revitalized and humanized extension of the study of the art of writing as an important factor in the life of Muslim lands and peoples.

M. SPRENGLING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
October 28, 1938

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PREFACE

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago acquired in 1929 the valuable Moritz collection, consisting largely of Arabic papyri, parchments, and paper manuscripts, with some Arabic stone inscriptions. Professor Martin Sprengling has most generously placed the majority of the Arabic manuscripts at my disposal for study and publication as time and opportunity permit.

The plan of the present volume grew out of an attempt to catalogue the Ḳurʾān manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, all but two of which (Nos. 31 and 32) were acquired as part of the Moritz collection. Since these manuscripts cover a wide period of time and present a variety of scripts, it soon became apparent that this undertaking could not be satisfactorily accomplished without the aid of special scientific equipment—a knowledge of both the historical development of the North Arabic script and the progress of Ḳurʾānic writing, especially in the early centuries of Islām. Investigation, however, soon revealed the fact that such knowledge is not available in any complete and up-to-date form. It had therefore to be gathered from many sources. This process, once started, proved more and more intriguing, and the material thus gathered grew to be the first half and, it is hoped, the better half, of the present volume.

It is my happy privilege to acknowledge here my great indebtedness to Professor Sprengling. His genuine interest in the progress of this study has been constant, and his enthusiasm a source of encouragement and inspiration. Despite a full and strenuous schedule he has taken time to discuss many of the problems as they arose and to read the entire work in manuscript. His generous contributions through excellent suggestions and keen criticisms growing out of unusually wide and scholarly knowledge have left their mark on the study to a much greater extent than is readily discernible.

My thanks are also due to Miss Johanne Vindenas and her assistants for a delightfully efficient and speedy library service, to Dr. Watson Boyes, museum secretary, for the preliminary photographs for the plates, and to Mr. Walter W. Romig for skilful drawing of the map and of the letters and symbols appearing in Figure 1 and in the text. I am also much indebted to Dr. T. George Allen and Dr. Adolph A. Brux, who in the course of editing the manuscript made many valuable suggestions and numerous stylistic improvements. I am happy also to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Director John A. Wilson for including the present volume among the "Oriental Institute Publications"—the first study in the Arabic field to be included in that series.

NABIA ABBOTT

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ABBREVIATIONS

Aghānī A	Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī. *Kitāb al-aghānī* (al-Ḳāhirah, 1927——).
Aghānī B	Same, another ed. (Vols. I–XX, Būlāḳ, A.H. 1285 [A.D. 1868]; Vol. XXI, ed. R. E. Brünnow, Leyden, 1888; Index by Ign. Guidi, Leyden, 1900).
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago etc., 1884——).
AMJRL	John Rylands Library, *Manchester*. Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts . . . . by A. Mingana (Manchester, 1934).
APJRL	John Rylands Library, *Manchester*. Catalogue of Arabic Papyri . . . . by D. S. Margoliouth (Manchester, 1933).
Ar. Pal.	Moritz, B. Arabic Palaeography (Cairo, 1905).
Ar. Papier	Karabacek, Joseph von. Das arabische Papier (Wien, 1887).
BIFAO	Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bulletin (Le Caire, 1901——).
BMMA	New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bulletin (New York, 1905——).
CIA Ég. I	Berchem, Max van. Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum. 1. ptie. Égypte (*MMF* XIX).
CIA Ég. II	Wiet, Gaston. Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum. 1. ptie. Égypte. II (*MIFAO* LII).
CIA Jér. I–III	Berchem, Max van. Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum. 2. ptie. Syrie du sud. Jérusalem (*MIFAO* XLIII–XLV).
CPR III	Corpus papyrorum Raineri archiducis Austriae. III. Series Arabica, ed. Adolphus Grohmann. Bd. I, Teil 1. Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri, von Dr. Adolf Grohmann (Wien, 1924). Bd. I, Teil 2–3. Protokolle, bearb. und hrsg. von Dr. Adolf Grohmann (Text und Tafeln; Wien, 1924, '23).
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leyden, 1913——).
Encyc. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.; New York, 1929).
Fihrist	Nadīm, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāḳ al-. *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–72).
Flor. de Vogüé	Florilegium ou recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à M. ... de Vogüé (Paris, 1909).
Ibn Abī Dāwūd	Jeffery, Arthur. Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān (Leiden, 1937). Arabic text.
Islamic Book	Arnold, T. W., and Grohmann, A. The Islamic Book ([Paris,] 1929).
Itḳān	Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-. *Kitāb al-itḳān* ([al-Ḳāhirah,] A.H. 1318).
JRAS	Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Journal (London, 1834——).
KPA	Abbott, Nabia. The Ḳurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute (Chicago, 1938). Roman numerals following the abbreviation give the numbers of the documents.
Maᶜārif	Ibn Ḳutaibah. *Kitāb al-maᶜārif* (Handbuch der Geschichte), ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850).
MIE	Institut d'Égypte, *Cairo*. Mémoires (Le Caire, 1919——).
MIFAO	Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Mémoires (Le Caire, 1902——).
MMF	France. Mission archéologique française au Caire. Mémoires (Paris, 1884——).
MPAW	Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Berlin*. Monatsberichte (Berlin, 1856–81).
MPER	Vienna. Nationalbibliothek. Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (Wien, 1887–97).
Muḳniᶜ	Dānī, ᶜUthmān al-. *Kitāb al-muḳniᶜ* . . . . (Orthographie und Punktierung des Koran), ed. O. Pretzl (İstanbul, 1932).
Nöldeke, *GQ*	Nöldeke, Theodor. Geschichte des Qorâns (2. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1909–36).
PER Inv. Ar. P. 94	Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer No. 94 in the registration list of Arabic papyri (see *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, p. 68).

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PERF	Vienna. Nationalbibliothek. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung (Wien, 1894).
PSR	Becker, Carl H. Papyri Schott-Reinhardt . . . . I (Heidelberg, 1906).
Rép.	Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe. I (Le Caire, 1931).
SAWM	Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Munich. Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse.* Sitzungsberichte (München, 1871–1929). Same. *Philos.-hist. Abt.* Sitzungsberichte (München, 1930——).
Shiʿr	Ibn Ḳutaibah. *Kitāb al-shiʿr wa-al-shuʿarāʾ* (Liber poësis et poëtarum), ed. M. J. de Goeje (Lugduni-Batavorum, 1904).
"Stud. Sin." VIII	Gibson, Margaret D. Apocrypha Arabica (London, 1901).
"Stud. Sin." XI	Bible. *N. T. Apocryphal books.* Apocrypha Syriaca, ... ed. and tr. by Agnes Smith Lewis (London, 1902).
"Stud. Sin." XII	Lewis, A. S., and Gibson, M. D. Forty-one Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts (Cambridge, 1907).
Taisīr	Dānī, ʿUthmān al-. *Kitāb al-taisīr* . . . . (Das Lehrbuch der sieben Koranlesungen), ed. O. Pretzl (Istanbul, 1930).
ʿUyūn	Ibn Ḳutaibah. *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-akhbār* (al-Ḳāhirah, 1925–30).
Wright, *Facs.*	Palaeographical Society, *London.* Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions (Oriental Series), ed. by William Wright (London, 1875–83).
Wright, *Grammar*	Caspari, Carl Paul. A Grammar of the Arabic Language, tr. . . . . and ed. with numerous additions and corrections by W. Wright . . . . . 3d ed. . . . . (Cambridge, 1896–98).
Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III	British Museum. Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts . . . . , by W. Wright. Part III (London, 1872).
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien, 1887——).
Yāḳūt	Yāḳūt ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Kitāb muʿjam al-buldān* (Geographisches Wörterbuch), ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1924; Sachindex [von Oscar Rescher], Stuttgart, 1928).
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1886——).
ZDMG	Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847——).
ZS	Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1922——).

A.H. and A.D. indicate years of the Muslim and the Christian era respectively. Within the text proper double datings are commonly expressed merely by use of / between the year numbers; e.g., 1274/1857 means A.H. 1274, i.e., A.D. 1857.

The following system of transliteration is used (for further details see A. Brux in *AJSL* XLVII):

ء ئ ؤ أ ʾ except at beginning	ذ dh	غ gh	و w
ب b	ر r	ف f	ي y
ت t	ز z	ق ḳ	ـَا a ā
ث th	س s	ك k	ـِي i ī
ج j	ش sh	ل l	ـُو u ū
ح ḥ	ص ṣ	م m	ـَيْ [ـَاي] ai [āy]
خ kh	ض ḍ	ن n	ـَوْ au
د d	ط ṭ	ه ة h	final ـِيّ (*nisbah*) ī [but iyyah (f.)]
	ظ ẓ	abs. cstr.	
	ع ʿ	ة ah t	ـَيّ ayy

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I

RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH ARABIC SCRIPT

NABATAEAN ORIGINS

The origin and development of Arabic writing have received from time to time considerable attention at the hands of German and French workers, among whom Moritz has given us the best English account so far.[1] He however devotes much space to the treatment of Arabic writing in the early centuries of Islām, but is brief and general in handling the problem of its pre-Islāmic origins. It is precisely this problem that we need to look at a little more closely, in order to place correctly the Arabic scripts of the first centuries of Islām. The problem is not simple, for pre-Islāmic specimens are rare indeed, specimens of Muḥammad's time are non-existent, while those of the first half-century of Islām are only a little less rare than the pre-Islāmic ones. Again, contemporary Persian and Greek sources are either lost to us or pay little attention to the writing habits and devices of the Arab communities and Arab travelers, while the Muslim traditions give us mostly but vague and uncertain accounts. Despite these difficulties, Western scholarship in the larger but related fields of Semitic languages and epigraphy has thrown some light on the more specific problem of Arabic writing, so that a plausible theory can now be formulated as to the rise and development of the Arabic alphabet and script in pre-Islāmic days.

It is neither within our ability nor within our aim to give an exhaustive account of all the materials in these fields that may have a bearing on our subject.[2] What we aim to do is rather to bring together the most significant results already arrived at, to compare these with the Muslim traditions, and then to try to interpret the results in their relation to North Arabic writing.

Arab settlements in the Fertile Crescent are definitely known to have existed as early as the 1st millennium B.C., though whence they came is still an unsolved problem.[3] Professor Sprengling leans strongly to the theory that the trend of Arab migration in those early days was from the north southward, and that the reverse migratory movement from South Arabia is a phenomenon of the late centuries before Christ, continuing also into the early centuries after Christ. Predominantly a nomadic people, the Arabs never became a major political state in the northern lands, though contacts with the empires of the north prepared them to play repeatedly a significant political role as border states of those empires, oscillating between vassaldom and independence according as the empires were rising or declining.

Such independent border states must have flourished on the eve of the spectacular rise of the great Assyrian Empire, whose kings had to deal with "Arabi" (nomadic) kings and queens as early as 854 B.C. and with Nabataean kings and queens of the same North Arabian territory as late as 688 B.C.[4] These Nabataeans were never completely subjugated by the Persian and

[1] *EI* I 381–92.

[2] For bibliographical materials see Sattler and v. Selle, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Schrift*, pp. 84–89.

[3] Cf. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, chaps. i and iii, for survey of the different theories. Cf. also Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, esp. chap. iv.

[4] Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 477–93 and 532; Montgomery, chap. iv.

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Macedonian empires. In 312 B.C. Antigonos sent two expeditions against them, but without success.[5] As small, changing, and short-lived states, early interested in trade, these Arab settlers made little or no political impression on the great classical empires in their heyday of conquest and expansion. But as these same empires decayed and petty principalities rose on their ruins, the Arab, always a fighter but by now somewhat better experienced in the art and science of war, came in for his share of these smaller kingdoms, so that we find him playing a comparatively important role in the last centuries B.C. and the early centuries of our era. Thus it was that while the Alexandrian and Roman empires were playing the last act in their dramatic courses, there appeared the Edessan Abgars, the Arethases and their Arabic Nabataean kingdom of Petra, and the immortalized Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. And when these have had their day, the Ghassānids of Syria and the Lakhmids of Ḥīrah link them up with the time of Muḥammad and the rise of Islām.

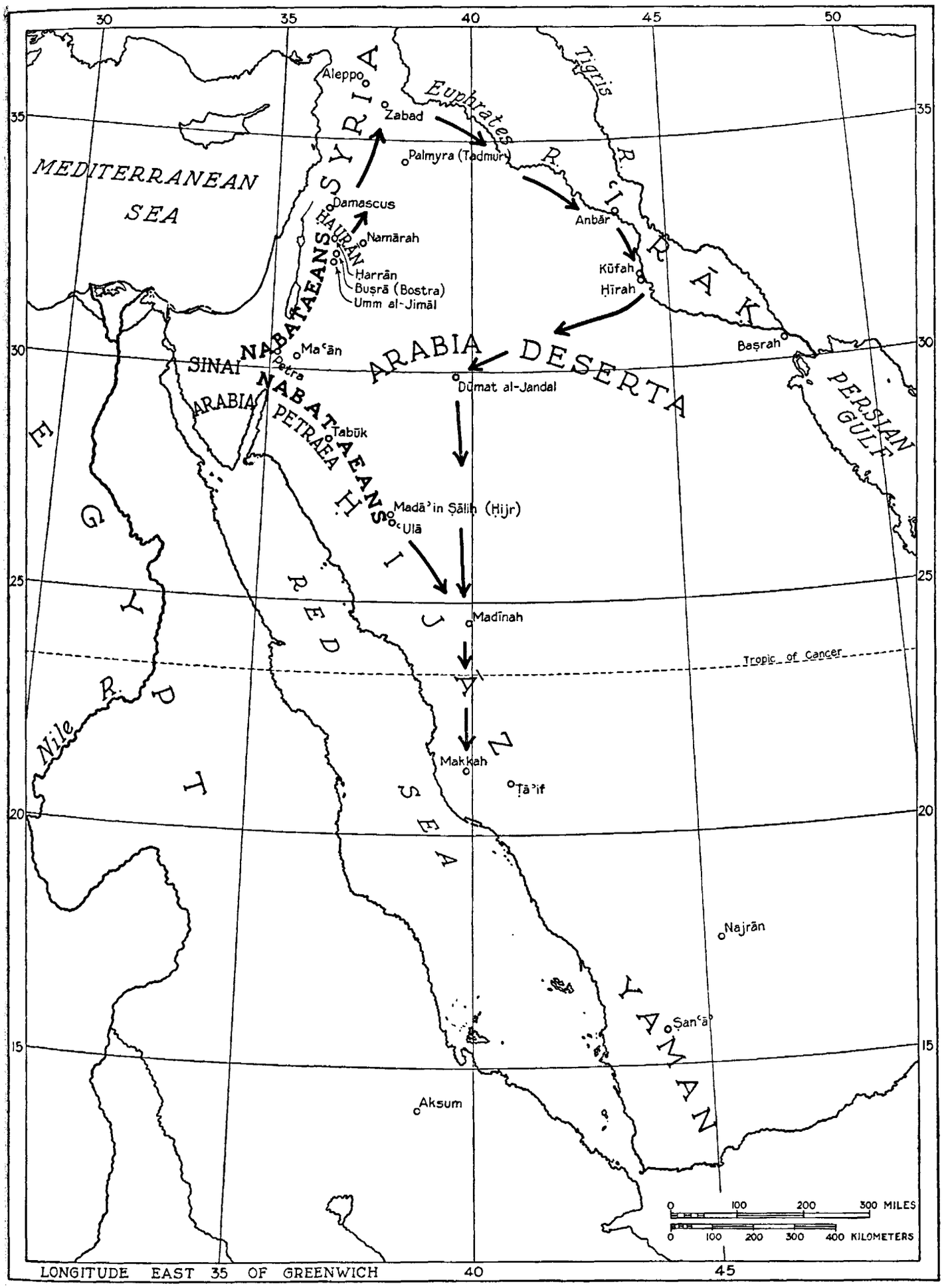
As the Arab turned from raider to trader, from a scourge to a comparatively manageable vassal and ally, from subject to ruler, he continually absorbed some of the elements of northern culture with which he came constantly in contact, till he emerged in the early Middle Ages as their chief custodian, keeping them as it were in trust for the younger and therefore more vigorous and enterprising races of Western Europe. In the meanwhile the alphabet which his Semitic brothers had helped to fashion as early as the days of Sesostris III and Amenemhet III in the 19th century B.C. went through various stages of development and branched into several types of characters under the different linguistic and other local influences.[6] Two of these main types, the Phoenician or Western and the Aramaic or Eastern alphabet, show to what extent these influences operated. The Arab, though making temporary use of the former in his official contacts with the Eastern Roman Empire, was to adopt a variation of the latter for his permanent and national use. Thus we find him evolving at first his own peculiar, angular, "supported" (*musnad*) South Arabic script, which held sway in the prosperous days of the kingdom of Yaman and, though declining with that kingdom and with the general decline of South Arabic culture, did nevertheless hold on till within the eve of the Muslim era, only to yield then completely to the North Arabic script.

It is the history of this North Arabic script that we propose to trace here. It does seem strange at first that the North Arabic script is not a development of the South Arabic type as one might expect—especially in view of the fact that South Arab tribes continued to move northward, as is readily seen from the history of the tribe and kingdom of Kindah, and as is further borne out by the Ṣafaitic inscriptions that have come down to us in the South Arabic script. Yet the fact is easily explained when one remembers the background of the North Arab tribes. For by "North Arab" we mean not simply the tribal distinctions so much elaborated by Arab genealogists and traditionists but a geographical and a cultural and, perhaps, an anthropological distinction also; and though among the Northern Arabs there were indeed some who in the distant past had come originally from South Arabia, they were nevertheless in the period under consideration a long settled and now permanent part of the population of North Arabia, the Syrian desert, and the southern region of Mesopotamia. It is this northern population, long under the influences at work in these localities, that gave us the North Arabic script, borrowed in form mainly from the Nabataean characters and influenced later, as to diacritical and vowel signs, by the Syriac.

[5] Honigmann in *EI* III 801.

[6] Sprengling, *The Alphabet*, p. 52. Cf. also Montgomery, chap. viii, on the relations between Arabia and Palestinian history and culture, esp. pp. 162–69, which deal with the alphabets.

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PROBABLE ROUTES OF DIFFUSION OF THE EARLY NORTH ARABIC SCRIPT. SCALE, 1:12,000,000

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EARLIEST NORTH ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

The Arab Nabataean kingdom, centering round the three cities of Ḥijr (Madā'in Ṣāliḥ), Petra, and Buṣrā (Bostra), flourished during the years 169 B.C.–A.D. 106. Numerous Nabataean inscriptions have come down to us from this period and after, for, though the Nabataean kingdom fell, the Nabataean language and script continued for more than three centuries thereafter to be used by Arabic-speaking peoples.[7] The most interesting of these Nabataean inscriptions is a Greek-Aramaic inscription at Umm al-Jimāl (Pl. I 1) dating from about A.D. 250. It is on the tombstone of Fihr, the tutor of Jadhīmah, the Tanūkhid king of Ḥīrah and a contemporary of Queen Zenobia.[8] The Nabataean script of the Aramaic section greatly resembles the script of the Namārah inscription of Imru' al-Ḳais of A.D. 328, the earliest Arabic inscription known (Pl. I 2; see below).[9] We find the same practice, namely the use of the local Aramaic dialect and script, in use among the Arabs of Palmyra until the fall of that kingdom in A.D. 271, for it appears in the Palmyrene inscriptions known to us from that period.[10] Though both of these scripts are early attempts of the Arabs at writing, they show a marked difference in that the Palmyrene is squarer than the Nabataean and therefore closer to the modern Hebrew characters. The Arab of post-Palmyrene days, when he came to use his own language expressed in Aramaic script, preferred the older Nabataean to the more recent Palmyrene. The preference is explainable by the geographical location and the political situation. The only surviving Arab kingdom in the north was that of the Tanūkhids of Ḥīrah. After the permanent annexation of Edessa by Rome in A.D. 244 a descendant of the Abgarids, the Arab dynasty of Edessa, fled to the court of Jadhīmah at Ḥīrah, married the latter's sister, and, since Jadhīmah had no heir, founded the Lakhmid dynasty of Ḥīrah. Herzfeld draws attention to the mention of "ᶜAmru, the descendant of the Abgars," in a list of independent kings given in the Paikuli inscription of the Sasanian Narsah (A.D. 293–302).[10a] This "ᶜAmru" he takes to be the Lakhmid ᶜAmr ibn ᶜAdī. The early Lakhmids were, therefore, in all probability independent Arab kings allied but loosely, if at all, with Persia. Their territory seems to have stretched across the Syrian desert; and it is not at all improbable, as Herzfeld points out, that it included Namārah on the outskirts of the Roman frontier northeast of Buṣrā, where the Nabataean culture held out longest. It is, therefore, no accident that the first Arabic inscription we have is the Namārah inscription of Imru' al-Ḳais, dated 328, referring to the "king of all the Arabs" and written in a script which represents an advanced stage of evolution from the Nabataean.

The Nabataean script went through two stages of development, referred to as the old and the late Nabataean. The former was more angular and the letters more disconnected, while the latter was more cursive. Still, there is no hard and fast dividing line as to the periods in which

[7] Littmann, *Nab. Inscriptions*, pp. x, xvii; cf. Cantineau, *Nabatéen et Arabe*, pp. 72–79.

[8] Littmann, *op. cit.* pp. 37–40; *Flor. de Vogüé*, pp. 386–90; on Jadhīmah see Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden*, pp. 38–40.

[9] Two other Nabataean inscriptions are especially interesting for the similarity of their script to that of the Namārah inscription. The first is dated A.D. 307 (Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission* II 231–33 and Pls. LXXI and CXXI, No. 386 [wrongly numbered 392 on Pl. LXXI]). The date of the second (*Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars 2, T. I, No. 333) is doubtful. The reading of Jaussen and Savignac would give A.D. 306 or 312. However, Professor Sprengling, who has recently gone over it, has kindly pointed out to me the possibility of reading line 7 of that inscription as مايتين وتسعين (290) instead of مايتين وست سنين (206). This would make the date A.D. 396 instead of A.D. 312, thus giving us a post-Namārah inscription.

[10] Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, pp. 457–83; Littmann, *Sem. Inscrs.*, pp. 52–84; Cantineau, *Inscrs. palmyréniennes.*

[10a] *Paikuli*, pp. 119 and 140–42. I am indebted to Professor Sprengling for this reference.

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they appear, since the older form continued in use long after the cursive was employed.[11] The North Arabic script is the next step from the Nabataean. The inscriptions which point to this conclusion are the Umm al-Jimāl and Namārah[12] inscriptions already mentioned, a trilingual—Greek, Syriac, and Arabic—inscription from Zabad (Pl. I 3)[13] dated A.D. 512, a bilingual—Greek-Arabic—inscription of A.D. 568 at Ḥarrān (Pl. I 4),[14] and a second inscription at Umm al-Jimāl (Pl. I 5),[15] which, though not dated, is generally accepted as belonging to the 6th century. All of these inscriptions come from the southern section of central Syria on the desert border. The last four show a marked tendency toward cursive writing.

SPREAD OF THE NORTH ARABIC SCRIPT BEFORE ISLĀM

We turn our attention next to the Muslim sources. These, with but few exceptions, point strongly to Ḥīrah and Anbār as the home of North Arabic writing at the close of the 5th century of our era. Thus Ibn Ḳutaibah (d. 276/889),[16] Ṭabarī (d. 310/922),[17] and Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 357/967)[18] relate the history of the family of the Christian poet of Ḥīrah, ʿAdī ibn Zaid. Checking up these accounts with the critical studies of Nöldeke,[19] Rothstein,[20] and Horovitz[21] on the Lakhmid court of Ḥīrah and the fortunes of ʿAdī's family there, we gather the following significant facts:

Five generations removed from ʿAdī, whose death is placed about A.D. 590, his ancestor Ayyūb, whom we must therefore place about the middle of the 5th century,[22] fled, because of a blood feud, from Yamāmah to Ḥīrah. Here his own good qualities and the help of his friends brought him and his son Zaid into contact with the king of Ḥīrah, who received them very favorably. Ḥammād, the son of Zaid, profited by this influence at court, for we find him as secretary to Mundhir III (A.D. 505–54).[23] We are told that he was the first in his family to write, but we are not specifically informed whether he wrote Persian (Pahlavi) or Arabic or both. Circumstances, however, favor inclusion of the Arabic, for not only was he a contemporary of the famous trio of Anbār (see pp. 6 f.) and the secretary of an Arab king at an Arab court, but also he had his young son Zaid taught the Arabic language and script *first* and only later the Persian.[24] It is not likely that a father who wrote Persian only would start his son on Arabic. Through the influence of Persian courtiers Zaid rose to be postmaster in the service of Khusrau I (531–79); and for some years in the interval between the reign of Ḳābūs (569–74) and the accession of Mundhir IV (576–80) he was the popular regent for the kingdom of Ḥīrah. It was his son, ʿAdī ibn Zaid, known as the Christian poet of Ḥīrah, who rose to be the secretary of Khusrau I and continued in that office until early in the reign of Khusrau II (590–628).[25] We are told that he was the most proficient of all in Arabic writing, and that he was the

[11] Littmann, *Nab. Inscrs.*, p. xv; Kammerer, *Pétra et la Nabatène*, pp. 446–49.

[12] Dussaud and Macler, *Mission*, pp. 314–22; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II 34–37 and 375–79; *Rép.* No. 1. Arabic graffiti found by Savignac at the temple of Ramm are considered by him as some of the earliest Arabic inscriptions (*Revue biblique* XLIV [1935] 270). Grimme dates them about A.D. 300 (*Revue biblique* XLV [1936] 90–95). For the present, however, we are inclined to agree with Winnett that "the age of these Arabic inscriptions must remain a matter of doubt" (*Liḥyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*, pp. 52 f.).

[13] Sachau in *MPAW*, 1881, pp. 169–90; *Rép.* No. 2. Cf. Musil, *Palmyrena*, pp. 183 and 200–202 for location near Aleppo.

[14] Dussaud and Macler, *Mission*, pp. 324 f.; *Rép.* No. 3.

[15] Littmann in *ZS* VII 197–204; *Rép.* No. 4.

[16] *Shiʿr*, pp. 111–17; *Maʿārif*, pp. 319 and 329.

[17] *Annals* I 1016–24 and 1029.

[18] *Aghānī* A II 97–156.

[19] *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 312–49.

[20] *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden.*

[21] In *Islamic Culture* IV 31–69.

[22] Cf. *Islamic Culture* IV 34.

[23] *Islamic Culture* IV 35 and n. 2.

[24] *Aghānī* A II 100.

[25] Cf. *Islamic Culture* IV 39, 41, n. 2, and 60, n. 2.

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first in the *dīwān* of Khusrau to write Arabic.[26] We are not concerned here with the ups and downs of ᶜAdī's career, which ended about A.D. 590 in imprisonment and treacherous death at the hands of Nuᶜmān III (580–602).[27] The sad fate of ᶜAdī did not, however, prevent his son Zaid from succeeding him in office and handling Persia's official business with the "Arab kings."[28] Doubtless some of this business was transacted in Arabic; thus the history of Arabic writing is linked directly with its development at the time of Muḥammad.

Again, the story of the Christian poet Mutalammis[29] and his companion poet Ṭarafah[30] of the reign of ᶜAmr ibn Hind of Ḥīrah (554–70) points to the practice of writing among the Arabs. From this story we learn that ᶜAmr ibn Hind, displeased with these two poets, wished to get rid of them, and that treacherously. So he gave each of them a letter of introduction to his officer Rabīᶜ ibn Ḥautharah in Baḥrain, ordering him to put the bearers to death, though the unfortunates were made to believe they were being recommended for generous treatment. Mutalammis, however, was suspicious and had a youth of Ḥīrah read his letter, which he then threw into the river and went his way. But the young Ṭarafah refused to have his letter read and carried it to Rabīᶜ, who, following its instructions, put him to death. We are not specifically told that these letters were written in Arabic. But since ᶜAdī ibn Zaid was already employing Arabic writing in the *dīwān* of Khusrau I, it stands to reason that Arabic writing was likewise in use in the Arab court of Ḥīrah. This same Ṭarafah's uncle (or granduncle?), the poet Muraḳḳash al-Akbar (the Elder),[31] whom we can safely date about A.D. 500,[32] wrote in South Arabic[33] and perhaps also in North Arabic, for Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī[34] tells us that Muraḳḳash went to Ḥīrah, where he learned to write from a Christian. Just what writing he learned we are not told (Christian scribes frequently knew more than one language); but there is no reason why he could not have learned to write the North Arabic there, just as did ᶜAdī ibn Zaid, with whom he must have been in part at least contemporary.

Balādhurī's account of the origins and spread of the North Arabic script[35] likewise points to Ḥīrah as the seat of North Arabic writing by the close of the 5th century. According to him three men of Ṭayy, Murāmir ibn Murrah, Aslam ibn Sidrah, and ᶜĀmir ibn Jadrah,[36] got to-

[26] *Aghānī* A II 101 f.; *Maᶜārif*, p. 319.

[27] *Islamic Culture* IV 44–51 and 54.

[28] *Aghānī* A II 121 f.

[29] *Shiᶜr*, pp. 85–88.

[30] *Ibid.* pp. 88–96.

[31] *Shiᶜr*, pp. 103–6 and 166; *Aghānī* B V 191.

[32] Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt* II 166–68.

[33] *Shiᶜr*, p. 104, where we are told he wrote in Ḥimyaritic.

[34] *Aghānī* B V 191.

[35] *Fuṭūḥ al-buldān*, pp. 471–74.

[36] For these names and their many variations in the different sources see *Fihrist*, pp. 4 f.; *ᶜUyūn* I 43; *Maᶜārif*, pp. 273 f.; Ibn Khallikān II 284; Caetani, *Annali* II 692.

Since the names Murrah, Sidrah, and Jadrah each have the same number of syllables and the same final syllable, then, as pointed out by Khalil Yahya Nami (University of Egypt, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, Vol. III, Arabic p. 3), they may be artificial inventions rather than names of real people. However, going on the principle that where there is much smoke there is some fire, I am not so sure but that behind these names, even if they were "inventions," there were nevertheless some real men, whose personal names could well have been Murāmir, Aslam, and ᶜĀmir, who actually did have something to do with the evolution of the Arabic script about the time of Ḥarb and Bishr, or around the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century of our era.

Mr. Nami's article reached us after the present manuscript was completed. It is in some respects in accord with the results of this section of our present study. However, in taking the position (on his pp. 102–6) that the Ḥijāz was *the* home of the birth and evolution of the North Arabic script to the exclusion of all other localities, including Ḥīrah, he has, we think, gone farther than our present sources would justify. He excludes Ḥīrah for what seem to be particularly weak reasons, namely that, since Ḥīrah was Christian and Syriac was its official script, it was not likely that the Nabataean script—which he calls "the script of the heathens"—could have developed there into the Arabic script. It is a well known fact that the Christians of ᶜIrāḳ did not limit themselves to one language and script, but were on the whole polyglot in speech and writing, both in the services of the Persian Empire and in private commercial transactions. But even if we were to limit the Christians to Syriac, there would still remain a large number of non-Christian Arabs, either resident in ᶜIrāḳ or traveling tradesmen, who in the midst of the greater commercial activity of ᶜIrāḳ would feel the urge to evolve their own script. We therefore continue to hold to the results of the present study, as shown in the following pages,

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gether at Baḳḳah (near Ḥīrah and Hīt)[37] and worked out the Arabic alphabet on the basis of the Syriac. They taught it to the people of Anbār, who in turn taught it to the people of Ḥīrah. Balādhurī states further that Bishr ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik, a Christian and a brother of the better known Ukaidir, ruler of Dūmat al-Jandal,[38] used to frequent Ḥīrah, where he learned to write Arabic. Later Bishr came to Makkah and taught the writing to Sufyān ibn Umayyah and to Abū Ḳais ibn ᶜAbd Manāf. The three then taught the art in Ṭāᵓif, while Bishr carried it farther to Diyār Muḍar near the Persian Gulf and back to Syria, where he taught it to several people. In the meanwhile others who had likewise learned the script from the three men of Ṭayy brought it to the Ḥijāz and taught it to several of the people of Wādī al-Ḳurā.

Ibn Duraid's account regarding Bishr's activities[39] is confused and confusing. Its main importance is that it definitely connects Bishr with two of the three men of Anbār, namely Murāmir and Aslam, thus giving the approximate date of their activities, roughly around A.D. 500, since Bishr, a contemporary of Sufyān and Ḥarb ibn Umayyah, was likely a generation younger than his teachers. Ibn Khallikān's account,[40] based on the reports of Ḥaitham ibn ᶜAdī (130–206/747–821) and of Ibn al-Kalbī the Younger (d. 204/820), points to the same date. He leaves Bishr, who according to *Fihrist*, page 5, may have taught Ḥarb ibn Umayyah, out of the picture and tells us that Ḥarb learned to write directly from Aslam, who in turn had learned the Arabic script from its "inventor," Murāmir ibn Murrah of Anbār,[41] from which city it spread among the people, including those of Ḥīrah.

That Murāmir[42] alone or the three men of Ṭayy and Anbār together "invented" the North Arabic writing we now know was not the case. But it is very likely that they did modify the then current script of Nabataean origin to look in a general way more like the Syriac, which Balādhurī assumed to be the primary source. Perhaps a clue to the nature of this modification is to be found in the name *jazm*, by which the early Arabic script was known.[43] The verb *jazama* means among other things "to cut off, break off, lop off," and the Arabic dictionaries[44] account for the earliest use of *jazm* in connection with the North Arabic script by explaining that it was cut off or broken off, that is, derived, from the South Arabic *musnad* script of Ḥimyar. Since this theory is now definitely disproved, we must look for another explanation of the name *jazm* for the script as a whole. Professor Sprengling suggests that perhaps we have to deal

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namely that in all probability there was a simultaneous development of the North Arabic script from the Nabataean both in ᶜIrāḳ and in the Ḥijāz. We have already drawn attention to the close political relations between Ḥīrah and the Syrian border in the early days of the Lakhmids.

[37] Yāḳūt I 702 f.; Caetani, *Annali* II 1, pp. 692 f.

[38] Balādhurī, pp. 61–63; in transliterating the place name I have followed Yāḳūt II 625. Cf. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 539–42. Ukaidir, who was defeated by the Muslim forces in A.D. 630–31 and 634, must have been much younger than his brother Bishr, who was a contemporary of Sufyān and Ḥarb ibn Umayyah.

[39] *Ishtiḳāḳ*, p. 223. The account is much briefer than Balādhurī's, and there is a great probability not only that some of the original text is missing but that the order of the present text is incorrect, for we find the highly improbable statements that Bishr taught the Arabic writing to the people of Anbār and that Bishr was also named Jazm, which is the name for the early Arabic script itself. Wüstenfeld, who in his index identifies Bishr with Jazm, worked from one manuscript only. Future collations with other manuscripts of Ibn Duraid's text may throw further light on this passage.

[40] II 284 f.

[41] Murāmir seems to have been the leader of the trio of Ṭayy, since several of the sources give him all or most of the credit for whatever was done with the Arabic script of his day; cf. *Fihrist*, pp. 4 f., and *ᶜUyūn* I 43.

[42] Rehatsek in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch*, XIV 176, sees in the very name a corruption of Mar Amer, a good Syriac name, from which he readily concludes that the Syriac alphabet had been adapted to the Arabic language by a Syrian priest. Cf. also Caetani, *Annali* II 1, p. 264, note.

[43] *Fihrist*, p. 5; Ibn Duraid, p. 223.

[44] Murtaḍā, *Tāj al-ᶜarūs* VIII 228; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ᶜarab* XIV 364 f.; Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* IV 88 f.

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here with the Syriac ܓܙܡ *gezme*, which means among other things "cut rods."[45] It is possible that the straight strokes—vertical, horizontal, or inclined—which predominated in the early Syriac, especially the estrangelo script, and also in the early Kūfic script, giving both a stiff and angular appearance, were likened to "cut rods," arranged to form individual letters very much as children now sometimes form letters by arranging match sticks. To such a script the term *jazm*, as further explained by the Arabic dictionaries to mean "evenness or equality of the characters in writing," would still be applicable. *Jazm* is also explained by them as "a pen with a broad, even nib," and the straight strokes produced by such a pen could likewise readily be likened to small cut rods.[46]

In tracing the three men of Anbār to the close of the 5th century, we find them to be contemporaries of Ḥammād ibn Zaid and like him to have come from the neighborhood of Ḥīrah and Anbār—a fact which further strengthens our belief that Ḥammād himself wrote North Arabic. Thus, following the separate leads of Muraḳḳash, of Ḥammād, and of Murāmir, we arrive at the same place and the same time, namely southern ʿIrāḳ with its leading cities of Anbār and Ḥīrah at the close of the 5th century of our era. Here we find Arabic writing on a marked upward wave of expansion. The Zabad inscription of A.D. 512 is the earliest tangible proof we have of this expansion, which continued until the advent of Islām, when it received its mightiest motive and impulse for diffusion.

But we have still to account for the obscurity of Arabic writing from the time of Imruʾ al-Ḳais to the days of Murāmir. That it actually died out in that interval is very unlikely. In fact, it was during this period that it made its journey from the land of the Nabataeans via Namārah across to Anbār and Ḥīrah. This may have taken place as early as A.D. 328, the date of the Namārah stone, but certainly not later than the second half of that century, when in the days of Julian and Jovian Byzantium suffered defeats which forced Jovian to sign the treaty of A.D. 363 by which he ceded to Persia territory that was claimed as part of the kingdom of Imruʾ al-Ḳais and his immediate successors.[47] Conscious of this turn of the political tide and always on the lookout to be with the winner, the border Arabs turned their faces toward Persia. Thus they were brought into closer contacts with the Arab elements in Ḥīrah and with the Lakhmids, who rightly claimed Imruʾ al-Ḳais as their own and proudly traced their royal descent back to him.[48] In these northern territories the new Arabic writing must have continued the rare possession of the very few, obscured by the more widely used written languages of the day but awaiting its day of opportunity. That day came with the rise of the fortunes and prestige of the Lakhmid court of Ḥīrah, whose Arab kings, dealing with Arab princes, drafted the art into their service, introduced it into the Persian court, and helped to start it on the career of conquest from which it emerged as *the* "national" script of all Arabs and the sacred script of Islām.

The question now arises, was this the only route by which Arabic writing found its way to Arabia proper, especially to the Ḥijāz, where contact with southern Syria and the Nabataean lands was constant during the early centuries of our era. Several early Nabataean inscriptions of the 1st century have come from the northern region of the Ḥijāz, namely the Ḥijr or Madā-

[45] R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* I 699.

[46] That in an extremely angular Kūfic the strokes can assume the appearance of cut rods is forcibly illustrated in an inscription on the tomb tower of Abū ʿAlī Hazārasp, located at Abarḳūh, near Iṣṭakhr, and dated 448/1056; cf. Godard, *Athār-é Īrān* I 47–54, esp. Figs. 34–36. It is, however, difficult to tell if this specimen represents a passing feature of the 4th and 5th centuries or if it is a studied effort to return to an older type. I know of no pre-Islāmic specimen that brings out this "cut-rod" characteristic so clearly.

[47] O'Leary, pp. 129, 155, and 163.

[48] Cf. Buhl, p. 5, n. 10; and see above, p. 4.

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ʾin Ṣāliḥ inscriptions and those of ʿUlā.[49] We know of no reason why a Nabataean-Arabic script evolution similar to that which took place between Namārah and Anbār could not have taken place between the southern Ḥaurān and the Ḥijāz. It is true that we have no dated inscriptions of the 3d–6th century from the Ḥijāz to help us out. But the inscription of Namārah and those from Zabad and the southern Ḥaurān sites of Ḥarrān and Umm al-Jimāl would form as good a link with any Arabic writing in the Ḥijāz as they do with Arabic writing in Anbār and Ḥīrah. A reference in *Fihrist*, page 4, to the Midianite origin of the Arabic alphabet has nothing in it which would exclude the possibility that this Midianite influence came via Arabia Petraea to northern Ḥijāz and thence to Madīnah and Makkah. On the contrary, Muslim tradition seems to point, though indirectly, to this road. But unfortunately the principal characters in each case are claimed as men of Ḳuraish and ancestors of Muḥammad. The traditions, therefore, regarding the origins and the lives of these men have to be sifted very carefully, since it was but natural for the Muslim traditionists to glorify them so that they might appear as worthy "ancestors" of the Prophet. We are not interested in them as ancestors, pretended or not, of Muḥammad. They interest us here for the sole reason that early Muslim traditionists relate incidents regarding them which take for granted not only a close contact between the Ḥijāz and the northern lands to the borders of Syria but also the practice of communication between those points through *writing*, and that between Arab and Arab.

Briefly, these incidents are: that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib wrote from Makkah to his maternal relatives in Madīnah to come and help him obtain possession of his paternal estate in Makkah;[50] that there was a Nabataean market in Madīnah in the days of Hāshim, (supposed?) father of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and that Hāshim himself traded in this market;[51] that Hāshim's (again supposed?) grandfather Ḳuṣayy wrote from Makkah to his brother Rizāḥ, then in their maternal home in the southern highlands of Syria, to come to his aid against the Khuzāʿah, with whom he was fighting for the control of Makkah.[52] The existence of a Nabataean market in Madīnah is natural enough to expect. Doubtless some commercial writing was done here by Nabataeans, and here or there an alert Arab or Jew may have adopted the practice and thus helped in the evolution of a Nabataean-Arabic script.

That ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was a historical character is hardly to be doubted. Even if he was but what his name indicates, a slave of Muṭṭalib and not Shaibah the son of Hāshim, he must have shown some desirable and valuable qualities in order to be bought or acquired as a slave. Perhaps among such qualities were his commercial knowledge and, together with it, his knowledge of writing gained in the markets of Madīnah, the Nabataean market included. Again, it was not an unusual occurrence for a shrewd and ambitious slave to rise to power in his master's service. Perhaps ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's knowledge of writing was no small factor in raising him, on a small scale, it is true, to such power. In view of these possibilities the *Fihrist* reference to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's writing ability takes on a certain significance, for it tells us that there used to be in the treasury of Maʾmūn (198–218/813–33) a parchment manuscript in the handwriting of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim, which resembled the writing of women, to the effect that a certain Ḥimyarite of Ṣanʿāʾ owed ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib of Makkah a thousand silver dirhems.[53]

[49] Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission* I 131, 137, and 139 ff.; II 186–285; Cooke, Nos. 78–93; Kammerer, pp. 217–30. Cf. also Euting, *Tagbuch*, chaps. xiv–xv. For Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ and ʿUlā see further Doughty, *Travels* I, chaps. iv–vi and xiii.

[50] Muir, *Life* I viii and ccliv; Ṭabarī, *Annals* I 1084–88. [51] Ibn Saʿd I 1, pp. 45 f.

[52] Ibn Saʿd I 1, p. 38. Muir accepts the traditional stories of these men; Sprenger is more skeptical, as is also Caetani. For their views see Muir, *Life* I cxcix–ccv, ccxlii–cclxiii, and Caetani, *Annali* I 72–75 and 99–121.

[53] *Fihrist*, p. 5. I have not come across a *khaṭṭ al-nisāʾ* in any list of scripts, though women as scribes and calligraphers are frequently reported, e.g. in Ḳalḳashandī III 18. Another possibility is to read *khaṭṭ al-nassākh* and identify the script with that listed in the *Fihrist*, some specimens of which were evidently poor. See pp. 37 f. below.

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We have already seen that the brothers Sufyān and Ḥarb, both sons of Umayyah, are generally regarded as among the very first, if not the first, of the Ḳuraish to have learned the art of writing in Makkah. According to Muslim genealogists these two were distant cousins of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib and in part contemporary with him,[54] though while they were young he must have reached ripe age. His early writing activities therefore would antedate theirs. The question then arises: Why is not ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib listed with Sufyān and Ḥarb as among the first of the Ḳuraish to have learned the art of writing? Now if ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib was but a slave from Madīnah, he would not be listed among the Ḳuraish of Makkah. This telltale omission escaped the early traditionists. As an aged slave he would hardly draw the attention of the young sons of Umayyah, whom we later find interested in Bishr, a man of social rank who moved in the Umayyad circles and who married either the niece or the sister of Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb.[55] But even if one were to concede for the time being that ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib learned to write in Makkah at about the same time as did Ḥarb and Sufyān, that would still not explain how his relatives in Madīnah learned that art. They certainly did not get it from Bishr, for the itinerary of his travels does not include Madīnah either before or after his now historically important trip to Makkah. Madīnah must have acquired the art of writing before the days of Bishr. Through his activities, however, Makkah was soon to rival Madīnah in this branch of knowledge, for the tradition goes that after the Battle of Badr the foremost of the Ḳuraish who could not pay ransom were allowed to regain their freedom by each teaching writing to ten youths of Madīnah.[56] This need not mean that Madīnah had none capable of this service, for there are several references to men of Madīnah who could write even before Islām,[57] and Balādhurī further informs us that the Jews of Madīnah taught Arabic writing and that youths there had learned it previous to Islām.[58]

Again, whether Ḳuṣayy was or was not what Muslim sources would have us believe, namely a Ḳuraishite and the founder of Makkah as well as an ancestor of Muḥammad, is of little import for our purpose. Concerning him Caetani writes: "He was for Makkah what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome, with the difference that he has the greater probability of being a historical personage and not a legendary hero . . . . . Whoever he was, he was certainly a man of uncommon intelligence."[59] The same author sees in this Ḳuṣayy—regardless of who he was or where he was born—a leader who transformed a group of nomadic and predatory Arabs into order-loving citizens and honest and able merchants whose descendants, thanks to the active trade between South Arabia and the North, even up to Syria, did by the time of Muḥammad acquire in Makkah both honor and riches.[60] It is not difficult to believe that such an intelligent and aggressive character made the most of his opportunities by learning the art of writing in southern Syria during his earlier stay there, and that he used it in writing to his brother for help when in the course of his ambitious career that help was needed.

But, although we find ourselves ready to admit the practice of writing, presumably Nabataean-Arabic, at the time of Ḳuṣayy, there is still the thorny problem of dating him. Muir, starting with the "Year of the Elephant" (*ca.* A.D. 570), the year of Muḥammad's birth, as a basic date, places the above-mentioned incidents as follows: ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib wrote to Madīnah about 520;[61] Hāshim visited the Nabataean market in Madīnah about 497;[62] Ḳuṣayy wrote to his brother about 440.[63] In his dating Muir is more conservative than Sprenger, who,

[54] Cf. Zambaur, Table F. [55] Ibn Duraid, p. 223. [56] Ibn Saᶜd II 1, p. 14.

[57] Ibn Saᶜd III 2, pp. 24 and 136; *Maᶜārif*, pp. 132f. and 166. For full references see Buhl, p. 55, n. 120.

[58] *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 473.

[59] *Annali* I 73. Cf. also Huart, *Histoire des Arabes* I 77.

[60] *Annali* I 74f. [61] *Life* I viii f. [62] *Ibid.* pp. ccli f. [63] *Ibid.* p. cci.

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for instance, dates the birth of Hāshim in 442 as against Muir's date of 464.[64] Again, Muir places Ḳuṣayy's birth at about 400, but Caetani throws it back to about 365.[65] The latter date brings us rather close to 328, the date of the Namārah inscription of Imruʾ al-Ḳais.

Leaving the Muslim traditions aside, let us see what we have from non-Muslim sources that would justify us in assuming Makkah to have been a relatively active religious and trading center from about A.D. 350 on. The rise of Makkah to a position of commercial importance in pre-Islāmic days seems to be definitely linked with the political and commercial history of the whole Near East of that period, and especially with the political relationship between Abyssinia and Yaman. For these events we follow below mainly Littmann's account.[66]

The Ḥabashah, a South Arabic tribe, were moving into Africa several centuries before Christ. They stamped Aksum with their South Arabic culture at the same time that the Ḥimyarites were growing strong in Yaman. When Aksum became established as a kingdom, its rulers took an aggressive part in South Arabian politics. Our earliest evidence of this aggression is the Adulis inscription. It tells us that the king of Aksum undertook an expedition across the Red Sea to the west coast of Arabia and caused the Arabs[67]—that is, the North Arab tribes of the Ḥijāz, living south of the extended boundary of the Nabataean kingdom, and also the South Arab tribes—to pay him tribute. The king concerned was, according to Littmann, in all likelihood the founder of the kingdom of Aksum; his campaign must therefore have taken place in the first half of the 1st century of our era.[68] The next outstanding evidence of aggression and possibly of temporary conquest comes from the time of King ʿĒzānā, who reigned about the middle of the 4th century. He calls himself king of Ḥimyar and Raidān and Sabaʾ and Salḥīn.[69] Even if this title is not actually justified, it nevertheless shows that Aksum was seeking to get her hold on the coastal regions of South Arabia. Littmann points out that possibly ʿĒzānā made an expedition into South Arabia, perhaps the first such expedition on any large scale. In his own kingdom ʿĒzānā was a great king, the Constantine of Abyssinia. Like Constantine, he adopted Christianity as the state religion (in about 340). It is difficult to tell whether at that time religion was a motive for the expedition. Later, in 525, Ellesbaas, who is identified as the Kāleb of the Ethiopic and Syriac sources,[70] undertook an expedition against the Jew Dhū Nuwās because, it is said, he persecuted the Christians of Najrān. Dhū Nuwās was defeated, and South Arabia became, at least for a time, subject to Aksum.[71]

It is evident that in the first four centuries of our era Yaman suffered at the hands of Abyssinia many a military and political defeat. But her troubles in those days were not limited to this. Evidence of internal political strife is not lacking, and to this was further added an economic setback which came slowly but surely in the wake of the understanding of the periodicity of the monsoons gained by Hippalus in the first century of our era.[72] For, once the Greeks and the Romans understood the monsoon season, they proceeded to establish a sea trade with the Far East. This cut at the very heart of Yaman's trade, since the prosperity of the country was due more to her activities as an established commercial carrier between the Far East and the Mediterranean world than to any great export of her natural products. Under these conditions Yaman in the middle of the 4th century was well on the decline. The well known episode of the

[64] *Ibid.* p. ccxlvii.

[65] *Annali* I 99.

[66] *Reisebericht der Expedition*, pp. 40–57.

[67] See Kammerer, Pl. 11, for locations of the various tribes.

[68] Littmann, *op. cit.* pp. 42f.

[69] *Ibid.* p. 51; see Kammerer, Pl. 11, for locations.

[70] Littmann, *op. cit.* pp. 52–54; Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, pp. xli–xlviii.

[71] The Arabic narratives are to be found in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, pp. 20–26; Ibn Hishām, *Tījān*, pp. 301f.; Ṭabarī, *Annals* I 925–30. See also Moberg for the relationship of these accounts to non-Arabic sources.

[72] Cf. Kammerer, pp. 34–43, and Montgomery, p. 71.

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bursting of the dam at Ma'rib falls in line with several similar episodes, both before and after it, and may well take its place, as Professor Sprengling has pointed out to me, not among the causes of the decline but as an evidence of that decline. It would then tell the story of a state already too weak to attend to the upkeep of the dam and therefore too weak to rebuild it. The decline was naturally slow, and Yaman continued to enjoy a fair share of the Near East trade, but she no longer dominated even that trade.

In the meantime independent Arab kingdoms such as the Nabataean and the Palmyrene bowed to the power of Rome. Each newly annexed province came into its share of good Roman roads[73] and increased safety of travel. The beginning of the 4th century saw Constantine exerting himself to the utmost on behalf of the political and economic welfare of the Empire, and his great interest in the eastern half of the Empire could not but have stimulated all its trade activities, which in turn stimulated the trade of all Arabia. It was in the midst of this situation, as it existed at about the middle of the 4th century, that Makkah, it seems, must have begun its career as a commercial city. With ᶜĒzānā harassing the Yamanites, with these same Yamanites distracted by internal strife, and with the North beckoning to greater trade opportunity, some one—perhaps, as the Arab sources tell us, the Khuzāᶜah—saw the great opportunity and set out to take advantage of it. As a newcomer into the commercial field, the tribe held together and selected new headquarters for its activities. Makkah, located conveniently in the trade area and having the advantage of a shrine[74] and a well, no matter how humble or primitive, suggested itself as a likely place. Its growth must have been slow and gradual at first; but by the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th it was important enough for such a man as Ḳuṣayy, intelligent and ambitious, to be attracted to it and to be tempted to get into his power its comparative prosperity. But Makkah's day was yet to come, under the successors of Ḳuṣayy and under the political and economic conditions that developed in the Eastern Empire early in the reign of Justinian. It was then that Makkah came into her commercial glory, though not until the advent of Islām did she achieve religious glory in the real sense of that word.

We have gone somewhat out of our way in investigating the possibility of the simultaneous development of a Nabataean-Arabic script from southern Syria to the Ḥijāz parallel to that from southern Syria to Ḥīrah. The identification of northern Ḥijāz with the southern part of the Nabataean kingdom, the many Nabataean inscriptions from that region, and the continued contact between it and southern Syria are all factors favorable to the development of Arabic writing in that region. Furthermore, the course of political and commercial events both in Yaman and in the Eastern Empire afforded the Ḥijāz increased commercial opportunities which worked to the advantage of Makkah and Madīnah. Commercial activities and writing, even though limited to crude memoranda and simple figures, usually go hand in hand. Commercial prosperity, with its handmaids of wealth and travel, frequently leads to comparatively high culture. It is not impossible, then, that in the earlier stage a traveled and aggressive leader or a shrewd trader, slave or not—a Ḳuṣayy or an ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib—did indeed use the rare art of writing. The art, however, remained rare till Makkah rose to a new high level of commercial prosperity and took a new interest in culture, including the writing of its own North Arabic language. Thus we find some of the leaders among the Makkans—a Sufyān or a Ḥarb—welcoming the stranger, Bishr, proficient in writing as practiced in the famed court of Ḥīrah, and learning the art from him.

But to return to the southern Ḥaurān inscriptions and their writers. Were these men heathen or Christian Arabs? We have no way of telling, and there is nothing which would lead us to

[73] Cf., e.g., Musil, *Palmyrena*, pp. 237–48. [74] Cf. Buhl, pp. 103–6.

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exclude either class.[75] Heathen and Christian alike moved back and forth, for Christianity was introduced among the common people of this region and the surrounding territories as early as the 3d century, and by the 6th century both the Ghassānid and the Lakhmid court had been Christianized.[76] But it could hardly be a matter of coincidence that the three inscriptions of the 6th century (p. 5) are of Christian origin and that the two men of whom Muslim traditions have most to say in this connection, namely ʿAdī ibn Zaid and Bishr ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, were likewise Christians.

It is, of course, natural to expect the *Christian* Arab to utilize at first the language of the church—namely Syriac—and to expect the *heathen* Arab to attempt a script of his own. There are, however, evidences which point to pre-Islāmic Christian Arabic writings.[77] Furthermore, two of the inscriptions, that from Zabad and that at Ḥarrān, in which Arabic appears along with Greek and/or Syriac, show that the Arab Christians sought recognition both as Christians and as Arabs. That is, we see here an element of race consciousness when among strangers, comparable to tribe consciousness when among themselves, at work among these border Arab communities—a consciousness that was to grow rapidly with the rise of Muḥammad and Islām, and which then sought expression in the field of writing by replacing Greek and Syriac with Arabic for all governmental purposes.

Yet, if all this is true, how can we account for the absence of any evidence of writing in the gap between the Namārah and the 6th-century inscriptions, and why have we so few of these latter? Perhaps if we apply these same questions to the time of Muḥammad and to the first half of the first century of Islām we can see our way to an answer, for the cases, so far as extant specimens are concerned, are similar. It cannot be that writing activity itself declined, for everything points to the contrary, especially for the early Islāmic period concerned. To assume loss and destruction is the only alternative—an alternative that gains weight when we consider not only the historical and geographical factors but also the social and economic conditions. In the first place Arabic inscriptions, regardless of their purpose, would occupy but a humble place—a crude tombstone, a traveler's votive offering, a trader's memorandum at some caravan stop. These could hardly be expected to withstand the ravages of the centuries, especially in a land that served as the battlefield of Byzantium and Persia and then of these two against Islām. But an even more potent cause of destruction is the deplorable practice, indulged in from those early days to the present by the inhabitants, especially the poorer ones, of carrying away from their ruins stones, inscribed or not, for use in current building. Tombstones were in common use among the Arabs from pre-Islāmic days, yet but a few have survived from the first century of Islām. They, like other stone inscriptions, must have suffered the fate of haphazard re-use. As for literary materials such as ʿAdī ibn Zaid and Bishr must have produced, it is not strange that they should have shared the same fate as the revelations of the Prophet and the Ḳurʾān of ʿUthmān. Again, commercial records of the Arabs and the Jews on the eve of Islām, whatever they were written on, were seldom intended for any long duration, and with the unfavorable climatic conditions they must have perished early.

It must always be borne in mind, especially when rarity of documents is used for or against a given theory, that the Arab is not naturally fond of keeping records and documents.[78] Ameen Rihani gives a vivid description of the transaction of affairs of state in the Yaman of today, an Arab principality that has reverted to a condition somewhat like that of pre- and early Islāmic

[75] Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorabeiten*, 3. Heft, pp. 201–3; *EI* I 383.

[76] O'Leary, pp. 163f. [77] Baumstark in *Islamica* IV 562–75.

[78] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* I 411 f., had to collect his materials for his chapter on the government of Makkah from about A.D. 1750 from *verbal* sources, "for nobody in this country thinks of committing to paper the events of his own times."

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days and should therefore help us better to understand those days in regard to writing. This account is so much to the point that we quote from it freely:

When the diwan opens, a soldier comes in with a bag which he empties on the carpet before the First Secretary; this heap of papers, rolled like cigarettes and cigars, is the mail, and Saiyed Abdullah, opening it, disposes of every letter or petition, according to its importance, by either giving it to one of the scribes direct, with a reply briefly noted upon it, or by laying it aside for the consideration of the Imam. But every letter written, no matter how unimportant, is placed before the Couch of State, and His Eminence, after reading it and adding a word at the end in his own hand (the date or his initial, a sign that he has passed it), gives it to the soldier before him, who applies to it the seal and then hands it to the addressing scribe. . . . .

Enters a boy of about ten, with a stick in his hand, followed by two soldiers carrying a leather bag of silver. The boy delivers a 'cigarette' to the Imam, which he opens and reads. He then orders the two soldiers before him to count the money. They build it into piles—1,100 Marie Theresa dollars. The Imam, looking at the slip of paper: 'They should be one thousand one hundred and ninety.' The boy, who is the son of the ᶜAmel that sent this *zakat*-money, is questioned, and he speaks out. 'My father counted the money, ya Sidi, and tied the bag with his own hand, and it was only opened after that in the presence of the Imam.'

The soldiers, meanwhile, are recounting the money, which they find to be as stated in the note. . . . . The Imam is very pleased, and writes a line on a slip of paper, which he asks him [the boy] to take to his father. . . . .

The economy in paper in the Imamdom reaches the sublime. Seldom one sees an envelope, seldom a full sheet of stationery—the scrap is the rule, and very rare is the exception. . . . . Evidently the Imam Yahya, who won 'a wealth' (*khairat*) of guns and cannons from the Turks, turned their archives also into service. Books, coupons, petitions, documents of every sort, they have all been cut into scraps to be used in every department of the Government.

Only in foreign correspondence are envelopes and regular stationery used. But in the country, the Government itself has set the example—a Government without red tape, without pomp, without official affectation, without luxuries. A messenger brings you 'a cigarette,' which you find is from the Imam, and in his own hand. After reading it, you tear off the blank portion and write your reply upon it. Should you ever receive a communication in an envelope, you cut it up and use the inside part for correspondence, and should your correspondent be an intimate friend, and his message written on a slip as big as a visiting card, you write your answer in the blank space, though it be as small as a thumb-nail, and send it back to him. Waste is reprehensible; extravagance is condemned.

This economy in paper teaches also an economy in words. Some of the petitions which the Imam receives from his subjects are not more than three or four lines. . . . .

The Chamberlain Saiyed Ali Zabarah, who was visiting us one day, lingered a while to overhaul his papers. He took out of his bosom pocket about twenty little rolls—cigarettes—and as many out of the folds of his turban, where he also sticks his fountain pen and his *araak* (tooth brush). He then began to separate the white portion from the written, and tear up the latter. . . . . One of the papers which Saiyed Ali showed me was a line from the Imam ordering him to pay 200 *reals* to a certain Government official. 'Are you going to destroy this too?' I asked. 'If I pay two thousand *reals*,' he said, as he tore it up, 'no one will question.' 'But the Imam is likely to forget, and he will ask you to produce the order.' 'He forgets not,' the Chamberlain replied, 'and he questions not.' 'And does not the Government keep any records at all?' Saiyed Ali looked at me, while still destroying his own private and public documents, and said: 'There is very little worth keeping.' A soldier then came in with a message from the Imam, written on a scrap 3 inches square, and Saiyed Ali replied to it on a scrap not as big. His Eminence is laconic, and his officials, if they want to rise in his favour, try to emulate him. The standard model is the thumb-nail note, with just enough blank space on the sides—the Imam is very fond of writing in circles—for the reply.

The Arabs of one of the tribes of Al-Hijaz, between Wajh and Yambo', conduct their litigations in verse; even the decisions are rhymed, but nothing, unfortunately, is preserved. Like the people of Al-Yaman, they are not fond of keeping records.[79]

EARLIEST MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS, COINS, AND PAPYRI

Having traced the origins of Arabic writing to the land of the Nabataeans and thence to the kingdoms of the Ghassānids and the Lakhmids on the one hand and to the Ḥijāz on the other, from which regions it spread to all Arabia, we will now consider the progress of writing during the first centuries of Islām. In view of what we have already learned, we need no longer look on Muslim traditions with suspicion, as regards their account of the spread of Arabic writing in

[79] Ameen Rihani, *Arabian Peak and Desert*, pp. 221–26.

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Muḥammad's time and thereafter. If anything, those accounts underestimate rather than exaggerate. But they need not detain us here, for we wish to draw on firsthand materials, such as inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts, for further developments in the Arabic script. A list of Arabic inscriptions of the first century of Islām is to be found in the *Répertoire chronologique* and in an article by el-Hawary.[80] Although the former lists twenty-three inscriptions from the 1st century, the dates of some are uncertain, and several originals of which we have no reproductions have been lost since their discovery. When these are set aside, we have in all thirteen dated inscriptions from the first century, the earliest date being A.H. 31 and the next earliest A.H. 72.[81] Three of these (*Rép.* Nos. 21–23) are either graffiti or are too fragmentary for use, and two (*Rép.* Nos. 16–17) have scripts very similar to those of some of the remaining eight which are reproduced by us in Plates II–III.

Next to the inscriptions comes the evidence of the earliest Muslim coins (Pl. III). At first the Muslims continued to use the coinages current in the lands they had conquered, modifying them only by degrees. Their earliest practice was to strike Byzantine and Persian types with the mint place or date in Arabic, or with a Muslim phrase for a legend such as بسم الله or لا اله الا الله. Coins of this type date from the second decade of Islām.[82] The first real Arabic type is credited to the reign of ʿAlī and bears the date A.H. 40 (Pl. III 7).[83] This is supposed to have been the model on which ʿAbd al-Malik's monetary reforms were based in A.H. 75.[84] Thus, beginning with the second decade, the 1st century of Islām affords us numerous inscriptions from which the Arabic alphabet and its script can be studied.[85]

There remain for consideration the earliest parchment and papyrus manuscripts. So far as I know there are no parchments definitely dated in the 1st century after the Hijrah, though there are several Ḳurʾānic manuscripts that are tentatively accepted by some as coming from that period.[86] Fortunately we can be more definite with the papyri. These give us two main types of scripts—that of the protocols[87] and that of the documents themselves, with some variations within each group or type. The former is a large, heavy script that resembles in some respects the inscriptional and the Ḳurʾānic Kūfic, though it lacks the careful execution seen in both groups. The script of the documents, on the contrary, is finer, more cursive, more varied, and better executed. Grohmann has made a study of the documental script, based on the evidence of two papyri in the Vienna collection which also happen to be the earliest two Muslim documents extant.[88] They are *PERF* No. 558, which is dated A.H. 22, and *PER* Inv. Ar. P. 94, which dates from about A.H. 30.[89] Other documents in the same collection date from the

[80] *JRAS*, 1930, pp. 321–33.

[81] *Rép.* Nos. 6, 9, 10, 12, 14–17, and 20–24.

[82] Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XXII; Paris *Cat. des monnaies* I xiii and 1–57.

[83] Subhi Bey, tr. by Mordtmann, in *Münzstudien* III, illus. No. 1 on Pl. VI; *idem*, tr. by O. de Schlechta, in *ZDMG* XVII (1863) 43 f.; Paris *Cat. des monnaies* I 58 and Pl. II 158.

[84] Subhi Bey in *Münzstudien* III and in *ZDMG* XVII 45.

[85] Cf. Moritz in *EI* I 383–92 and Pl. I.

[86] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 1–16 and our parchments Nos. 1–3.

[87] See *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 3, for facsimiles.

[88] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 2, pp. xxii–xxvi. See also our Pls. IV–V.

[89] Plate II accompanying B. Moritz's article in *EI* is erroneously dated "c. 24 A.H.," the mistake occurring apparently through the reading of عمرو بن العاص for عمرو بن العتاس. My suspicion of this early dating was aroused by the similarity of the well developed script of this papyrus to that of some of the Ḳurrah documents in the Oriental Institute and of *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 101–6 (A.H. 87–112). Space does not permit the full publication of this interesting document, from the text of which we learn that Yazīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh (ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Bilāl al-Ḥaḍramī) had ordered an investigation into the official conduct of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAttās and his secretaries and agents in the district of Akhmīm. Yazīd, whose

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second half of the 1st century,[90] the last decade of which has given us the important Aphrodito or Ḳurrah papyri.[91]

When we marshal the collective paleographic and epigraphic evidence of these, the earliest Muslim manuscripts, coins, and inscriptions, and compare them with pre-Islāmic Arabic inscriptions and then compare both groups with the Nabataean, as we have attempted in Plate V, we have before us the proof of two important conclusions so far as North Arabic writing is concerned. One is that the Arabic writing of the 1st century of Islām is a normal and gradual development of the Arabic script of the 6th century after Christ, which in turn is in all essentials a direct development of the Aramaic Nabataean script of the first centuries of our era—facts which are more or less widely known and are now generally accepted. The other important conclusion is that we can no longer draw a chronological demarcation line between what are commonly termed the Kūfic and the *naskhī* scripts, nor can we consider the latter as a development of the former. This has thus far been suspected by only a few, but now demands a more general recognition. Our materials clearly show that there were two tendencies at work simultaneously, both of them natural ones. The first was to give us a "monumental," the other the more practical "manuscript" style of writing. Let us not call these Kūfic and *naskhī*, for those terms convey a wrong set of ideas. The monumental script was modeled after the more or less square Nabataean characters, it was usually executed on stone or metal, and the occasion which called it forth was generally some event important to the person or persons concerned. Because of these factors it acquired an angular, severe, and stately character which in well executed specimens is not void of that beauty which frequently goes with simplicity. The manuscript style, on the contrary, was used on softer and more yielding writing materials. Like all handwriting, it showed a tendency to round out and finally developed into a rounded cursive script more suitable for general use. The Namārah inscription (Pl. I 2) shows features of both scripts; for though some of its letters are separate and angular, others are joined into syllables and even words, while curvilinear strokes are not wanting. This is not surprising, since all three of these features are to be readily found in purely Nabataean inscriptions. The inscriptions and the Ḳur'ānic manuscripts of early Islāmic times show the monumental style, while the contemporary state documents present us with the more cursive script. The terms that came to be applied to them by the early Arabs themselves could not have had the *chronological* significance that some later Arabs[92] and most western writers have put into them, for after all Kūfic means the style of Kūfah and *naskhī* the style of the copyist.

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full name we learn from Kindī, pp. 358–60, was at first governor of the district of Akhmīm, from which office he was called in Jumādā II, 140 (Oct., A.D. 757), by Judge Ghauth ibn Sulaimān al-Ḥaḍramī to be his deputy judge for all Egypt, which office he filled for four short months, when sudden death overtook him. The present (undated) document from his administration can therefore be credited at the latest to the first half of A.H. 140. Grohmann, not recognizing the identity of Yazīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh, has left the dating of this important trilingual document very indefinite, though he argues quite correctly for the general period (cf. *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library* III [Cairo, 1938] 67 and 86 f.). He has, however, made certain the reading of "ʿAttās" from the Greek portion of the document (cf. *ibid.*, No. 167, lines 82 and 97 f.). The name is listed also in Dhahabī's *Kitāb al-mushtabih fī asmā' al-rijāl* (ed. by P. de Jong [Leyden, 1881]) p. 336. The information concerning "ʿAttas" came too late for inclusion of the last two titles in the Bibliography.

[90] *PERF* Nos. 573–76, 584–85, and 591.

[91] See *PSR*, also H. I. Bell, *The Aphrodito Papyri* (British Museum, *Greek Papyri* IV), and N. Abbott, *The Ḳurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute*.

[92] E.g. Ḳalḳashandī III 15, where Kūfic is said to have been the first Arabic script, from which the others developed in the first half of the second century after the Hijrah. That author brands as a mistake the idea that the then current pens originated with Ibn Muḳlah, since "non-Kūfic manuscripts are found that are earlier than the year 200."

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II

DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIFIC SCRIPTS

EARLY ḲUR'ĀNIC SCRIPTS

Nadīm lists the four more generally recognized early Arabic scripts in the order Makkan, Madīnan, Baṣran, and Kūfic. Immediately following, under the heading of Ḳur'ānic scripts (*ḵẖuṭūṭ al-maṣāḥif*), the order is Makkan, Madīnan, Kūfic, and Baṣran.[1] One is tempted to accept the chronological significance implied in this order, especially between the first two and the last two, if for no other reason than that Kūfah and Baṣrah did not start their career as Muslim cities until the second decade of Islām.[2] But these cities were located close to Anbār and Ḥīrah in ʿIrāḳ, Kūfah being but a few miles south of Ḥīrah. We have already seen the major role the two earlier cities played in the evolution of Arabic writing, and it is but natural to expect them to have developed a characteristic script to which the newer cities of Kūfah and Baṣrah fell heir, so that for Kūfic and Baṣran script one is tempted to substitute Anbāran and Ḥīran. To import the Makkan-Madīnan script wholesale into these cities of ʿIrāḳ is to carry coals to Newcastle. With this fact in mind, the Muslim tradition that the original Arabic script was the Kūfic (that is, Ḥīran or Anbāran) is one of those statements which, though known to be half wrong, may yet be half right. For though it is true that to the Nabataean-Arabic goes the honor of being the first Arabic script, yet our study so far shows that the script of Ḥīrah must have been *the* leading script in the 6th century and as such must have influenced all later scripts, including the Makkan-Madīnan. It is therefore all the more important to discover the main characteristics of this early Arabic script.

Our earliest Arabic authors point to a marked similarity of the early Arabic script to the Syriac and, unaware, for the most part, of the Nabataean origins, report the tradition current in their days that the Arabic alphabet was based on the Syriac.[3] This again is a misstatement that nevertheless contains a germ of truth; for back of it must be the fact of the actual similarity between the Syriac and Arabic scripts of the 6th–7th century after Christ, a similarity that seemed to justify the above mentioned tradition to the minds of those recording it. These were men who were in a position to compare early Arabic specimens, now no longer extant but relatively numerous in their day, with the Syriac script—the estrangelo. Since with few exceptions this similarity could not have applied to the individual letter forms as such, it must have been limited largely to the general appearance of the scripts; and it is indeed chiefly there that we find it. It is a similarity of stiffness, of angularity, of comparatively short vertical strokes that tend to give a certain "squareness" to the scripts. These are all marked features of the estrangelo Syriac script, and they are to be found, though in a lesser degree, in the early Arabic inscriptions of Zabad, Ḥarrān, and Umm al-Jimāl (Pl. I 3–5), all of which are more or less "square" and angular and have short vertical strokes. These features are more marked in the Zabad and Ḥarrān inscriptions, and this is all the more significant since the Syriac appears side by side with the Arabic in both of them. It is also important to note that none of these in-

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 6.

[2] Yāḳūt I 638 and 641 f., II 375, IV 322 f.; Ḳalḳashandī IV 333–35; Balādhurī, pp. 275-77. Cf. also *EI*, arts. on Kūfah and Baṣrah, for this and following statements.

[3] Balādhurī, p. 471; Ḳalḳashandī III 12; Ḥājjī Khalīfah III 147.

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scriptions have the separate *alif* bent to the right at the lower end, while a downward slant to the left is seen only in a few strokes in the Ḥarrān and Umm al-Jimāl inscriptions.[4] It is my belief that the earliest Arabic scripts of Anbār and Ḥīrah, where Syriac influence was undeniably strong, were scripts of this type. Normally, then, we should look for these same characteristics in the succeeding scripts of Kūfah and Baṣrah; should we indeed find them there, we could draw but one conclusion, namely that the Syriac estrangelo definitely influenced the early Kūfic.

The *Fihrist* in describing the Makkan-Madīnan script gives also some idea of what the Kūfic-Baṣran script was not. However, one need hardly expect any spectacular variations in the scripts of these four leading cities, for, as we have already seen, increased activities in writing in Makkah and Madīnah date from the days of Bishr, who avowedly taught the script he had himself learned in Ḥīrah. Thus a fundamental similarity of the four scripts is to be expected. It is therefore understandable to find the Makkan and the Madīnan scripts grouped together and similarly characterized, and likewise it is natural to assume that the Kūfic and the Baṣran also were thus closely related. Lacking a separate description of each of the four scripts, we can thus, for all general purposes, speak of two types, the Makkan-Madīnan and the Kūfic-Baṣran, and for the sake of brevity refer to these as the Makkan and the Kūfic respectively until such time as, with increased materials and opportunities to study them, we are able to arrive at more specific descriptions of each of these four scripts.

According to Nadīm, the Makkan script had these three characteristics: the *alif* bends to the right at the lower end, the extended vertical strokes (*al-aṣābiᶜ*, i.e., *alif*, *lām*, *lām-alif*, *ṭā'*, and sometimes *kāf*) are high, and the script has a moderate downward slant to the left.[5] Nadīm's intended illustrations are unfortunately missing, so we must content ourselves with this meager description, with the additional information that there were three varieties of the Madīnan: the round (*mudawwar*), the triangular (*muthallath*), and the composite (*ti'm*),[6] the last perhaps a combination of the first two. In the round variety presumably the small loops of *f*, *ḳ*, *m*, *w*, and *lām-alif* and final *h*, *ᶜ*, and *gh* would be round, while in the triangular they would approach the form of a triangle.[7]

With this description of the Makkan before us, we presume that the early Kūfic script would lack one or more of the three main Makkan features, unless we are to assume that the presence of any one of these three features constitutes a Makkan script. This would complicate matters considerably, since the true Kūfic would then have to be one in which all three features are lacking. But to expect at this early and still formative stage so much logic in an activity that is after all an art—the art of writing—is to expect an unnatural and a deadening accuracy. As a matter of fact Makkan scripts in which all three features are present are readily found;[8] but there seem to be no early manuscripts the script of which lacks consistently all three features,[9] though there are many specimens in which one or two of the three are lacking. The earliest Muslim inscription, the tombstone of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khair al-Ḥajrī (Pl. II 1),

[4] On Pl. V the *alif*'s from these inscriptions showing a bend to the right are connected, not separate, *alif*'s.

[5] *Fihrist*, p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] See p. 36, n. 125. It is very probable that Nadīm had in mind a generally round script in which curves were used also in the other letters, e.g. *j*, *s*, *ṣ*, *n*, and *y*, as well as in the ligatures, as distinguished from a generally angular script in which, in addition to the small triangular loops, straight strokes predominated in the letter forms as well as in the ligatures; cf. pp. 22 f.

[8] Cf. our Nos. 1–7 and Nöldeke, *GQ* III, Pls. IV and VIII.

[9] Cf. the early protocol scripts, e.g. that of *PERF* No. 77, of A.H. 65–86, which comes the nearest to lacking these features.

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dated 31/652, lacks the bend of the *alif* to the right, has but a few slanting strokes, and, though it starts with long vertical strokes, ends up with decidedly shorter ones; yet it is markedly angular and square. It is certainly not Makkan and can safely be considered as poor Kūfic. Several other inscriptions of the first century (Pls. II 2–6 and III 2) show varied combinations, in all of which the downward right-to-left slant is wanting, in most of which the *alif* with the bend to the right is the rule, and in some of which the vertical strokes are so short that they give the script a certain squatty, stunted appearance. Among the earliest Ḳur'āns, scripts with the *alif* bent to the right but with somewhat short, straight vertical strokes (*aṣābi'*) are seen in our Nos. 10–13 and in *Ar. Pal.* Plates 17 and 19–30, of the 2d–4th century; in the same work, in Plates 13–16, of the 1st–2d century, the vertical strokes are straight but long. The protocol script, though it uses the *alif* with or without the bend indiscriminately, has nevertheless exceedingly short and mostly straight vertical strokes. Karabacek called this script "lapidary," and Grohmann has remarked on its similarity to the Ḳur'ānic scripts.[10]

After looking at these inscriptions, Ḳur'āns, and protocols over and over again, one is led to believe that the heavy, thick, frequently short, comparatively angular, and more or less square script represents the earliest monumental Ḥīran-Kūfic type; that the *alif* with the bend to the right, though not consistently used in the early Kūfic, was a feature common to it and the early Makkan; that the regularly long, slanting stroke for the *aṣābi'* in the Makkan contrasted with the frequently short, vertical one in the early Kūfic; and finally that gradually the length of the vertical stroke became immaterial in both, so that the *moderately slanting* stroke of the Makkan and the *vertical* stroke of the Kūfic remained as their most distinctive features.

The above identification of the earliest Kūfic script forces on our attention its similarity in general appearance to the early Syriac; hence the influence of the estrangelo script can no longer be considered as a mere hypothesis.[11] The Syriac influence extended even farther with the adoption of the modified diacritical and vowel systems, the one in pre-Islāmic days, the other late in the 1st or early in the 2d century of Islām. So perhaps it will not be amiss to follow, in passing, the main outlines of Syriac literature[12] and script.[13] This branch of the Aramaic family of languages dates from the last centuries before Christ. With the introduction of Christianity into Edessa, Syriac became the church language of the East. As a literary language it was in bloom from the 3d to the 7th century, when it received a setback with the passing of Persia and the advent of Islām. It was well on the decline in the 8th century and, despite a revival in the 9th and again in the 12th–13th century, eventually became a dead language, except for its use in the church service and in some out-of-the-way villages. In the meantime Arabic had replaced it as the common language of the people.

The Syriac script is closely allied to the Palmyrene. The earliest script, known as the estrangelo, is square, angular, and for the most part uncial. The Nestorian-Jacobite church controversy of the end of the 5th century eventually produced in the language a dialect split which was soon reflected in the script. The eastern or Nestorian branch, though it kept closer to the original estrangelo, nevertheless developed into a distinct type by the 9th century. The western or Jacobite, however, evolved into a more rounded cursive script known as serto. The estrangelo proper, of which the earliest sample we have is dated A.D. 411,[14] soon fell into com-

[10] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 2, pp. xx f.

[11] Moritz in *EI* I 388.

[12] Duval, pp. 325–411, is followed mainly. Cf., however, Baumstark, especially the sections covering the different centuries.

[13] Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III xxix–xxxii.

[14] Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XI; cf. also Pls. XXXIX and XXVII, of A.D. 464 and 509 respectively, and Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III, Pls. I, II, and IV. For early inscriptional Syriac see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch* I 483 f.

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parative disuse; the Nestorian continues in the east, and the serto in the west, to the present day. Of other, minor types which developed, the Malkite is closer to the Nestorian than to the serto, and the Palestinian is more inclined to the estrangelo.[15] Variations within the main types are met with from period to period, but they are relatively slight.

The *Fihrist* mentions the estrangelo, the serto, and a third script, the *iskūlīṯhā* ("scholastic"). Each of the three scripts is compared to and paralleled with an Arabic script or "pen" (*ḳalam*),[16] but it is difficult to tell at first whether the comparison refers to only the type of work or works for which the corresponding Arabic script was used or is based also on some calligraphic similarity. Though the former seems the more likely, there is a possibility that the latter also is meant; for the estrangelo, called the best and the most elegant, is defined as a *heavy* script and is paired with the scripts of the Ḳur'ān and of official documents. Again, the serto, which we are told is used for correspondence and dispatches, is paired with the *riḳā'* script, which is a common script employed for smaller-sized sheets of paper, with letter forms similar to those of the *ṯuluṯh*.[17] Now the *ṯuluṯh*, as contrasted with the early Ḳur'ānic scripts, is decidedly rounder and more cursive, differing in just the same qualities in which the serto differs from the estrangelo. We have already spoken of the similarity of the early Arabic scripts, especially the Kūfic, to the estrangelo, so that in both these cases a functional as well as a calligraphic comparison is possible. There remains the so-called "scholastic," characterized as a light, round pen and paired with the pen of the *warrāḳīn*, that is, scribes and copyists who wrote on paper.[18] The *warrāḳī* script, as we shall presently see, was a light script more suitable for paper than the larger and heavier Kūfic used for parchments. Nevertheless, it was closely allied to the Kūfic. Like the Nestorian script, it was fully developed by the 9th century.[19] Since the Nestorian, the third major Syriac script, bore somewhat the same relationship to the older estrangelo that the *warrāḳī* script bore to the older Kūfic—that is, the Nestorian kept close to the estrangelo forms but was, nevertheless, a lighter and more delicate script—I am led to suggest here that the "scholastic" script of the *Fihrist* was in all probability the Nestorian script. In that case a calligraphical comparison between the Nestorian and the *warrāḳī* scripts would be possible. If we may judge from Syriac and Arabic manuscripts, a basis for such comparisons seems actually to have existed. This naturally raises the question of the influence of the one group of scripts on the other. But before we go into that, it would be well to look into a script that is allied to both groups—Christian Arabic writing.

A study of Christian Arabic manuscripts shows the interesting fact that some of the earliest of these come the nearest to showing an estrangelo influence, though indirectly through the Nestorian, in the general appearance of the script, which is firm and inclined to squareness.[20] Others, some of approximately the same period and some of a later date, show the effect of Jacobite serto.[21] Furthermore, a comparison of several of these Christian manuscripts with largely contemporary Kūfic Ḳur'āns reveals a decided similarity of scripts.[22] However, the

[15] Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III xxx.

[16] *Fihrist*, p. 12.

[17] *Fihrist*, p. 8; Ḳalḳashandī III 119.

[18] Ḳalḳashandī II 476; see below, pp. 29 f.

[19] Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III xxxi; *Fihrist*, p. 8.

[20] Cf., e.g., "Stud. Sin." XII xviii and Pl. II, the earliest dated Christian Arabic ms. (876 [= A.H. 264]), Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XCV, a ms. of the 9th century, and Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* III, Pl. I and Pl. II, No. II, with such estrangelo and Nestorian mss. as are reproduced in Wright, *Facs.*, Pls. LXVI and XCIX, and in Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III, Pls. X–XIII.

[21] Cf. "Stud. Sin." XII, Pl. III (a ms. of the year 917 [= A.H. 305]), *ibid.* VIII, Pl. I, and *ibid.* XI, Pls. I–VIII, with serto mss. of the 8th and 9th centuries illustrated in Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III, Pls. VIII–IX; cf. also Fleischer, *op. cit.* Pl. III, No. I, and Pl. V, with Wright, *Syr. Cat.* III, Pls. V–VI, and Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. LXXVI. This last, a bilingual Arabic-Syriac ms. (of A.D. 1019?) clearly illustrates the point under consideration.

[22] Cf. "Stud. Sin." XII, Pl. II, and Fleischer, *op. cit.* Pl. I, with *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 45 b, a Ḳur'ān of the 3rd century after the Hijrah; also Fleischer, *op. cit.* Pl. II, No. I, and Pl. V, and Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XCV, with Tisserant, Pl. 43 b, and *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 45 a and 46 a.

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script generally accepted as *the* Christian Arabic type[23] has, so far as is known, no Ḳurʾānic parallel. From the 10th century on, the Christian Arabic script begins gradually to lose its similarity to the Syriac scripts on the one hand and to become more and more like the current Muslim Arabic scripts on the other hand, until eventually it becomes very difficult to distinguish the one type from the other.

These facts point to an interesting cycle of events, at the start of which the Arabs were the borrowers from the more advanced Syrian Christians of the north, but at the end of which the subject Syrian Christians had in turn become the borrowers from the ruling Arabs. The early, pre-Islāmic influence of the Syriac on the Arabic as a whole was largely checked by the end of the 3d century after the Hijrah; from then on its influence was almost wholly limited to the Christian Arabic scripts, but particularly to the type illustrated in "Stud. Sin." XI, Pls. I–VIII, and XII, Pl. III. This script, as Margoliouth has suggested, was very likely the one employed for manuscripts meant especially for Christian consumption.[24] Frequently, however, Christian works were meant for general consumption, for Muslim writers show a familiarity with Christian books and literature. Perhaps the turning point came when the Syrian Christians began to use Muslim scripts for works likely to be read by Muslims. The general trend of political and social events also forced the average Syrian Christian, in or out of government service, to ingratiate himself with his rulers by conscious imitation,[25] which extended to the copying of the Muslim style of writing. Such imitation was not limited to calligraphy only, but appeared, as early as the 3d century after the Hijrah, also in the use of the Muslim *bismillāh* formula instead of the regular Christian formula, "In the name of the Father . . . . , " and in the use of the Muslim era for dating the manuscripts, first together with other era dates and later as the only date.[26] Nevertheless, Arabic, as the language of the rulers and in a very special sense as the language of Islām, never became the church language of any of the different sects of subject Christians. And even when Arabic became the unquestioned common language of the subject people, the reluctance of the Syrian Christians to yield up their language and script completely is seen in the emergence of the Garshūnī—Christian Arabic written in Syriac characters.[27]

But to return to our early Arabic and Ḳurʾānic scripts. The Kūfic and the Makkan were both destined for great things. It is natural to suppose that of the two the Makkan-Madīnan took the lead in use for Ḳurʾānic manuscripts,[28] since the first official Ḳurʾāns, those of ʿUthmān, were probably in that script. Yet when these Ḳurʾāns were written Kūfah was already in the foreground; and indeed, even before the edition of ʿUthmān was undertaken, prominent Kūfans were working on a similar though nonofficial project. There were, for instance, the edition of Ibn Masʿūd, who was judge and treasurer of Kūfah, and the edition of Abū Mūsā ibn Ḳais, who was governor of Baṣrah in A.H. 17 and later governor of Kūfah also. Both of these editions were popular among the people of Kūfah and Baṣrah.[29] Furthermore Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣī, a member of Zaid's Ḳurʾān committee, was at the same time governor of Kūfah (A.H. 29–34).[30] Thus, even if the official edition was written in the Makkan script it is not likely that Kūfah, with its own editions and its own script, would meekly copy the Makkan. Of course, these prominent men of ʿIrāḳ had not grown up there. They very likely learned to write in Makkah while still young and would therefore have the Makkan script, which they may

[23] Cf. "Stud. Sin." XI, Pls. I–VIII, and *ibid.* XII, Pl. III and p. xi.

[24] "Stud. Sin." XII xi. [25] Cf. *ibid.* pp. x f.

[26] Fleischer, *op. cit.* pp. 391 f.; "Stud. Sin." XII, Pls. II–III.

[27] Cf. Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 765–70, for Christian Persian written in Syriac characters.

[28] Cf. F. Krenkow in *Islamic Culture* VIII (1934) 173, n. 1.

[29] Nöldeke, *GQ* II 28–30. [30] *Ibid.* p. 55.

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have preferred to the regular Ḥīran-Kūfic. But granting this point, it would hold, so far as the script is concerned, for a very short period only, perhaps for just a decade or two. For, beginning with ᶜAlī and Abū al-Aswad, the ᶜIrāḳīs were soon going their own way in the writing of the Ḳur'ān, even to the extent of introducing new practices in vocalization, punctuation, and perhaps also ornamentation. And this they did in spite of the fact that prominent Ḥijāzīs were opposed to all such innovations (cf. pp. 41, 54 f., and 59). Thus not only were the Kūfans likely to keep their own, but with the rapid rise of their great city to fame their script was soon to rival the Makkan and take the leadership in Ḳur'ānic scripts, so much so that in later centuries the phrase "Kūfic script" became almost synonymous with "Ḳur'ānic script." As a result of this, Muslims and non-Muslims, easterners and westerners, some even up to the present day, classed all specimens of early Ḳur'ānic scripts, the Makkan included, under the term "Kūfic."

Our study points to two fundamental varieties of the early Kūfic. Early references to these types are lacking. Later sources are fragmentary and for the most part refer to analogous types current in the particular author's time. Fortunately, a true picture of these fundamental types can be gained by supplementing these references with specimens of early inscriptions, Ḳur'āns, and manuscripts. Ḳalḳashandī has preserved two interesting passages—the one traced, in part at least, to Ibn Muḳlah, the other quoted from Ibn al-Ḥusain's book on the *thuluth*.[31] Both speak of a variety of Kūfic scripts, all of which derive from two main types. In the first passage one of these is equated with the *ṭūmār*, which is described as "all *mabsūṭ* with nothing *mustadīr* in it," the other with the *ghubār al-ḥilyah*, which is described as "all *mustadīr* with nothing *mustaḳīm* in it." In the second passage the two fundamental types are characterized generally as the *mabsūṭ* and the *muḳawwar*. The *muḥaḳḳaḳ* is given as a sample of the former, and the *thuluth* and *riḳāᶜ* are mentioned as varieties of the latter. Evidence, however, of the analogy between these types (the *mustaḳīm* or *mabsūṭ* on the one hand and the *mustadīr* or *muḳawwar* on the other) and the parent Kūfic varieties is seen in the fact that our source associates the *ṭūmār* with the writing of early Ḳur'āns and uses the term *mustaḳīm* or "straight" in opposition to *mustadīr* or "round."[32]

The analogous relationship between the early Kūfic *mustadīr* and the later *mustadīr* or *muḳawwar* need hardly detain us here. That between the *mustaḳīm* and the *mabsūṭ*, however, needs further clarification. Ḳalḳashandī III 15 characterizes the *muḳawwar* of his day as a soft or pliable type in which the parts that fall below the line (*ᶜarāḳāt*) are deeply curved (*makhsūf*) and considerably lowered. The *mabsūṭ* he describes negatively as a hard or rigid type lacking in the features characteristic of the *muḳawwar*. The terms *muḳawwar*, *makhsūf*, and *mabsūṭ* are used frequently in describing the various letter forms of the different scripts illustrated by that author, though unfortunately he does not include the forms for the *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, in which the *mabsūṭ* is said to predominate. Nevertheless, a study of the illustrated scripts shows clearly that in the *muḳawwar* we have essentially rounded forms, while in the *mabsūṭ* the corresponding forms have an element of angularity resulting from the somewhat extended and markedly shallow curves, some of which approach a straight line. Thus *s*, *ṣ*, and *ḳ* appear as س, ص, and ق under the first, and as س, ص, and ق under the second description.[33] In other words, the loops (*ᶜarāḳāt*) of the former are arcs approaching semicircles, while in the latter they take an angular bend with the curve much flattened and somewhat extended horizontally. This gives these forms a comparatively "open," "expanded," or "spread-out" appearance. A glance at any collection of early Kūfic Ḳur'āns and inscriptions

[31] Ḳalḳashandī III 52 and 15; cf. pp. 30–32 below.

[32] Ḳalḳashandī III 52; cf. also Robertson, pp. 69 and 71 f.

[33] Ḳalḳashandī III 109 f. and 113.

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reveals the *mustaḳīm* variety as one in which straight strokes, meeting for the most part at right angles, predominate in the ligatures and in varying degrees also in the letter forms. The analogy between the *mabsūṭ* and *mustaḳīm*, both of which are contrasted with an essentially round type (*mustadīr* and *muḳawwar*), is therefore clearly seen. To avoid confusion we shall hereafter refer to the earlier *mustadīr* and *mustaḳīm* as the round and the angular, and to the analogous *muḳawwar* and *mabsūṭ* as the round and the open or expanded, type respectively.

This evidence from Ḳalḳashandī and his sources of the existence of two fundamental types in the Kūfic is fully supported by early specimens. The angular variety common in inscriptions and Ḳur'āns is too well known to need further comment. The round variety, not as well known, is nevertheless readily recognizable in 1st-century protocols and state papers.[34] Kūfic Ḳur'āns of later date show specimens of both the round[35] and the angular[36] type. Specimens of the former type have been frequently but erroneously described as Kūfic-*naskhī*,[37] with the implication that they represent a script transitional from an earlier Kūfic to a supposedly later *naskhī* variety.

It must not be supposed that the early Kūfic became fixed and inviolate. We have already seen its tendency to use the *alif* with a bend to the right and to use short or long vertical strokes indiscriminately. It may thus have contributed to the lack of agreement as to what actually constituted the proper proportion between the width and the length of the *alif*.[38] In later monumental and ornamental Kūfic the *alif* became exceedingly high. The script as a whole passed through the various stages of development—growth, grandeur, degeneration, and decay[39]—until as a branch of art it represents in a general way the historical stages of the Arab Empire. For just as the simple, austere Kūfic was in vogue in the rugged days of the foundation of the Empire, so the various stages of the floriated and interlaced Kūfic were in fashion during the period of general splendor and magnificence. Finally the degenerate Kūfic, extremely angular and void of any aesthetic value, mirrored the decline of that Empire.[40]

It is clearly evident by now that the term "Kūfic" is incorrectly applied to the script of many an early Ḳur'ānic manuscript. Most early Ḳur'ān collections must have a fair number in the Makkan script. Attention has already been drawn to some of these.[41] Several of the Paris *Catalogue* numbers described by de Slane as of Ḥijāzī script probably belong to this group.[42] Doubtless the British Museum and the Berlin Museum collections have some, though very likely they are listed under "Kūfic." One of the finest specimens of the large Makkan script is a Ḳur'ān manuscript in the Hartford Theological Seminary Library.[43] The present collection has eight specimens of the Kūfic script, of both the large and the small variety.

The Kūfic and the Makkan, however, are by no means the only early scripts represented in extant Ḳur'ānic manuscripts. We are fortunate in having specimens of at least two others, the *mā'il*, and the *mashḳ*, both of which are listed in the *Fihrist*. The first, though long identified

[34] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 3, Pls. 2 and 31; *PSR*, Pl. VII.

[35] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 45 b.

[36] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 42 and 45 a.

[37] Cf. Wright, *Facs.*, Pls. VI, XX, XCV, and XXXIV; the first three are Christian documents.

[38] Cf. Ḳalḳashandī III 27 f. and 45.

[39] Cf. Flury in *Syria* II (1921) 230–34.

[40] The identification and classification of the numerous varieties of the later Kūfic, Ḳur'ānic and non-Ḳur'ānic, is a theme in itself deserving of a special study. The Persians more than any other people of the Empire played a major role in these later developments and differentiations, so that one is justified in speaking of a number of Persian Kūfic varieties of scripts. Specimens of Ḳur'ānic Persian Kūfic of the 6th century after the Hijrah are given by Moritz in *EI* I, art. "Arabia," Pl. V (lower part), and *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 85. For further specimens of this type see *Ars Islamica* IV (1937) 232–48; and cf. below, p. 36, n. 129.

[41] Cf. p. 22.

[42] E.g. those under Nos. 326 and 328–30.

[43] See Macdonald in American Oriental Society, *Proceedings*, March, 1894, pp. lxx–lxxii. I am indebted for a reproduction of this to the kindly efforts of Professor Macdonald, also to Professor Thayer of the Hartford Seminary Library.

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by Karabacek, has been little heard of since his day; the second, as an individual Ḳur'ānic script, is, so far as I know, being identified here for the first time. Karabacek first pointed out that the script of Wright, *Facs.*, Plate LIX (our Pl. VI 1), was the *mā'il* script.[44] Later he drew attention to the fundamental similarity between it and the script of *Ar. Pal.* Plate 44.[45] Both of these specimens have the tall strokes, the characteristic slant (which is, however, more marked in Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. LIX), and the *alif* without the bend to the right. The Wright example is also heavy and angular, whereas that of *Ar. Pal.* is comparatively lighter and rounder. Samples of this extremely slanted *mā'il* script are rare. One is to be found in "Stud. Sin." XI, Plate IV; a second, reproduced in Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium*, Plate 41 a, is No. 328:1 of the Paris *Catalogue*. The first of these seems to be identical with Wright, *Facs.*, Plate LIX, in all but one respect—the bend of the *alif* to the right. The second is closer to *Ar. Pal.* Plate 44. Two other manuscripts might be considered in this group, "Stud. Sin." XI, Plate V,[46] and Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium*, Plate 41 b, that is, No. 328:4 of the Paris *Catalogue*. Though in a slanting hand, neither of the two is as slanted as the first four mentioned above; and while the *alif* with and without the bend to the right appears in the first, only the *alif* without the bend is seen in the second. Both are decidedly angular. These two may well represent a brief intermediate stage from the Makkan to the *mā'il* script.[47]

Unfortunately none of the *mā'il* specimens are definitely dated, though all of them are unquestionably early. Since the *mā'il* script is clearly a development of the Makkan, there is no reason why it could not have developed by the 2d century of Islām. Other signs, such as the lack of vowels, the use of strokes for diacritical marks, and the simple punctuation devices, all likewise point to an early date. It is true that the round variety appearing in *Ar. Pal.* Plate 44 stands somewhat apart from the more numerous angular Makkan and Kūfic Ḳur'āns of the early centuries. But with our study pointing definitely to the existence of both a round and an angular variety in these early scripts, it is not difficult to accept it with Karabacek[48] as coming from the 2d century after the Hijrah, although Moritz has placed this specimen in the 3d century.

We turn now to the identification of the *mashḳ* script.[49] Arabic dictionaries[50] tell us that the main idea of the verb *mashaḳa* is "to speed" and that the *mashḳ* script is one written speedily with extended (horizontal) strokes. Ṣūlī (d. 335/946)[51] describes experiences common to most of us when he states that there are two diametrically opposed situations which result in hurried, faulty writing. The first of these is when mind and body are both alert and the hand is eager to keep pace with the rapid flow of thought. The second is when mind and body are both weary and the tired fingers fail to function well and effectively. As deficiencies of hurried writing he mentions in addition to the extended stroke the crowding of some letters, misuse of ligatures, and failure to raise or depress letters and strokes above or below the line—all familiar

[44] *WZKM* V (1891) 324, where he refers to the second of Loth's "Zwei arabische Papyri," *ZDMG* XXXIV (1880) 685–91, as a second specimen. This, however, proves to be not *mā'il* but a manuscript variety of the Makkan which is closer to the script of the Ḳurrah papyri than to any Ḳur'ān script.

[45] *WZKM* XX (1906) 137.

[46] For further comments on "Stud. Sin." XI, Pls. IV–V, see its pp. xvii–xxi and xlix–lxviii. These mss. are remarkable in that they are palimpsests in which Christian Arabic is written over Ḳur'ān text. It would be interesting to know when and how these Ḳur'ān fragments came into the possession of Christians who put them to such an unusual use.

[47] There is one other specimen of this slanting script, to which unfortunately I have no access at present; it is mentioned by Grohmann (*CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, p. 69, n. 3), who compares it to *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 44.

[48] *WZKM* XX 37.

[49] *Fihrist*, pp. 6 f.; Ḳalḳashandī III 144; Björkman, pp. 8 and 13.

[50] Cf., e.g., Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab* XII 220–22 and Murtaḍā, *Tāj al-ʿarūs* VII 70 f.

[51] *Adab al-kuttāb*, pp. 55 f.

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to hurried and tired note-takers, copyists, and writers. Experience again convinces us that of these faults the extended stroke is the commonest, and that on the whole a hurried script tends to gain the appearance of horizontal elongation at the expense of vertical breadth. That such writing should be disliked and even abhorred, but nevertheless be frequently found, is not surprising. In the early days of Islām the *mashḳ*, essentially a hasty and faulty script, received, especially in Ḳurʾānic writing, drastic disapproval and condemnation,[52] for ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is credited with saying that "the evil of writing is the *mashḳ*."[53] Yet it is not at all impossible to eliminate the evident faults of hasty writing and to produce a boldly extended yet carefully written script. Such indeed seems to have been the case with the *mashḳ*, for the term has come to mean large or bold writing. We can, I think, trace some of the steps in this development.

The earliest account we have of *mashḳ*, that is, of the use of the extended stroke in writing, is that of Ibn Durustūyah (258–347/871–958) in his *Kitāb al-kuttāb*, where he refers to it as *madd* and *maṭṭ*.[54] The account is, so far as essential characteristics are concerned, in general agreement with the contemporary but much shorter one of Ṣūlī, already referred to. Again, both of these accounts are in general agreement with that of Ḳalḳashandī.[55] *Mashḳ* is reported as an old practice current among the people of Anbār.[56] Though disliked by some, it was nevertheless permitted, especially at the end of a line, in order to avoid, if possible, the division of a word between two successive lines.[57] Once admitted, the practice seems soon to have made a way for itself, for we find it in Fāṭimid times recognized as a means of beautifying and dignifying writing.[58] This it could do only if written according to rules which had become established at an early date. When these rules were reasonably followed, the resulting script, Ḳurʾānic or otherwise, was different enough—as differences go, especially in the early Ḳurʾānic scripts, which have so much in common—to be considered as an individual script on a par with others. And it was indeed so considered by Nadīm, who lists it as an early Ḳurʾānic script, second only to the great four—Makkan, Madīnan, Baṣran, and Kūfic.[59]

The general characteristics of the *mashḳ* script appear from our sources to be: horizontal elongation at the expense of general height; consequent closer spacing of lines;[60] moderate and specific use of the extended stroke itself, excessive and haphazard extension being considered abhorrent.[61] The rules for this last and fundamental factor in the *mashḳ* script are numerous. Exceptions to the rules are many, and alternatives are sometimes stated. In a few instances the sources record, without comment, rules that seem to be contradictory, and so leave the scribe to use his own judgment.[62] It must be further remembered that the great majority of these rules must have evolved gradually in the 1st and 2d centuries as a result of the experience gained by the individual scribes through trial and error. This being the situation, one can hardly expect to find in these early centuries a "perfect" *mashḳ* specimen. A fair example, that is, one that conforms to the general requirements and adheres to a majority of the specific *mashḳ* rules, is the most that can be expected. Such a specimen I believe we have in a 2d-cen-

[52] Ṣūlī, p. 55; *Itḳān* II 170; Ḳalḳashandī III 144.

[53] Ṣūlī, p. 56.

[54] Ibn Durustūyah, pp. 69 f.

[55] Ḳalḳashandī III 144–49.

[56] *Ibid.* p. 144. Ḳalḳashandī's source is the *Ṣināʿat al-kuttāb* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Naḥḥās, who died in 338/950; cf. Björkman, p. 76.

[57] *Ibid.* pp. 144 f. and 151; Ibn Durustūyah, p. 69.

[58] Ḳalḳashandī III 144, who cites the *Mawādd al-bayān* of ʿAlī ibn Khalaf; cf. Björkman, p. 77.

[59] *Fihrist*, p. 6.

[60] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 69, and Ṣūlī, p. 55.

[61] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 69.

[62] E.g. Ḳalḳashandī III 145 f. in the rules regarding a two-letter word.

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tury Ḳur'ān illustrated in *Ar. Pal.* Plate 17 and reproduced in part in our Plate VI.[63] Its general conformity to the rules stated above is apparent; and, when it is further tested by the specific rules for the use of the *mashḳ* strokes, it is seen to conform to the great majority of them.

The essential idea back of the rules for the use of the extended stroke is to produce in a manuscript page balance without monotony. Such balance is sought after in the relationship of line to line, within the line, and within the individual word. Thus lines with marked extensions must not follow or face each other,[64] as may be seen, for example, in *Ar. Pal.* Plate 17, line 9, which, with its marked extensions, follows a line that has very slight extension and is in turn followed by one that has none. Extension is not permissible at the beginning of a line, may be used at the end, and is best used in the middle section.[65] This rule is well illustrated in our specimen.

We come finally to the specific extended stroke within a given word. Here the rules are multitudinous and complex, and the scribe must frequently use his own judgment and taste in their application. The extended stroke must not be used in two-letter words.[66] Three-letter words should as a rule have no extension, and four-letter words should be extended whenever possible.[67] The exceptions to this rule are based on the measure or weight of certain letters which are considered heavy in certain positions; for example, *j*, *s*, ᶜ, and their sister forms are heavy letters when they occur at the beginning of a word, and each therefore has the weight or equivalence of two ordinary letters.[68] Final *alif* and *l* likewise have the weight of two letters. Thus we have three-letter words which for *mashḳ* purposes must be considered as words of four letters. Since in ordinary four-letter words extension should take place between the first two and the last two letters, the rule means that in such three-letter words the extension should occur as follows: ستر, عمد, ختم; نما, نيل. In words where both initial and final heavy letters occur, extension is to take place between the second and third letters, as in عمل, جمل, سما.[69] Illustrations of this rule in our specimen are seen in خير of line 1, in فسل of line 7, and in انما[70] of line 9. The ordinary four-letter word, being evenly divisible, is the key word in the *mashḳ* script, which consciously aims to achieve balance. Words of more than four letters are to be treated when possible as though they were a three- or four-letter word. For instance, five- and six-letter words are to be treated as three- and four-letter words respectively.[71] Illustrations of these rules in our specimen for words accounted as of four letters are to be seen in بما of line 4, الفيزون of line 5, and انما of line 9; for words of more than four letters, in لبثتم[72] in lines 5 and 8 and in فحسبتم in line 9.

[63] In view of the antiquity of *mashḳ* in general and the full account of its developments as current in the 3d century after the Hijrah, we favor Moritz' date for this specimen against that of Karabacek, who placed it in the 3d century; cf. *WZKM XX* 133–36.

[64] This need not mean that every alternate line *must* have extensions; in fact this would be difficult to achieve with all the rules that must be followed.

[65] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 69; Ḳalḳashandī III 148.

[66] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 70; Ṣūlī, p. 55, seems to limit this to words of two letters one of which is an *m*. Ḳalḳashandī III 145 f. treats the exceptions to this rule.

[67] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 70; Ṣūlī, p. 55; Ḳalḳashandī III 146.

[68] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 70; Ḳalḳashandī III 145 gives to *s* and *sh* the equivalence of three ordinary letters.

[69] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 70; Ḳalḳashandī III 146 specifies additional heavy letters and a few exceptions.

[70] For *mashḳ* purposes the "word" consists of the connected letters only; cf. Ḳalḳashandī III 144.

[71] Ḳalḳashandī III 147.

[72] Those who allow extension in a five-letter word place the extended stroke between the first three and last two letters; cf. Ḳalḳashandī III 147.

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The above are by no means the only rules that the *mashḳ* scribe must keep in mind. Nearly every letter of the alphabet has its own rules in this connection.[73] It is hardly necessary to go into all these here; we will, however, follow as many of them as are capable of illustration in our limited specimen. Initial and medial *k* and *l* are as a rule not extensible; this rule is fully followed in our specimen. The word تعلمون in line 9 illustrates the complexity of the rules. It called on the scribe to use his own judgment. He evidently decided to use *mashḳ* freely in this particular line; his first word must not be extended, being at the beginning of the line. The last two words offered no problem, being easily divisible. The second word *must* be extended, for otherwise the line would not be balanced. But this word involves several rules: as a word accounted as of five letters, it should be divided between the first three and the last two letters; to do this, medial *l* would have to be extended, and this is not permissible. To get out of his difficulty the scribe treated this five-letter word as a word of four letters, on the analogy of an exception to the rule as in عليم,[74] and so extended the ᶜ preceding the *l*. The reversed *y* is considered the equivalent of an extension and has several specific rules of its own.[75] Many of these rules are repeatedly followed in our specimen, both in the use of the reversed *y*, as in حتى, انى, and نى in lines 2, 3, and 5 respectively, and in the moderate size of the extension. These illustrations follow the rules that reversed *y* should follow *f*, is permissible after *b* and its sister letters, but must not at any time be excessive in length.

The treatment of the word *Allāh* is interesting. No specific rules regarding the word as such are given. If we follow the general rule of considering only connected letters as a word for *mashḳ* purposes, then the *alif* drops out of consideration, and we have a three-letter word which in itself is not extensible, while at the same time it has initial and medial *l*, both of which, according to their individual rules, are likewise not extensible, except that *l* followed by *h* may be extended.[76] Following the rule, we have الله; taking advantage of the exception, we get الله.[77] But this last form gives a decidedly unbalanced division of the word, especially with the preceding *alif* written close. Caught between the letter and the spirit of the *mashḳ* law, the scribe of our specimen seems to have preferred the latter and treated the word as of four ordinary letters, placing the extension between the first two and the last two, thus: الله.

But even aside from this irregular word our specimen, as already stated, is not perfect. For instance, it has a single reversed *y* at the end of line 2, and this is not permissible.[78] Furthermore, it has several words divided at the end of a line, a practice that was disliked later in any style of writing but was particularly common in all *early* Ḳurʾāns.[79] Some excuse may be found for the scribe of our specimen, who seems to have been more concerned with *mashḳ* as such than with the ends of the lines. Take for instance line 8. The last word is not extensible, since none of its three letters, in the position in which they occur, are extensible. The other two words in the line which permit of extension are already extended; if these had been extended farther to fill out the line, the scribe would have been guilty of excessive extension in close succession in the same line as well as in successive lines—all phenomena expressly disliked as much as the breaking of a word at the end of a line. Enough has been said to show how complicated the *mashḳ* is, and how frequently the scribe must use his own judgment in balancing and deciding between different rules.

Our specimen shows a phenomenon implied in the general idea of the verb *mashaḳa*, though

[73] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 70; Ḳalḳashandī III 147–49.

[74] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 70. Later sources, however, would not permit this; cf. Ḳalḳashandī III 148, rule 6.

[75] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 71; Ḳalḳashandī III 149.

[76] Ḳalḳashandī III 148.

[77] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 16.

[78] Ibn Durustūyah, p. 71.

[79] *Ibid.* p. 69, Ḳalḳashandī III 151, and any collection of early Ḳurʾāns.

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it is not specifically mentioned by the sources referred to above on the *mashḳ*. This is the principle of slenderizing the extended stroke, a principle which is in keeping with that of slenderizing the lines by reducing the height of their vertical strokes. In keeping with the slenderized extended strokes are the equally slenderized horizontal strokes of *d*, *dh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, and *k*. It is not necessary to limit this practice to the *mashḳ*, and indeed it was not so limited in the early centuries, but it does seem to belong naturally with it.[80]

When we take into consideration the complexity of the *mashḳ* script, it is not at all surprising to find it so rarely illustrated in hitherto known collections. *Ar. Pal.* Plates 19–30 appear to be in *mashḳ*, but it is difficult to judge definitely since the lines are but partially illustrated. The Paris collection presents us with a fair *mashḳ* specimen of the 3d century.[81] It is in many respects very similar to *Ar. Pal.* Plate 17, differing from it only in the unusually dwarfed crescent-like *alif*, which influences to a certain extent the rest of the vertical strokes (*aṣābiᶜ*). This specimen has been more successful in avoiding a divided word at the end of a line, but that has been gained at the expense of some unorthodox extensions.[82] A third specimen (undated) comes from İstanbul.[83] That it was meant to be a *mashḳ* is hardly to be doubted; and although it breaks a great number of the rules, resulting in excessive *mashḳ*, it might nevertheless be considered by some as introducing a certain beauty and dignity which would fulfil the spirit if not the letter of the *mashḳ* script.

But the *mashḳ* stroke, controlled and limited by numerous and tedious mechanical rules, perhaps proved too burdensome for wide Ḳur'ānic usage. As a means for achieving objective beauty as well as for expressing subjective feeling and thought, the extended stroke, though less mechanical, appears at times in later Ḳur'āns written in a variety of semiornamental Kūfic of the 4th and 5th centuries after the Hijrah.[84]

We must not lose sight of the fact that our sources deal primarily with secular scripts and with the use of the *mashḳ* stroke in some of these, for instance in the styles used in correspondence or for epistles (*rasā'il*).[85] But here, as in the Ḳur'ānic usage, the consistent and fully regulated use of *mashḳ* must have proved too exacting.

Thus, instead of classing all early Ḳur'ānic specimens as Kūfic, as has been the general practice hitherto, we now have four definitely identified scripts to consider—Kūfic, Makkan, *mā'il*, and *mashḳ*, the first and the last from ᶜIrāḳ, the other two from the Ḥijāz. We have also to be on the lookout for at least three others—Baṣran, Madīnan, and *muḥaḳḳaḳ*—closely related to those already identified.

We find the term *muḥaḳḳaḳ* used in a general way to indicate a standard of excellence resulting from giving to each individual letter, in any particular script, its full due both in the form of the letter itself and in the relationship of letter to letter, thus avoiding undue crowding and the misuse of ligatures. In contrast with scripts embodying this high standard Ḳalḳa-

[80] The letters *ṭ* and *ẓ* do not appear in *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 17. There is no question, however, that they would follow the same principle as final *k* in the word *malik* in line 11, i.e., have horizontal strokes not of the same width as the vertical ones, as in  , but of only about half that width, as in  ; cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 1 and 6.

[81] Paris *Cat.*, No. 334:4, illustrated in Nöldeke, *GQ* III, Pl. I 2.

[82] Among those who disliked the use of the *mashḳ* for Ḳur'ānic writing was Ibn Sīrīn (d. A.H. 110); cf. *Itḳān* II 170. Asked for his reason, he replied: "It is defective. Do you not see how it submerges (*yuġharriḳu*) the *alif*? It should be rejected." Cf. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, ed. Jeffery, p. 134, for the Arabic text. The specimen under consideration does indeed "submerge" or dwarf the *alif* and therefore also the other vertical strokes (*aṣābiᶜ*), reducing them almost to the height of a final *h*. The *alif* in *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 17 has not been dwarfed to the same extent, but even there it is comparatively short.

[83] İstanbul, Saray 50386, illustrated in Nöldeke, *GQ* III, Pl. VI.

[84] Cf. Schroeder, "What was the Badīᶜ script?" (*Ars Islamica* IV 232–48), also our p. 36, n. 129.

[85] Ibn Durustūyah, pp. 69 and 74.

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shandī mentions the *muṭlaḳ*, that is, a "common" or "popular" class of scripts which were free from the restrictions of the more formal and approved class.[86] The term *muḥaḳḳaḳ* was, however, applied also to an individual script. Nadīm tells us that in the early days of the Hāshimites (ᶜAbbāsids) "there developed a new script called the *ᶜirāḳī*, which is the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* that is called the *warrāḳī*."[87] A *warrāḳ* was either a copyist or a stationer or both,[88] but in any case his trade designation was connected with the chief writing material and main article of his trade, namely paper. Ḳalḳashandī II 476 expressly states that the term was applied to writers.[89] Hence the triple name given by the *Fihrist* is indicative of a script that measured up to high standards (*muḥaḳḳaḳ*), that developed with the wider use of paper (*warrāḳī*), and that appeared first in ᶜIrāḳ (*ᶜirāḳī*). The beginning of the 2d century after the Hijrah was the logical time for such a script to make its appearance in ᶜIrāḳ. The development of penmanship in general was on the rise, the volume of paper imported from Samarḳand by the Arabs was on the increase, and ᶜIrāḳ was naturally the country to absorb at first most of the paper imported, since Egypt still had her papyrus. The first *warrāḳ* of whom we have any record was Mālik ibn Dinār (d. A.H. 130), who copied Ḳurᵓāns for a fee[90] and probably used the *warrāḳī* or *muḥaḳḳaḳ* script, perhaps even took a hand in its development.

The *Fihrist* gives us no clue as to the peculiarities which differentiated the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* from the other scripts. Ṣūlī, writing mainly for secular scribes and paying no attention to origins, states that "the best-looking of scripts is the delicate *muḥaḳḳaḳ* with its rounded letters, its open (*maftūḥ*) *ṣ*'s and *ṭ*'s, and its slurred or curtailed (*mukhtalis*) *t*'s and *ḥ*'s." The openness of *ṣ* and *ṭ* seems to refer to the head loops.[91] Ḳalḳashandī does not illustrate the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* but nevertheless gives us an idea of *mukhtalis* forms in other scripts, where some of these forms show considerable curvature.[92] Fortunately Huart illustrates a few *muḥaḳḳaḳ* forms,[93] and these seem to fit the characterization given by Ṣūlī. Ḳalḳashandī lists the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* among his seven or eight chief pens; and, though he fails to give it full and specific attention, he does nevertheless throw some light on its general character and its relationship to other scripts.[94] As we have already seen from his account, the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* was an open (*mabsūṭ*) script closely allied to the angular variety of the parent Kūfic. As such it was used for the writing of the *ṭughrā* or "sign" of high state officials.[95] That the *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, originating in ᶜIrāḳ, should resemble the leading script of ᶜIrāḳ, the Kūfic, is natural enough; and it is equally natural that it, like the Kūfic and other scripts, should develop a comparatively sedate and dignified angular variety for Ḳurᵓāns and for ornamental purposes and a lighter, rounder variety for more general use. This last is probably the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* described by Ṣūlī, while the first seems to be that of Ḳalḳashandī's account; both types are implied in the *Fihrist* of Nadīm.

The *muḥaḳḳaḳ* script developed and spread rapidly. It was widely used in the days of Maᵓ-

[86] Ḳalḳashandī III 26.

[87] *Fihrist*, p. 8, lines 25 f. It is possible that Nadīm is here differentiating the secular *muḥaḳḳaḳ* used on paper from the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* largely used for parchment Ḳurᵓāns and other important documents.

[88] Ṣūlī, pp. 94 f. and 103; Ibn Khaldūn I 205 f.; cf. also *Islamic Culture* IX (1935) 131–43.

[89] A *warrāḳ* could not have been a paper-maker early in the 2d century, since paper factories were first introduced among the Arabs in Rashīd's day.

[90] *Maᶜārif*, pp. 238 and 284; on p. 284 for *al-maṣāḥib* read *al-maṣāḥif* as on p. 238. Cf. also *Fihrist*, p. 6, and below, p. 53.

[91] Cf. Ḳalḳashandī III 119.

[92] *Ibid.* pp. 97, 108, 115, 122, and 130; these unfortunately do not include the *t* and *ḥ*.

[93] *Les calligraphes*, p. 55.

[94] Ḳalḳashandī III 15 and 51–53; cf. also our pp. 22 f.

[95] *Ibid.* p. 52; cf. Björkman under *ṭughrā* and *ᶜalāmāt* in the index.

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mūn, and in Nadīm's own day there were several *warrāḳūn* who used it for Ḳur'ān copying.[96] It seems to have gone through some artistic development at the hands of Ibn al-Bawwāb, who is erroneously credited with its invention.[97] Now unknown or unavailable Arabic sources may some day give us a fuller and more specific description of this script and lead to its definite identification. For the present, however, we venture to suggest that possibly *Ar. Pal.* Plate 39 (of which Pl. 40 is an enlarged detail), Nöldeke, *GQ* III, Plate II, and our No. 15 are Ḳur'ānic specimens of the *muḥaḳḳaḳ*. The script is Kūfic in general appearance but is smaller than that of the earlier Makkan and Kūfic Ḳur'āns. Lines and words are carefully spaced, and the entire script is well executed, each letter receiving careful attention both as to form and as to ligatures.

Whether we shall ever be able to distinguish the Baṣran and the Madīnan from the Kūfic and the Makkan respectively depends on our finding the clue to their main differences in some hitherto unknown or overlooked account. At present all we have that can point to the Baṣran script is the *Fihrist* reference to Khashnām of Baṣrah, who wrote Ḳur'āns in the days of Rashīd and was considered among the very best of calligraphers. But the only characterization of his script that we have is in the sentence *kānat alifātuhu dhirā'an shaḳḳan bi-al-ḳalam.*[98] Even if we assume that Khashnām of Baṣrah actually wrote the Baṣran script, this sentence does not tell us much to help distinguish it from the Kūfic, unless it means that Khashnām wrote a powerful hand essentially Kūfic in character but with unusually long and heavy *alif*'s and therefore with all other vertical strokes equally heavy and large. But how heavy and how large? If we are to accept *dhirā'an* to mean literally a "cubit" long, we must have an *alif* proportionately heavy. This, to judge by later accepted practice, would have the ratio of thickness to length anywhere from 1:6 to 1:10, at the most 1:12, which would give a possible thickness varying from 1½ to 3 inches. Though letters of this magnitude are not impossible, they are more likely to be used in inscriptions[99] than in manuscripts, especially for a text of any considerable length. That Khashnām wrote the whole Ḳur'ān or even a section (*juz'*) of it in this large script seems hardly possible. We must therefore accept the phrase in a figurative sense. Among the Ḳur'ānic specimens available to me, there is a bare possibility that the script of our No. 9 is of the type in question.[100] To attempt any definite identification of the Baṣran and Madīnan scripts from the Ḳur'ānic manuscripts available is to run the risk of mistaking the peculiarities of different individual scribes for the characteristics of the scripts.

OTHER EASTERN SCRIPTS

Though thus far we have been concerned mainly with the early and angular Ḳur'ānic scripts, we have repeatedly found it necessary to draw attention to the concurrent existence of a round, cursive style of writing (cf. pp. 22 f.). The presence as early as the third decade of Islām of a distinctly round manuscript hand such as we have in *PERF* No. 558 and *PER* Inv. Ar. P. 94 (Pls. IV–V) points to an early and likely pre-Islāmic emergence of the round type. Manuscripts of the second half of the 1st century show more than one type of the round manuscript hand.[101] Second-century manuscripts show an even larger variety,[102] though the link with the

[96] *Fihrist*, p. 7. [97] Huart, *op. cit.* p. 80. [98] *Fihrist*, p. 7.

[99] Professor Sprengling has drawn my attention to the following passage from Plautus (Loeb Classical Library) IV 82, lines 836 f. of the play *Poenulus*, as translated by Nixon: "There you can see epistles, epistles inscribed on earthenware, sealed with pitch, names on 'em in eighteen-inch (*cubitum*) letters."

[100] Cf. also Paris *Cat.*, No. 334:4–5.

[101] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 3, Pls. 2 and 36; *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 100–105; *PSR*; *KPA*.

[102] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 3, Pls. 1 and 12 *a*; *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 106; *APJRL*, Pl. 5.

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1st-century type is apparent. Third-century specimens show some inferior and deteriorated types.[103] Such manuscripts as these leave little room for the theory that the round hand was a later development of the angular one. On the contrary they show a simultaneous development growing out of the one parent script, the Ḥīran-Kūfic with its Nabataean origins. Here, as in the larger problem of the origins of the Arabic script, Arabic sources have preserved some of the facts of this development. Thus the *Fihrist* credits Ḳuṭbah (d. 154/771) with the invention, in the Umayyad period, of the four leading secular scripts—the *jalīl*, *ṭūmār al-kabīr*, *niṣf al-thaḳīl*, and *thuluth al-kabīr*.[104] What Ḳuṭbah very likely did was to modify and classify the secular scripts now known to have been in existence at that time. It is not at all impossible that the persistent theory that the round script developed out of the Kūfic in late Umayyad and early ᶜAbbāsid times refers actually to whatever Ḳuṭbah did with the art of writing. Though our next significant source is no earlier than Ḳalḳashandī, yet his text cites Ibn Muḳlah and refers to other authors, some of whom it is not difficult to identify. According to the *Fihrist*, of Ḳuṭbah's four pens the primacy goes to the largest pen, used on full-sheet *ṭūmār*'s. This is the *ḳalam al-jalīl*, which he calls "the father of (all secular) pens"; and to it the other three are definitely related. Among the twenty other pens which evolved out of these four, there were several decidedly round ones. Thus from the third main pen, *niṣf al-thaḳīl*, was evolved a pen called "the large round pen" (*al-mudawwar al-kabīr*), which was none other than the *riyāsī*, named thus after Dhū al-Riyāsatain al-Faḍl ibn Sahl,[105] prime minister of Maᵓmūn. From this *riyāsī* pen evolved several other round pens, among which were the *mudawwar al-ṣaghīr*, a general (*jāmiᶜ*) pen used for registers, traditions, and poetry, several intermediate-sized *riyāsī* pens, and such pens as the *riḳāᶜ* and *ghubār al-ḥalbah* (*ḥilyah?*), this last, as we shall see later, being among the roundest of all round pens. Here, then, among the earliest secular pens is a distinct group of round scripts.

Ḳalḳashandī III 15 tells precisely the same story: "The Arabic script (*khaṭṭ*) is the one which is now known as the Kūfic. From it evolved all the present pens." His authority for this statement is an unidentified commentator on the *ᶜAḳīlah*, a work of Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194).[106] He continues, this time on the authority of Ibn al-Ḥusain,[107] from his book on the *thuluth* pen: "In the Kūfic there are several pens, derived from two main types, the round (*muḳawwar*) and the open (*mabsūṭ*)" (see pp. 22 f.). Samples of the round are given as the *thuluth*, the *riḳāᶜ*, and "their like." As a sample of the open is mentioned the *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, which we have already seen to be on the whole close to the angular Kūfic. Farther on (III 52), where Ḳalḳashandī cites the *Minhāj al-iṣābah*, the unnamed author of which claims to have drawn his information from the works of Ibn Muḳlah, we read: "The Kūfic script has two principal types out of fourteen styles;[108] they are to it as two limits (*ḥāshiyatain*). They are *ḳalam al-ṭūmār*, which is an altogether open (*mabsūṭ*) pen without anything round in it, and *ḳalam ghubār al-ḥilyah*, which is an altogether round pen with nothing straight (*mustaḳīm*) in it. For all pens take of the straight and the round a different ratio. If a third of the strokes are straight, it is called *ḳalam al-thuluth;* if two-thirds of the strokes are straight, it is called *ḳalam al-thuluthain*." Thus clearly here two of the outstanding secular pens, the *ṭūmār* and the *thuluth*, which are characterized in varying degrees by openness (*basṭ*), are linked with the straight or angular Kūfic, even as the most rounded pen of all, *ghubār al-ḥilyah*, is associated with the round Kūfic. This can mean

[103] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 112–14; *APJRL*, Pls. 1 and 22.

[104] *Fihrist*, pp. 7 f.

[105] *Fihrist*, pp. 8 f. and 13–15.

[106] Björkman, p. 84.

[107] *Ibid.* p. 78; this Ibn Ḥusain is as yet unidentified.

[108] It is not clear whether there are 14 different Kūfic varieties or 14 factors, such as particular strokes or letter forms, that play a part in passing from one extreme to the other.

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but one thing as far as the Kūfic script is concerned, namely, that its round and angular varieties developed simultaneously and that from each, by the time of Ibn Muḳlah, other variations and/or types, some slightly and others considerably modified, had evolved.

The heritage and the history of Kūfah would, indeed, make such a development quite the probable thing. For she fell heir in the field of Arabic script to the pioneer activities of Ḥīrah and Anbār, and her early leadership in the production of Muslim manuscripts necessitated an easier, quicker, rounder script for general purposes than the heavy, large, angular Ḳur'ānic varieties, with their more dignified secularized forms such as the *ṭūmār* group, used primarily for high governmental functions. Perhaps some day specimens of the very earliest of these humbler varieties of the primarily round scripts will yet come to light.

One of the most potent factors in forming and classifying the different pens was the function or occasion which called for the writing. Religious works and high governmental documents demanded dignity and grandeur, which from the start found their expression in *size*. The more sacred or the more important the occasion, the larger the size of the manuscript sheet, the wider the point of the pen, and the larger the size of the resulting script. Function and size in turn had a direct bearing on the angularity or roundness of the script, the larger scripts being the less rounded, the smaller ones the more rounded. Size and degree of roundness then were the main factors of differentiation and formed the bases of all early pen classifications.

We have already seen in the last quoted passage from Ḳalḳashandī the important part that the ratio of straight to curved lines played in naming the *thuluth* and the *thuluthain* pens. Now this ratio forms the basis of one theory as to why these pens are so named. But a second theory is based on the size of the nib of the pen. The nib used for writing the *ṭūmār*, which is the largest of the secular pens, measures 24 hairbreadths[109] and forms the basis of size ratios, the nib for a *thuluthain* being 16 hairbreadths, for a *niṣf* 12 hairbreadths, and for a *thuluth* 8 hairbreadths wide. Ḳalḳashandī leaves us to take our choice of the two theories. However, these theories need not be separate and incompatible; they appear to be indeed only supplementary. That is, the *ṭūmār*, which serves as the standard, will have been an open or comparatively angular and heavy style written with a nib having a width of 24 hairbreadths; the *thuluthain*, a slightly rounded, slightly lighter script, with two-thirds of its strokes straight and written with a nib having a width of 16 hairbreadths; and so on for the *niṣf* and the *thuluth* pens and their intermediate sizes.

Though Ḳalḳashandī himself does not come out expressly for this composite theory, yet his constant use of it is very apparent. In describing *mukhtaṣar al-ṭūmār*[110] he points out that the width of the nib and hence the width of its vertical strokes must be between 18 and 24 hairbreadths and that it is permissible to write it open as in the *ṭūmār* or rounder as in the *thuluth*. This option, made specifically in favor of this the next to the largest and straightest of secular scripts, places the *mukhtaṣar al-ṭūmār* definitely on the same basis as the Ḳur'ānic scripts, of which we have already seen a round and a straight or angular type. The *thuluth* pen, also called the *thuluth al-thaḳīl* in distinction from its more delicate variety, the *thuluth al-khafīf*, is described as measuring 8 hairbreadths and as more inclined to roundness than to straight strokes.[111] The *tauḳī'* is described as still more inclined to roundness; though no specific width is given, the illustrations show it slightly smaller than the *thuluth*, with which most of the letter forms are identical.[112] The question now arises, what is the significance of the intermediate sizes, such as the *thuluth al-khafīf*? Ḳalḳashandī tells us that its forms are the same as the *thuluth* except for being finer and more graceful. It differs from the *thuluth* mainly in the fact that its upright strokes have a length of 5 points (*nuḳaṭ*), while those of the *thuluth* have

[109] Ḳalḳashandī III 52. [110] Ḳalḳashandī III 59. [111] *Ibid.* p. 62. [112] *Ibid.* pp. 104 and 106–18.

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a length of 7.[113] This means that the standard length of the *alif* is longer in the *thuluth* than in the *thuluth al-khafīf*, their ratio being as 7:5 *provided* the nibs were of the same width, since the length of the standard *alif* is in each case determined by a variable unit, namely the width of the nib of that particular pen (see p. 35). Now the reduced length of the *alif* of the *thuluth al-khafīf*, if it does not carry with it a proportionate reduction in the size of the nib, would result in a script short and heavy and not, as it is meant to be, light and elegant. Hence Ḳalḳashandī's statement that the size of the *thuluth al-khafīf* is 5 points must be understood as meaning 5 points made by the smaller nib used for that script.

In addition to the two general rules of size and roundness, varying as we have seen in inverse ratio, Ḳalḳashandī's account of the different scripts leads us to formulate two others: First, the larger scripts have the *tarwīs* or barbed head at the beginning of some letters, for example ا and ل, the medium-sized ones have the option of the head, and the small scripts are without it.[114] Second, the larger scripts have open loops in *f*, *ḳ*, *m*, *w*, *lām-alif*, and medial and final ᶜ and *gh*, the medium-sized ones have the option of open loops, and the small scripts have closed loops.[115]

It must not be supposed that the development of these general principles was the work of one man or one generation or even one century nor even that, once formulated, these rules became rigid and their adoption constant and universal. Penmanship being primarily an art, it was, to begin with, little concerned with rules. These came to be formulated later, some with the actual practices as their starting point. We have already mentioned Ḳuṭbah's part in this; and he was but one of many who sought from time to time to improve, regulate, and classify the current scripts and their ever increasing varieties. Thus toward the end of the 2d century after the Hijrah we find al-Aḥwal ("the squint-eyed"), pupil of the calligrapher Ibrāhīm al-Sijzī (d. 200/815), employed by the then powerful Barmecides for royal diplomatic correspondence. He was not only an able scribe and calligrapher but a man learned in the variety and significance of writing and able to discourse on its forms and rules. He differentiated and classified the scripts, placing the heavier ones first.[116] But confusion and degeneration were bound to come when somewhat more than two dozen scripts claimed recognition.

It was Ibn Muḳlah (272–328/886–940), the ill-fated *wazīr* of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs Muḳtadir, Ḳāhir, and Rāḍī,[117] who saved the situation. His actual contribution has been variously estimated. Nadīm, who was familiar with the writing of Ibn Muḳlah and with that of his brother Abū ᶜAbd Allāh, who was almost equally famous as a calligrapher, credits them, without going into any details, with a perfection in penmanship that had not been equaled up to his day.[118] Later, Ibn Muḳlah was credited with "the new writing" or "the writing of present times"; and, since the scripts of later centuries were predominantly round, it came to be wrongly inferred that Ibn Muḳlah was the "inventor" of the round scripts. This view is wrongly attributed to Ibn Khallikān and, perhaps, to others also, for it is clear from the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikān (I 491, repeated almost verbatim by Ḥājjī Khalīfah III 151) that one and the same thing is meant by "the present method of writing devised from the writing of the Kūfans" and the term "*khaṭṭ al-mansūb*." I am therefore persuaded that Ibn Khallikān, who says nothing at all about individual scripts but only about a *method of writing*, fully under-

[113] *Ibid.* p. 104. [114] *Ibid.* pp. 50, 54, 62, 105, and 119. [115] *Ibid.* pp. 50, 51, 59, 105, and 119.

[116] *Fihrist*, p. 8; Ḳalḳashandī III 16; Huart, *Les calligraphes*, pp. 73 f. This Aḥwal is in all probability the *maulā* Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal (d. 210/825), an excellent *kātib* who later became the *wazīr* of Maᵓmūn; cf. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, pp. 268–70; Balādhurī, pp. 430 f.; Ibn Khallikān I 20, n. 9, and 653; Ṭabarī, *Annals*, index.

[117] Ibn Khallikān III 266–71 and II 282 f.; Harley, "Ibn Muqlah."

[118] *Fihrist*, pp. 9, 39, 42, 53, 55, and 125. Abū ᶜAbd Allāh was credited by some with the "invention" generally attributed to his more famous brother; cf. Ibn Khallikān III 271 and Yāḳūt II 235.

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stood the mathematical nature of Ibn Muḳlah's contribution and took it for granted that others understood it also. Nevertheless the erroneous view seems to have prevailed in Arabic sources and was adopted by the western Arabists, who further confused the issue by applying the term *naskhī* to cover *all* round scripts. Other Arabic sources, typified by Ḳalḳashandī, ferreted out the truth of the matter; but they were either not available or not in as high favor as Ibn Khallikān. And so the matter remained until the discovery of early papyrus manuscripts in round script upset the long accepted theory. This called forth a note of correction by Baron de Slane, who pointed out that Ibn Muḳlah could no longer be considered as the inventor of the *naskhī* (using the term to cover *all* round scripts), but was rather the inventor of the *khaṭṭ al-mansūb*.[119] But even here de Slane did not grasp the nature of Ibn Muḳlah's contribution; for, as he himself states, he failed to understand the term *khaṭṭ al-mansūb*, since he considered it to be one of the many definite pens or styles of writing whose peculiarities were still unknown. Huart in his pioneer work on Muslim calligraphy[120] explains the mathematical nature of Ibn Muḳlah's contribution. But the best account and estimate of it came with the publication of Edward Robertson's translation of a treatise on calligraphy attributed to Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān (1492–1545).[121] The *khaṭṭ al-mansūb* was at last

[119] Ibn Khallikān II 331 f.

[120] *Les calligraphes*, p. 76.

[121] "Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān on calligraphy," Glasgow University Oriental Society, *Studia Semitica et orientalia*, pp. 57–83. This valuable article escaped me until Professor Sprengling kindly drew my attention to it. In the meantime my own study, utilizing Ḳalḳashandī and Huart, had led me to the same materials for the most part. On reading Robertson's translation (he does not give the Arabic) I was forcibly struck with the similarity of several passages to corresponding ones in Ḳalḳashandī; some seem in fact to be identical. Two passages in particular are of special interest. Robertson, p. 69, lines 9–12, is identical with Ḳalḳashandī III 15, lines 7–9, except for the title of the source book. This is given in Robertson as *Al->Itḥāf al-Jamīla fī Sharḥ al-Faḍīla* and is evidently a misreading of *Al-abḥāth al-jamīlah fī sharḥ al-ᶜaḳīlah*, the title given in Ḳalḳashandī. When these titles are written in a rounded and unpointed Arabic script, it is easy enough to see how the misreading occurred. The second passage of special interest is Robertson, p. 72, lines 19–25: "The author of *Al->Abḥār* has recorded that Yūsuf ibn >Ibrāhīm as-Sijzī took the *Jalī* from >Isḥāq also and derived from it a pen thinner than it which Dhū>r-Riyāsatain al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, the wazīr of Al-Ma>mūn, so admired that he gave orders that the state registers should be copied in that hand, and named it *Riyāsī*. Some one has remarked, 'I think this is the *Tauqīᶜāt*.' But this is not so, for the *Riyāsī* leans to the *Muḥaqqiq* and the *Naskh*." The corresponding passage from Ḳalḳashandī III 16, lines 9–11, reads: قال صاحب "الابحاث الجميلة" : واخذ يوسف اخو ابراهيم الشجرى القلم الجليل عن اسحاق ايضا واخترع منه قلما ادق منه وكتبه كتابة حسنة فاعجب به ذو الرياستين الفضل بن سهل وزير المامون وامر ان تحرر الكتب السلطانية به ولا تكتب بغيره وسماه القلم الرياسى. قال بعض المتاخرين : واظنه قلم التوقيعات. Again it is clear that "al->Abḥār" is none other than *al-abḥāth*, for the *r* is a common scribal error for an undotted *th*, the two being easily mistaken; also that "Jalī" is indeed "Jalīl," as Robertson points out in a note. On the other hand, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān identifies Ibrāhīm as Sijzī, i.e., of Sijistān (Yāḳūt III 41), while in Ḳalḳashandī he is identified as Shajarī, i.e., of Shajarah (Yāḳūt III 260, where an Ibrāhīm al-Shajarī, a traditionist of the Madīnah school of the 2d–3d century, is mentioned; he, however, does not seem to have had any interest in calligraphy). Huart in a passage remarkably parallel to these two (*Les calligraphes*, pp. 73 f.) identifies both Ibrāhīm and his pupil al-Aḥwal (see above, p. 33, n. 116) by the term "Sijzī"; and, since this is a period in which Persian clients or *mawālī* were prominent in the ᶜAbbāsid court and state, the reading "Sijzī" is preferable to "Shajarī." The confusion of السجزي and الشجري in an unpointed manuscript is readily understandable. It is also interesting to know that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān here corrects the report that the *riyāsī* is the same pen as the *tauḳīᶜ*. Another parallel passage is Robertson, p. 73, line 12, to p. 74, line 1, plus p. 74, line 23, to p. 75, line 15 = Ḳalḳashandī III 17, line 10, to p. 18, line 6. Others show some distortion, e.g. Robertson, p. 71, lines 3–9, compared with Ḳalḳashandī III 15, lines 17–20, and Robertson, p. 71, line 4, to p. 72, line 9, compared with Ḳalḳashandī III 52, lines 8–15.

These passages, if they do not point to Ḳalḳashandī as a direct source for ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān or as an indirect source through an intermediate authority at work in the century separating the two writers, at least prove that both writers had a common source for their material on penmanship. Ḳalḳashandī is by far the richer informant and is given to citing his authorities by either name or title of work or by both. Even if he is at times not as clear and careful as he might be, he must still be considered as a major authority on calligraphy.

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seen to mean just what it said, "the proportioned writing," that is, writing in which the letters were brought into proportional relationships with one another. Starting with the "point"—a rhombus made by the pen when pressed heavily on the paper, the length of its sides depending on the width of the nib—the scribe placed several vertex to vertex to arrive at the desired length of a given *alif*, which varied in the different pens. Having decided to start with an *alif* the length of which is a given number of points, Ibn Muḳlah related (*nasaba*) all other letters to this basic measure. This is illustrated in Figure 1. Thus *bā'* is made of two strokes, a vertical and a horizontal, the two together being equal to the length of the *alif; jīm* is made of two strokes, an inclined stroke and a semicircle the diameter of which is the length of the *alif; dāl is* made of two strokes, an inclined and a horizontal, the two equal in length to the *alif*, and with addition of a line joining its extremities it forms an equilateral triangle; *rā'* is an arc, one-fourth of a circle whose diameter is the length of the *alif*—and so it goes with the rest of the letters.[122] With this simple and ingenious device of straight lines and arcs, both based on the length of the *alif*, Ibn Muḳlah placed the art of penmanship on a scientific, mathematical basis. He seems to have worked with the heavy pens first, since he employs straight lines freely. But his epoch-

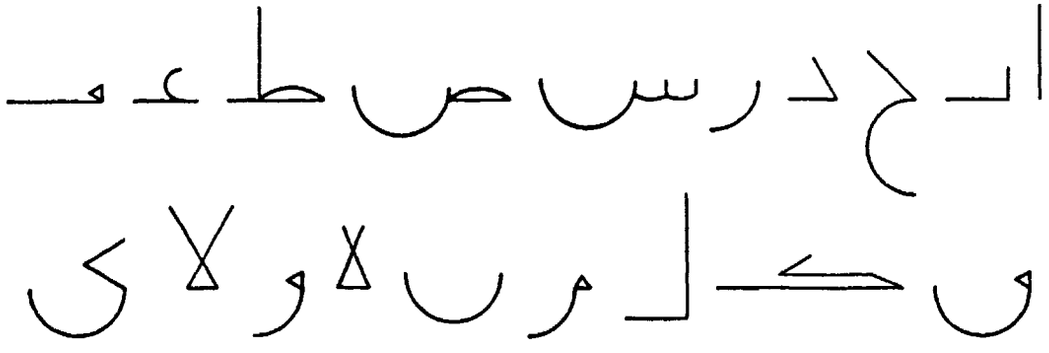


FIG. 1.—A tentative reconstruction of the basic proportioned forms of the letters of the Arabic alphabet according to Ibn Muḳlah as supplemented by Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām.

making "invention" was equally applicable to all pens, and we find it so applied with due note of each pen's characteristics.

It is impossible, with the scanty materials at our command, to reconstruct the entire proportioned alphabet so as to have it complete and fully representative of Ibn Muḳlah's invention. Ḳalḳashandī III 27–38 has preserved for us some of that famous calligrapher's significant, but now too meager, specifications.[123] Frequently they mention only the number and the nature of the strokes needed for a given letter, thus leaving us to puzzle over the relative sizes and positions of these same strokes. For instance, Ḳalḳashandī relates: "Ibn Muḳlah said the *bā'* is a form consisting of two lines, a vertical and a horizontal, and its relationship to the *alif* is equality." This allows for at least three probable ratios for the vertical and horizontal strokes of *bā'*, that is, 1:1, 1:5, and 1:2, which would make the vertical stroke one-half, one-sixth, or one-third of the *alif* respectively. This last ratio is used here tentatively. Again, the semicircle of the *jīm* might join the inclined stroke at the lower end, as illustrated, or in the middle. Fortunately, however, Ḳalḳashandī supplements Ibn Muḳlah's items with some much needed explanations and fuller specifications by one Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, an author as yet unidentified,[124] who seems to have given considerable thought to the proportioned forms of the letters. The tentative reconstruction of the alphabet given in Figure 1 was worked out

[122] Ḳalḳashandī III 27–38 and 45–49; note especially the use of the terms *mansūb* and *nisbah* on p. 28, ll. 2 and 18. Cf. also Robertson, pp. 59–62 and 80–83.

[123] Cf. also Robertson, pp. 60 and 80–83.

[124] Björkman, p. 79.

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primarily in accordance with Ibn Muḳlah's specifications but supplemented, where needed, by those of Ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām.[125]

This scientific basis for the letter forms did not prevent further artistic developments. A century later Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 423/1032) introduced the artistic elements of grace and elegance without violating the essential mathematical basis laid down by Ibn Muḳlah.[126] Mubārak ibn Mubārak (d. 585/1189) is said to have outmastered Ibn al-Bawwāb in the beauty of his writing.[127] Still another century later Yāḳūt al-Mustaᶜṣimī (618–98/1221–98), secretary of the caliph Mustaᶜṣim, was in favor as a calligraphist, and his extravagantly praised hand was named after him the *yāḳūtī*.[128] Ibn Muḳlah, Ibn al-Bawwāb, and Yāḳūt alike had enthusiastic admirers, would-be imitators, and zealous pupils, so that one is to a certain extent justified in considering them, as does Huart, to have been founders of schools of calligraphy. In reality none of them, not even Ibn Muḳlah, can be considered as the "inventor," in any real sense of the word, of any known individual script.[129] Most of the scripts or pens with which they and their respective schools were credited in their late day prove to be scripts already listed long before in the *Fihrist*. Thus Ibn al-Bawwāb is credited with the *muḥaḳḳaḳ*,[130] Muḥammad ibn Khāzin, of the same school, with the *riḳāᶜ* and the *tauḳīᶜ*.[131] The *rīḥānī*,[132] likewise credited to Ibn al-Bawwāb, was "invented" by ᶜAlī ibn ᶜUbaidah al-Rīḥānī, a prolific author who died in 219/834.[133] It and the *yāḳūtī*[134] turn out to be slight variations of the *thuluth* and the later regular *naskhī* respectively. This is not surprising; for, after all, the foundation of all those scripts is the original Kūfic writing, and this could vary only within the limitations of the four general rules already stated, which are themselves limited by Ibn Muḳlah's mathematical principle.

We have already seen how the four general rules figured in the *ṭūmār*, *thuluth*, and *tauḳīᶜ*

[125] Ḳalḳashandī III 27–38 does not specify the positions of the various strokes and letters with respect to the base line. Ibn Muḳlah's specifications for *ṭā'* and *lām-alif* are missing; those for *ᶜain* are indefinite (either or both of its strokes could be possibly smaller or larger). Note the position of the triangular heads of *fā'*, *ḳāf*, and *wāw* (◁ instead of △ ; the latter is seen in most Ḳur'ānic specimens). The direction of the initial stroke of the *kāf*, given as "sloping to the right," can hardly be correct; it is stated by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām to be "sloping to the left." In our reconstruction of *kāf* we have followed the latter. The length of the vertical stroke of *lām* is given as that of the vertical stroke of *bā'* plus the length of *alif*. It must be remembered here that Ibn Muḳlah does not specify the ratio of the two strokes of *bā'*; the ratio 1:2 is supplied by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām, who however limits the length of *lām* to that of *alif* only. The direction of the final stroke of *mīm* is not specified; if taken to the right as in ﻣ , it would give a typical Maghribī form. It is further to be noticed that the Maghribī forms for *jīm*, *ṣād*, *ṭā'*, *nūn*, and *yā'* owe their peculiar forms to a close adherence to the corresponding letters in this proportioned script.

[126] Ibn Khallikān II 282 f.; Huart, *Les calligraphes*, pp. 80–84.

[127] Ibn Khallikān II 331, n. 1.

[128] *EI* IV 1154; Huart, *op. cit.* pp. 84–86; Nadwi, Bankipore *Catalogue*, No. 1118.

[129] Eric Schroeder in a recent article, "What was the Badīᶜ script?" (*Ars Islamica* IV [1937] 232–48), suggests that the term *badīᶜ* applied to such *Ḳur'ānic* scripts as are generally referred to as "late Kūfic," "flowering Kūfic," or "East Persian Kūfic"—an ornamental variety that first began to appear late in the 3d century of Islām. The invention of such a script he credits generally to Persian influence and specifically to Ibn Muḳlah. His identification, he realizes, rests on variable and indirect evidence. Space does not permit here any detailed criticism of his suggestion. A critical discussion is to appear in *AJSL* LVI (1939). For the present it may be noted that the term *badīᶜ* seems to apply not to a specific script but to writing in general. The earliest mention of *al-khaṭṭ al-badīᶜ* is to be found in Ḥājjī Khalīfah III 151, where its invention is credited to Ibn Muḳlah and its perfection and beautification to Ibn al-Bawwāb. Since Ḥājjī Khalīfah in the passage quoted does not mention any other script as an "invention" of Ibn Muḳlah, he seems to have considered the *khaṭṭ al-badīᶜ* as *the* invention of that famous calligrapher. But earlier authors, as we now know, report the *khaṭṭ al-mansūb* to have been his great and main invention. The term *badīᶜ*, meaning "new" or "marvelous," is readily applicable to the proportioned writing, which was indeed both new and marvelous. It is my suggestion that *badīᶜ*, as used by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, is a later and less technical term for *mansūb*. *Mansūb* emphasized the purely scientific nature of Ibn Muḳlah's new contribution, *badīᶜ* the marvelous grace and elegance with which Ibn al-Bawwāb clothed Ibn Muḳlah's original invention.

[130] Huart, *op. cit.* p. 80, vs. *Fihrist*, pp. 8 f.

[131] Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 81, vs. *Fihrist*, p. 8.

[132] For a specimen see Bresnier, *Cours de langue arabe*, Pl. XXIII.

[133] *EI* I 386; *Fihrist*, p. 119.

[134] For a specimen see *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 89. Cf. also, for both scripts, Robertson, p. 71, n. 4, and *EI* I 386.

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scripts. Let us follow them in the *riḳāᶜ*, *ghubār*, and *naskhī* pens. The *riḳāᶜ* is, according to Ḳalḳashandī III 119, finer than the *taukīᶜ*, more rounded, without *tarwīs* or barbed heads, and much given to closed loops. Different forms for the letters *alif*, *rāᵓ*, and *wāw* are mentioned, but the illustrations fail to bring these out. The *ghubār* pen is next characterized as being derived from the *riḳāᶜ* and the *naskhī*, but is rounder than both, is without hooks, and has open loops, though closed ones also are permitted later. The illustration shows it to be a small, much rounded cursive script, crowded and somewhat inclined to overlapping of the letters, some of which are even joined where normally they would not be.[135]

This brings us to the last Ḳurᵓānic script that concerns us—the *naskhī*. We have already pointed out the misuse of the term *naskhī* to cover all round scripts of the earlier Muslim centuries. The earliest reference I have found to a specific pen which might be called *naskhī* is in the *Fihrist*, which includes in its list of scripts a *ḳalam al-nassākh*.[136] Evidently it was one of the pens classified by al-Aḥwal; hence it must have been known in the 2d century after the Hijrah. Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān makes the following statement (which we quote from Robertson's translation, pp. 70 f.[137]) bearing on the point under consideration and on good penmanship in general: "As-Ṣūlī[138] inquired of one of the scribes on the score of writing when he would consider that writing merited the description of good, and he replied, 'When its parts are symmetrical, its *ᵓAlif* and its *Lām* made long, its lines regular, its terminals made similar to its up-strokes, its *ᶜAins* opened, its *Rā* clearly distinguishable from its *Nūn*, its paper polished, its ink sufficiently black,[139] with no commixture of styles, permitting of rapid visualisation of outline, and quick comprehension of content, its separations clearly defined, its principles carefully observed, its thinness and thickness in due proportion, its *ᵓaṭnāb* equalised, its *ᵓahdāb* suitably rounded, its *nawājid*[140] made small, and its *maḥājir* opened. It should disregard the style of the copyists and avoid the artistry of the elegant writers, and it should give you the suggestion of motion although stationary.' The *ᵓaṭnāb* are the *ᵓAlifs*, the *ᵓahdāb* are [the letters] of the classes of *Rā* and *Zā*, the *nawājid* are the *Bā*, *Tā* and *Thā*, and the *maḥājir* the *Wāw*, *Mīm*, *Fā*, *ᶜAin* and such like." The phrase "with no commixture of styles" points to existence of a practice of commixture. Since Robertson uses the word "style" to mean "pen,"[141] the phrase "the style of the copyists" could refer only to a *ḳalam* (or *khaṭṭ*) *al-nassākh*. It would seem, then, that such a pen was widely known toward the end of the 3d century, but that it was not considered a good style.

The next significant mention of the *naskhī* pen is in connection with Ḳalḳashandī's description of the *ghubār*, which we are told is a slender script derived from the *riḳāᶜ* and the *naskhī* but written rounder to differentiate it from these two. We infer that the *riḳāᶜ* and the *naskhī* pens had much in common, and that their main difference from the *ghubār* was that they were less rounded than the latter. Now the *riḳāᶜ* is a pen primarily based on the *thuluth* forms, is

[135] Ḳalḳashandī III 132. [136] *Fihrist*, p. 9.

[137] The notes to the passage are also mainly derived from Robertson. For general instructions to scribes cf. Ṣūlī, pp. 53–57 and 158.

[138] Either Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) or his granduncle Ibrāhīm ibn al-ᶜAbbās al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857); cf. Ibn Khallikān III 68–73 and Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* I 143.

[139] Very black ink on very white paper displayed good writing to the best advantage and was a feature much admired.

[140] This should probably be *nawājidh*.

[141] *Op. cit.* pp. 60 and 71. Robertson on his page 60 draws a distinction between the words *ḳalam* and *khaṭṭ*, limiting the use of the former to a specific style (pen), that of the latter to writing in general. This distinction I find is not fully justified; for, though these words are frequently so limited, there are instances where our sources use them interchangeably. See e.g. *Fihrist*, pp. 4–9, esp. p. 4, lines 8–14, and p. 8, line 17, as well as p. 7, line 6, where the *muḥaḳḳaḳ* is referred to as a *khaṭṭ*, contrasting with p. 9, line 4, where it is called a *ḳalam;* Ḳalḳashandī III 16; and Ḥājjī Khalīfah III 149–51.

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finer and rounder than the *taukī*ᶜ, uses the *tarwīs* but rarely, and has mostly closed loops. If the *naskhī* possessed all these, it would be identical with the *riḳā*ᶜ, which of course it is not. Hence we must look to the *ghubār* for some characteristics that differ from the *riḳā*ᶜ and may be common to the *ghubār* and the *naskhī*. These we find to be open loops and complete lack of *tarwīs*. So the *naskhī* emerges as a pen of *thuluth* forms, small and rounded, but not the most rounded, without *tarwīs* and with open loops. *Naskhī* specimens fit this description perfectly.

Viewing the problem from another angle, we have the phrase *ḳalam al-nassākh*, "the pen of the copyists," to start with. The scribes or copyists referred to could hardly be the scribes or secretaries generally employed in government offices, for they would use one of the official government scripts, and the *naskhī* does not seem to have been listed as one of these. The next field most likely to need a body of copyists as early as the days of Ḳuṭbah and al-Aḥwal, if not earlier, is that of pamphlet- and book-writing and -copying. Though in the earlier centuries such productions were predominantly religious and theological, some secular books were being written even then, and their number increased rapidly from the 3d century on. A good legible hand is essential in a copyist. What could be more natural, then, than the adoption and adaptation of the easy, clear *thuluth* forms already in existence? Economy of materials and of time is the copyist's next consideration. It was these factors that operated to produce the "style of the copyists," a clear, open, rounded script based on the *thuluth* forms but reduced to a practical size and shorn of its ornate barbed heads. But scribes and copyists are human. Faced with much copying, they were tempted—except perhaps in strictly pious writing, done in hope of a reward in the hereafter—to carelessness and to the adoption of some script peculiarity of their own. It must have been against some such habits that the scribe in the passage already quoted from Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān warns in his statement to disregard the style of the copyists.

The *naskhī* pen shared in the general "reforms" and improvements of penmanship.[142] The school of Ibn al-Bawwāb with its emphasis on beauty and grace was very likely responsible for a further change from the old and indifferent[143] to the new and graceful *naskhī*.[144] The *yāḳūtī* script is, as Moritz has already pointed out, nothing but a stiff *naskhī*, from which he believes the later *naskhī* of the Persians is derived.[145] With the Persians[146] and the Turks[147] the *naskhī* and the *thuluth*, found frequently together in Ḳur'ānic manuscripts,[148] reached a stage of perfection in the Mameluke period that as yet has not been surpassed.

ORTHOGRAPHIC SIGNS

We turn our attention now to the introduction of the diacritical and the vowel signs. Arabic traditionists acknowledge the influence of the Syriac in both instances[149]—an influence which for the diacritical signs must be placed in pre-Islāmic days, since the earliest Muslim coins and papyri show the dots in use to distinguish letters alike in form but different in sound. Still these dots are but sparingly used in *PERF* No. 558 and *PER* Inv. Ar. P. 94, the earliest papyri available (see Pls. IV–V). In these we find dots with *kh*, *dh*, *z*, *sh*, and *n*. Coins and papyri of the second half of the 1st century show *b*, *t*, *th*, and initial and medial *y* dotted; and

[142] Cf. Huart's illustrations on his pp. 21–28.

[143] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 118 and 124, of the 4th century; Wright, *Facs.*, Pls. XCVI and LXXXIII, of the 4th–6th century. Some of these show traces of *thuluth*, *ṭūmār*, and Kūfic origins.

[144] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 134, 139, and 148, of the 6th–7th century.

[145] *EI* I 386. [146] Huart, *op. cit.* pp. 93–107. [147] *Ibid.* pp. 117–205.

[148] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 77 and 87; Nadwi, Bankipore *Catalogue*, Nos. 1118, 1119, 1122, and 1129; and our Nos. 18–19 and 21–30, described below.

[149] Balādhurī, p. 471; *Fihrist*, p. 12. See also above, pp. 19 f.

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ḳ appears usually with one dot above, while *f* has one below.[150] The 2d century saw the completion of a diacritical system, credit for which is given to Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿmar (d. A.H. 129),[151] especially for the strokes found in Ḳurʾānic manuscripts in place of the dots found in secular documents. A rare variation is the use of wedges (› or ˇ) instead of strokes.[152] Though the strokes and dots were not always fully utilized, when they were used they were placed in fixed positions above or below the letters except in the case of *f* and *ḳ*. The marks for these two seem to have varied with the locality and perhaps with the caprice of the writer, for we have *f* with a dot or stroke below, then above, and *ḳ* with one or two above. Eventually two different methods of dotting or pointing these two letters became established. The first is the system now in general use, with one dot for *f* and two for *ḳ*, both placed above; the other is the Maghribī system of North Africa, in which *f* has one dot below and *ḳ* one above.

When we come to consider the vowel signs, 1st-century manuscripts are of no aid, since no such signs appear in any secular document of that date. However, Ḳurʾān manuscripts credited to the period[153] show a consistent vowel system in which a single red dot above, below, or to the side of a letter stood for the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* respectively, and two such dots indicated the *tanwīn*. The text of early Ḳurʾāns, however, is never completely voweled, the vowel sign for one or more of the letters of a given word being used only where it was essential for a correct reading.[154] The Arabic traditions place the introduction of the system early in the Muslim era, in fact crediting ʿAlī with it.[155] Whether ʿAlī deserves the credit or not makes little difference for the date in question, for the majority of the sources credit a contemporary of ʿAlī, Abū al-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. A.H. 67/A.D. 686/87), with the system. They tell how, having at first refused to introduce the system at the request of Ziyād ibn Abīhī, governor of ʿIrāḳ (45–53/665–673),[156] he finally did so when he heard the Ḳurʾān being wrongly recited.[157] The system could not have been widely spread or generally used, for we find Ḥajjāj facing the same problem in ʿIrāḳ and ordering Naṣr ibn ʿĀṣim to safeguard the pronunciation of the Ḳurʾān;[158] Naṣr, so the story goes, introduced the double dots for the *tanwīn*.[159] Even this did not establish the general use of the system, for again we find Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿmar given credit for it,[160] which credit is likewise shared by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. A.H. 110/A.D. 728/29).[161] Still these efforts and their results proved insufficient, for again Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (96–170/714–86)[162] is credited with introducing the *hamzah* and the *shaddah*, the *raum* and the *ishmām*, as he is also credited with the vowel signs that are still in use for *a*, *i*, and *u*.[163] The last were originally miniatures of the letters *alif*, *y*, and *w* respectively,[164] as can now be seen readily from our Nos. 10–13.

Of the other signs the *hamzah*, which is most likely the oldest, received the most attention.[165]

[150] See our Pls. III and V, also *EI* I 383 and *KPA*.

[151] *Muḳniʿ*, p. 133; cf. Ibn Duraid, p. 163.

[152] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 42 b, dated A.H. 270.

[153] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 1–16; see also our Nos. 1–3.

[154] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 144.

[155] *Fihrist*, p. 39; Anbārī, pp. 3–9.

[156] I.e., Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān; see Ṭabarī, *Annals* II 69 f.

[157] *Fihrist*, p. 40; Anbārī, pp. 3–9; *Maʿārif*, p. 222; Ibn Khallikān I 662–64; *Itḳān* II 171; Ḳalḳashandī III 160 f.

[158] Ibn Khallikān I 359; Ḥājjī Khalīfah III 154; *Fihrist*, p. 39; *Itḳān* II 171; Ḳalḳashandī III 160.

[159] *Muḳniʿ*, p. 133.

[160] Ibn Duraid, p. 163; *Muḳniʿ*, p. 133; *Itḳān* II 171; Ḳalḳashandī III 161.

[161] *Muḳniʿ*, p. 133; *Maʿārif*, p. 225; *Itḳān* II 171.

[162] *Fihrist*, pp. 42 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 269; Ibn Khallikān I 364, n. 14; Anbārī, pp. 45–49, gives the date of his death as ten years earlier.

[163] *Muḳniʿ*, p. 133; *Itḳān* II 171; Ḳalḳashandī III 161. We do not know what the signs for *raum* and *ishmām* were; Wright, *Grammar* I 71 and 276, explains only the meaning of these terms.

[164] *Muḳniʿ*, p. 149; *Itḳān* II 171; Ḳalḳashandī III 163 f.

[165] *Muḳniʿ*, pp. 134, 142–44, 150 f.; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 144–47.

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It seems to have been expressed at first, like the three vowels, by a red dot, and by two such dots, usually one above the other, when used with the *tanwīn*.[166] The position of the *hamzah* seems to have called for much thought. As a general rule, Ibn Abī Dāwūd places a short initial or final *hamzah* near the upper end of the *alif* and slightly to the left of it, and a long *hamzah* to the right of the *alif*.[167] Medial voweled *hamzah* is according to him expressed by two dots, one on each side of the letter involved, as in قرٔان and مٔونون, the dot at the right standing for the *hamzah* and the one at the left indicating the vowel.[168] Dānī likewise expresses a voweled *hamzah* by two dots, but keeps the dots together instead of placing one on each side of the letter. His dot for the *hamzah* is in yellow, that for the vowel in red. The position of the vowel relative to the *hamzah* is above, below, or to the left of the latter, according as the accompanying vowel is *a*, *i*, or *u* respectively.[169] Both Dānī and Ibn Abī Dāwūd place the *hamzah*, when used with a carrier-letter, "within (*fī*)," that is, either above or below the carrier.[170] Furthermore, Dānī states as a general guiding principle that a separate *hamzah* is the equivalent of an original *ᶜain* and, like *ᶜain*, is to be considered as a separate letter and placed *on* the line, where the *ᶜain* would naturally have been placed. Its accompanying vowel is then to be placed above, below, or to the left, according as it is *a*, *i*, or *u*.[171] Our Ḳur'ānic manuscripts show both the *hamzah* "within" its carrier and the *hamzah* on the line.

However, the use of the red dot for both *hamzah* and the vowels caused confusion and called for either a different *sign* or a different *color* to differentiate between the *hamzah* and the three regular vowel signs. Both methods of differentiation received attention. The problem seems to have been solved at first by the use of a red semicircle (◡) for the *hamzah*, if we are to judge by the frequent occurrence of this practice in several of our manuscripts[172] and in a privately owned copy of a Ḳur'ān of the 2d or 3d century reproduced by Moritz in *Ar. Pal.* Plates 19–30.[173] The position of the semicircle varied sometimes in accordance with that of the accompanying vowel.[174] The Ḥijāzīs further solved the problem by the use of a yellow dot.[175] Later both yellow and green dots, varying sometimes in position in accordance with that of the accompanying vowel, were used.[176]

The *shaddah* likewise seems to have been expressed at first by a red semicircle (◡ or ◠).[177] Whether this sign was at this stage a cursive adaptation of the letter ش, later used generally for the *shaddah*, it is difficult to say. The *maddah* and *waṣlah* were at first expressed by a red horizontal line, that for *waṣlah* frequently matching in position the vowel accompanying the preceding consonant.[178] The *sukūn* was at first a red horizontal stroke, but it was placed above the letter.[179] A wedge (› or ‹) was another, though rarer, sign for the *sukūn*.[180] Whether this

[166] In Nöldeke, *GQ* III 267, Pretzl reports that in ms. "Saray Emanet 12" *hamzah* is expressed in unusual fashion by three dots arranged either ⁝ or ∴.

[167] *Op. cit.* pp. 144 f.

[168] *Op. cit.* p. 146. In the light of this the view of Wright (*Grammar* I 17) that *hamzah* in such cases is indicated by "doubling the vowel points" is no longer tenable.

[169] *Muḳniᶜ*, pp. 142 f. [170] *Muḳniᶜ*, p. 149, and Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 145.

[171] *Muḳniᶜ*, pp. 150 f. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 145 f., seems to have the same rule in mind, though his terminology is not quite clear.

[172] Nos. 3, 8, and 10–13, representing both the Ḥijāzī and ᶜIrāḳī scripts.

[173] The plates which show a semicircle used for *hamzah* are Nos. 26, 28, and 29.

[174] Cf. the documents mentioned in the preceding two footnotes.

[175] *Muḳniᶜ*, pp. 134 and 142–44; *Itḳān* II 171; Ḳalḳashandī III 64.

[176] Cf. *EI* I 384; Wright, *Grammar* I 17. [177] Wright, *Grammar* I 14, and our No. 10.

[178] *Muḳniᶜ*, pp. 144 f.; Ḳalḳashandī III 170; Wright, *Grammar* I 19.

[179] *Muḳniᶜ*, p. 137; Ḳalḳashandī III 164 f.; Wright, *Grammar* I 13.

[180] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 31–34; Wright, *Grammar* I 13.

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was at this early stage meant to be a small initial *jīm* standing for *jazm*, the alternative name for the *sukūn*, is again hard to tell.[181] The circle seems to have been eventually chosen because it was the symbol for the cipher or zero in the Indo-Arabic numeral system and as such lent itself to indicating a lack of voweling. Some, however, would explain the circle as *mīm* standing for the last letter of the word *jazm*.[182]

These apparently contradictory accounts and in some instances undifferentiated practices need not be confusing, for they help to give a picture of what actually took place—a natural but slow development, requiring repeated attempts for success in the face of opposition. This opposition came at first from the men of Ḥijāz (see pp. 54 f. and 59) and was later met with at the hands of pious theologians and learned aristocrats.[183] The aristocrats objected to the new introductions on grounds of aesthetics and politeness in correspondence, for we are told that ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir (d. A.H. 230/A.D. 844/45), governor of Khurāsān, when presented with a piece of elaborate penmanship exclaimed, "How beautiful this would be if there were not so much coriander seed (dots) scattered over it."[184] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, as late as the 11th century after the Hijrah, advised omitting vowels and diacritical points, especially in addressing persons of consequence and refinement, in regard to whom it would be impolite to suppose that they did not have a perfect knowledge of the written language.[185]

MAGHRIBĪ SCRIPTS

It will not be amiss to add here a brief but integrated account of the leading Maghribī scripts, using the term Maghrib to cover the Muslim world west of Egypt, including Spain. There seems to be general agreement that these western scripts developed out of the Kūfic.[186] Here as in the east a monumental and a manuscript variety of script existed side by side. The monumental has received considerable attention in the works of Levi-Provençal,[187] Marçais,[188] and others; but materials of value to our knowledge of the manuscript varieties are extremely rare.[189] The monumental variety need not detain us here, since it shows throughout the early centuries a development similar to that of monumental Kūfic of the east. The simplest Kūfic variety was used in the first centuries for works on theology and law, in which it retained to a marked degree its simplicity and comparative rigidity well into the 3d century after the Hijrah. It eventually yielded in varying degree to the round and cursive tendency early at work in the literary fields and in public and private papers. Thus were produced two more or less distinct classes of scripts—the sacred and the secular. The latter, free from religious restraint, branched out into several local varieties, of which the Ḳairawānī, the Andalusī, the Fāsī, and later the Sūdānī are considered the most important.[190] But the sacred script, becoming more limited to the Ḳurʾān, acquired and retained an identity all its own, which gives to all Maghribī Ḳurʾāns a general similarity comparable to that found in all *thuluth* Ḳurʾāns or all *naskhī* Ḳurʾāns.

The cursive Maghribī script on the whole has several general characteristics. According to Houdas,[191] these are: (1) The script has retained more of the Kūfic elements than have the

[181] Ḳalḳashandī III 165.

[182] Both explanations are given *ibid.* p. 156.

[183] Cf. Ḳalḳashandī III 161 f.

[184] Ḥājjī Khalīfah III 155; cf. Ibn Khallikān II 49–55 for Ibn Ṭāhir's biography.

[185] Ḥājjī Khalīfah III 155.

[186] Cf. *EI* I 388.

[187] *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, pp. xxviii–xxxvi.

[188] *Manuel d'art musulman* I 71, 165–69, and 268 f.

[189] Houdas, *Essai sur l'écriture maghrebine*, pp. 85–113, is about the only study of the subject, and we have used it freely in the following account. Cf. also *EI* I 389 f.

[190] Robertson on his p. 62 disregards this fourfold classification on the ground that it is unknown to the people themselves. Moritz, however, accepts and follows it in *EI* I 389 f.

[191] *Op. cit.* pp. 105–8.

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cursive scripts of the east, for the reason that the west considered the Kūfic as *the* Arabic script and kept closer to it than did the east. (2) Uniformity and regularity of character formation, especially in the African types, are not as exact and mathematical as in the scripts of the east, due largely to the condition and temperament of the people. (3) The Maghribī stroke is on the whole blunt or stumpy as compared to the tapering strokes of the eastern scripts. (4) The vertical strokes are seldom straight; they have a tendency to waver (more like the Syriac) and to start off at the top with a knob of considerable size which Houdas suggests is due to the pen, especially to the straight-cut nib generally used in the west. (5) The ends of separate and final letters have frequently an exaggerated development. (6) The one dot below for *f* and one above for *ḳ* are general, and diacritical points for final *f*, *ḳ*, *n*, and *y* are seldom used in some of the scripts. (7) The loops of final *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, and *ẓ* are apt to be elliptical, and the little "hook" or "tooth" is wanting in final *ṣ* and *ḍ*, e.g. ص, not ص. (8) Finally, there are some peculiar ligatures: noninitial *d* and *dh* and separate *r* and *z* may be joined to a following final *h* (undotted or dotted) or *y;* separate *w* may be joined to these latter and also to *alif*.

Of the four secular Maghribī scripts, the Ḳairawānī was the first to develop, with the Andalusī following probably very soon afterward.[192] Ibn Khaldūn tells how, with the decline of Muslim Spain from the 5th century on and the resulting large return migration from Spain into North Africa, the Andalusian script replaced the African scripts, including the Ḳairawānī, so that "these were forgotten and all Africa wrote the Andalusī pen" except for the people of Jarīd,[193] who would not mix with scribes from Spain.[194] In the meantime Fās[195] (founded in 192/808), the literary center of Morocco, produced the Fāsī script. As Morocco was considerably influenced by Spain, it is not surprising to find a close similarity between the Fāsī and the Andalusī, so close that Ibn Khaldūn considered the first a development from the second.[196] The Sūdān was the last to achieve a script of its own—the Sūdānī, which developed around its literary center of Timbuctoo (founded 610/1213).[197]

The Ḳairawānī (Pl. VII 1) is the closest of all Maghribī scripts to the manuscript *naskhī* of the east. The letters are precisely formed and evenly spaced. Still, they have retained a certain rigidity, especially in the older manuscripts, where they look like poorly executed Kūfic forms. Diacritical points are freely used, including those for final letters. The script is neat and not particularly difficult to read.

The Andalusī (Pl. VII 2)[198] is the easiest to recognize. Its vertical strokes are as a rule thinner than its horizontal. The letters are usually small and considerably rounded, and the whole is compactly spaced. Diacritical points are fully and regularly used and are carefully placed with the letters to which they belong, final *y* taking its two dots in the middle of its final loop. The script has a pleasing appearance but is sometimes difficult to read.

The Fāsī (Pl. VII 3), according to Houdas, has both elegance and grace in its vertical strokes

[192] Ḳairawān was founded in 50/670, and the Maghribī character had already assumed its peculiarities by the 2d century after the Hijrah. Cf. *EI* I 388.

[193] See Yāḳūt I 892 and IV 97 and 151; Ḳalḳashandī V 106.

[194] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddamah*, p. 205. Cf. also Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman* II 631. Ibn Khaldūn's remarks must not be taken too literally, for, as Houdas shows, the North Africans continued to distinguish between their script and the Andalusī. Furthermore, current Maghribī scripts are related to some of the older African ones; e.g., the Algerian (Bresnier, Pl. XXXIV) and the Moroccan (*ibid.* Pl. XXXVI) resemble the older Ḳairawānī and Fāsī respectively as well as the Andalusī.

[195] *EI* II 75 f. [196] *Loc. cit.* [197] *EI* I 390 and article on Timbuctoo *ibid.* IV 776.

[198] For the monumental variety of this script, which spread widely in the west, see Marçais, *op. cit.* II 631 f.; Levi-Provençal, *op. cit.* p. xxxiv; H. de Castries in *Hespéris* I (1921) 235. Other cursive scripts were likewise largely used, from the 4th/10th century on, for both monuments and coins; cf. Levi-Provençal, *loc. cit.*, and Marçais, *op. cit.* I 169 and 403.

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and a sort of exuberance in the forms of most of its letters. I fail to see these characteristics in the specimen he gives, but they are certainly to be found in Bresnier, *Cours pratique et théorique de langue arabe*, Plates XXXII and XXXVI, listed as Fāsī and Moroccan respectively. Houdas' specimen is more like Bresnier's Plate XXXIX, which he lists as used by "Arabes de la tente." Since the Fāsī is supposed to be somewhat like the Andalusī, Bresnier's specimens must be considered as the truer. Judging from these, one may add that in the Fāsī the letters are well and generously formed, neatly written, and evenly spaced, but with exaggerated final curves crossing or touching several of the following letters. Unlike the Andalusī, diacritical points are frequently missing, those for the final *f*, *ḳ*, *n*, and *y* being in some manuscripts regularly left out.

The Sūdānī script (Pl. VII 4) is easily recognized by its coarse, heavy appearance. The strokes are irregular in both length and thickness. The vertical strokes are usually of good length and a little inclined to the right, being in this respect somewhat like Turkish *naskhī*.[199]

We come finally to the sacred script, used mainly for the Ḳurʾān. Maghribī Ḳurʾāns of the first two centuries of Islām seem to be wanting. This may be due, among other reasons, to a later and smaller output or to an output so similar to that of the east in the 1st and 2d centuries that it is impossible to tell the two types apart, or very likely to both of these factors combined. Sir Edward Denison Ross while in Tunisia saw two parchment folios of a Maghribī Kūfic Ḳurʾān written by a woman and dated Ramaḍān, 275 (Jan. 7–Feb. 7, 889). Local Muslims informed him of their tradition that in the early days of Islām it was considered desirable for a Tunisian girl who wished to make a good marriage to make at least one copy of the Ḳurʾān with her own hands. This interesting tradition he found fully borne out by the large number of parchment Ḳurʾāns written by women and dating from the 4th to the 6th century of Islām now kept in the library of the Great Mosque at Ḳairawān.[200] Sir Edward has reproduced a folio of the 3d-century Ḳurʾān. Though this folio does not contain part of the Ḳurʾānic text, but only the *waḳf* notation, it is nevertheless written in a fairly large Ḳurʾānic hand. It is therefore safe to assume that the Ḳurʾānic text itself was written in the same script. This script is essentially Kūfic and is similar to, though not identical with, some 3d-century Kūfic Ḳurʾāns from the territories east of Tunisia.[201] Published Maghribī Ḳurʾāns of the 4th and 5th centuries are few and are in a lesser degree similar to some contemporary Kūfic Ḳurʾāns of the east.[202] Even Ḳurʾāns of later centuries are comparatively rare; of these the earliest so far published is dated 557/1160.[203]

As Ibn Khaldūn points out, calligraphy was never as perfect or as widely spread an art in the west, especially in Africa, as in the east.[204] Hence the west has no Ḳurʾāns to compare either in numbers or in excellence of script and general sumptuousness with such magnificent copies as were produced by the Egyptians, Syrians, Persians, and Turks of the Mameluke period and after. The script of Maghribī Ḳurʾāns is, as already hinted, a combination of angular and round forms. The letters *d*, *dh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *k*, *l*, and reversed *y* have retained their angular forms (cf. p. 36, n. 125), while the rest of the letters are more or less rounded. Even the ligatures are sometimes straight, sometimes rounded. Diacritical points are used on the whole, but with local variation; that is, an Andalusī Ḳurʾān would have all the dots, while a Fāsī would leave some out. Words do not stand out, but otherwise the execution is generally fair and painstaking. The earliest Maghribī Ḳurʾāns followed eastern usage for diacritical

[199] More recent subtypes of all these scripts are listed by Bresnier, Houdas, and Moritz, but they do not concern us here.

[200] "Some rare mss. seen in Tunis," pp. 614 f.

[201] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 42.

[202] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 46 as compared with Pl. 45.

[203] *Ibid.* Pl. 47.

[204] *Muḳaddamah*, p. 205; cf. Houdas, *op. cit.* pp. 98–101, and Robertson, p. 62.

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strokes and vowel points, as well as in division of the text into verses and indication of five- and ten-verse groupings.[205] The sūrah headings also were simple and remained so for many centuries. Each consisted of a line of Kūfic script, usually plain, though sometimes slightly ornamented, giving the title and the verse count and indicating also the origin as Makkan or Madīnan. Sometimes a panel,[206] comparatively simple, was also used, though Ḳur'āns of more recent date have a more elaborate decorative scheme.[207]

The main difference between eastern and western Ḳur'āns is the more general use in the west of green, yellow, and blue for the orthographic signs other than those for *a*, *i*, and *u*, against the more general use of red for the same purposes in the east. Thus while the east used at first a red circle or semicircle for the *hamzah*[208] and almost always a red horizontal stroke for the *waṣlah*,[209] the west generally used for these two signs a yellow and a green dot respectively.[210] Again, in the *thuluth* and *naskhī* Ḳur'āns the vowels and other orthographic signs are usually in black except for the *shaddah* and the *maddah*, which are frequently in red. The Maghribī Ḳur'āns, however, have all these in red except for the *shaddah* and the *sukūn*, which are frequently in blue.[211]

[205] *Muḳni'*, pp. 133 f.

[206] Cf. our No. 32 and Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial* III, Pl. I.

[207] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 48–49.

[208] Cf. our Nos. 10 and 12 and pp. 39 f. above.

[209] Cf. our No. 16 and p. 40 above.

[210] Cf. our No. 32; Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. LXI; and Ahlwardt I, No. 416. See also *Muḳni'*, p. 134, bearing in mind that its author, Dānī, was a Spanish Arab.

[211] E.g. Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. LXI; Tisserant, Pl. 43 a.

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III

THE ḲUR'ĀN AS A WRITTEN DOCUMENT

THE MORE IMPORTANT SOURCES

The historical development of the Ḳur'ān, as to both content and written form, has engaged the attention of Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The former have preserved for us the earliest traditions of the order of "revelation" of its parts and of its collection and organization into a written volume, while the latter, using modern methods of research, have given us a tenable reconstruction of the history of this basic document of Islām.

The Arabic sources bearing on our theme may be chronologically divided into three groups. First in point of time are the earliest biographies of Muḥammad, those by Zuhrī (d. A.H. 124/A.D. 741/42) and Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 151/768), as preserved in the *Sīrat al-nabī* of Ibn Hishām (d. 213/823). With these we may classify the legal works assembled by Mālik ibn Anas, Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yūsuf, and Shāfi'ī, which originated in the 2d century after the Hijrah and later became accepted as the four orthodox law schools of Islām.[1] The second group consists of the earliest Ḥadīth compilations,[2] the place of honor going to the *Ṣaḥīḥain*—the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī (d. 257/870) and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. 261/875).[3] In this second group belong also the works of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/844) and of Ibn Ḳutaibah (d. 276/889). All of the works so far cited are important because they form to a large extent the source materials of the third and largest group, which is also the most used because it is the most easily available—the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān and specific Ḳur'ānic studies. The most important of these are the well known works of Ṭabarī (d. 310/922), Baghawī (516/1122), Baiḍāwī (d. 685/1286), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). The *Fihrist* of Nadīm (d. 377 or 385/987 or 995), the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/928), and the *Muḳni'* and the *Taisīr* of Dānī (d. 444/1053), each more or less in a class by itself, also have some very valuable materials on the Ḳur'ān.

Contributions of non-Muslims are of two types, the first being those of medieval Christian Arabs and the second those of modern western scholars. Mingana[4] emphasizes the significance of the first group, in which the most important work is that of 'Abd al-Masīḥ ibn Isḥāḳ al-Kindī,[5] who frequented the court of Ma'mūn (198–218/813–833). His *Risālah*, an apology for Christianity, presents us with the first known outline of a critical history of the gradual formation of the present text of the Ḳur'ān.[6] To the second group belong the works of such men as Muir, Palmer, Rodwell, Hirschfeld, Casanova, Flügel, Grimme, and that master scholar Nöldeke, whose great work, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, has become indispensable to all students of Islām. Finally there are the very recent contributions of Bergsträsser, Pretzl, and Jeffery.

Most of this enormous material is concerned, among other things, with the text and the textual criticism of the Ḳur'ān; only a fractional part has a direct bearing on our parallel

[1] Cf. *Fihrist*, pp. 198–215; von Kremer, *The Orient under the Caliphs*, chap. viii; Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance*, pp. 133–47.

[2] Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Vol. II. For a list of leading traditionists see Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane.*

[3] Goldziher, *op. cit.* II 234 ff. and 245 ff.

[4] "The transmission of the Ḳur'ān," pp. 34–47.

[5] *EI* II 1021.

[6] Cf. esp. his pp. 75–83.

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theme: the evolution of the Ḳur'ān as a *written* document. Our purpose here is not to enter into an exhaustive study of this subject and its source materials, but rather to present briefly and critically the outstanding results which centuries of study have yielded.

THE ḲUR'ĀN IN MUḤAMMAD'S TIME

The question of whether or not Muḥammad was able to read or write or both[7] is made to have a significant bearing on the nature and authorship of the Ḳur'ān. Orthodox Muslims,[8] past and present, claim that he was able to do neither and see in such a fact not only proof of his claim to prophetship but also proof of the divine and uncreated nature of the Ḳur'ān itself, asserting it to be the word of Allāh, coexistent with him from the beginning of time and guarded on "preserved tablets," from which it was by various methods of revelation put directly into the mouth of Muḥammad. Modern thinkers are widely divided on the question, some considering Muḥammad an out-and-out illiterate,[9] others regarding him as a good penman.[10] Those who have taken a middle position[11] are probably nearer the truth. Their conclusion is that Muḥammad could both read and write, but not skilfully. The tendency seems to be to credit Muḥammad with giving us a *written* Ḳur'ān, in part or in whole, in proportion as one credits him with the ability to read and write. To the Muslim mind this relationship is immaterial, since the same result—a written Ḳur'ān—could be achieved by Muḥammad's dictating his revelations to his scribes after determining the order in which the revelations were to be assembled. Such a procedure, though possible, is hardly probable and has no serious proponents among Muslims. A second possibility, acceptable to some extent to modern thinkers, has general acceptance in the Muslim world, namely, that, though the complete Ḳur'ān as we now have it was *not* written down before Muḥammad's death, it is nevertheless his original revelation since part of it was written at Muḥammad's command and what was not thus written was preserved in the hearts of his Companions until, after his death, the written portions were supplemented by the memorized portions, giving us the whole.[12] Fear of a treacherous memory alone, not to speak of possible motives for changes in the text, makes western thinkers look on this claim with pointed suspicion. But the Arabs, with experienced and trained memories, have no such fears, some looking on that faculty and its handmaid, oral transmission, as even more desirable than writing,[13] provided of course the transmission is based on a trustworthy *isnād;* and the pious halo with which the Companions and the first generation of converts to Islām are credited provides the "trustworthiness" required.

A more tenable ground for the nonexistence of a *written* Ḳur'ān in Muḥammad's lifetime is that Muḥammad, despite his sensing of the need for it, wished to reserve for himself the freedom, desired by every great leader-reformer, to change his statements and dictums should the

[7] Cf. Nöldeke, *GQ* I 12–14; Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, p. 12; Sprenger, *Leben* II 398–402; Torrey, pp. 36–41 and 93–95.

[8] E.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddamah* I 205; *The Holy Qur-án*, ed. and tr. by Muhammad Ali, p. 1206, n. 2769.

[9] Cf. Ḳur'ān, tr. by Sale, ed. by Wherry, I 73 f.; *The Holy Qur-án*, ed. and tr. by Muhammad Ali, *loc. cit.*

[10] Sprenger, *loc. cit.;* Torrey, *loc. cit.*

[11] E.g. Hirschfeld, pp. 12 f. Buhl holds the same view; cf. his article on Muḥammad in *EI* III 643.

[12] *Fihrist*, pp. 24 f.; Baghawī I 23; Nöldeke, *GQ* II 1–8; Torrey, pp. 92–95.

[13] Badawī poets considered writing a reflection on memory; Dhū al-Rummah (d. A.D. 719 or 735) concealed the fact that he could read and write; see *Aghānī* B XVI 121. Ibn Ḳutaibah, *ʿUyūn* II 130, states the case for oral transmission thus: "Men write down the best of what they hear, memorize the best of what they write, and relate the best of what they memorize." Cf. also *Itḳān* I 60, where a claim of authenticity and accuracy is based on the (later) theory of the miraculous nature of the Ḳur'ān and on the premise that the "readers" kept their memories in constant practice through reciting during twenty years of Muḥammad's lifetime.

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need arise.[14] However, this theory loses some of its force when one remembers that Muḥammad had already established the theory of abrogation,[15] which must have given him all the liberty he could have desired. Nevertheless it is very likely that the practical Muḥammad, sensing that prevention is better than cure, postponed a standard edition of a written Ḳur'ān until unexpectedly death overtook him.

THE EDITION OF ᶜUTHMĀN

We have found general agreement among modern scholars on the nonexistence of a *written* Ḳur'ān at Muḥammad's death. But their agreement ceases there. When did the present orthodox Ḳur'ān first take its written form? How complete and how authentic is it as it stands? To these questions there are widely differing answers. Some consider the Ḳur'ān to be, in the spirit if not in the letter of Muḥammad's words, nearly 100 per cent complete and authentic; these would allow for minor orthographic and dialectal changes, but for no more. Others admit considerable omissions and interpolations by the early caliphs and "readers." A smaller group looks on the Ḳur'ān as anything but the authentic revelation of Muḥammad and credits ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and his governor Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf not only with its collection but with a great deal of its contents.

We will now look briefly into the reasons for these conflicting views. The completeness and authenticity of the Ḳur'ān are naturally linked up with the date of its compilation; the earlier the date, the more complete and reliable is the text of the Ḳur'ān. The Arabic sources, to some extent confused and confusing, give rise to three different time possibilities. First there is a group of traditions which credit Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar with the first compilation.[16] Such credit is based in part on the following grounds: Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar were inspired by Allāh to make the collection;[17] many Ḳur'ān "readers," that is, reciters, perished in the Battle of ᶜAḳrabah, and Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar wished to collect the Ḳur'ān before other qualified readers should suffer the same fate;[18] variations among the different readers determined the two caliphs to take action before confusion set in.[19] Though these reasons seem at first sight to be plausible, thorough research has proved them inadmissible, and one is led to believe with Nöldeke and Schwally that the activities of Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar in this respect aimed at only a private and not an official collection of the Ḳur'ān.[20]

Most of the reasons given for Abū Bakr's and ᶜUmar's collection are repeated as motives for ᶜUthmān's edition; but Nöldeke and Schwally, sifting the materials before them, accept the tradition that the real reason for this edition lay in the differences which arose when non-Arabs, in this case Persians, attempted the reading of the Ḳur'ān and introduced alarming variations.[21] Nöldeke therefore views ᶜUthmān's as the first official edition of the Ḳur'ān and places it in the years A.H. 30–35.[22]

Nöldeke's conclusions received wide acceptance in the west and are still far from being discredited, though recently they have been somewhat challenged by the last group mentioned above, well represented by Casanova and Mingana. This group would on the one hand throw overboard the entire body of Muslim tradition concerning not only the Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar

[14] Hirschfeld, pp. 5 f.

[15] Sūrah 2:106; *Itḳān* II 20–27; Nöldeke, *GQ* I 52–55.

[16] Cf. Nöldeke, *GQ* II 4, for the many Arabic sources; see also *Muḳniᶜ*, p. 3, and Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 5–11.

[17] *Itḳān* I 58; Baghawī I 23.

[18] *Fihrist*, p. 24; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* I 19; Baghawī I 22; *Itḳān* I 59; *Muḳniᶜ*, p. 4; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 6–9.

[19] Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* I 20; *Itḳān* I 61.

[20] Nöldeke, *GQ* II 18–22.

[21] *Ibid.* p. 53; *Itḳān* I 61.

[22] Nöldeke, *GQ* II 47–62.

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collection but the ʿUthmān collection as well,[23] and on the other hand it would accept as of great significance the early Christian Arab evidence as typified in Kindī.[24] It supports its contention partly by the assumption that Arabic writing was still so undeveloped that it was not only very rarely used but was incapable of conveying the present written text of the Ḳur'ān, and partly by the assumption that, since the early Christian writers do not mention a Muslim *book*, there could not have been one for them to mention. Having thus disposed of the ʿUthmān edition, they proceed to show reasons—chiefly political—for the collection of what they consider the first official written Ḳur'ān in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān (65–86/684–705) through the agency of Ḥajjāj.[25]

This theory, tempting as it seems, has some serious drawbacks, for both the positive and the negative arguments for it are challengeable. The condition of Arabic writing in Muḥammad's time is indicated by *PERF* No. 558 (our Pls. IV–V), an Arabic papyrus of the reign of ʿUmar dated A.H. 22 and written in a fairly well developed manuscript hand in the distant province of Egypt, where Greek and Coptic were the written languages in general use. If written Arabic was so primitive and rare in its own homeland at the time of Muḥammad's death, how do we account for its practical use in Egypt only a short dozen years after that event? Again, to grant the incomplete development of orthography would give us reason to suspect only the *orthographic accuracy* of early Ḳur'ān editions but not the possibility of their existence. In this connection it is interesting to note that nowhere in the traditions of the earliest transmission of the Ḳur'ān is there any hint of serious orthographic or vowel difficulties; rather, it is differences in the Arabic tribal dialects and differences arising out of foreigners' use of Arabic that seem to demand attention. The foregoing considerations lead one to believe that, if we allow for such common mistakes as writers and copyists are liable to make, the Arabic writers of Muḥammad's time and of the time of the early caliphs were able scribes capable of producing an acceptable edition of a written Ḳur'ān despite the lack of all the improvements of modern written Arabic. Only when the common people in ever increasing numbers began to recite the Ḳur'ān as a pious act, much as a pious Catholic repeats the rosary, did errors in a grammatical sense appear and emphasize the need for *written* vocalization (see pp. 39–41).

The negative argument—that if there had been a written Ḳur'ān the contemporary Christian writers would have mentioned it—seems to lead neither here nor there. Why should we expect writers whom their own written testimony proves to have been so incapable of keeping up with the march of events all around them that they even failed to realize that a new religious idea, monotheism, was taking hold of their Arab neighbors and masters—why should we expect such men to be so wide awake and so well informed as positively to know of a Muslim book of which, at the best, but a few copies were in existence and those few carefully guarded from "unbelievers"? Even if we suppose that some of them did know what was going on, their interests were so largely limited to their congregations and to Christian heresy that the chances are just as good, particularly in early Islāmic times, for their not mentioning the Ḳur'ān as for their mentioning it; therefore their failure to mention the Ḳur'ān in their writings must in general be viewed as inconclusive, circumstantial evidence.

Finally, to suppose that the main reasons for a written Ḳur'ān were political and that they

[23] Mingana, "The transmission of the Ḳur'ān," pp. 46 f.

[24] *Ibid.* pp. 34–44; cf. Kindī, *Risālah*, pp. 78–83. For the period from the death of Muḥammad until and including the governorship of Ḥajjāj, Kindī accepts as evidence of wholesale tampering with the text of the Ḳur'ān the worst accusations of rival Muslim groups against each other. The unusual spirit of religious tolerance in Ma'mūn's day, when the *Risālah* was written, together with the general ʿAbbāsid policy of discrediting the fallen Umayyads and the outwitted and alienated ʿAlids, gave such accusations a currency and an air of validity beyond their just due.

[25] For a traditional, orthodox conception of the few changes introduced by Ḥajjāj cf. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 49 f. and 117 f.

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became apparent as late as the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik is to overlook Muslim Arab history up to that time and to fail to understand its motive power. There may be reason to credit the first four caliphs with an eschatological outlook and to use that as a motive for inaction; but no one who has paid careful attention to the long reign of Muʿāwiyah (40–60/660–80) could pronounce him anything but a shrewd, capable, and far-sighted statesman very much concerned with this world, both for his own reign and for that of his son and successor, and agree that he is rightly to be considered as the founder of the Arab Kingdom. Had there been no written Ḳur'ān in his day, he certainly would have ordered one compiled, for the very same reason that ʿAbd al-Malik and Ḥajjāj are supposed to have done so—namely for the politico-religious power it would give, not only in the home center but as a sanction for an aggressive imperial policy.

Thus if the reigns of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are too early, that of ʿAbd al-Malik is too late for the most likely date of an official and written Ḳur'ān. We are thrown back, then, with Nöldeke and Schwally, on the ʿUthmān edition. For, after all, the politico-religious attitude of the Persians of ʿUthmān's day is indicative of the situation among non-Arabs in general. With the temporary lull in the conquering advance, Muslims in general, and with them the central administration, became aware of a growing disunion in the Muslim world. The collection of an officially recognized text of the Ḳur'ān was one of the measures adopted to stem this threatening disintegration.[26] However, we do not accept the completeness and authenticity of ʿUthmān's edition to the extent that Nöldeke and Schwally do,[27] for we admit with Hirschfeld[28] not only omissions but interpolations of textual matter, and even go so far as to admit with ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, Casanova, and Mingana possible changes introduced by Ḥajjāj, though both the nature and the extent of these are not to be readily determined.

There seems to be general agreement as to the method and the personnel of the editorial commission that brought out the ʿUthmān edition. The main sources are said to have been the previous collection of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, which was then in the possession of Ḥafṣah, one of Muḥammad's widows, and the collections of the individual members of the committee, derived either from their own written notations or from their memories.[29] The committee consisted of Zaid ibn Thābit as chief editor, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubair, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣī, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith,[30] whose qualifications for their tasks are set forth briefly by Nöldeke.[31] ʿUthmān is supposed to have made one stipulation only, that the dialect of the Ḳuraish should be preferred in cases of differences arising between the non-Ḳuraishite chairman, Zaid ibn Thābit, and the other members of his committee.

Orthodox Islām has accepted the order of the sūrahs as they appear in ʿUthmān's edition, though it is difficult to tell on what basis or bases Zaid worked in giving us that order. Some claim to see a textual connection; but the majority see only a haphazard arrangement based largely on the length of the sūrahs, the longest (excluding the first) coming first in order, though even this is not carried out consistently.

Related to this problem of textual order is the question of the chronological order of whole sūrahs or of parts within sūrahs, since many sūrahs are admittedly composed of Makkan and Madīnan portions. The question is naturally very significant, and Muslims and non-Muslims alike have bent their energies to its solution. We have as a result order schemes that are re-

[26] I am indebted to Professor Sprengling for this observation.

[27] *GQ* I 234–61 and II 47–62. Cf. also Jeffery, "Abū ʿUbaid on the verses missing from the Qurʾān," *Moslem World* XXVIII 61–65.

[28] *New Researches*, pp. 137 f.

[29] For an account of these and other early collections see Jeffery, *Materials*.

[30] Cf. *Fihrist*, pp. 24 f.; *Itḳān* I 61.

[31] *GQ* II 54–62.

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markable both for their points of agreement and for their differences. But authenticity and accuracy rather than chronology and consistency seem to have been the objectives of Zaid and his editorial committee; and the lengths to which they went in order to achieve these objectives are seen in the inclusion in their text of the letters, to us still mysterious and unintelligible, that appear at the heads of twenty-nine of the sūrahs.

Orthodox Islām attributes these letters to Muḥammad and has two general theories as to their nature and purpose. The first of these is that they are mystic signs the meaning of which is known to God alone; the second, that they are abbreviations that admit of a rational interpretation.[32] Variants of both theories have found supporters among modern thinkers. Loth, attributing the symbols to Muḥammad, accepted the first, seeing in the letters a Jewish influence similar to the cabala's mystic symbols, since, as he points out, these letters are found in Madīnan but not in Makkan sūrahs.[33] Nöldeke, after suggesting that they were likely monograms of the original owners of the written collections of sūrahs,[34] gave up the theory and took Loth's position.[35] But the monogram theory would not be downed: Sprenger championed it, though with some modifications;[36] and decades later it was still upheld by Hirschfeld.[37]

The next step was taken when Hans Bauer suggested that these letters were abbreviations of well known Ḳur'ānic expressions or catchwords occurring in the text of the particular sūrah.[38] But a more fruitful suggestion came from Goossens, who saw in these letters not only catchwords but catchwords that were once the earlier and current *names* or *titles* of these sūrahs.[39] Some details of these theories and a concise estimate of their value are given by Jeffery in his article cited above.

For our purpose here these letters, whether we consider them as scribes' notes, monograms of owners, significant catchwords, or earlier titles of sūrahs, point to two facts bearing on the transmission of the Ḳur'ān: first, that considerable portions of the Ḳur'ān were actually in written form before ʿUthmān's edition; second, that Zaid and his committee sought scrupulously to preserve these.

The task before the committee was not only to produce a "standard" Ḳur'ān but to make several copies (the traditions vary as to the number),[40] which were to be sent to the leading cities of the provinces with orders that all previous versions were to be destroyed.[41] But despite these orders and precautions fragments and sections of other collections undoubtedly continued in the possession of private owners, and differences soon crept into even the official copies in the different cities. Thus the Damascus Ḳur'āns were more like the original one of Madīnah, while those of Baṣrah and Kūfah showed close similarities in their differences from the other two.[42] Moreover, there are the nonorthodox, particularly the Shīʿite, versions to consider. But, whereas the differences of the former group were mainly secondary, affecting orthography, dialect, and sūrah and verse division and organization, those of the latter have doctrinal significance, growing out of the politico-religious situation centering around the claims of the house of ʿAlī to the caliphate.[43]

[32] Many such interpretations have been suggested; cf. *Itḳān* II 8–13; Nöldeke, *GQ* II 69–78. Jeffery, "The mystic letters of the Koran," gives a concise treatment of the subject.

[33] *ZDMG* XXXV 603–10.

[34] *Geschichte des Qorâns* (1st ed.) pp. 215 f.; Jeffery, *op. cit.* pp. 249 f.

[35] *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., art. "Koran"; Jeffery, *loc. cit.*

[36] *Leben* II 182.

[37] *New Researches*, pp. 141–43.

[38] *ZDMG* LXXV 1–20.

[39] *Der Islam* XIII 191–226.

[40] *Muḳniʿ*, p. 10; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 34; *Itḳān* I 62; Nöldeke, *GQ* II 112–15.

[41] *Fihrist*, p. 25; Nöldeke, *op. cit.* pp. 115–19.

[42] Nöldeke, *GQ* III 15.

[43] Cf. Nöldeke, *GQ* II 93–112, and Nadwi, Bankipore *Catalogue*, No. 1204.

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What was the ultimate fate of the earliest Ḳur'ān fragments and of ʿUthmān's "standard" copies? To believe, with Casanova and Mingana, that they never existed in the first place is, in view of the stand we have taken, out of the question. Tradition tells us that of the former all that ʿUthmān could lay hands on except Ḥafṣah's copy were destroyed and makes much ado about the process of destruction.[44] Of the latter we learn from ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī that the Kūfah copy was supposed to be extant in his day, though he himself believes it to have been lost in the insurrection of Mukhtār (67/686). Either this or the Baṣrah copy seems to have survived till 369/979–80, when it is reported as one of the insignia of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Ṭā'iʿ.[45] The Madīnah copy is reported to have been lost in the days of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah (60–64/679–683), that of Makkah to have been burned in a conflagration caused by Abū al-Sarāyā (200/815).[46] The Syrian copy, which was probably sent to Damascus, seems to have been moved about in the course of the centuries. It is reported, in the troublous times of the First Crusade, to have been transported from Tiberias (Ṭabariyyah) to Damascus in 492/1099 and put for safety in the treasury of the Great Mosque.[47] When in the course of the Second Crusade an attempt was made in 543/1148 by the Crusaders to storm Damascus, this copy of ʿUthmān's Ḳur'ān was raised high before the people in order to arouse and stiffen their resistance.[48] Ibn Marzūḳ (d. 781/1379–80) in his *Masnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan*, a collection of authenticated traditions, reports the Syrian copy still at Damascus in 657/1259;[49] and it is there that it figured again in 680/1280–81 in the celebration of the victory of Sultan Ḳalāwūn over the Mongols.[50] The Makkan and Madīnan copies were likewise reported by Ibn Marzūḳ to have been in their respective cities in 657/1259. The Baṣrah copy is reported by the same source to have been in Madīnah as late as 705/1305–6.[51] Another copy of ʿUthmān's edition is reported as figuring in the taking of oaths at Cairo, first in the reign of the Circassian Mameluke Sultan Jān Balāṭ in 906/1500 and again in the reign of Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī in 908/1502 and 911/1505.[52] This may have been that ʿIrāḳian copy—perhaps that of Kūfah, since the Baṣrah copy had found its way to Madīnah—which had come to form a part of the insignia of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. As such it may have found its way to Cairo with the transfer of the ʿAbbāsids to the court of the Mameluke sultans after the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258. To accept it as a copy sent out originally to Cairo by ʿUthmān raises the question why it was not mentioned before this late date. There is, however, always the possibility that earlier references to it may yet show up.

With this brief introduction to the collection and writing of the Ḳur'ān up to the end of ʿUthmān's reign, we now turn our attention first to the writing materials used at that time and thereafter and then to the more difficult question of the writing itself.

WRITING MATERIALS

There is reason to believe that at first no special attention was paid to the writing materials, Muḥammad's scribes using such materials—stones, wood, bark, leaves, silk rags, leather,

[44] Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* I 20; *Itḳān* II 172.

[45] Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, p. 164.

[46] Kindī, *Risālah*, p. 81; cf. Mingana, *op. cit.* p. 41. For Abū al-Sarāyā see *EI* IV 170 f.

[47] Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, p. 171.

[48] Muir, *The Mameluke Dynasty*, p. xxi.

[49] Maḳḳārī I 222 f.

[50] Howorth, *History of the Mongols* III 274. This copy is supposed to have remained at Damascus until comparatively recent times, when it was lost in the conflagration of the Great Mosque in 1893; cf. Muir, *op. cit.* pp. xxi and 186. If that is true, it must have escaped the burning of this mosque by Tīmūr in A.D. 1400, "when everything in the mosque which was not of stone was destroyed by fire" (Rivoira, p. 81).

[51] Maḳḳārī I 222 f.

[52] Ibn Iyās III 445; Muir, *op. cit* pp. 185 f., n. 2, and 190.

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parchment, and papyrus—as had been in use among the Arabs before his time.[53] The Ḳur'ān itself contains several interesting references to writing materials. Papyrus (*ḳirṭās*) is mentioned in Sūrah 6:7 and 91; writing tablets (*alwāḥ*), which may be either wooden or stone slabs, in Sūrahs 7:145, 150, 154; 54:13; and 85:22; parchment (*raḳḳ*), in Sūrah 52:3. Written portions, regardless of size or writing material, are referred to as *ṣuḥuf*,[54] a term conveying the idea of loose pages, leaflets, or even small pamphlets.[55] The term *maṣḥaf* was, we are told, associated with the complete volume of ʿUthmān's edition and continued in use thereafter to mean particularly the Ḳur'ān.[56]

Arabic sources are more detailed in specifying the different writing materials. Thus the *Fihrist* lists scraps (*riḳāʿ*), thin limestone slabs (*likhāf*), and palm-tree bark (*ʿusub*);[57] *Itḳān* I 59 f. mentions not only the foregoing but also shoulder blades (*aktāf*), ribs (*aḍlāʿ*), saddle boards (*aḳtāb*), leather pieces (*ḳiṭaʿ adīm*), parchments (*aurāḳ*), and papyri (*ḳarāṭīs*). Ṭabarī mentions two other products of the palm tree, the palm leaf (*saʿaf*) and the palm trunk (*kirnāf*).[58]

If such were the materials on which the early collections were written, which of them was used for the new and official collection? Remembering the avowed aim of the collection—preservation of all scattered parts and permanency of the whole—we must consider primarily leather and parchment, the others being too bulky and/or subject to easy damage. Though leather must have been more easily available at that time, parchment seems to have been preferred. According to one tradition, Zaid ibn Thābit made his first collection for Abū Bakr on leather pieces, shoulder blades, and palm bark,[59] and it was ʿUmar who later had them recopied into one volume. Another tradition tells us that Abū Bakr's collection was made on papyrus, still another that it was on parchment.[60] Since papyrus is hardly likely because of its rarity and its high cost in Arabia, we are fairly safe in concluding that parchment was the material used for Abū Bakr's collection and also for ʿUthmān's edition. It is possible that some of the early private collections on parchment were in roll form.[61] Abū Bakr, however, is credited with being the first to put the Ḳur'ān into book form.[62] ʿUthmān's edition seems to have taken the same form.[63] Though parchment became more and more the Ḳur'ān material, leather held its own in the secular field, where we find its wide use attested in the *Fihrist*.[64]

Various qualities of parchment were produced, depending on the source of the skin and on the manufacturing process.[65] Although almost any skin available was used, sheep, calf, goat, and gazelle skins were preferred, since from these beautiful, fine, creamy white parchment could be produced. The Egyptian (formerly Khedivial) Library at Cairo is said to have several Ḳur'ān manuscripts on gazelle parchment.[66] Parchment, however, was not limited to Ḳu'rānic or religious purposes. We find Muʿāwiyah using it in the new *dīwān*'s;[67] and, despite the early

[53] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, pp. 21–64; *Fihrist*, p. 21; *Itḳān* I 60; *KPA*, pp. 16–24.

[54] E.g. Sūrahs 80:13–16; 98:2.

[55] Nöldeke, *GQ* I 11 and II 24.

[56] *Itḳān* I 59; Nöldeke, *GQ* II 24.

[57] *Fihrist*, pp. 21 and 24. *Riḳāʿ* included scraps of leather, parchment, and (later) paper; cf. *Itḳān* I 60.

[58] *Tafsīr* I 21.

[59] Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* I 20.

[60] *Itḳān* I 60, where we are also told that in Muḥammad's house were found many parchments (*aurāḳ*) with Ḳur'ān writing. Cf. *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, pp. 55 f., for use of parchment by some of the Companions.

[61] *Islamic Book*, p. 30; see also Mingana, *op. cit.* pp. 28 and 46, where *ṣuḥuf* is translated as "rolls" and both Abū Bakr's and ʿUthmān's mss. are described as such.

[62] Ibn Abī Dāwūd, pp. 5 f.: *jamaʿa bain al-lauḥain*. Cf. also *Itḳān* I 61.

[63] *Itḳān*, *loc. cit.*; cf. Nöldeke, *GQ* II 23–27, and *Islamic Book*, *loc. cit.*, for the forms of early Ḳur'āns.

[64] *Fihrist*, p. 21.

[65] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, pp. 56–58.

[66] *Ibid.* p. 57.

[67] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, p. 56.

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encroachment of the more practical paper, it continued long in use. In our collection of Ḳur'ānic manuscripts we have some parchments dating from the 3d and 4th centuries; others are known that date much later in the Middle Ages.[68] The latest commercial parchments in our collection date from 336/947; similar parchments reproduced by Moritz bear the date 423/1032.[69] The latest parchments in the Vienna, Berlin, and Heidelberg collections are dated 356/967, 418/1027, and 451/1059 respectively.[70]

The finished parchment shows a slight difference in color and texture between the hair and flesh sides. The former is a shade darker, somewhat glossy at times, and takes the ink better; for this reason it was the more frequently used in private and commercial documents, though cases where the flesh side was preferred are not wanting.[71] The Ḳur'ān codices used both sides, arranging them, for aesthetic reasons, so that two flesh sides or two hair sides faced each other.

Small as the Oriental Institute collection is, it nevertheless illustrates various grades of parchment. The Ḳur'ān pieces are decidedly better in manufacture and finer in quality than the commercial ones. Among the former our No. 4 is so fine and transparent that the writing on each side is clearly visible on the other, despite the fact that the ink is neither very heavy nor very black. Over against this, Oriental Institute Museum No. A 6967, a deed of endowment, is a palimpsest of coarse parchment that has survived the double use and the ravages of time much better than the originally superior product.

Karabacek has gone with great detail into the introduction, use, and manufacture of paper among the Arabs.[72] It appears that paper became known to the Arabs in Samarḳand; that it had become an article of trade as early as 30/650 and was in use in Makkah by ᶜUmar ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz in 88/707; that the first Arab paper factory was established at Baghdad by Hārūn al-Rashīd in 177/793; and that thereafter paper was manufactured in most of the leading cities of the Empire.[73]

Though it was to become *the* writing material, paper was slow in ousting leather, papyrus, and parchment, perhaps especially so in the Ḳur'ānic field, which continued the wide use of parchment until the days of Rashīd (170–193/786–808), who then ordered that Ḳur'āns be written on paper.[74] It is therefore not surprising to find the earliest Arabic paper manuscripts of the Vienna collection dating from his reign.[75] But if a *warrāḳ* was one who wrote on paper,[76] then paper Ḳur'āns could have been written early in the 2d century, since Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 130/747) is reported to have been both a *warrāḳ* and one who copied the Ḳur'ān for a fee (see p. 29).

Arab or oriental paper is easily distinguished by its thick, strong substance, smooth and glossy surface, and creamy or light yellowish color,[77] as also by the fact that it lacks watermarks, which were first introduced into paper-making in Italy as late as A.D. 1282.[78] All but one of the Oriental Institute's paper Ḳur'ān manuscripts are on this type of oriental paper. The exception, our No. 31, of a late period, is on very thin and somewhat crisp paper. Though it is

[68] Cf. Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. LXI (652/1254); *Hespéris* XVII 109 (801/1399); and Ahlwardt I, Nos. 414–15 (*ca.* 900/1494).

[69] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 115–16; cf. *EI* II 385.

[70] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, p. 57.

[71] *Ibid.* p. 58; Oriental Institute Museum Nos. A 6965–67, published in Abbott, *The Monasteries of the Fayyūm*, pp. 1–21.

[72] *Ar. Papier.* Cf. also *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, p. 58, and Carter, *The Invention of Printing*, chronological table and chap. xiii.

[73] *Ar. Papier*, pp. 22 f. and 35–42.

[74] Ḳalḳashandī II 475.

[75] *Ar. Papier*, p. 4.

[76] Ḳalḳashandī II 476.

[77] Cf. Ḳalḳashandī II 476 f.

[78] *Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed., XVII 229. Cf. Sindall, *Paper Technology*, pp. 355 f.

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difficult to trace the origin of fine paper of this latter sort, we do know that such fine paper was made in Kashmir in the 16th and 17th centuries.[79] Very thin paper was first brought to Europe from China in 1750.[80] It was from India that Oxford first imported a fine paper about the middle of the 19th century, and successful imitations of it have received the name "India paper."[81]

SPECIFIC FEATURES IN ḲUR'ĀNIC WRITING

Having already gone into the question of Ḳur'ānic scripts, we turn our attention here to other phases of early Ḳur'ānic writing. We have noted that the Ḳur'ān was considered as a monument, since the monumental script was adopted for it. Further evidence of the dignified place it occupied is given by the size as well as the form of its script. ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, we are told, abhorred Ḳur'āns in small script and was delighted when he saw large copies. ʿAlī likewise urged large script, and the practice found favor among his successors, for Ḳur'āns of the early centuries were certainly written in a large hand. In this respect the *bismillāh* seems to have received early and special attention, which showed itself in extended letters and in a generally more careful execution; for the latter feature forgiveness of sins was promised as a reward. Zaid ibn Thābit and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣī disliked the *bism* without the *s;* ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wished *al-raḥmān* extended; Ibn Sīrīn (d. A.H. 110) even specified that in the *bism* the letter extended should be the *s* and not the *b*.[82]

Ḳur'ān manuscripts written in gold or silver were known as early as the days of Ibn Masʿūd (d. A.H. 32, aged 60 and odd years). The *Fihrist* mentions three of the earliest Ḳur'ān copyists, of whom the first is Khālid ibn Abī al-Hayyāj, a companion of ʿAlī and a scribe of Walīd. Khālid wrote the Ḳur'ān from Sūrah 91 to the end in gold for the Mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah. When ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz saw this, he wished a copy like it. The copy was made with great care, but when finished it was refused by the thrifty ʿUmar on account of the high price set on it.[83] Unfortunately we do not have a description of the script of this copy. Large and magnificent Ḳur'āns continued to be in favor for court and mosque for many centuries. As these could not be produced cheaply and hastily, they helped to change Ḳur'ān-writing from a pious and charitable act to an honored and well paid profession,[84] calling not only for master copyists but for efficient illuminators[85] and binders.

The *bismillāh* and the letters of the alphabet found at the beginnings of some of the sūrahs (cf. p. 50) were considered from the start as part and parcel of the Ḳur'ān and were therefore always included in any copy of it. Not so the diacritical and vowel signs. Ibn Masʿūd wished for no signs whatsoever in the Ḳur'ān, and he was not alone in this. Mālik allowed them for smaller copies intended for the instruction of children, but not for the mosque copies.

[79] Hunter, *Papermaking*, p. 239.

[80] Grant, *Books and Documents*, p. 27. [81] Sindall, *op. cit.* pp. 356–58.

[82] *Itḳān* II 170. The *bismillāh* as found in non-Ḳur'ānic manuscripts also received special attention; cf. e.g. Ḳalḳashandī III 133–42, which also gives illustrations.

[83] *Fihrist*, pp. 6 and 40; Khālid must have been a very young companion of ʿAlī and an elderly scribe of Walīd. Björkman does not list him among Walīd's scribes.

[84] *ʿUyūn* II 131 and III 271; *Itḳān* II 171.

[85] *Fihrist*, pp. 7 and 9 f. The term *mudhahhib*, literally "gilder," is frequently, though sometimes erroneously, so translated. The earliest ornamentation of the Ḳur'ān consisted chiefly in the use of gold, the artist being naturally then termed the "gilder." Particularly in the earlier centuries, the calligrapher and the gilder were one and the same person. Later, however, elaborate ornamentation led to differentiation of functions. Though the use of gold was now freely supplemented with a rich color scheme, still the use of the earlier term, *mudhahhib*, prevailed. It is clear, therefore, that at this stage the word should be translated as "illuminator," not "gilder." Cf. *Islamic Book*, pp. 14 and 97, also Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, p. xii.

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Punctuation signs at the ends of verses and for groups of five and ten verses met with the same kind of opposition at the hands of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (A.H. 59–96), Mujāhid (20–103), Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110), and Mālik (112–79), as did also addition of the name of the sūrah and the number of its verses at the beginning or end of a sūrah.[86] But others evidently kept some of these signs for the sake of accuracy. Thus in the same period we find different practices—a situation which in turn makes it difficult to date any of the Ḳur'ān manuscripts of the early centuries with absolute certainty. For example, *Ar. Pal.* Plates 1–16 are dated by Moritz in the 1st–2d century; of these, Plates 1–12, which belong to the same copy, are assigned more definitely by Grohmann to about 107/725.[87] Again, *Ar. Pal.* Plate 17 is placed by Moritz in the 2d century, but Karabacek would place it in the 3d (see p. 26, n. 63). Furthermore, *Ar. Pal.* Plates 19–36, placed by Moritz in the 2d–3d century, show a variety of practices. Plates 19–30 have the old systems of diacritical strokes and vowel dots; but Plates 31–36 have in addition to these the modern vowel-stroke system and also other orthographic signs such as the *hamzah* and the *shaddah*, both of which, as we have seen above, were known in the second half of the 2d century. It is the same story of lack of uniformity in the five- and ten-verse signs; thus *Ar. Pal.* Plates 1 and 2 show an ornamental square, with no reference to the number of verses, while Plates 15 and 16 show a square and a circular ornament respectively, each coming at the end of a sūrah and including letter numerals which give the number of its verses.

The earliest Ḳur'āns show short strokes, varying from three to ten, at the end of each verse. These were replaced later by simple circles. Some 2d–3d-century specimens show a large *alif* with a right-angled bend at its foot and a circle for the five- and ten-verse divisions respectively. Others have squares and circles, with or without letter numerals, for these groupings. Later Ḳur'āns have small five- to twelve-petaled rosettes,[88] plain or whirled, for the verse endings, while various ornaments, with or without *khamsah* or *'ashr* written within, mark these groupings. Still later copies, no longer in the early Ḳur'ānic scripts but in the beautiful *naskhī* and elaborate *thuluth*, introduced profuse ornamentation for covers, end papers, flyleaves, title-pages, sūrah headings, and the thirty divisions (*ajzā'*) of the Ḳur'ān.[89] These decorations in their earlier and simpler forms included little or no writing. Later, however, not only were the titles of the sūrahs introduced, including in some cases (e.g. our No. 30) the number of verses and a statement as to whether these were Makkan or Madīnan, but Ḳur'ānic phrases began to appear on the cover flap and on the flyleaves and title-pages of the whole and of the *ajzā'*. Both simple and elaborate Kūfic, as well as the *thuluth* script, were employed for this purpose, as may be seen in the finest specimens of the Mameluke period.

The Ḳur'ān phrases and verses appearing most frequently on covers and title-pages are Sūrahs 26:192–96[90] and 56:77–80;[91] of the latter passage Caliph Mustakfī (A.H. 333–34) ordered that verses 79–80 be written on all Ḳur'āns.[92] In addition to these verses, some of which are usually written in the upper and lower panels, Sūrah 35:31 f. in some cases incloses the central ornamental design.[93]

Selections from the foregoing verses appear also for the *juz'* headings, which include a number of additional short phrases, such as *kalām al-majīd, kalām al-ḳadīm, al-furḳān, kalām al-*

[86] *Itḳān* II 171.

[87] *Islamic Book*, p. 22.

[88] The use of the rosette for Ḳur'ānic and general decorative purposes was paralleled by its use as a heraldic emblem. Introduced as such by the Ayyūbids, it became very popular with the early Mamelukes; cf. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, pp. 24 f. and 80.

[89] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 50 ff. and our Nos. 18–32. Cf. also *Islamic Book*, Pls. 9–11 and 26–30, for non-Ḳur'ānic specimens.

[90] See our No. 30 and *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 53, 56, and 62 f.

[91] See our No. 21 and *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 50 f. and 54 f.

[92] *El-Ḳor'ân*, tr. by Rodwell, p. 54, n. 4.

[93] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 56 f.

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khāliḳ, and *kalām rabb al-ʿālamīn*. Since these phrases are always preceded by the number of the *juz'*, followed by the preposition *min*, they are to be taken as so many descriptive names of the Ḳur'ān as a whole; but among them are not only such terms as *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*, which are regularly used to indicate the Ḳur'ān,[94] but others drawn from the list of the ninety-nine names of Allāh. An assumption that a specific phrase would be used for the heading of a given *juz'* because it occurred within, and somewhere near the beginning of, the *juz'* itself proved upon examination not to be justified.

Out of the voluminous traditions bearing on every phase of the reading of the Ḳur'ān and supplemented by later works on specific phases of the subject grew an elaborate system termed by the Muslims *ʿilm al-ḳirā'ah*.[95] It might justly be called both the science and the art of reading the Ḳur'ān,[96] since it covers both the scientific knowledge concerning the written Ḳur'ān and the artistic ability to give a correct and pleasing recitation of the same. More specifically, *ʿilm al-ḳirā'ah* covers the orthographic rules and peculiarities of the Ḳur'ān, its various readings, both orthodox and nonorthodox, its various text divisions, its punctuation, correct pronunciation and intonation, and the general marginal notations indicating acts of worship—especially prostration (*sajdah*)—to be performed during a Ḳur'ān recital. Reading symbols and notations are seldom found on old parchment Ḳur'āns. Paper Ḳur'āns, however, are frequently elaborately marked with the symbols of one or more phases of *ʿilm al-ḳirā'ah*.

Color, like gold, played an early part in Ḳur'ānic manuscripts, in some of the earliest of which it was used for vowels and other orthographic signs (see pp. 39–41 and 44). Various shades of green, blue, and red, almost always with black and gold, and in later Ḳur'āns with white also, were used for general ornamental purposes. Red and blue, and sometimes green, were also used for the elaborate reading symbols and notations.

BINDING

Sarre in his magnificent volume *Islamic Bookbindings* and Grohmann in *The Islamic Book* have given us detailed descriptions and many beautiful color reproductions of book covers, from which much may be learned. It seems clear that from the earliest times the Muslim book resembled the Coptic, which in turn was much influenced by the classical codex not only in format but also in binding and in cover decoration.[97] Muslim sources point to Abyssinia as the country from which the direct borrowing came and assert that the idea of binding the first collected portions of the Ḳur'ān between two boards was adopted in the days of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr.[98] Wooden covers had long been in use by the Abyssinians, and Grohmann traces in the development of this kind of binding "first the quite primitive method of tying the body of the book without the use of a leather back to the blank wooden covers by strings of gut, then the more advanced method with the back pasted on to a strip of leather which is fastened to the two boards, and lastly the wooden boards artistically covered with an ornamental leather cover and inside covered with silk or cloth."[99] Such wooden boards gave way to lighter

[94] Cf. *Itḳān* I 51 f. and *The Holy Qur-án*, ed. and tr. by Muhammad Ali, p. xxviii.

[95] Bergsträsser and Jeffery worked out a "plan" for the critical study of the Ḳur'ān which is to cover all available literature in this field. Pretzl is now carrying on the work of Bergsträsser. For further details of the "plan" and for the work already done by these three scholars see Bibliography.

[96] Sell, in his work entitled *'Ilm-i-tajwīd, or The Art of Reading the Qurān*, has taken the phrase *ʿilm al-tajwīd*, which is but a phase of *ʿilm al-ḳirā'ah*, translated it as "the art of reading the Qurān," and extended it to cover all the phases of the more inclusive *ʿilm al-ḳirā'ah*. Pretzl more correctly translates the latter as "die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung" and treats the *tajwīd* as a subdivision. Cf. *Islamica* VI 1 and 231–34; also *EI* IV 601, art. "Tadjwīd."

[97] *Islamic Book*, pp. 34–58; cf. Sarre, p. 11.

[98] *Itḳān* I 59 and 61; cf. *Islamic Book*, pp. 30 and 44.

[99] *Islamic Book*, p. 44.

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and more practical leather-covered paperboard bindings. The distinctive Muslim feature of the binding is the flap extension of the left-hand cover of the book. It consists of two sections, a rectangular part with the height and thickness of the book for its two dimensions and a five-sided end section which folds inside the right-hand cover. It thus protects the front edges of the leaves and helps to keep the book well closed. The end section, which is protected by the right-hand cover, is usually better preserved than the rest of the binding and, since it was treated as an integral part thereof in both material and decoration, has served a valuable purpose in the hands of the student of Muslim bookbinding.

The earliest leather bindings were comparatively simple. But as sumptuousness became the rule in Ḳur'ānic texts, the binding followed suit, and intricate, glittering, geometric designs, with now and again a floral motif,[100] adorned the outer covers. Though it is possible that at first the bookbinder himself added the simple ornamentation, division of labor must for the most part have followed early among the gilders, leather-toolers, and bookbinders proper (see p. 54, n. 85). Instances where some of these functions were still performed by famous calligraphers of a considerably later period[101] must be considered as exceptions that prove the rule. Repeated misfortunes to, and destructions of, Muslim libraries[102] account for the comparative rarity of early Muslim volumes, and it is to the kindly climate of Egypt that we owe most of the copies extant. Specimens from the later centuries have fared better, especially from the period of the Mameluke dynasties (A.D. 1260–1517) of Egypt. The Oriental Institute is fortunate in having several bindings from this period, some of which have been published by the Art Institute of Chicago.[103]

WAḲF

From the earliest times the Ḳur'ān was definitely associated with the mosque and its services; the earliest "standard" copies of ʿUthmān's edition of the Ḳur'ān were placed in the leading mosques of the several cities to which they were sent. The practice spread and increased, so that besides the special or official copy of a particular mosque several other copies were placed there, either by the authorities or by some pious donor. The numbers at some of the outstanding mosques soon mounted to hundreds and even to thousands, so that as early as the beginning of the 3d century a special trustee had to be appointed to look after them.[104] Some of the older and rarer copies came to be regarded as sacred relics and formed part of the treasure of the mosque. The large quantities can be accounted for partly by the zeal of pious Muslims, rulers or otherwise, and partly by the fact that from the start the mosques were the educational centers of Islām. Here not only were the Ḳur'ān, the Ḥadīth, and philology studied by the more mature, but elementary schools were established for the education of the young, who were taught mainly to recite and read the Ḳur'ān.[105]

A favorite method by which pious Muslims donated Ḳur'āns to mosques was by the institution of *waḳf* or endowment, a method borrowed from Byzantine practice.[106] Endowments,

[100] Among these are various modifications of both the eastern and the western type of the fleur-de-lis; cf. our Nos. 28 and 30, also Art Institute of Chicago, *Loan Exhibition*, Nos. 2–4. For the origin of this motif as a decorative design and as a heraldic emblem see Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, pp. 22–24.

[101] Cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād* V 446–48, where Ibn al-Bawwāb is reported to have performed all these functions in a masterly effort to replace a bound *juz'* of a Ḳur'ān written by Ibn Muḳlah. See also Aga-Oglu, *Persian Bookbindings*, p. 16 and Pl. XVII, where the Persian calligrapher Zain al-ʿAbdīn ibn Muḥammad is seen to be both an illuminator and a bookbinder as late as 863/1459.

[102] *Islamic Book*, pp. 32 f. Cf. also Mackensen in *AJSL* LI 83–113.

[103] *A Loan Exhibition of Islamic Bookbindings* (1932).

[104] Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāh* . . . . , p. 469.

[105] *EI* III 342.

[106] Becker in *Der Islam* II 404 f.

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whether of real estate or of movable property, were always made in perpetuity; they could be neither sold, transferred, inherited, nor given away, nor could they revert to the donor or his heirs.[107] All these restrictions meant rapid accumulation of donated Ḳur'āns; and these, as we have seen, were many.

Tomb sanctuaries were not in favor in early Islām, because they savored of idolatry; but, when due precautions were taken against their being considered objects of worship or being even connected with undue veneration of the deceased, they were then sanctioned, despite the preponderance of Ḥadīth pronouncements against them. At any rate the practice spread rapidly, and tomb shrines and sanctuaries in honor of biblical and Muslim saints and of the mighty men of Islām sprang up in all the parts of the Empire and acquired the character of tomb-mosques. These tomb-mosques were frequently prepared and built by men of power in their own lifetimes, for instance by the Mameluke sultans, with whom the mausoleum-mosque was the regular practice.[108] Such tombs went usually by the name of *turbah* or *ḳubbah*,[109] and for them Ḳur'ān recitations and copies of the Ḳur'ān were provided. The paper manuscripts in the Oriental Institute collection include several *turbah* Ḳur'āns of the Mameluke period.

[107] See *waḳf* notation in our No. 21 on p. 76, also other notations referred to in n. 49.

[108] *CIA Ég.* I, Nos. 70–412; *CIA Jér.* I, Nos. 170–90. Cf. Creswell in *BIFAO* XVI 77–157.

[109] *CIA Ég.* I, Nos. 70, 79, 82–85, 95 f., and 106 f.

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IV

ḲUR'ĀN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE[1]

PARCHMENT

The Oriental Institute collection of Ḳur'ānic manuscripts includes fifteen parchment folios and two fragments. These represent fourteen different codices, among which are large mosque Ḳur'āns as well as smaller ones for private use. They range from about the second half of the 1st up to the 4th century after the Hijrah.

The problem of assigning a date to an undated manuscript is seldom simple. In the case of Ḳur'ān manuscripts the tendency has been to assume that those in large scripts and without vowels are of the very earliest dates. This assumption, true to some extent, is nevertheless misleading in two respects. It ignores the fact that small as well as large Ḳur'āns were among the earliest written and that both types continued to be written thereafter. It also ignores the fact that even after the introduction of the vowel system Ḳur'ān copies were written without the vowels. Though the assumption that manuscripts with vowels must be considerably later than those without is true in some cases, it is not always so, for some very early Ḳur'āns, originally without vowels, may well have been voweled later;[2] furthermore, the first vowel system came into use shortly after the first *maṣāḥif* were written. Beginning with ʿAlī and al-Du'alī, reformers and innovators in this field persisted at their task down to Khalīl. The significant thing about this group of reformers (cf. pp. 39–41) is that they were all from ʿIrāḳ. Equally significant is the fact that most of the serious objectors (see pp. 41 and 54 f.) were men of the Ḥijāz down to the time of Mālik of Madīnah, who, although he allowed the use of vowels for small Ḳur'ān copies meant for the instruction of the young, disapproved of their use in the large copies intended for the mosques. These being the facts, it would be natural to find the use of vowels much more frequent in the Kūfic-Baṣran copies than in the Makkan-Madīnan ones of the same period. The same is true with regard to simplicity of punctuation and ornamentation, since it was these same ʿIrāḳī reformers who took the lead in marking off groups of five and ten verses and in writing the title and the number of verses of each sūrah. For such additions they found it necessary to use more color and ornament than did the Ḥijāzī conservatives, who led in the opposition to these as well. In dating the following parchments these facts as well as the script characteristics have been taken into consideration.

The Oriental Institute parchments have suffered much damage. In several cases it is difficult to tell the original size and the number of lines to the page. However, by careful comparison of the manuscript text with the printed Ḳur'ān text the approximate size and number of lines to the page can sometimes be computed; whenever possible, this has been done.

[1] In all measurements height precedes breadth.

Where orthographic signs have been too faint in the photographs they have been touched up to bring out the particular signs under consideration.

Sūrah and verse references are according to the 1347/1928 Cairo edition of the Ḳur'ān, which follows the Kūfan system in numbering the verses and differs considerably from the hitherto more generally used Flügel edition.

[2] There could be several reasons for this: a new owner of the Ḳur'ān may not have been sure of his readings; an old Ḳur'ān copy may have been turned over for the use of school children; there may have been a desire to follow current practices by bringing an old manuscript up to date; etc. It is true that in most instances such later additions can be easily recognized, yet there may be cases where the additions are so carefully executed as to defy detection.

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No. 1. A 6959. 1st–2d Century after the Hijrah.[3] Plates VIII–IX

Size and general condition.—Fine large parchment 21×35 cm., containing the last 10 lines on each page. The text lost between recto and verso would need about 8 more lines. Thus there would be 18 lines to the full page, which must therefore have measured about 40×35 cm. The lower and outer margins are broken; the inner margin shows signs of the binding.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 68:9 (فيد هنو[ن])–24 (end); verso, *ibid.*: 36 (كيف)–45 (كيدى). Verso 4–5 (verse 41) has شركوا and بشركواهم for شركآء and بشركآئهم of the printed text respectively. I have found no comment on this either in the better known commentaries or by Ibn Khālawaih, Ibn Jinnī, and Dānī.[4]

Script.—Clear and carefully executed Makkan, with its three characteristics of slight backward slant, long vertical strokes, and *alif* with bend to the right at the lower end. It has some resemblance to *Ar. Pal.* Plates 1 and 6. The ink, originally dark, is unevenly faded into various shades of brown. The *alif* measures 1.8–2 cm., *lām* 2–2.2 cm. Single and group letters are separated by as much as 1 cm. The words do not stand out as such and are frequently divided at the end of the line.

Vowels are wanting, but diacritical strokes are used freely, including those for *dh*, *z*, and *gh*. One stroke above is used for *f;* but *ḳ* usually has none, though occasionally it has one stroke below. *Sh* has three strokes in line horizontally, and *th* has three strokes in line vertically or diagonally. Characteristic letter forms of special interest are the *alif* with decided bend to the right, the reversed and extended *y*, the old, almost Nabataean form of separate ᶜ (e.g. recto 2), and the doubly curved final *ḳ* (verso 6). The *alif* of prolongation is omitted.

Ornamentation and text division.—Color and designs are both lacking. Three strokes (in a few instances two strokes) mark the end of a verse. Groups of five verses are not marked, but the verses are numbered by tens by inclosing the appropriate letter numeral in a circle, e.g. *k* for 20 in recto 8 and *m* for 40 in verso 4. The verse divisions agree with that of the printed text, which follows the Kūfic usage. Similar use of letter numerals is seen in our No. 2 and also in *Ar. Pal.* Plate 15, where *l* in a circular space surrounded by an ornate square stands for 30, and Plate 16, where *kṭ* in a circular space surrounded by an ornate border stands for 29; the number in each of these latter cases marks the total number of verses in the sūrah. It is possible that the letter numerals in our manuscript are of a later date than the text, for the letters and their circles are drawn with a wavering and uncertain hand, and the ink has taken on a more reddish tint in fading. The use of letter numerals continued well into the 6th century after the Hijrah.[5]

No. 2. A 6990. 1st–2d Century after the Hijrah. Plate IX

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 12×24 cm., containing 6 lines and remnants of 2 more, one at top and one at bottom, on each side. The text lost between last line of recto and first of verso would need another 12 lines, so that as in No. 1 there would be 18 lines to the full page, which would then also measure about 40×35 cm.

[3] So far no definitely dated Ḳur'āns of the 1st century have been published. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 1–12, dated by Moritz to the 1st-2d century, are placed by Grohmann early in the 2d century (*ca.* 107/725). The probabilities are that most undated manuscripts assigned to the 1st-2d century belong to the 2d century but represent practices at least as early as the second half of the 1st century. The library of the Imām Riḍā shrine at Mashhad contains a comparatively large collection of early Ḳur'āns, many of which date from the 1st and 2d centuries after the Hijrah. The promised publication of these early Ḳur'āns will doubtless throw new light on Ḳur'ānic scripts and orthography; cf. American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, *Bulletin* No. 7 (Dec., 1934) p. 31.

[4] Cf. Jeffery, *Materials*, pp. 104 and 172, for other though noncanonical readings.

[5] Cf. *EI* I 384, also Paris *Cat.*, Nos. 325 and 331.

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Contents.—Recto, Sūrahs 97:4 (فيها)—98:4 (الذين); verso, Sūrahs 99:6 (ير[يص])—100:4 (فاثرن[ا]).

Script.—In parchment, script, and punctuation likewise No. 2 resembles No. 1. The old form of separate *ḥ* in recto 1 and verso 3 deserves special attention.

Ornamentation and text division.—The letter numeral *h* indicates the end of verse 5, which is also the end of Sūrah 97; and the letter numeral *ḥ* indicates the end of verse 8, which in turn is the end of Sūrah 99. Both these letter numerals, like those in No. 1, are likely later additions. The nonuse of the circle with them in No. 2 may be due to the fact that they are here not applied to ten-verse groups, like those in No. 1, but give the total verses in short sūrahs and are placed at the end of each sūrah. It is clear that the codex to which Nos. 1–2 belonged was not ornamented and that the sūrahs followed one another without any comment, each beginning with a fresh line or after a one-line space.

No. 3. A 6988. 1st–2d Century after the Hijrah. Plate X

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 15×17.5 cm., containing 12 lines to the full page, the length of which is intact, except perhaps for the loss of some of the lower margin. A considerable part of the width is lost; to judge by the portions of text it represents, the original width of the piece would have to be about 20–22 cm., and the page would be greater in breadth than in length. What is left is in fair condition except for one lacuna.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 48:25 (وال[هدى])–29 (فاستغلظ); verso, Sūrahs 48:29 (cont.)—49:7 (قلوبكم).

Script.—This and Nos. 4–5 are written in a small but graceful Makkan, with comparatively long vertical strokes. If we allow for the small script and the closer spacing, the general appearance of the script of all three is not very different from that of Nos. 1–2. The ink of No. 3 must have been originally a light or medium brown, for the recto is so faded that it looks blank and can be read only with great difficulty. The verso, however, shows a light and a dark shade of brown.

Vowel points are wanting, but diacritical strokes are freely used, including those for *dh*, *z*, and *gh*, but not for *ḍ* and *ẓ*. One stroke above and one below are used for *ḳ* and *f* respectively. *Alif* has a decided bend to the right. Separate ʿ has the old form in verso 1; but as a final letter in verso 4 it has a later form, modern except that the upper stroke of the triangular head is not yet in use. The *h* shows a marked extension of the upward stroke; *y* appears in the older reversed and extended form, as well as in the later, relatively modern form (e.g. in verso 1).

Ornamentation and text division.—Color and design are lacking; a new line with no extra spacing between starts a new sūrah, the initial formula receiving no more attention than the text proper which follows in the same line. Verso 2 margin has سبع السادس written in red, but in a different and later hand. A small circle marks the end of a verse, but whether groups of five and ten were marked cannot be determined.

No. 4. A 6991. 2d Century after the Hijrah. Plate X

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 14.2×16.8 cm., containing 13 lines on each side. To judge by the text portions lost, the manuscript must have contained 18 lines to the full page and have been about twice as wide as the preserved piece, so that the original breadth also was greater than the length. Outer margin and text are considerably broken.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrahs 72:24 (ناصرا)—73:16 (end); verso, Sūrahs 73:19 (الى)—74:18 (وقد[را]).

Script.—As in No. 3.

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Ornamentation and text division.—As in No. 3, except that the title and the number of verses are inserted at the end of each sūrah; but these are additions in red ink by a later hand, apparently occupying the blank space left in the last line of each sūrah. Small circles of the same ink mark the ends of verses. Double concentric red circles mark groups of five verses (see recto 9 and verso 7 and 10), but these also seem to be later additions.

No. 5. A 7000. 2D–3D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATES XI–XII

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 7.8×17.5 cm., containing but 5 lines of each page, which, by the text lost, must have had originally 12 lines and therefore measured about 16.5×27 cm., with a format greater in width than in length.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 4:5 (قيما)–6 (بالمعروف); verso, *ibid.*: 11 (اولاد[كم للذكر] to لكم).

Script.—Similar to that of No. 3 but slightly rounder. Vowels are lacking, and diacritical strokes are but rarely used. It is impossible to tell whether verse-division marks were used. The ink is very dark, and the script stands out very clearly.

No. 6. A 6978. 2D–3D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATES XI–XII

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 24×19.5 cm., containing parts of 20 lines on each side. Text lost would need 4 more lines, so that the full page would have 24 lines and must have measured originally about 27.5×22 cm. The 4 missing lines are broken off at the top, and the rest of the piece is badly broken on both sides.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 50:3–27 ([ولكن]); verso, Sūrahs 50:34 ([م]يو[ذ]لك)—51:12 (ايان). The first two lines of the recto are very fragmentary, recto 1 showing only [رجلع] of verse 3, recto 2 only منهم of verse 4. Recto 3, almost as fragmentary, has [كذبوا بالحق] of the same verse. The rest is more easily read.

Script.—The piece is interesting in that recto and verso show different Makkan scripts. That of the recto is the heavier and more angular; that of the verso is not only lighter but also less crowded and more graceful, resembling in many respects that of Nos. 1 and 2. Vowel points are missing; but diacritical *dots*, not *strokes*, are used on the recto, though they are placed the same as the strokes would have been. Thus *t* has its dots one above the other, not side by side as in later practice. I know of only one other codex, our No. 16, where dots instead of strokes are used for diacritical signs in an early manuscript. Some of the dots are clearly such, but others look as though they might have been intended for very short strokes but failed to appear as such at first sight on account of the pen used. The early scribe either used the edge of his pen or more likely employed a very fine pen for this purpose, producing hairlines. To all appearances the same pen that was used here for the text was used for the dots also. Perhaps we have here a 3d century scribe who, more accustomed to secular than to Ḳur'ānic writing, slipped into the use of the dots. An effort by the same writer to be more careful and write a more truly Makkan hand may account for the difference in the script of the verso. Or perhaps the verso represents the hand of a second, more experienced copyist. Another possibility is, as Professor Sprengling suggests, that a second hand has gone over the original writing of the recto.

The diacritical marks are more freely used on the recto than on the verso, though even there they are mostly limited to the *b* and its sister letters, including also *n* and *y*. In recto 17 *f* has one dot above, but otherwise it and *ḳ* are undotted. Letter forms include the older forms of *ḥ* (in recto 6 and 9), the reversed *y*, and the doubly curved final *ḳ*. The *alif* of prolongation is usually left out, though in the feminine plural جنات in recto 7 it is written in.[6]

[6] Cf. *Muḳni'*, pp. 24 and 147.

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Ornamentation and text division.—Ornamentation is lacking. The sūrahs are separated by a double line drawn in the same ink, using no more than the space of one line. Above this double line, written in light red ink without any strokes or dots and in a smaller and apparently later hand, are the title and verse count of the sūrah following (not visible on Pl. XII). Four short strokes that might easily be mistaken for dots mark the end of each verse. A circle inclosing from two to four dots and itself encircled by a number of dots marks off ten-verse groups in recto 8 and 15. In verso 10 we find strokes instead of dots within the circle, with strokes and dots surrounding it. These three ten-verse divisions mark off verses 10, 20, and 40 of Sūrah 50 in the manuscript; these are, however, verses 10, 19, and 42 in the printed text.[7]

No. 7. A 6992. 2D–3D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XIII

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 13.5×22 cm., containing parts of 12 lines. Script and margins lost would require a format of greater width than length, measuring about 16.5×27 cm. Parts of the upper margin still remain, but the text is broken and much damaged.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 6:139 (يكن)–142 (الله); verso, *ibid.:* 143 (كرين[الذ])–45 (فسقا).

In verso 9 we have تكون instead of يكون as in the printed text. The diacritical strokes for *t*, however, are in dark ink and were likely added later. Dānī informs us that Ibn Kathīr, Ibn ᶜĀmir, and Ḥamzah read *t*, the rest *y*.[8]

Script.—Small Makkan(?); that of verso especially is doubtful; short vertical strokes. The *alif* bends very slightly to the right. The whole is neatly executed. Spacing is liberal, but words do not stand out as such. The only letter of special interest is the separate *ʿain* of الزرع in recto 6. It is the old form of the letter, but without the usual downward curve to the right.

Red vowel dots are used, but very sparingly. Diacritical strokes are fully used, though *f* has none and *ḳ* only one stroke above. A few black strokes, as in recto 1 and 8 and verso 9 and 10, and a modern *ḍammah* in recto 6 point to later addition of these particular signs. *Alif* of prolongation is left out except in جنات (cf. No. 6) in recto 5.

No. 8. A 7001. 3D–4TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XIV

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 17×9.5 cm., with 11 lines to the page. The piece shows traces of the inner margin of the adjoining page. It represents about a third of the width of the page, which therefore must have measured about 17×27 cm. What is left of each page is in good condition.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 9:17 (ان يعمروا)–26 (وذلك); verso, *ibid.:* 28 (يغنيكم)–37 (الذين).

Script.—Small and poor Makkan(?), with a very slight slant, the characters written close together in brown ink that has faded somewhat. Many of the letters are more rounded than angular, e.g. final *l*, *n*, and *y;* the reversed extended *y* is absent; *h* in all positions has frequently an unusually long upward stroke, as in recto 1, 3, and 8 and verso 6 and 8. The script has some characteristics in common with Nos. 3–5, especially in the forms of these letters.

Diacritical strokes are used fully and freely, though *f* is but rarely marked with one stroke below and *ḳ* with one above. Red vowel dots are also used. A red semicircle is used for *hamzah* in recto 5 and in verso 1 and 5. If this *hamzah* is sounded with an *a*, the sign is placed above the letter, if with an *i*, it is placed below the letter. A red horizontal stroke below the line is

[7] Spitaler, *Verszählung*, pp. 30 and 59, does not bring out these differences.

[8] *Taisīr*, p. 108.

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used for *waṣlah* in verso 9, while the same stroke above a letter is used for *maddah* in verso 4.[9] A red circle is used with the unpointed letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muhmalah*) over *s* in verso 3. In verso 9 we have اثناى for اثنا of the printed text.

Ornamentation and text division.—It is impossible to tell whether any ornamentation was used. Six strokes mark off the verses. A circle with several strokes within it and some around it marks off groups of ten (and perhaps five) verses, as in recto 5 after verse 20.

No. 9. A 6958. 2D–3D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XV

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment folio 24×22.2 cm., containing parts of 10 lines on each page and traces of an 11th line on the verso. To judge by the text lost, at least a third of the original width is lost, and the full page therefore must have contained at least 18 lines, making the original folio one of considerable size which perhaps, like No. 1, measured about 40×35 cm.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 5:91 (الصلوٰة)–94 ([الاثم]); verso, *ibid.*: 97 (وما)–102 (اصبحوا).

Script.—Large, straight, angular Kūfic, with hardly any spacing between the lines, so that the unusually long perpendicular *alif*, measuring 2.3–2.5 cm., almost touches the text in the lines above and below; letter and word spacing is also comparatively close. The *alif* bends to the right almost at right angles, with a fair-sized horizontal stroke tapering toward the end. Final and separate *ṣ* and *n* are extended downward considerably, and the final stroke toward the left is cut short without turning upward. Several *m* forms are seen; that in المحسنين in recto 7 is especially interesting in its adaptation to the form of the adjoining *ḥ*. The *y* is reversed.

Vowels are represented by large dots above, to the left of, and below the letters for *a*, *u*, and *i* respectively. These were originally in red ink, which is now oxidized into black. Diacritical strokes are used fully and freely.

Ornamentation and text division.—No beginning of a sūrah occurs in the text, but the punctuation devices would point to a simple scheme of decoration. Two or three strokes mark the ends of verses; in one instance (verso 4) a double-lined diamond is used. Several geometric designs must have been used to mark groups of ten verses; recto 1 shows a double-lined square, and verso 3 (which marked verse 100 in the manuscript, though it is only verse 98 in the printed Ḳur'ān) has a larger double-lined square in the center of which is the doubly curved letter numeral *k̇* for 100. The *k̇* is original, but the rest of the design seems to be of a later date. Each of the vertical sides of the square is extended upward to form the outer side of a right-angled triangle with half the side of the square for a base. This particular design may have been conditioned by the position of the letter *n* of the line above. Small semicircles fringe the outer lines, and the triangles are hatched. These evidently later decorations are clumsy in contrast with the earlier and well executed script.

No. 10. A 6963. 2D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XVI

Size and general condition.—Fine large parchment 25.8×23 cm., containing on each side the first 14 lines of a page that originally must have had 18 lines and measured about 35×26 cm. Upper and outer side margins are 2 cm. wide; lower and inner margins are lost. Several of the lines are almost complete, but the majority are broken. This and the following number belong to the same copy of the Ḳur'ān.

[9] The ms. shows this stroke drawn through the final *alif* of اتخذوا and the initial *alif* of the following word (احبارهم). Since a *waṣlah* is out of the question here, the stroke must have been intended for a *maddah* over *w*.

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Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 2:278 (اوذ[وا])–282 (فليكتب); verso, *ibid.*: 282 (بالعدل to ويعلمكم). In recto 6 we have ذوا, though the printed text is without the *alif*.[10] In verso 10 we have تجرةٌ حضرةٌ instead of تجارةٌ حاضرةٌ; Dānī tells us that ᶜĀṣim alone reads it with *a*, the rest with *u*.[11] In this and No. 11 a red dot for *u* is frequently placed after the pronominal endings *-hum* and *-kum*—a practice which seems to have been accepted by some who preferred this vocalization to the *sukūn*.[12] In recto 3 we have رسولهْ for the رسولهِ of the printed text. This seems to have been a scribal error later corrected by a dot for the *i* in a lighter red ink.

Script.—This and Nos. 11–14 have the same general type of Kūfic script as *Ar. Pal.* Plates 31–36, dated by Moritz 2d–3d century. Grohmann gives us the further information that Plates 31–34 came from a Ḳur'ān written by the Imām Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765).[13] The letters of all five of these manuscripts are large and heavy, though the vertical strokes are comparatively short, the *alif* measuring 1.2–1.3 cm. The lines are 1.8 cm. apart, and words and letters are well but not extravagantly spaced. The words do not stand out as such and are frequently divided at the end of a line. The inks, red and brown, have retained their color on both sides of the parchment remarkably well. Characteristic letter forms are the reversed *y*, the doubly curved final *ḳ* (in No. 11), and the open medial ᶜ.

Diacritical strokes are used fully and freely. The *f* has one stroke below, the *ḳ* one above; *sh* has three strokes above, and *s* frequently but not always has three strokes below. A double vowel system is used. The older red dots are used rather consistently, but they are reinforced, as it were, by the addition of newer symbols, viz. the miniature *alif* and *w*. Thus a red dot is frequently accompanied by a small red *alif* to the left or a small red *w* above it. The dot below alone is not so reinforced. The appearance of *alif* and *w* thus used confirms the theory that the modern *fatḥah*, *ḍammah*, and (by inference) *kasrah* have their origins in the letters *alif*, *w*, and *y* respectively.[14] Both types of vowel markings are in orange-red ink, but those of the newer system are generally slightly lighter in shade owing, it seems, to the use of a thinner solution of the same ink. In several instances both types are in the same shade of ink, either both dark or both light, e.g. ٩ after كل in recto 9 and ١٠ after تضل in verso 4, also in No. 11 د above وسغها in recto 13, ١٠ after انزل in verso 6, and ١٠ after الله in verso 10. This would indicate that though the newer vowel signs were on the whole added after the dots, they are nevertheless original with the text and represent the practice of the period of transition from the older system of dots to the newer one of abbreviated *alif*, *w*, and *y*. Further evidence of this is to be seen in several instances in the placing of the newer *u* sign not above the dot but to the side of it on a line with the letters, e.g. in No. 11 verso 4 in ٩٠الحى; in No. 11 recto 6–7 the *u* is found not only on the line but superimposed on the dot and vice versa. Nunation is indicated by two red dots one above the other. A small semicircle is used for *hamzah* in recto 10 and 13 and verso 5; it is also used for the *shaddah* in verso 12 (يضرّ). The *alif* of prolongation is left out.

Ornamentation and text division.—Colors used in this and No. 11, which belong to the same Ḳur'ān, are red and green. Three or four strokes mark the ends of the verses. A large circular ornament in green with red center and red circumference separates groups of ten verses. Such a device in recto 10 marks the end of verse 280 in the manuscript, which is verse 281 in the printed text.[15]

[10] Cf. Sell, p. 18, and *Muḳni*ᶜ, p. 29; the first calls for this *alif*, the second does not.

[11] *Taisīr*, p. 85.

[12] See *Taisīr*, p. 19, and Pretzl in *Islamica* VI 292.

[13] *Islamic Book*, pp. 44 f.

[14] Cf. *Muḳni*ᶜ, p. 149; Ḳalḳashandī III 163 f.; *Itḳān* II 171.

[15] 280 is also the verse count in the Ḥijāz and in Syria; cf. Spitaler, p. 33. Since our ms. is in the Kūfic script, it is more likely to have come originally from Syria than from the Ḥijāz.

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No. 11. A 6962. 2D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XVII

Size and general condition.—Fine large parchment 31.5×26.5 cm., containing 18 lines to the full page; considerably damaged, however, along the margins and well into the text. To judge by parchment, size, number of lines to the page, spacing, general appearance and peculiarities of the script, and the color and ornamentation used, this and No. 10 belong to the same copy of the Ḳur'ān. They are, furthermore, successive folios.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 2:283 (تكتموا)–286 (لا طاقة); verso, Sūrahs 2:286 (على القوم)—3:7 (تشبه منه[ا]). In recto 14 we have اكتسبتْ for the اكتسبتْ of the printed text. Verso 8, where the printed text is بِـَٔايات, has بايجـ. The two dots toward the end suggest *un*, but may offer instead the alternative readings *a* and *i*. The repetition of *y* is etymologically interesting as indicating an earlier pronunciation after the measure of *fāʿilah*, that is, *āyiyah*, plural *āyiyāt*.[16] The sources for variant readings at my disposal throw no light on the manuscript version of this word.

Script.—As in No. 10. Of special interest is المومنون of recto 8, for it is written with double indication of not only the vowels but the *hamzah;* the latter is represented by a dot on the line and also by a semicircle (cf. p. 40).

Ornamentation and text division.—Same features as in No. 10. From this folio we learn also that the Ḳur'ān to which Nos. 10–11 belonged used a narrow decorative band to separate the sūrahs; the practice is illustrated in *Ar. Pal.* Plates 13–16 and 19–21. The motif here is a simple one, consisting of green X's with four red dots around their centers alternating with green lozenges containing red and green dots and accompanied by four red semicircles apiece, one projecting from each side. Green scrolls connect these successive elements. Above this band, written in dull red ink in a small Kūfic hand, are the title and number of verses of the sūrah following. Not only ink and script, but also spacing, show the red to be a later addition.

No. 12. A 6993. 2D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XVIII

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 20.4×19.5 cm., containing 12 lines of text. Some of the lines are almost complete, others are about a third lost, as are also all traces of the four margins. However, the lines are of the same length as in Nos. 10–11, and comparison of the manuscript with the printed text would allow here too 18 lines to the page, which likewise must have measured originally about 35×26 cm.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 42:16 (عند)–19 (وهو); verso, *ibid.:* 21 (الذين)–23 (لا [يُ]ل).

Script.—Similar to that of Nos. 10–11. The script of this and of No. 13, belonging to the same copy of the Ḳur'ān, differs from that of Nos. 10–11 only in that it is a little larger and provides more space between the letters. Except for this and a little difference in the verse division marks, these four numbers might easily belong to the same copy of the Ḳur'ān. In recto 6 in يومنون we have a further illustration of the use of a red dot and a red semicircle for *hamzah.*

Ornamentation and text division.—Green and red are used; but, as no sūrah division occurs in the text, we cannot tell whether bands were used. A small green rosette in verso 10 marks verse 20 in the manuscript, which is verse 22 in the printed text.[17] Three to four strokes mark off the verses.

[16] Bustānī I 53.

[17] See Spitaler, p. 57. The verse count in this and No. 13 is that followed in the Ḥijāz, Damascus, and Baṣrah; the present ms., being in the Kūfic-Baṣran script, may have come originally from Baṣrah.

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No. 13. A 6961. 2D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XIX

Size and general condition.—Fine parchment 28.5×21.5 cm., containing parts of 17 lines. Like No. 12, of which it is a continuation, the lost text allows for 18 lines to the full page measuring about 35×26 cm.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 42:24 (ويمح)–29 (خلق); verso, *ibid.*: 29 (وهو على)–36 (either [نيا]الد or [ين]للذ). Recto 5 has لسيئاتٍ for السيّئاتِ of the printed text. It is interesting to note the use of the red semicircle for *hamzah* and the repetition of the *y*, the first *y* with a dot below for *i*, the second with dot above for *hamzah* (cf. p. 40).

Script.—As in No. 12.

Ornamentation and text division.—Same features as in No. 12. A small green rosette in verso 12 marks verse 30 in the manuscript (33 in the printed text).[18]

No. 14. A 7007. 2D–3D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XIX

Size.—This is a small fragment measuring 7×9.8 cm., with one corner (more than a fourth of it) lost. Though the script bears a resemblance to Nos. 10–11 and the text, as on them, is from Sūrah 2, yet the three do not belong together, since in this fragment the script is smaller and the lines are closer together than in the other two pieces. Traces of only 5 lines are left.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 2:61 (المسكنة); verso, *ibid.*: 76 (واذا لقوا)–77 (الله) in line 3.

No. 15. A 6960. 2D–3D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XX

Size and general condition.—Fine large parchment 31×24.5 cm., with 17 lines to the page. The margins are lost except at the lower left corner (of the recto), where they measure 3.5 cm. each; if we allow uniform margins, the original measurements of the folio would be about 34×28 cm. The piece has suffered much damage; the upper left corner is missing; the lower half has a large lacuna. The thick, dark brown ink has eaten into the parchment, damaging much of the text, and has also faded considerably in places.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 20:61 (افترى)–71 (السحر); verso originally unbroken continuation of recto but now contains verses 71 (وارجلكم)–78 (فاتبعهم). In recto 9 we have نخيل instead of يخيل; Dānī tells us that the first is the reading of Ibn Dhakwān, the second *rāwī* of Ibn ʿĀmir of Damascus,[19] all the rest reading يخيل.[20] The manuscript has several irregularities about which I have not been able to find any comments. These are اسرو in recto 2 (verse 62), قلوا in recto 15 (verse 70), فطريا in verso 5 (verse 72), فاوليك in verso 12 (verse 75), جنات in verso 12 (verse 76), and اسرى in verso 15 (verse 77).

Script.—The script (cf. pp. 22 and 29 f.) closely resembles that of *Ar. Pal.* Plate 39, of which *ibid.* Plate 40 is an enlargement. In both manuscripts the script is of medium size, considerably rounded, and well executed. Spacing is moderate, and the words begin to stand out as such. Verso 5 shows the use of a small *h* to fill in space at the end of a line. Diacritical strokes are used fully and freely; *th* has its three strokes arranged ∴ in recto 14; *ḍ* has one stroke below, *ḳ* one above. The red dot vowel system is used; but the ink of the dots must have lacked sufficient body, for some of them have spread out, and others are all but completely faded. Characteristic letter forms of special interest are final *ḥ* and *j* in recto 6 and 13 and in the word حج in *Ar. Pal.* Plate 39, line 3, and final *y* in recto 6 and in *Ar. Pal.* Plate 39.

[18] See preceding note. [19] Sell, p. 22. [20] *Taisīr*, p. 152.

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Ornamentation and text division.—It is impossible to tell whether any ornamentation was used for the sūrah divisions. From three to six strokes mark the ends of verses. A large *alif* with a bend at right angles to the right marks groups of five verses, as in recto 10 for verse 65 and in verso 14 for verse 75, which in the printed text, however, are verses 66 and 76 respectively. The *alif* is outlined in black and filled in with red ink. De Slane mentions this practice as frequent in the 2d–3d century.[21] A black circle, also filled in with red, marks off ten-verse groupings, as in recto 1 for verse 60, which is verse 61 in the printed text.[22]

No. 16. A 6975*a*. 3D CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXI

Size and general condition.—Large fine parchment 15.6×29.5 cm. The piece, found in three parts, is much damaged; the upper and lower portions are lost, and the remaining central section is considerably broken. The folio shows 15 lines to the page; to judge by the text lost, the original number of lines must have been 18.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 6:158 ([يكن] لم [ايماذ]ها on small fragment) to end. Recto 1 and 2 of the main piece show traces only; recto 3 has ينبئهم of verse 159; recto 4 begins with ومن جاء of verse 160. Verso, Sūrah 7:2 ([لل]مومنين كرى [وذ] on small fragment)–14 (الى). Verso 1 and 2 of the main piece again show traces only; the end of verso 3 gives [ا]ن جا[ءهم] of verse 5.

Script.—The script closely resembles that of *Ar. Pal.* Plate 45 b[23] in size, spacing, and letter formation; note especially the forms for *k*, medial *h*, and final *ḳ* and *y*. However, the script of this piece is more square in character, resembling in this respect *Ar. Pal.* Plate 42 b, given as a *wakf* by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aflaḥ in A.H. 270/A.D. 883/84 to the Great Mosque at Damascus.

Red vowel dots are used; a red stroke indicates the *waṣlah*, as in recto 6 and 13 and verso 6 and 7. Medial *hamzah* of the printed text is expressed by a medial *y*, as in recto 10 (فينبيكم) and verso 6 (يومينذ).

The diacritical signs were perhaps originally meant for strokes, but many of them look very much like heavy dots. They are fully and freely used. The triangular arrangements ∴ and ⁘ have replaced the older groupings ⁘ and ⁂ of *th* and *sh* respectively.

Ornamentation and text division.—A narrow band separates the sūrahs. More or less heart-shaped elements in gold, alternately erect and inverted, are outlined and filled in with red on a gold background. The band extends across the page and ends with a circular(?) design on the outer margin. A single black stroke or dot marks the end of a verse. What was used for five-verse groupings is uncertain, since the manuscript is broken where these would occur. Groups of ten verses are marked off by a gold square, as in recto 4, the end of verse 160 of Sūrah 6.[24]

No. 17. A 6975*b*. 3D–4TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXI

Size and general condition.—A roughly triangular fragment measuring 8×7 cm. and containing parts of 6 lines of text. Careful comparison of the text lost would account for 3 more lines,

[21] See Paris *Cat.*, Nos. 325:1; 334:2 and 5; 335 f.; 370; etc. It is difficult to explain the use of an *alif* for five-verse divisions. It is possible the sign as used in this number is not an *alif* but a right angle, a geometric device in keeping with the use of the circle for ten-verse divisions. Professor Sprengling suggests that there was possibly a definite numerical concept back of both of these devices. Use of the circle for ten may be due to South Arabic influence, where a circle is the symbol for *ʿain*, which itself would be an abbreviation of the word *ʿashr*, "ten." In this event the five-verse division mark would be a modification of the South Arabic form of *khā'* and as such stand for the word *khamsah*, "five."

[22] See Spitaler, pp. 44–47, whence it is clear that this sūrah had many different verse counts, none of which, however, explains *all* the differences in the present ms., though 75 seems to be the verse count of the Ḥijāz. Perhaps we do have here, as the previous note suggests, a South Arabic ms. following more or less local devices.

[23] For a further specimen of similar script cf. Griffini in *ZDMG* LXIX (1915) Pl. XVI.

[24] The verse count is the same as that of Kūfah, Baṣrah, and Syria; cf. Spitaler, p. 36.

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giving 9 lines to the full page, each line about three times as long as the maximum preserved or some 15 cm. *Ar. Pal.* Plate 45 b, 13.5×19 cm., has a text page 9×14.5 cm. Nine lines to the page would require in our manuscript also a text page 9×14–15 cm. Since the line spacing is identical in the two pieces and the script is similar in every detail, this manuscript and *Ar. Pal.* Plate 45 b evidently belong to the same copy of the Ḳur'ān.

Contents.—Recto, Sūrah 89:9 (الواد[با])–16 (فقدر); verso, *ibid.*: 21 (ذا[ا])–27 (النفس).

Script.—Similar to that of No. 16. The diacritical strokes in this and *Ar. Pal.* Plate 45 b are more defined than those in No. 16. Verso 3 shows a *y* for the *hamzah* in يومیذ.

Ornamentation and text division.—Sūrah division does not occur in our manuscript, but *Ar. Pal.* Plate 45 b shows the title and the number of verses at the head of Sūrah 61 in large, heavy Kūfic with letters freely extended. A triangular scroll ornament follows in the margin. A single stroke in black ink marks the ends of the verses in both pieces. An initial *h* marks off groups of five verses; in recto 5 of our manuscript it indicates the *end* of verse 15 in the manuscript but the *middle* of verse 15 in the printed text.[25]

PAPER

The Oriental Institute collection contains fifteen paper Ḳur'ān manuscripts, of which one comes from North Africa and two from Persia. The rest belong to the period of the Burjite or Circassian Mameluke rulers of Egypt (784–923/1382–1517). The Mameluke sultans were not only great builders of mosques and mausoleums but also generous patrons of the libraries that went with these institutions. Frequently they were the donors of Ḳur'āns as *waḳf* or pious endowments; of these we have a few specimens. Comparatively large numbers of Ḳur'āns from this period have survived. Among them are magnificent copies written in elegant *thuluth*, richly and colorfully decorated, and beautifully bound. The collection includes both the smaller and simpler as well as the larger and more elaborate types. They range in size from 17.7×12.5 cm. to 76×54 cm. (No. 29, the third largest Ḳur'ān manuscript known).

No. 18. A 12029*a*. Given as *waḳf* by Sultan Faraj, A.H. 801–15/ A.D. 1399–1412.[26] Plate XXII

Date.—Folio 2*a* gives the following *waḳf* notation: وقف

وقفه المقام[27] الشريف الملك الناصر فرج ابن السلطان الشهيد برقوق[28] عن نصره

فى التربه[29] التى انشاها بالصحراء[30]

[25] Cf. Spitaler, p. 70, according to whom the verse count is that of the Ḥijāz and also of Ḥimṣ (Emesa; on spelling see Yāḳūt II 334).

[26] For full bibliography of this Mameluke sultan see Wiet in *MIE* XIX (1932) No. 1789. Cf. also Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, chap. xii. For other Ḳur'āns of Sultan Faraj see *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 71–74.

[27] On this title see *CIA Ég.* I 248.

[28] Reigned 784–801/1382–1399. Cf. Wiet in *MIE* XIX 94, No. 650; for Ḳur'āns from his reign see *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 64–70.

[29] Cf. *CIA Ég.* I, Nos. 205 ff., for inscriptions from several of Faraj's buildings, including some *turbah*'s. For historical and architectural details of Mameluke mosques see Creswell in *BIFAO* XVI 77–157, also Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire* I 259–339 and II, Pls. 146 etc. (cf. index). For the joint Barḳūḳ-Faraj mausoleum-mosque see Creswell, *op. cit.* p. 119, and Hautecoeur et Wiet, *op. cit.* II, Pls. 151–61. Excellent photographs of it appear in Ross, *The Art of Egypt through the Ages*, pp. 289–91.

[30] The tombs of the Circassian Mameluke sultans were built in the outlying desert east of Cairo. Cf. Maḳrīzī II 443 and 464; *CIA Ég.* I 316.

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Size and general condition.—42.3×31 cm., with text page 26×19 cm.; two folios only, of fine, light-colored, lightweight, thin paper, highly glossed and sparsely mottled with small reddish brown fibers. The margins are unusually soiled, torn, and roughened, and parts have lost the original gloss of the paper. The two sheets, though still partly glued together, are worm-eaten along the inner margin.

Contents.—Folio 1 is left blank, separating *juz'* 18 from *juz'* 19. Folio 2*a* has, in addition to the *waḳf* notation already mentioned, the words التاسع عشر, "the nineteenth," written with the same ink as the *waḳf* but in a different and larger hand. The rest of the page is blank. Folio 2*b* contains 3 lines of text from the beginning of *juz'* 19, Sūrah 25:21.

Script.—Beautiful *thuluth*, fully pointed and voweled. The decorative writing in the title panels represents markedly the *mudghamah* or "assimilated" type, in which certain connected letters are run together so as to render the point of ligature indistinct. The final strokes of some of these letters are frequently extended and/or curved so as to touch or overlap the following letter or letters. The round or *muḳawwarah* type, which requires both a curve and an incline in certain *thuluth* letters, is also much used. The script of the text proper uses mostly the open or *mabsūṭah* stroke, that is, an almost rectilinear one extended out to a point in such letters as *m*, *r*, and *w*. Thus, though the scripts of both the panels and the text are in *thuluth*, they present a different general appearance—a difference which adds to the beauty of the page.[31] The *alif* measures 2–2.2 cm.

Reading symbols and notations.—A red *alif* is placed over the *y* of نرى to show the pronunciation *ā*. A small green *w* placed over the *m* of انفسهم, which has also the *sukūn*, must be meant for the *u* used by some readers at the end of the pronominal suffix *-hum* (cf. Nos. 10–11). The letter *kh*, an abbreviation for *waḳf murakhkhaṣ*, which indicates a permissible pause, is also added in small red letters.

Ornamentation.—Folio 2*b* is an elaborate title-page for *juz'* 19. Two panels, each 6.5 cm. broad, are placed one above and one below the script section proper. In the central cartouches of these panels, written in white on a background of gold and blue, with a few dots in red, is the phrase from Sūrah 56:77–78, انه لقران كريم في كتاب مكنون, "Verily it is an honorable Ḳur'ān (written) in a preserved book." Circles and other curved motifs are combined with conventionalized leaves and tendrils in the panel designs and the marginal ornaments. The central cartouches of the panels have on either side a small circle in gold and black and then a larger semicircle of gold arabesques on a background of blue with a few touches of red. These elements are boldly outlined with white paint. The line is continuous and intertwined, tempting the eye to follow its course; hence, although stationary, it gives the impression of motion. The remaining space in the panels shows floral motifs outlined in black on a background of gold touched with red and blue.

The 3 lines of main text are inclosed in a gold border with geometric design outlined in black and with colored squares of red, white, and blue placed at intervals of 2.5 cm. An irregular double line of gold and black outlines cloudlike spaces in which the text is written. The area outside of and between the written lines is crosshatched in red.

The marginal ornaments are gilded, with inner elements of design in black with touches of red. The outermost frame and the "finials" are drawn in blue. Every detail in the script as well as in the design shows very careful and exact workmanship. Some of the gold leaf, however, has peeled off, as have some of the colors, the white having suffered the most in this respect.

[31] For the various *thuluth* letter forms see Ḳalḳashandī III 62–104.

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No. 19. A 12066. Given as *waḳf*(?) by Sultan Faraj (see No. 18)
Plates XXIII–XXIV

Date.—Folio 2*a* is an illuminated title-page for *juz'* 25, which begins on the next page. The artist, however, has done his work over some 6 to 8 lines of fine script in several hands. This script is only partly visible, but enough can be read to show that the notations are such as appear on many book or *juz'* title-pages of Ḳur'āns donated to mosques. These, in addition to stating the *waḳf*, include usually the *incipit* and the name of the copyist and sometimes the date of the work, the signatures of one or two witnesses, and some pious phrases. In the present case I have been able to read the following:

يتلو الجز من [اليه يرد. كتبه] الفقير على بن .... شهد بذلك .... بن .... شهد .... الجه .... الله تعالى.

The outer margin has the following notation in a general manuscript hand:

مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر فرج بن السلطان الشهيد برقوق.
عل ما شرح فى الجز الاول

The first word of the second line is likely meant for على; but it can also be read as عُدْ (from عَدَّ), "count" or "take into consideration," or عُدْ (from عَادَ), "repeat," "supply."[32] Whichever of the three readings is preferred, it is clear we have here a reference to something fully detailed in *juz'* 1. This means that though *juz'* 25 is now separate, it must have belonged originally to a complete copy of the Ḳur'ān donated by Sultan Faraj with a complete *waḳf* notation at the beginning of the first *juz'*. From early Muslim times various portions of the Ḳur'ān were bound separately; for not everyone was either skilled and patient enough to write his own complete copy or rich enough to purchase one. The *juz'* division lent itself to this practice; it also became the main basis of internal division even when the whole Ḳur'ān was bound in one volume. Again, the thirty *juz'* divisions were sometimes bound separately even when they were merely parts of a whole copy undertaken as a single project by the owner or the copyist, and they thus formed as it were an edition of the Ḳur'ān in thirty volumes. Such, for example, was a Ḳur'ān copy written by the famous though ill-fated *wazīr* and calligrapher Ibn Muḳlah.[33] The present manuscript seems to have come from a Ḳur'ān originally meant to be bound in one large volume (cf. No. 21); but, perhaps because of the great thickness such a volume would have had, this Ḳur'ān was actually bound in thirty separate *juz'* volumes. The original *waḳf* sheet having now been used for a title-page, the cross-reference to the *waḳf* sheet of *juz'* 1 became a matter of necessity.

Size and general condition.—Forty-seven folios 18.5×12.5 cm., with text page 11×6.5 cm.; 5 lines to the page. The folios are well preserved on the whole. A few near the beginning are discolored; some others are worm-eaten along the inner margins. The lower margins as well as the lower part of the binding have been damaged by water, so that the leather of the binding has darkened and the paper has lost its gloss and become rough. The binding has suffered much damage. The original back strip and also the hinge of the flap seem to have been thoroughly worm-eaten, for the present pieces are later additions and are clumsy attempts at repairing. But even these are damaged, much of the back strip in particular having been eaten away. The flyleaves at beginning and end are also later additions. They are lighter in weight

[32] Suggested by Professor Sprengling. [33] Cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād* V 446–48.

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and less glossy, and the leaf at the end bears a watermark that is evidently meant for a "sun disk," a symbol used frequently by Italian and French papermakers.[34]

Contents.—The manuscript is supposed to contain all of *juz'* 25, which begins with Sūrah 41:47 and ends with the end of Sūrah 45. For some reason, however, the copyist stopped at the end of verse 32 of the latter sūrah. The *juz'* is therefore short 5 verses.

Script.—Beautiful *naskhī*, fully pointed and voweled, all in the same black ink. The title-page and the sūrah titles are in *thuluth khafīf*, the former in white, the latter in gold. The manuscript is on the whole carefully executed, though mistakes are not wanting. Where these occur a correction has frequently been attempted in a different hand by erasing and rewriting, with the result that the line or page is disfigured, as for instance on folios 18*a* and 31*b*.

Reading symbols and notations are lacking.

Ornamentation and text division.—The color scheme is gold, red, white, and blue. The title-page (Pl. XXIII) bears at the top a rectangular panel with a gold and gray-blue background on which the *juz'* number is written in white. The panel is framed with a double gold border outlined in black. Below this panel and separated from it by a broad gold strip is a square inclosing an eight-lobed medallion which contains a conventional leaf motif of gold, with a few red touches, on a background of blue; the medallion is surrounded by a gold band. The rest of the space within the square is filled with a design in gold on a background of red. The square and the *juz'* panel are together inclosed in a gold frame outlined in double lines of black. A heavy gray-blue line with small curved ornaments and short "finials" completes the frame. In the outer margin, in line with the *juz'* panel, is a circular medallion of gold over red, again with a gray-blue frame.

Folios 45*b* and 46*a* (Pl. XXIII), representing the end of the *juz'*, are ornamental pages of careful execution. Inclosed in a gray-blue and gold border similar to that of the title-page is an area 7×5.8 cm. This contains three lines of *naskhī* script, each irregularly outlined in black. The interlinear space is filled with a tendril-and-trefoil design, also outlined in black and touched at points with red or blue, on a background hatched in red.[35]

The sūrah titles each occupy the space of a regular line and are written in gold outlined in black (Pl. XXIV). Small six-petaled gold rosettes with blue and red dots mark the ends of verses. A small gold almond outlined in blue and containing a central red trefoil marks off five-verse groups, while a circular ornament of concentric blue and gold bands with red dots and black "finials" is placed in the outer margin to mark off ten-verse groups. In the central blue area, written in gold, is the word *'ashr*. The verse count is that of Kūfah.[36]

The cover design likewise is elaborate. Interlacing bands form five- and six-pointed stars and other polygons, regular and irregular, on a background partly gold-punched. Four octagons are outlined in gold, and the panel is inclosed in a narrow gold-tooled band. A narrow double twist filled in with gold punches completes the design of the front cover, which is repeated on the back cover. The end flap has a gold-tooled medallion formed by interlacing bands that produce seven-pointed stars and other polygons within a circle. A key pattern

[34] Cf. Briquet, *Les filigranes* IV, Nos. 13903–82. Nos. 13963–73 have straight lines similar to those of our symbol but without the inclosing circle; the latter is seen, however, in several of the other numbers, e.g. 13915, 13926, and 13943.

[35] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 70 and 73 f.

[36] In identifying the verse count used in these paper Ḳur'āns a test was made by checking a few folios at the beginning, middle, and end of each ms. against the data given by Spitaler. It is to be noted that some counts given in some of these mss. do not correspond to any of the systems given by Spitaler. Furthermore, different systems are frequently represented in the different sūrahs of a single copy.

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fills the rest of the panel, which is inclosed by blind- and gold-tooled bands. The leather lining of the cover shows a blind-tooled design of tendrils and conventionalized leaves and flowers.

No. 20. A 12067. A.H. 812 (A.D. 1409/10). PLATE XXIV

Date.—The date of the original manuscript is given on page 395;[37] later additions are dated 1262 (A.D. 1846) on page 695. The copy, according to Moritz' notation, comes from Bukhārā. The front flyleaf has several Turkish notations written in a mediocre Turkish hand. One of these states that horse artillery gunman Sirāj Amīn Effendi and Sergeant Ḥājjī ʿUthmān read the manuscript on the 25th of Nīsān, A.H. (1)309. Another tells us that a soldier of the third company of the third squadron prayed in the noble mosque of . . . . on the 28th of Ḥazīrān,[38] A.H. (1)304. A third tells us that the head chef, Ismāʿīl Effendi, has this day read a fourth of a *juz'*. Finally, the signatures of ʿAlī, the villager Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ, ʿUthmān Muḥammad of Karahisar, and Ḥājjī Ḥāfiẓ Khairī Effendi imply that their owners have at some time read portions of the manuscript.

The simple term *waḳf* or the words *waḳf min kalām* or the full phrase *waḳf min kalām Allāh* appears usually at *juz'* divisions. There seems to be a fuller *waḳf* notation at the end of *juz'* 21 on page 487. As far as it can now be made out, it seems to read:

وقف ربعه المحتفي العبد الفقير (two words illegible) حضره كمال الدين بن على القاسمى(?)

It is clear that the copy was a *waḳf* in some mosque of importance, perhaps in Bukhārā, where stationers or Ḳur'ān copyists, military men, and head chefs would all be readily found.

Size and general condition.—The copy, including the covers, is 10.5 cm. thick and has 348 folios, of which 14 are later additions, 4 at the beginning and 10 at the end of the book. The folios measure 31.5×25.5 cm.; but the measurements of the script sections vary, being 25.5–26.5×19–22.5 cm. There are 11 to 17 lines to the page, 15 being the most frequent. The manuscript has seen much wear and tear. Several of its folios have had to be replaced, many have been mended, and others are left still torn. Many of the margins have been patched, usually with a thinner and lighter paper. The outer lower corners have suffered the most, mainly through much thumbing and turning. Whole sections of the upper parts of pages are disfigured with what looks like mildew stains. Many of the marginal ornaments have been lost or removed and their places filled by patches.

Contents.—Originally a complete Ḳur'ān, the codex has suffered losses, some of which, as already stated, were replaced in 1262/1846. It now lacks but 3 folios (pp. 347–52), which have been torn out; they contained the text of Sūrah 18:52–99.

Text.—The main manuscript has no reading symbols or notations. The text has several major and minor scribal errors, some of which seem to have been corrected by the original scribe (e.g. on p. 146). Other corrections have been made in at least six different hands (e.g. on pp. 11, 68, 91, 392, 479, and 541). The errors are either omissions or repetitions of text; the omitted portions are frequently inserted in the margins, and the repetitions are canceled either by erasure or by a line drawn through them.

Script.—*Thuluth* and *naskhī*. The first, middle, and last line of each page are written in *thuluth* covering the whole width of the writing space and dividing the page into two sections, each of which contains usually 6 shorter centered lines in *naskhī*. Seven *naskhī* lines in one section occur repeatedly (pp. 76–78, 89, 93, etc.); 8 lines are crowded into one section on page 475;

[37] As this manuscript is paginated, references will be given to pages instead of folios.

[38] For the use of these names instead of the Muslim month names see Ginzel, *Handbuch der . . . . Chronologie* I 265.

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while pages 50, 74, and 396 have only 5 lines in each section. There are several instances where a *naskhī* line ends the page (pp. 401, 424, 429, etc.); in one instance (p. 513) two such lines close the page. The practice of combining the *thuluth* and *naskhī* scripts[39] seems to have been popular during the Mameluke period and was favored by the Persians and later by the Turks also, both of whom reached a high degree of perfection in these scripts.[40]

The execution of the *thuluth* lines is fairly good on the whole, though there are several cases of poor writing and of overcrowding. Frequently, too, these lines are extended far into the margins (pp. 154, 229, 245, etc.). There is also a tendency to slant the lower *thuluth* line upward, as is usually done in Persian and Turkish writing (pp. 10 ff., 103 ff., etc.). The *naskhī* script is fair. The ink is heavy and very black, and the writing is smudged in several instances (pp. 110, 164, 624, etc.). The text is fully pointed and voweled in the same black ink.

Ornamentation and text division.—The ornamental layout of the page has already been indicated. The margins are outlined in red. The verses are marked off by a small six-petaled rosette in gold and green, but groups of five and ten verses are not noted. The verse count is that of Makkah. Each sūrah starts a new line without any title or comment and usually without any extra spacing (e.g. pp. 238, 405, and 425). A blank line precedes a new sūrah on pages 475, 582, and 660. There are two instances (pp. 354 and 623) where a sūrah begins with a large *thuluth* line, so that there are four of these lines to the page instead of the usual three. On the outer margin of each page is a large circular ornament of red and gold, framed in a scroll pattern of green. All *juz'* divisions of the original manuscript (*ajzā'* 1–29) start on right-hand pages (pp. 26, 50, 74, etc.), leaving the preceding page blank if necessary. These pages are ornamented with panels of red (on p. 420 both red and orange), gold, and green stretching across the page at top and bottom. Each panel is divided into two squares and a central rectangle, this last containing the *juz'* number written in black ink in *thuluth* script. The *juz'* number is in most cases followed by a phrase designating the Ḳur'ān (see pp. 55 f.). From *juz'* 24 on, the space in the panels is taken up with the number alone. The decorations on some *juz'* pages are lost and replaced by blank paper (pp. 74, 96, 166, 232, 254, 466). Whatever the substance of the decorative matter used, it did not stand the test of time. It has dried up, cracked, and peeled off, leaving damaged pages and margins.

Later additions.—The additions of 1846 are pages 1–8 and 677–96, of which page 695 bears the date. The paper is thin, very light in color, and well glossed. It is of European manufacture, with watermarks. Pages 1 and 695 show the capital letters GFA, pages 7 and 679 a swan with outstretched wings. Since the paper of pages 679 and 695 is in one piece and the respective marks occur close to the inner margin of each and at the same level, the two devices are evidently parts of a single watermark.[41] Both devices were used early in the history of papermaking.[42]

The scribe has matched the original page layout, using both the *thuluth* and the *naskhī* script. Both scripts are well executed, and the writing is not as heavy nor as crowded as that of the original manuscript. The text is fully pointed and voweled. The scribe has usually

[39] Cf. Nadwi, Bankipore *Catalogue*, Nos. 118–19, 137, 149, 1162, and 1166; Huart, p. 95.

[40] Huart, pp. 93–107 and 117–205.

[41] Watermarks, as we have seen (p. 53), date from A.D. 1282. Papermakers' initials were introduced in 1307, in close association with the watermark design. The Venetians introduced in 1483 the custom of separating the initials from the design and placing them at the bottom of the sheet; cf. Grant, *Books and Documents*, p. 30.

[42] Cf. Briquet, *Les filigranes* III 428 and Nos. 7897–9919, for letters of the alphabet, and p. 607 and Nos. 12073–12252 for birds, including swans and ducks.

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written the *maddah* twice, first in black, then in red on a little larger scale. He has used the full, elaborate punctuation system,[43] the various letters and symbols appearing in red ink.

Verses are separated by a blank interval within the line. Five- and ten-verse groups are marked by the letter numerals *h* and *y* respectively, following the Kūfic usage. In the last section (pp. 677–95) the words *ʿashr* and *sajdah* are given in red ink in the margins, while the sūrah titles, also in red, are inserted in the text. The scribe began *juzʾ* 30 not on page 677 but on the blank lower part of page 676, which belonged to the original manuscript.

Pages 293–96 are likewise later additions, though undated. They are in a different hand and of different paper, both being more like the original manuscript than are the 1846 additions. The paper is of Italian make and has as watermark the name "Andrea Galvani Pordenone," written in a large Spencerian hand, plus a well drawn crescent with a face in profile.[44] These pages too are laid out to match the original. The scripts are well executed, and the text is fully pointed and voweled.

Some late hand has inserted floral transfers on pages 2, 166, and 695, thus bringing a cheap and childish note of modernity into a comparatively valuable manuscript.

Binding.—The manuscript is bound between two wooden boards covered with heavy dark red-brown leather. The flap and the section joining it to the back cover are made of several layers of paper so compact that they feel like wood. They are incased in leather like that of the covers. The back is reinforced at top and bottom with a heavy headband of cream and tan silk cord. A large centered arabesque and one small one above and another below it are blind-tooled on each of the covers; a similar large arabesque is blind-tooled on the flap. The inside of the binding is faced with marbled paper; the flyleaves are of this same paper, which carries the same watermark as pages 293–96. Over the upper part of the inside of the back cover and flap a piece of green cotton cloth has been clumsily pasted as reinforcement.

No. 21. A 12030*a*. A.H. 839/40 (A.D. 1435/36). Given as *waḳf* by Sultan Barsbāy. Plate XXV

Date.—Rabīʿ II, 839—4 Rabīʿ I, 840/October–November, 1435—16 September, 1436. The 4th *juzʾ* of this Ḳurʾān of Barsbāy[45] was completed during Rabīʿ II, A.H. 839; the 1st and the 9th *juzʾ*, however, were finished a month later, in Jumādā I, 839.[46] The rest of the manuscript must have been completed sometime in the ten months or so between this and the *waḳf* date of 4 Rabīʿ I, 840. The scribe signed and dated his work at the end of *ajzāʾ* 1, 4, and 9 only (folios 17, 44, and 82). The first of these reads:

كتب الفقير عبد الله ابن اخ المرحوم الشيخ نصر الله رحمه الله فى تاريخ شهر جمادى الاولى سنه تسع ثلثين وثمانمايه فى مصر المحروسه صانها الله تعالى عن الخربان

With nothing but ʿAbd Allāh for a name, it is next to impossible to identify the scribe himself, though ʿAbd Allāh, the calligrapher of Harāt, who wrote *naskhī* and died in 849/1445, may

[43] E.g. *m*, *ṭ*, and *j* for *waḳf lāzim*, *waḳf muṭlaḳ*, and *waḳf jāʾiz* respectively. Cf. *Itḳān* I 85–93 and Sell, pp. 10–16. See also Nos. 27 f. and 30 f. below.

[44] Cf. Briquet, *Les filigranes* II, Nos. 5327–38.

[45] For another Ḳurʾān of his cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 78–79. For bibliography on Barsbāy see Wiet in *MIE* XIX 93, No. 644.

[46] There is a bare possibility that the unit in this date is "seven" instead of "nine," especially in the notation at the end of the first *juzʾ*. It is, however, similar to the pointed word تسع in the notation at end of *juzʾ* 4. Read as "nine" here it indicates that the ms. was not written in the order of the text. On the other hand, read as "seven" it would mean that two years elapsed between the completion of the 1st and the 4th *juzʾ*, though it took less than a year to finish the rest of the ms.

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be our man.[47] Not so with his better known uncle, who according to Ibn Taghrībirdī VI 815[48] died in Rajab, 833/March, 1430. He was a learned man, a Ṣūfī of the school of Ibn ʿArabī, a favored courtier and confidential secretary, who wrote a proportioned hand (see pp. 33–38). It is therefore understandable why ʿAbd Allāh was content to be known merely as the nephew of Shaikh Naṣr Allāh. Folio 44 shows, in addition to a similar date notation, the signatures of two witnesses. One of these has been deliberately removed by peeling off a layer of the heavy paper, leaving traces of the word شهد and the name داوود. The other reads شهد له بذلك محمد ابن موسى بن حسن الازهرى, written in a different ink and a poor, careless hand. Folio 82 also shows that a signature has been deliberately destroyed, this time leaving no legible traces.

Waḳf.—There are 5 *waḳf* sheets (folios 19, 46, 88, 128, and 155), preceding *ajzā'* 4, 8, 20, 25, and 29 respectively. The beginning sections of the remaining 25 *juz'* divisions are missing from the manuscript; with them were likely other *waḳf* sheets. The first of the *waḳf* notations is somewhat lengthy. The others have minor changes of phraseology, tending to make each succeeding notation briefer. It is not necessary for our purpose to consider more than the first, which reads as follows:[49]

الحمد لله رب العالمين

وقف ـــــــــ مولانا السلطان المالك الملك الاشرف

ابو النصر برسباى خلد الله ملكه هذه الربعه الشريفه وجعل مقرها بالقبه

المستجده بالصحرا مدفن المرحومه خوند جُلبان تغمدها الله تعالى برحمته

ورضوانه وقفا صحيحا شرعيا لاتباع ولا توهب ولا ترهن ابتغا لوجه الله

تعالى وطلبا لثوابه الجزيل فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه

ان الله سميع عليم وبه شهد عليه فى رابع شهر ربيع الاول سنه اربعين

وثمانمايه الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

شهدتُ على الواقف بذلك

عبد الرزاق بن حمزه الحنفى

The first two *waḳf* sheets were drawn up by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ himself and are written in a careful and well formed hand; the remaining three sheets are in inferior script in contrast with ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's signature. The second sheet has, in line with this signature but in a fine small hand in a lighter ink, the following testimony: اودعت فى هذا الجزو المبارك الشهاده ان لا اله الا الله وحده. The fourth sheet adds the testimony of "ʿAlī" and of "the humble donor."[50]

Neither Suyūṭī's *Who's Who* nor Wiet's *Les biographies* mentions this ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ. There can be little doubt, however, that he is the Ḥanafite preacher mentioned in a Berlin

[47] Cf. Huart, *op. cit.* p. 98.

[48] His full name appears there as الشيخ نصر الله بن عبد الله بن محمد بن اسماعيل العجمى الحنفى.

[49] For full *waḳf* sheets in other manuscripts cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 18; *AMJRL*, No. 22; Paris *Cat.*, Nos. 351, 358, and 376 (Nos. 336 and 347 have shorter *waḳf* notations).

[50] Can this be indeed the signature of Barsbāy? The writing is immature.

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Museum manuscript as being initiated into a Ṣūfī order in the year 825/1422. His full name and title appear as عبد الرزاق بن حمزه بن على الواعظ الحنفى.[51]

We have already spoken of the tombs of the Circassian Mameluke sultans in the outlying desert east of Cairo. The convent and mausoleum of Sultan Barsbāy was completed in 835/1432.[52] Since it was the custom to bury members of the royal family in the royal mausoleum, the domed tomb of Khawand[53] Julbān must have been in this mausoleum, for Khawand Julbān was the chief wife of Barsbāy and mother of his heir Yūsuf, who succeeded him as al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. Herself a Circassian, she was bought as a slave by Barsbāy, who later married her and on the death of his chief wife promoted her to that high rank. She must have been a woman of wisdom and of charm, for the historian Ibn Taghrībirdī bears her this remarkable testimony: "She was beautiful, wise, a good manager, and had she lived in the reign of her son she would have managed his kingdom excellently."[54]

Size and general condition.—One hundred and seventy-seven folios 30×21 cm., except folios 154–77, which measure 27.8×19 cm.; text page 20.5×14.5 cm.; 9 lines to the page. The manuscript is clean and in comparatively good condition except for some worn edges and some folios worm-eaten to varying degrees. The paper is oriental, of a good grade, light both in color and in weight, and finely glossed. Gatherings are of 6 leaves, which show signs of having been bound at some time but are now loose in the present leather cover.

Contents.—Sūrahs 2:48–141; 3:92–189; 3:195—4:24; 6:111—7:85; 7:89—8:40; 11:27–31; 11:116—12:23; 27:56–59; 28:19—29:45; 33:5–30; 37:170—38:18; 39:3–27; 40:7–15; 40:44—41:29; 41:44—42:48; 43:40–62; 44:59—45:38; 52:43—53:9; 59:3—61:6; 67:1—73:14; 74:24—77:1.

Folio 82*a* has 4 lines canceled.[55]

Script.—*Thuluth* and *naskhī*. The first, the middle, and the last line of each page are written in a beautiful *thuluth* hand, covering the whole width of the writing space and dividing the page into two sections, each of which contains 3 centered shorter lines written in a clear and delicate *naskhī* hand. The vertical strokes of this latter script show a tendency to slant downward a little to the right.[56] The text is fully pointed and voweled. The scribe, ʿAbd Allāh, who was evidently a Persian (ʿAjamī) since his famous uncle is so designated, has produced a fine piece of work, excellent in neatness and in beauty of script.

Ornamentation and text division.—The general decorative layout of the page has already been described in connection with the script. The margins are remarkably free from any sort of writing and ornamentation. The usual five- and ten-verse divisions are lacking. Ends of verses are indicated by the use of two concentric circles, the area of the inner being covered with gold leaf which frequently takes a squarish shape. The area between the two circles is divided into four, six, or eight parts by dots or lines, the latter often extending outside the circles. In a few instances a single circle is made to do, while occasionally a rosette is substituted. The verse count is mostly that of Makkah, though Sūrah 42 has the Kūfic count. Each

[51] Ahlwardt III 220 and 331 (Lbg. 607, 3, fol. 37, cited under Nos. 3353 and 3649:60).

[52] Cf. Creswell in *BIFAO* XVI 125 f.

[53] For the origin of this title and its use by Mameluke princesses see *CIA Ég.* I 186, n. 5, and *CIA Jér.* I 325. For other *khawand*'s see *CIA Ég.* I 840.

[54] Ibn Taghrībirdī VI 670 f., 739, and 842.

[55] The text involved is Sūrah 8:37 f., in which the wicked (*al-khabīth*) is threatened with *jahannam*. Professor Sprengling suggests that some childishly superstitious man, looking on the Ḳurʾān text as something with magic power, ran a line through these verses so they would not be applicable in his case.

[56] The Turks frequently give the *naskhī* script a slight slant downward to the right; cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 97–99. An instance where this tendency is unusually exaggerated, to the detriment of the copy, is to be found in a Ḳurʾān described by Mingana (*AMJRL*, No. 46) and illustrated in John Rylands Library, *Bulletin* II (1914–15) facing p. 207.

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sūrah (folios 37, 76, 85, 152, etc.) is introduced by a panel with purplish gray background and a black and gold border. The panel is divided into three sections—a square at each end and a rectangle in the center. Within each square is a large gold circle, while within the rectangle is a cartouche containing the title and the number of verses of the sūrah, written in red ink in the *thuluth* script (Pl. XXV). The *juz'* is introduced by facing ornamental pages with a color scheme of purple-gray, gold, red, and black. The design is comparatively simple. The dark areas in the page shown photographically in Plate XXV (folio 19*b*) represent the purple-gray background; the squares and the cartouches at the sides are in gold; the triangles are dotted in black and red. The central cartouches are plain, that at the top containing the number of the *juz'*, that at the bottom Sūrah 56:79 f. (see p. 55): لا يمسه الا المطهرون تنزيل من رب العالمين, "Let none touch it but the purified. It is a revelation from the Lord of the Worlds." The writing is in red in *thuluth* script. The space around the *naskhī* lines is hatched with red, that around the *thuluth* lines in yellow-brown. A leaf border in yellow-brown is to be seen at the bottom of each of the *naskhī* script sections.[57] Joggles fill the border bands; the light ones are in red, the dark in purple-gray. Gold, black, and purple-gray lines, the last bordered by purple-gray "finials," complete the design.

Binding.—The manuscript is in a loose paperboard case. A large piece of glossy brown leather forms the outer covering of the whole. The covers and the flap are lined with plain yellowish brown oriental paper. The designs on them are comparatively simple, consisting in each case of a blind-tooled central oval medallion of delicate arabesque and a narrow link border framed by straight lines.

No. 22. A 12030*b*. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

Size and general condition.—Three folios 30.5×21 cm., with text page 20.5×14.5 cm. The 3 leaves are glued together for binding; the lower outer corners are worn away; the paper, originally white and glossy, is now spotted and much discolored.

General description.—The 3 folios are so much like those of Barsbāy's Ḳur'ān (No. 21) that it is not difficult to see how they came to be tucked in with the latter. Close examination, however, proves them to belong to a different Ḳur'ān, in which the script was not as carefully executed. The 3 *thuluth* lines are more crowded, and the *naskhī* lines are in a little larger and heavier hand; the ink, too, is lighter. Double circles are used for verse endings. The word *wakf* appears on the first folio.

Contents.—Sūrah 42:22–42.

No. 23. A 12029*b*. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXVI

Date.—The manuscript is a *wakf* for the mosque of Sultan Mu'ayyad, 815–24/1412–21.[58] The edifice was originally a prison where Mū'ayyad had once been a prisoner. He had the building converted into a royal mosque, which soon acquired a large library and a high-grade theological school. This manuscript could have been written before the building of the mosque or at a date considerably later than that event. However, it has many points in common, both in script and in decoration, with the Ḳur'ān of Barsbāy (our No. 21) dated 840/1436. The simple *wakf* notation وقف لله تعالى بجامع المؤيد appears seven times in the manuscript (folios 4, 9, 15, 25, 34, 35, and 42).

Size and general condition.—37.5×27.8 cm., with text page 25×16.5 cm.; 51 folios, 5 lines to the page. Some pages are worm-eaten, others are partly torn away (folios 38, 40, and 42);

[57] Cf. our No. 19 and *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 86, 89, and 97–99 for similar practices popular with the Persians and the Turks.

[58] Cf. Wiet in *MIE* XIX 169, No. 1183; Maḳrīzī I 328–30; Muir, *op. cit.*, chap. xiii. See *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 75–77 for other Ḳur'āns of Mu'ayyad.

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edges are worn and marginal ornaments much damaged. The paint used for outlining has eaten through the paper, causing the ornaments to break away and in some cases to fall out. However, some of the ornaments seem to have been deliberately cut out (folios 22 and 31).

Contents.—Sūrahs 15:7—16:108; 16:112–28; 36:34–40; 40:5–8, 18–22, 27–47; 47:32–37.

Script.—Beautiful *thuluth*, fully pointed and voweled in the same black ink. The extended (*mabsūṭ*) forms of the *thuluth* letters are the ones most frequently used; these give the script an open and uncrowded appearance. The *alif* measures 2.3–2.5 cm.; *s* is sometimes seen with three points below, arranged either ... or ∴ (folios 3 and 23), or with the *muhmalah* sign ٧ above it, which sign appears also on *r* (folio 26). The letters *ḥ*, *ṣ*, and *ᶜ* repeat their independent forms below in reduced size to distinguish these letters from *j*, *kh*, *ḍ*, and *gh*, though the latter are always pointed; final *h* and *k* have corresponding smaller letters written above them. The manuscript has no reading symbols or notations.

Ornamentation and text division.—Small eight-petaled, whirling, gold rosettes, with alternating blue and red outer dots, mark the ends of verses. Five- and ten-verse divisions are indicated by gold and blue marginal ornaments containing the words *khamsah* and *ᶜashr* written in Kūfic. The five-verse ornament consists of a circle surmounted by a triangular design, the two together forming an almond; a vertical line projects above and below. The ten-verse division ornament is a larger circle of gold, divided into 6 or 8 equal sections surrounding the central portion, which contains the word *ᶜashr*. A wide blue band encircles the gold, while dots or V's mark the divisions. It is impossible to determine the verse-count system, since the contents of this manuscript happen to be sūrahs and verses that are counted alike in all the different systems. At the beginning of a sūrah comes a wide panel of gold and blue, with red dots sparingly used (Pl. XXVI). The sūrah title and the number of verses are written on a background of gold in a close *thuluth* hand with free use of the *mudghamah* and the *muḳawwarah* forms of the letters (see p. 70). Gold arabesques on a background of blue fill the rest of the panel. A gold band and a sort of key pattern complete the panel, which is then outlined in very dark blue. A gold and blue almond filled with a delicate arabesque extends into the outer margin.

Juz' divisions seem to have been marked by two ornamental pages. Folio 42*b*, the end of *juz'* 14, has 3 lines of script inclosed in a gold border, with two panels, one above and one below, giving the number of the *juz'*.[59] The same color scheme and the same type of *thuluth* script are used for these as for the sūrah panel, but the design within the panels varies in its employment of geometric forms. Two almonds similar to the one already described extend into the outer margin and complete the page decoration.

Marginal ornaments of gold and blue with convex arcs at the ends and concave arcs between indicate a *sajdah* (folio 23*a*), with that word written within, surrounded by an arabesque, on a background of gold. The red, sparingly employed in the decorative scheme, has oxidized so that it now looks more like brown. The script in the panels appears now to be in very dull dark blue, but was very likely painted over with white, as white traces are still to be seen in the *sajdah* ornament described above.

Binding.—No. 18 and Nos. 23–25 came to the Oriental Institute together in one loose cover measuring 41.9×30 cm., which is therefore too small for No. 18 and too large for the other three. The boards are made of layers of manuscript paper; the leather is dark red, unevenly worn and faded and much damaged by worms, especially along the back strip. The inside is covered with plain paper crudely colored red. The cover design is simple and blind-tooled, consisting of a small central arabesque and corner pieces. The flap is similarly treated except for a slight difference in the arabesque motif.

[59] For same page arrangement see No. 18 (Pl. XXII) and *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 50.

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No. 24. A 12029*c*. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

Size and general description.—One folio 37.5×26.5 cm., with text page 25×17.5 cm.; rulings for 5 lines to the page. The sheet was tucked in with the preceding manuscript, from which it differs but slightly in size, quality of paper, and script. It bears an offset of a marginal ornament different from those used in No. 23. The sheet is of light-weight, brownish, glossy paper, with three of its damaged edges patched. It is the last sheet of *juz'* 7, with the second page left blank and the first containing but 2 lines of *thuluth* script covering part of Sūrah 6:110. An eight-petaled whirling gold rosette with blue and red points marks the end of the verse.

No. 25. A 12029*d*. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXVII

Date.—The manuscript is an undated private copy. It is, however, stamped with a circular seal in nine different places (folios 23, 42, 76, 80, 97, 118, 132, 171, and 203). Close examination shows the seal to be identical with that appearing in *Ar. Pal.* Plates 42 a, 121, 132, 136 f., 139, 141, 146 f., 152, 154, 166, 175, 178, and 185 on manuscripts ranging from the 3d (Pl. 42 a) and the 4th century (Pl. 121, dated 351/962) to the 9th century after the Hijrah (Pl. 154, dated 815/1413). The central inscription on the seal reads:

عبد الباقى بن على العربى الراجى برحمه ربه وشفاعه النبى

On the margin is the following couplet:

اذا ضاقت بك البلوى تفكر فى الم نشرح
وعسر بين يسرين اذا فكرته فافرح

When sore affliction troubles you,
  Then call to mind, "Did we not ope?"
Between two eases stands one grief;
  If you remember that, then hope.

This couplet alludes to Sūrah 94, which Muslim friends tell us is frequently repeated by Muslims in trouble. That sūrah comes closest to being for the Muslim what Psalm 23 is for the Christian. Its text and translation follows:

الم نشرح لك صدرك ووضعنا عنك وزرك
الذى انقض ظهرك ورفعنا لك ذكرك
فان مع العسر يسرا ان مع العسر يسرا
فاذا فرغت فانصب والى ربك فارغب

Did we not open thy constricted breast
  And take from thee thy heavy load,
Which was about to break thy back,
  And raise for thee on high thy name?
For lo, with the grief there is an easing;
  Lo, with the grief there is an easing.
So when thou art free, then strive amain,
  And upon thy Lord then place thy hope.[60]

[60] I am indebted to Professor Sprengling for the excellent translations of the couplet and of the sūrah. ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908) expresses the same idea in a short epigram (see *Le monde oriental* XVIII 99). For an interesting commentary on this sūrah cf. Nasafī IV 272 f.

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The ᶜAbd al-Bāḳī mentioned on the seal was apparently a book collector of some note who lived in the 9th century after the Hijrah. Several books of his collection have turned up in the Egyptian Library at Cairo, bearing the seal of that institution under its former name, which reads: الكتبخانه الخديويه المصريه.[61]

Size and general condition.—Two hundred and twenty folios 37×27 cm., with text page 22.5×15.5 cm.; 5 lines to the page. The paper used for this manuscript consists of four different qualities and shades of color,[62] the best of which is creamy white, heavy, and glossy. Both a light brown and a reddish brown variety are used for rather large sections. Both are light in weight but glossy. The fourth variety is dull reddish brown, so light in weight that the writing shows through. The better-quality paper folios are in good condition, the rest are discolored; some have damaged edges, and some are worm-eaten.

Contents.—Sūrahs 2:93–140; 4:24–32, 78–84, 150–59; 4:164—5:15; 5:20–26; 7:3–22, 89–106, 115–55; 7:189—8:36; 9:80–92; 9:94—10:10; 11:14–17, 66–83; 15:28—16:49; 16:116–25; 20:53–90; 21:11–18; 23:3—24:19; 29:47–61; 30:56—31:21; 36:31–47, 53–60; 37:150—39:26; 39:67—40:13; 46:11–15; 51:36—54:51; 62:3–5.

Script.—Large *thuluth*, fully pointed and voweled in the same black ink. The *muḥarraf* form of *alif* is used rather generally; this is an *alif* with a slight curve to the left.[63] The *mudghamah* and *muḳawwarah* forms of other letters are used; these give the script a comparatively crowded appearance. *ᶜAin* frequently repeats its independent form in reduced size below; *k* and *h* have smaller corresponding letters written above them; *r* and *s* have the *muhmalah* sign ۷ above them. No attempt is made to distinguish *ṣ* from *ḍ*, and curiously enough *j*, *ḥ*, and *kh* all have a small *ḥ* below them.

Ornamentation and text division.—The 5 lines of script are inclosed in a narrow gold band outlined in black with an outer frame of blue. The verses are separated by small six-petaled gold rosettes with blue and red points. Ten-verse divisions are indicated by circular marginal ornaments in gold, red, and blue, with the word *ᶜashr* written first in blue, then painted over in white. In many cases the white has rubbed off, leaving but slight traces. The verse counts given in the few sūrah headings are those of Makkah, except that Sūrah 39 (folio 184*b*) here has 77 verses. This total and the internal verse divisions throughout the manuscript do not correspond to any of the systems listed by Spitaler. At the head of each sūrah (folios 29, 63, 89, 151, 160, 171, 184, 195, 202, 208, 211, and 214) stands a broad panel in gold, blue, red, white, and in some cases (folios 29, 63, 89, 208) black. Geometric designs, different in each panel, are interspersed with arabesques. In the center are written the title and the number of verses of the sūrah in gold overlaid with white. In the margin, centered on the panel, is a circular ornament. Wide space is allowed on either side of the panel. The *bismillāh* is written in gold outlined in black, and the loop of each *ḥ* is filled in with blue.

Instead of the usual *juz'* division into thirty parts, we have here the *ḥizb* division into sixty parts (e.g. folio 97*b*). One-fourth (folios 1, 35, 48, 69, 204, etc.) and one-half (folios 30, 53, 64, 127, etc.), but not three-fourths, of each *ḥizb* are marked by marginal ornaments usually similar to those used for the ten-verse divisions. In one instance (folio 127) two arcs inclose the motif; in three others (folios 100, 113, 145) an almond is used, while the words *rubᶜ ḥizb*,

[61] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 136 f., 139, 141, and 166.

[62] Cf. *Ar. Papier*, pp. 60–66. There is a possibility that we have here parts of two Ḳur'ān copies, one consisting of the lighter and one of the darker papers. In the sūrah verse count of the former the units precede the tens, in the latter the reverse is seen. In every other respect they seem to be identical. On such variant writings of numerals see my article "Arabic numerals," *JRAS*, 1938, pp. 277–80.

[63] Cf. Ḳalḳashandī III 63.

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without any ornament, occur once (folio 204). An elaborate *sajdah* ornament in dumbbell form appears twice (folios 63 and 118).

The ornamental work is on the whole very well done. The beautiful and richly designed panels show expert workmanship. The red used has for the most part retained its color and metallic brilliance. The blue has not fared so well. Several shades of it are to be seen; that on the heavy white paper is of a grayish hue.

No. 26. A 12033. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXVIII

Date.—The manuscript is undated, but paper and general decorative scheme place it with the Mameluke Ḳur'āns of the 9th century.

Size and general condition.—27.4×18.5 cm., with text page 17.6×10.5 cm.; 8 folios, 5 lines to the page. The paper is considerably discolored, margins are roughened, and lower outer corners much worn and patched.

Contents.—Sūrahs 4:171—5:3.

Script.—Beautiful, large, open *thuluth*, fully dotted and voweled, all in heavy black ink; *alif* measures 2.3 cm.

Ornamentation and text division.—A border of two red lines inside a thicker gray-blue line incloses the 5 lines of script. An eight-petaled whirling gold rosette with red and blue points marks the ends of verses. Marginal ornaments of gold, red, and blue, with the word *khamsah* in Kūfic, mark the five-verse divisions. Sūrah 5 is introduced by a panel of gold clouds on blue background, framed in a gold border. Title and number of verses are written in white (now mostly rubbed off) on gold. The Kūfan verse count of 176 verses for Sūrah 4 appears in the heading of Sūrah 5, doubtless by a scribal error. The verse count in Sūrah 4, however, is not Kūfan; for the manuscript has only 175 verses, which is the verse count of Baṣrah and the Ḥijāz. The count for Sūrah 5:1–3 differs from any given by Spitaler[64] and also from that of No. 25.

Binding.—The front cover and part of the back strip are all that survive. The paperboard, made clearly of layers of old manuscripts, is covered with dark brown leather. The back strip is reinforced with coarse brown cloth which still has some paste remnants. The inside is lined with fine light leather with an all-over design of blind-tooled arabesques. On the outside of the cover is a central eight-lobed circular medallion with "finials." The medallion contains right angles, twists, and gold punches. Two twist designs in rhomboid form, with gold punches, are placed one above and one below the central medallion. The lobes of the latter are adapted for the corners. The frame consists of several blind-tooled lines inclosing a band of intersecting arcs.

No. 27. A 12032*a*. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXVIII

Size and general condition.—Seventeen folios 25.5×17.5 cm., with text pages 20×13 cm.; 5 lines to the page. The folios show evidence of having been trimmed down to their present size by uneven cutting. Originally these folios must have been of the same size as those of No. 28. The paper is slightly worm-eaten, discolored, with a few pages patched to reinforce the lower outer corners. The manuscript was at one time given as a *waḳf* (folio 10).

Contents.—Sūrah 7:52–54, 89–132, 143–61.

Script.—Neat, large, open *thuluth; alif* measures 1.8 cm. The text is fully pointed and voweled, all in black ink. *Hamzah* and *sukūn* are sometimes accompanied by a red dot of later insertion.

Reading symbols and notations.—For punctuation signs only the letters *t* for *waḳf tāmm*, *k*

[64] Spitaler, p. 36.

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for *waḳf kāfī*, and *ḥ* for *waḳf ḥasan* are used; they are in blue.[65] The following letters, written in red ink above the letters or words concerned, are used to insure the correct pronunciation:[66] *gh* for *idghām* or assimilation; *ẓ* for *iẓhār* or vigorous and clear utterance; *kh* for *ikhfā'* or partial assimilation; and *bgh* for *idghām Baṣrī* to indicate that assimilation is required by the Baṣran school.

The variant readings are given in the margins, note being taken not only of the outstanding seven master readers and their fourteen pupils but of the three lesser readers and their six pupils as well.[67] These latter were used only for private readings.[68] The variations are given in red, the *ramz*,[69] or letter symbol for each reader, in black. A variant *maddah* or *shaddah* is frequently supplied in red; the original black *sukūn* of the endings *-kum* and *-hum* is changed throughout to a prolonged *ḍammah* (ـُـو). All of these signs, as well as the red *alif* of prolongation, are later additions to the text.

Ornamentation and text division.—The ornamentation is comparatively simple; it consists of filling the loops of the letters with gold. The loop of initial ع has only a gold dot in the center. The device has detracted somewhat from the beauty of the open *thuluth* script. Eight-petaled whirling gold rosettes with blue and red dots mark the ends of verses. It is impossible to determine the verse-count system since this manuscript, like No. 23, happens to contain sūrahs and verses that are counted alike in all the different systems.

No. 28. A 12032*b*. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

Size, Contents, etc.—This manuscript consists of 21 folios 26.5×18.5 cm., with text page 20×13 cm., with 5 lines to the page. It is in all respects similar to No. 27, and the two manuscripts give every indication of having been parts of the same Ḳur'ān, though probably of different *juz'* volumes. The present section is part of *juz'* 22, the whole of which was at one time bound and given as a *waḳf* (folio 19); but the manuscript as it now stands contains only Sūrah 33:31–71; 34:16–23, 41–47; 35:2–10. Thus it stops a few verses short of the middle of the *juz'*. The verse-count system, so far as can be determined from these contents, is that of either Kūfah or the Ḥijāz.

Binding.—As in No. 26, only the front cover and part of the back strip are left of the binding, which is however still attached to some of the manuscript folios. Dark reddish brown leather covers board made of layers of old manuscripts. The inside is lined with thin dark leather with an allover arabesque. The outside shows a large gold-tooled central medallion consisting of geometric figures built around a six-pointed star. The figures form a twelve-pointed star inscribed within a circle, outside of which are twelve lobes, ten of them semicircular, their outer edges bordered by a twist with "finials." The other two lobes, those at top and bottom, are each modified into a pointed arch from the point of which projects a sort of fleur-de-lis. The corner designs harmonize with the outer elements of the central medallion. What may be a much simplified plant motif is used in the rectangular frame of the cover.

No. 29. A 12031. 9TH–10TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. Plate XXIX

Size and general condition.—Eight folios 76×55 cm., with text page 55.5×37 cm.; 11 lines to the page. This seems to be the third-largest Ḳur'ān known. Those still larger are Ḳur'ān No. 19 of the Egyptian Library at Cairo, 117×98 cm.,[70] and the Arabic manuscript catalogued

[65] From *Itḳān* I 85 f. we would understand these signs to be equivalent to our period, semicolon, and comma respectively. They are not listed by Sell, who, however, explains the use of *k* as an abbreviation of *kadhālik*.

[66] See *Muḳni'*, pp. 140 f.; *Taisīr*, pp. 19–29; *Itḳān* I 95–98; and cf. Pretzl in *Islamica* VI 293–97.

[67] See *Taisīr*, pp. 4–10, and *Itḳān* I 75; and cf. Sell, pp. 8 and 22 f., and Pretzl in *Islamica* VI 17–47.

[68] Sell, p. 20. [69] *Ibid.* pp. 22 f. [70] *CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 1, p. 58; *EI* I 385.

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as No. 42 of the John Rylands Library, 86×54 cm.[71] The paper of our manuscript is heavy in weight but light in color, well smoothed but not overly glossy. All pages except the first, which is much rubbed and somewhat stained, are in good condition. The 8 folios are sewn together with heavy twine, and the back still shows remnants of paste and coarse cloth used in the binding. Bits of several leaves on either side of the bound section give evidence of hasty and violent handling and lead one to suspect that these 8 leaves were torn off and "lifted" from a larger section. Gatherings are of 12 folios, but the inner two double folios have been removed, and with them has gone the beginning of Sūrah 17.

Contents:—Sūrahs 16:45–93 and 17:18–71.

Script.—Letter forms are those of the *thuluth;* but size of the strokes, both in width, 2.5–3 mm., and in the height of the *alif*, 3.4–4 cm., is roughly twice that of the usual *thuluth* specimens. The *mabsūṭ* or comparatively straight and extended types of *thuluth* letters are used consistently, with the exception of *mudghamah r*. Even with *r*, the latter form is used only when it follows *j*, *ᶜ*, *f*, *ḳ*, *l*, *m*, or one of their "sister" forms. Embodying these two factors of size and straight (*mabsūṭ*) strokes, this may well be a specimen of *thuluthain* script. The writing is very carefully done in heavy black ink; the text is fully pointed and voweled. Later corrections have been made in a small hand, in red ink. They occur as follows: Page 1, line 11, *a* is substituted for *u* over the *t* of تجرون; page 11, line 11, an overlooked *u* is supplied for the *b* of ربّك; page 13, line 10, an omitted *w* is inserted before قل; page 13, line 11, *a* is substituted for *i* over the *z* in يَنْزَغُ;[72] page 14, line 7, the omitted vocalization of إنّ is supplied, likewise the omitted word عَذَابَ following it. A scribal error appears in line 10 of page 16, where the copyist wrote ندعوكم for ندعوا كل and, discovering his mistake, crowded the *alif* between the *w* and the *k*, adding the *l* but leaving the superfluous *m* still joined to the *k*.

Ornamentation and text division.—The word *Allāh* is throughout written in gold, outlined in black. The word *sajdah*, occurring only once, is written the same. A large twelve-petaled whirling gold rosette with large green center and red dots around the edge marks off each verse. These rosettes are not very well done. Each ten-verse grouping is indicated by a large circular ornament in the outer margin. On a small central circle with red background the word *ᶜashr* is written in gold in Kūfic letters. A ring of white paint separates this inner portion from the larger outer area, which is covered with gold leaf. Two blue rings, the outer with "finials," complete the ornament. These marginal ornaments are carefully done; since they differ in color scheme from the rosettes included in the text, it is not likely that they were done by the same person. It may be that the verses were originally separated by small blank spaces and that the rosettes between them are later additions. The *ḥizb* division scheme is apparently not used, since no note is taken of the beginning of the 28th *ḥizb*, though the *sajdah* which goes with it is written in the margin.

No. 30. A 12068. 9TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATES XXX–XXXI

Date.—The dating is based on the decorative designs and color schemes.

Size and general condition.—Three hundred and twenty-five folios 42×31 cm., with text page 30×21 cm.; 11 lines to the page. The manuscript is on the whole in fair condition, except that a few folios (e.g. 1, 2, and 151) are torn and discolored, causing loss of or damage to

[71] There is in Mosul a complete Ḳur'ān written on 30 "large" folios, each folio containing a complete *juz'*; actual measurements are not given, neither is the script indicated. The copy was written by Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in 1201/1786–87; cf. Dāwud Chalabī, *Kitāb makhṭūṭāt al-mauṣil*, p. 221, No. 160.

[72] The noncanonical reading with *i* is mentioned by Ibn Khālawaih, p. 77: (طلحة) يَنْزِغُ بكسر الزى.

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the text. The margins of many another folio are torn; in almost every instance they have been mended with light cream-colored paper. A few folios have been mended inside the text page (folios 11, 57, etc.). In many instances an attempt has been made by scraping the new paper to bring it to the same level as the old (folios 303 ff.). A few of the marginal ornaments are lost (e.g. folios 243*b* and 248*b*).

Contents.—The complete text of the Ḳur'ān, except parts of Sūrah 1:1–5. There are three scribal errors of omission (on folios 13*a*, 183*b*, and 307*b*) and one instance of misarrangement of the sheets in binding: starting with folio 313 the order should be 313, 316, 317, 315, 314, 318 ff.

Script.—The initial title-page headings (folios 1*a–b* and 2*a*) are in ornamental Kūfic; titles of Sūrahs 3 ff. are in *thuluth*, with preference for the rounded variety. The text is in beautiful *thuluth khafīf*, with the extended and open forms of the letters, except that *r* frequently has the *mudghamah* form, especially in most cases where it follows *f*, *ḳ*, *ṣ*, or *ʿ*. *Alif* measures 1.2 cm.; *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *ṣ*, and *ṭ* each have the same letter repeated, small, below; *k* and final *h* have the small letter above; *r*, *s*, and in a few cases *l*, each have for the *muhmalah* sign a small ٧ written above. The arrangements of the diacritical points are of interest, not because any of them are new, but because they are used quite generally here. Many of the arrangements are mentioned in Ḳalḳashandī III 155 f. as in use by Ibn Muḳlah, and all of them are found in non-Ḳur'ānic manuscripts of the 3d century and later. The letters involved are: *tā'*, with dots ..., ∴, ⁘, ⁝;[73] *thā'*, with dots ∴, ⁘;[74] *dal*, with dot below,[75] used sparingly (folios 147*b*, line 6, and 156*a*, line 7); *sīn*, with ... or ⁘ below[76] (in some cases this letter has no dots at all, in others one of these arrangements, in others one of these together with ٧ above, in still others just this last mark); *shīn*, with ⁘, ⁘, or ... above;[77] *ḳāf*, as with *tā'*;[78] *yā'*, as with *tā'*, except that in the final form the two dots are sometimes above and sometimes below.[79]

The scribe has made special efforts to keep even margins. To do this it is usually necessary either to divide words at the end of the line, as was the earlier practice, especially in Kūfic and Makkan manuscripts, or to crowd in the words at the end of the line, as is frequently seen in *thuluth* and *naskhī* manuscripts. Our scribe has regularly avoided both methods (but see folio 25*b*) by writing the same even hand to the end of the line, leaving a considerable vacant interval, and then finishing the divided word in the margin (folios 8*a*, 22*a*, 25*a*, etc.). The *alif* of prolongation was omitted originally, but folios 1–27 show its later addition in the same red ink that is used for reading signs and notations. The compound signs ﷺ, ﷻ, and ﷽, when lacking in the text, have been supplied in red ink.

Reading symbols and notations.—The full system of punctuation symbols,[80] including ∴ placed above for the *muʿānaḳah* or "embracing" (e.g. on folios 22*b*–23*a*), is used freely.

Variations of the seven master readers and their pupils are given in the margins. The word *ḳara'a* is written extended in red ink, and below it are other readers' versions, accompanied by their names (spelled out). By way of abbreviation the two geographic terms *al-ḥaramiyyān* ("they of the two *ḥaram*'s," i.e., Makkah and Madīnah) and *al-kūfiyyūn* ("the Kūfans") are used. The first refers to Nāfiʿ of Madīnah and Ibn Kathīr of Makkah; the second to ʿĀṣim, Ḥamzah, and Kisā'ī.[81] Catchwords at the bottom of the page are written in a different and poorer hand than the notes on the seven readings.

[73] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 50, 69, 73, 94, and 96.

[74] Ahlwardt, No. 302.

[75] Wright, *Facs.*, Pls. VI–VII and LX; *AMJRL*, No. 42.

[76] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 83 and 88; Wright, *Facs.*, Pls. VI–VII.

[77] *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 60; *AMJRL*, No. 42.

[78] *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 50, 68, and 73.

[79] *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 76; Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XX.

[80] See p. 56.

[81] Cf. *Taisīr*, pp. 72 ff.; *AMJRL*, No. 21.

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Ornamentation and text division.—The end of a verse is marked with a small eight-petaled whirling rosette of gold with blue dots. Five- and ten-verse groupings are marked by marginal ornaments of gold ringed in blue containing the words *khamsah* and *'ashr* respectively, written in Kūfic. The five-verse ornament is almond-like in design, with a long blue line projecting above and below. The ten-verse ornament is a large circular one similar to that of No. 29. Several verse-count systems are used, some of the sūrahs having the Kūfan, others the Baṣran, and still others the Madīnan count, both for the total and for the individual verse divisions.

Each sūrah is introduced with a broad panel. This consists of a central rectangle with a square at each end. Each square contains a floral design in gold over a background of blue with touches of red. The rectangle contains the title and number of verses of the sūrah written in white in *thuluth* over a gold background; the remaining space is filled with gold arabesques over a background of light red. The whole panel is framed in a band of gold and outlined in blue. A centered circular ornament of gold, red, and blue with a palmette design, in other respects in keeping with the five- and ten-verse marginal ornaments, extends into the outer margin.

No special note is made of the *juz'* divisions. The *aḥzāb* and their quarters and halves and the *sajdah*'s, however, are marked in red in the margins. Eleven of the usual fourteen *sajdah*'s are marked; the three missing are at Sūrahs 13:15, 32:15, and 96:19 (folios 132*a*, 220*b*, and 320*b*). Since two of these are not among the three rejected by Mālik,[82] the omission is likely an oversight.

The artist of this manuscript has lavished his skill mainly on the title-page, now partly lost, the two pages following it, and the two ornamental pages at the end. All five are beautiful pieces of workmanship in the same color scheme of gold, blue, red, green, black, and white. The central unit of the title-page (Pl. XXX) is a square with a pointed star at its center. The narrow bands of white links which frame the star are extended and interlaced to form geometric figures which inclose floral designs. Some of the latter are in gold over red, others in gold and green with touches of red on a blue background. Two panels, one above and one below the central square, have at each end a floral design within a circle touching a large central cartouche. The cartouches together contain Sūrah 26:194–96, written in ornamental Kūfic:

لتكون من المنذرين بلسان
عربى مبين وانه لفى زبر الاولين[83]

That thou mightest become a warner in a clear Arabic tongue.
And truly it is (foretold) in the Scriptures of them of yore.

The rest of the space in the cartouche is filled with a delicate ivy pattern of gold over blue. The remaining space in the panels is filled with white arabesques on a black background. A complex key pattern interspersed with small red squares with gold centers fills bands which separate the two panels from the central square and frame the rectangle formed by the three units. The broad outer border consists of delicate arabesques in gold and colors on a background of blue. The whole page is finished off with gold and blue "finials."

The design of the two ornamental pages at the end is essentially the same as that of the title-page. It differs mainly in lacking inscribed panels and in having at its center a ten- instead of a twelve-pointed star. Traces of a large central circular ornament in the outer margin are to be seen on only one of these pages, the other two having been lost with the sections that were torn away.

[82] At Sūrahs 53:62, 84:21, and 96:19; cf. Sell, pp. 6–9.

[83] Cf. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 52 f., 56 f., 62 f., and 83.

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The ornamentation of the first two pages of text (title-pages of Sūrahs 1 and 2) consists of two broad panels to the page, one above and one below, essentially similar to the panels on the title-page. They are each framed with a heavy green line, then with the same sort of key band as before, which likewise frames the 5 lines of text and the two panels as a unit. Blue and red squares alternate in this band, whereas those in the band on the title-page are all red. The outer border is narrower than that of the title-page, being in general similar to the outer half of the latter. A large central circular ornament in the outer margin completes the design.

The main concepts of this design as well as many of its minor details were popular in the 8th and 9th centuries after the Hijrah. Yet no two manuscripts among the many specimens published in Moritz' *Arabic Palaeography*[84] have identical designs, nor is any one of his specimens identical with those described here.

Binding.—The original boards and the inner flap, made of layers of old manuscripts, and their outer tooled-leather covering are well preserved. The whole manuscript, however, has been rebound. The covers and the flap are edged with soft light brown leather. The back is bound with the same leather; a wide strip of this leather, attached to the back cover and the inner flap, protects the front edge of the book. Clean white end papers have replaced the originals. The inside of the flap is lined with brown cotton cloth. The tooled design of the covers has been copied by Moritz on the covers of his *Arabic Palaeography*, from which a good idea of its general appearance, though not of its delicate details, can be gained. The flap has a large circular central design built, like that of the cover, around a six-pointed star and much punched in gold. The flap has a twist border similar to the middle unit of the border on the cover.

No. 31. A 12103.[85] 12TH OR 13TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXXII

Size and general condition.—Two hundred and forty-eight folios 23.3×14.5 cm. Script area, including the Persian, 21.3×11.8 cm.; Arabic alone 16.5×9.4 cm., mostly 17 lines to the page. The paper is 100 per cent rag, very thin and rather crisp (cf. p. 53); the thickness of the pages all together is only 1.8 cm. with the leaves pressed down, 2.3 cm. without pressure on the leaves. The manuscript is in good condition. There are a few instances of slight damage, but these have been carefully mended.

Contents.—The complete Ḳur'ān, with selected passages paraphrased in Persian. Catchwords are in a later hand.

Script.—The Arabic text is written in black in good *naskhī*. The sūrah titles also are in *naskhī*, but written a little larger and in blue. The Persian commentary is in the *nasta'līḳ* script; the Ḳur'ānic phrases to be commented on are written in red, the commentary in black. The black ink is very even, and the writing on the whole is very carefully done, though not always on the same scale. The usual number of lines to the page is 17, but the use of a smaller script gives at least one instance of 21 lines (p. 358). The same page frequently contains two or three different scales of writing, the regular size and a smaller and/or a larger one. There are very few scribal errors; occasional omission of an *alif* of prolongation, a *maddah*, or a *shaddah* (e.g. pp. 5 ff., 10, and 299) has been made good in red by a later hand.

Reading symbols and notations.—Originally the text did not have any punctuation and reading signs, except to mark the ends of verses. A later hand, using red ink, has emphasized the *madd* either by supplying *maddah* if originally left out or frequently by writing it again over the small black *maddah* of the text. In some sūrahs a small red *h* marks off the Ḳur'ān division of five-verse groups (pp. 413–15); ten-verse groups are not marked. The *rukū'* is marked by a

[84] E.g. *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 52–57, 63–66, and 71 f. These and other specimens of the same period bring out many of the details.

[85] Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, May, 1932.

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large red *ʿain*, placed sometimes in the Persian margin (e.g. pp. 62, 65, and 359–98) and sometimes in the outer margin (e.g. pp. 66–69). A small *ʿain* written in the text accompanies the larger *ʿain* found in the margin; in one instance (p. 359) the letters *ʿain-bā'* occur to specify that it is a Baṣran *rukūʿ*. Punctuation signs are used freely. No reading variants are given. Six of the 14 *sajdah*'s (Nos. 2–5, 7, and 9) are marked in red in the margin. Two (Nos. 6 and 10) show signs of having been written in black. The remaining six (Nos. 1, 8, and 11–14) are lacking. It is likely that the last three (Nos. 12–14) were deliberately left out, after the fashion of Mālik,[86] but the other missing ones are likely errors of omission. The margins contain numerous traces of letters and incomplete words written in a brown-black ink in a poor hand. Some of these look like remains of the words *sajdah*, *niṣf*, *rubʿ*, and *ḥizb* and of catchwords at the foot of the page. This means that the margins were originally wider but were trimmed off in binding. Page 290 shows the word *sajdah* fully written out in red and beside it the remains of the same word written in black. It is evident, then, that the manuscript has had two "editors," the first working with black and the second with red ink. The second one has marked the beginning of each *juz'* and has indicated its division by quarters. His markings, however, are neither complete nor consistent. *Ajzā'* 1, 9, 12, and 15 are left unmarked; 8, 19, and 22 have just *al-juz';* 5, 7, and 16 have *al-juz'* followed by Arabic numerals, but with the 7 written ٧ instead of ٧. The rest have the number written out fully in words.

Ornamentation and text division.—The page is laid out with an inner rectangular area for the Arabic text separated from a margin of Persian text by a narrow band of gold outlined with black between blue lines. The same sort of band separates the Persian text from the outer margins of the page. Ornaments at the corners and in the center of the vertical Persian section give four more or less equal spaces on each page. In these the Persian is written diagonally in parallel lines within each space, usually with the lines on upper and lower half-pages and also on facing pages symmetrically arranged.

The text lines, both Arabic and Persian, are separated by irregular cloudlike bands of gold bordered in black by very fine curved strokes. The end of each verse is marked by a gold circle with plain black outline. There are no five- and ten-verse ornaments. The surah titles, and in a few instances the number of verses also, are written in blue over a background of gold. The sūrahs follow different verse-count systems, all those of ʿIrāḳ and Syria being represented. No extra spacing is allowed for the beginning of a sūrah. Usually not even part of a line is wasted; either the title of the new sūrah is written in the middle of the line, with the last of the preceding sūrah on either side of it, or the last of the preceding sūrah is written in the middle, with the new title and verse count on either side. The *bismillāh* starts a new line (except where the text is crowded at the end, pp. 492 f.), with a splash of gold above the extended *s*, the formula usually occupying the whole line. In some cases no ornaments appear with the sūrah headings; in others a small floral motif in gold on blue is placed at either side of the cartouche containing the title (e.g. p. 425). This is especially the case when the preceding sūrah ends with the end of a line and a whole line is then given to the next sūrah heading (e.g. pp. 427 and 444). There are no ornamental devices to mark the *juz'* divisions. The genius of the artist is centered on decoration of the Persian margins and of three elaborate double pages, one pair at the beginning of the manuscript, one at or about the beginning of the 15th *juz'*, and one at the end of the volume.

When the side margins are not needed for the Persian comments, they are variously ornamented. The scheme is to have a large central ornament with smaller ones above and below it. The large central motif varies. The six- or eight-pointed design combining features of a

[86] Cf. Sell, pp. 6–9.

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star with a rosette and filled with some floral pattern is frequently used (pp. 7, 11, 77, etc.). Sometimes an elongated (pp. 32, 36, 40, etc.) or a leaf-shaped variation (pp. 51, 59, 65, etc.) is employed. There are a few omissions and irregularities. Sometimes the black outlining of the design is lacking (pp. 96, 330 f., 334, etc.); in one instance an unusually broad band of black is worked into the leaf motif (p. 227). Occasionally the corner and central motifs in the Persian margins have just the blue, with the gold design left out (pp. 329 and 339 f.); again, on two pages (136 and 166) the spaces between those motifs are filled with allover floral designs in gold.

The three elaborate double pages are of the same general order as those of *Ar. Pal.* Plates 89 and 92–99, representing Persian and Turkish practices from the 7th and later centuries after the Hijrah, the earlier ones being the simpler.[87] In all of these, as in our manuscript, conventionalized floral designs predominate over purely geometric elements. The designs of the three pairs of pages, though similar, are identical neither with one another nor with the *Ar. Pal.* examples already mentioned. The artist here, like a skilled musician, repeats the same theme but with pleasing variations. The first variety (Pl. XXXII) has a narrower script space than the rest, because a vertical floral border in gold over blue, lacking in the other two designs, extends alongside the title and script area. In all three cases the title panels have floral motifs of gold on blue, while the writing is in blue over gold. The script sections and the title panels are separated and framed by narrow gold borders, containing rosettes alternately red and blue with white centers, which extend also to top and bottom of each page along its inner margin. The rest of each page is occupied by an elaborate border wrought in gold over blue. The gold is well preserved, but the blue has faded unevenly; the "finials" on the first two pages are almost all lost, and those on the others have been retouched.

Binding.—The binding is modern and lacks the customary flap of the Muslim book. Besides the end papers there are two extra blank leaves at each end, all of modern white paper. The cover itself consists of two layers of heavy paperboard, covered with fine leather dyed brownish red and highly polished. The back has no special reinforcement. The ornamentation, stamped in gold, is simple. Four palmettes extending from a common center form the small central ornament of each cover. A single palmette projects diagonally from each corner. A narrow twist border frames each cover. On the back of the book are five horizontal twist bands and four palmettes, one in each interval between bands. Except for a few scratches and a tear on the edge of the back cover, the leather is in good condition.

The manuscript was received in a cloth bag such as one sees frequently in use in the Near East. This particular bag is made of red silk with a tapestry-woven design in black and yellow and other ornamentation in gold thread. It is lined with coarse white cloth and bound with red woolen tape. The lining is still in good condition; the tape is much worn in parts; the red silk cloth is worn threadbare.

No. 32. A 16964. 7TH OR 8TH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. PLATE XXXIII

Bibliography.—No. 75 in *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Chicago.*

Date.—Facsimiles of Ḳur'āns in the Maghribī script are relatively few, and dated ones are

[87] Professor Richard Gottheil has drawn attention to a unique case of a Ḳur'ān that is illustrated with representations of animate objects—a practice, as is well known, forbidden in orthodox Islām. The Ḳur'ān is written in *naskhī* and is dated 1232/1816. The illustrations, however, are later additions. Among these is a representation of Muḥammad riding through the air on the legendary creature Burāḳ; cf. *Revue des études islamiques* V (1931) 21–24 and plates. For other and earlier representations of Muḥammad in copies of Bīrūnī's *Al-āthār al-bāḳiyah* see *Islamic Book*, Pls. 36 and 39, dated 707/1307, and Pl. 40, dated to the 17th century after Christ.

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even fewer.[88] The three Ḳur'ān manuscripts that most closely resemble this number are *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 46 b (5th/6th century) and 47 (557/1160) and Wright, *Facs.*, Plate LXI (652/1254), the first in lack of verse division and in general simplicity of decoration, the other two in general appearance of the Maghribī script. Secular manuscripts comparable in script are *Ar. Pal.* Plates 180 (689/1290) and 183 (714/1315).

Size and general condition.—Fine thin paper; 70 original folios supplemented later with 8 new folios at beginning and 15 new folios at end, with the first 16 folios interleaved, so that there are 109 folios in all; 28×19.5 cm., with the text page 20×13.5 cm.; 21 lines to the page. The manuscript is in good condition except for the binding.

Contents.—Sūrahs 1:1—2:58 (in later addition; followed by ruled but unwritten pages sufficient to fill the gap); 2:158—12:45 (in original). Leaves are missing between folios 40 and 41 and 89 and 90. The two leaves have been cut out, leaving in each case only the inner margin, which bears traces of the script. They belonged to the original manuscript; but, since the present text is in both instances continuous, they may have been cut out by the original scribe because of some scribal errors.

Script.[89]—Carefully executed Ḳur'ānic Maghribī script. The final curves of *s*, *ṣ*, and *n* and their "sister" forms are deep and graceful, especially in the case of the *n* and *y*; *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, and *k* have the horizontal strokes well extended and the turns angular; the upper stroke of *ṭ* is drawn at an angle of about 45°; final *m* has a long downward stroke which then tapers and turns to the left; the two strokes of the *d* and *dh* form a very sharp angle, and final *k* differs from these only in the long vertical stroke; *f* and *ḳ* have, as usual in Maghribī script, one dot below and one above respectively; *h* in all its forms is usually open; medial and final *j*, *ḥ*, *ḵh* and reversed final *y* are frequently extended backward the full length of some preceding letter; *lām-alif* is sometimes closed and sometimes open at the bottom; *shaddah*, when used with it, is placed over the left-hand stroke, which must therefore be the *lām*.[90]

Diacritical points are fully used except those for final *f*, *ḳ*, *n*, and *y;* since these letters are so treated in the cursive Fāsī script (see pp. 42 f.), the present manuscript may have come originally from Fās or its neighborhood. The modern vowel signs also are fully used; they and the *shaddah* are in red. A yellow and a green dot indicate the *hamzah* and *waṣlah* respectively. The *alif* of prolongation is in red; where it follows *lām* the scribe has written it *before* the *lām* as in the *lām-alif* combination throughout this manuscript.

The sūrah titles and the word *ḥizb* are written in ornamental Kūfic of fair execution. The manuscript is well written; scribal errors are few, consisting chiefly of omissions which have been carefully supplied in the margin by the original scribe (folios 23*b*, 36*b*, etc.).

Reading symbols are lacking except *ṣ* for *ṣilah* or *waṣlah*.[91]

Ornamentation and text division.—Aside from the sūrahs the only text divisions indicated are the *ḥizb* and its quarters. A circular marginal ornament marks the *ḥizb;* it consists of an inner area of yellow with *ḥizb* traced in Kūfic, a circular band of white with large green dots alternat-

[88] See *Ar. Pal.* Pls. 46–49; Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. LXI; Tisserant, No. 43; Bresnier, Pls. IV and XXXVII; *Hespéris* I 83 (dated 801/1398); Derenbourg III, Pls. I–II (dated 1008/1599); Maghribī Ḳur'āns, without reproduction, are listed in Ahlwardt I, Nos. 413–17, and Paris *Cat.*, Nos. 385 ff. For a general treatment of Maghribī scripts and Maghribī Ḳur'āns see above, pp. 41–44.

[89] See pp. 41–44 and note 88 above.

[90] Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II 34, n. 2, and Ḳalḳashandī III 171 and 131.

[91] Cf. Derenbourg III, Pls. I–II (of 1008/1599), and *Ar. Pal.* Pl. 48 (of 1182/1768). The reading signs and symbols were in use in the east at least as early as the 6th century after the Hijrah (*Ar. Pal.* Pls. 86 and 88 f.) and were in full swing in the Mameluke period (*Ar. Pal.* Pl. 77 and our Nos. 20, 27 f., and 30 f.); it is therefore not surprising to find some of them in use in the west in the 14th century after Christ. The use of the symbol *ṣ* only may be an indication of a date somewhat later than that here assigned to our ms.

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ing with small red ones, and an outer band of yellow divided into quarters, with red dots and "finials" projecting at the division points. The quarter-*ḥizb* divisions are marked in the text; their symbol is a small circular device similar to the marginal ornament but without any writing and without the outer yellow band. The Kūfic sūrah titles are written in yellow, outlined in the brownish black ink of the manuscript; except for Sūrah 7, each occupies not more than one line of script, and sometimes even this line is shared with the last words of the preceding sūrah (e.g. folios 83*b*, 88*a*, and 93*a*). The *bismillāh* occupies a full line. In a single instance (folio 65*a*, Sūrah 7) a panel marks the sūrah division, occupying the space of four lines of script (last four on page). The panel is rectangular and consists of a central green background on which the Kūfic title is written in yellow, a twist band of black and white, and a wider twist band of black and yellow, the whole outlined in red with red "finials" placed diagonally at the corners. A circular palmette-like ornament in yellow, surrounded by red and green dots and a green border, extends into the outer margin.

The only other decorative feature is a circular marginal ornament indicating a *sajdah* (folio 74*a*). Two equilateral triangles intertwine to form a six-pointed star. In the central hexagonal area the word *sajdah* is left white on a background of red. The rest of the space is filled with yellow. An outer rim is filled with red, yellow, and green dots and finished off with yellow "finials."

According to the verse counts given with five of the ten sūrah titles, the system used is that of Makkah and Madīnah; but in the other five cases the verse counts given in the manuscript differ considerably from any usually accepted.[92] The unusual counts are as follows:

MS. FOLIO	SŪRAH	MS. VERSE COUNT	*Itḳān* COUNT
33*a*	3	100	199–200
41*b*	4	150	175–77
58*a*	6	160	165–67
77*a*	9	180	129–30
93*a*	12	161	111

There are also considerable differences in the *ḥizb* divisions (e.g. folio 52*b*), but more so in the quarter-*ḥizb* divisions (e.g. folios 41*b*, 57*b*, and 81*a*).

Binding.—The binding is western, probably English. It consists of binder's board covered with marbled paper, with brown leather back and corners.

[92] Cf. *Itḳān* I 69–72; Pretzl in *Islamica* VI 239–41; Spitaler, pp. 35–40.

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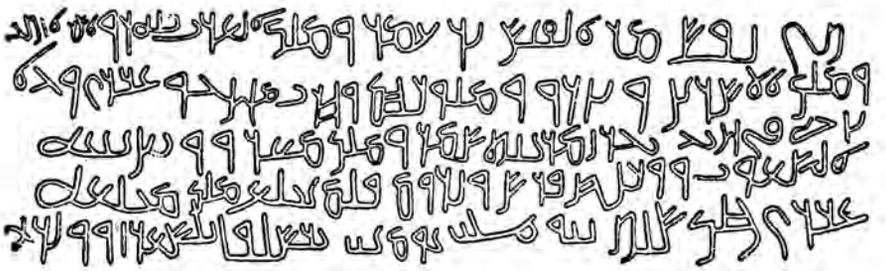
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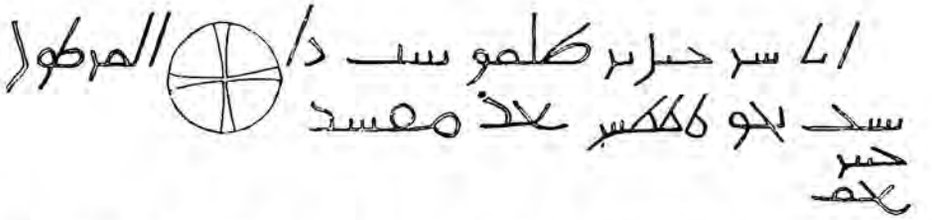
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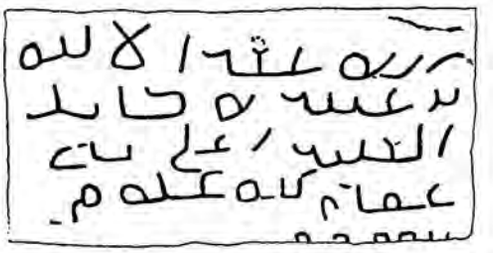
2. Arabic inscription of Imruʾ al-Ḳais. Namārah, A.D. 328. After René Dussaud in *Revue archéologique*, 3. sér., XLI (1902) 411. Scale, 1:10. *Rép.* No. 1.



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4. Arabic inscription at Ḥarrān, A.D. 568. After P. Schroeder in *ZDMG* XXXVIII (1884) pl. facing p. 530. Scale, 1:2. *Rép.* No. 3.



5. Arabic inscription at Umm al-Jimāl, 6th century. After Enno Littmann in *ZS* VII (1929) 198. Scale, 1:10. *Rép.* No. 4.

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1. Tombstone of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khair al-Ḥajrī, A.H. 31. Now in Cairo. After Musée national arabe, *Album* (Le Caire, 1930) photograph of No. 1. Scale, 1:4. *Rép.* No. 6.



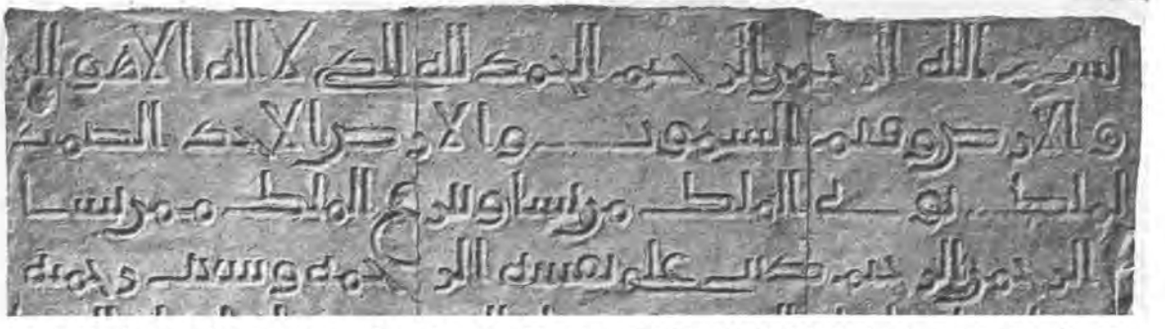
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6. Milestone. Bāb al-Wādī, A.H. 86. After *CIA Jér.* I 21, Fig. 2. Scale, 1:10. *Rép.* No. 15.



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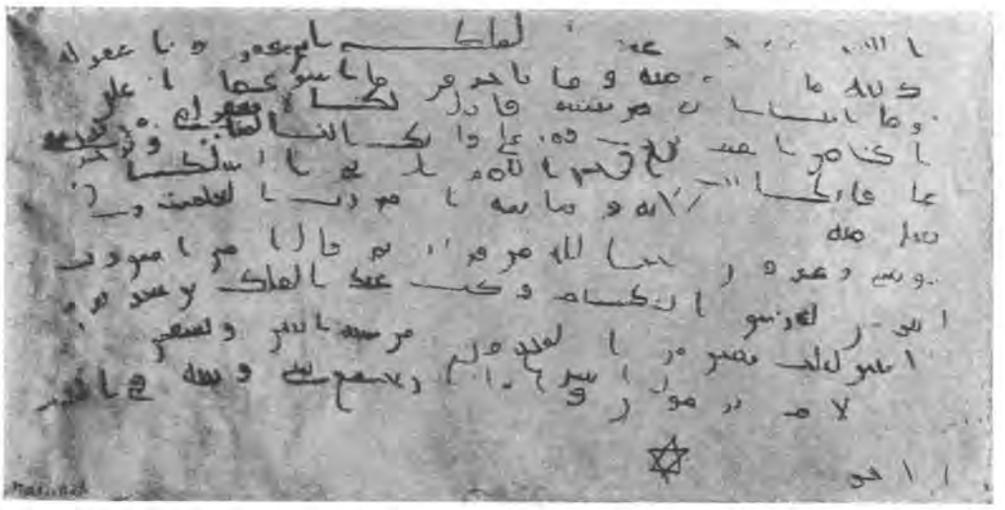


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1. Graffito of ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn ᶜUbaid. Kharānah, A.H. 92. After Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéol. en Arabie* III, Pl. LVIII. *Rép.* No. 20.



2. Tombstone of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn al-Ḥārith. Khirbat Nitil, A.H. 100. After photograph reproduced by Alois Musil in *WZKM* XXII (1908) 82. Scale, about 1:6. *Rép.* No. 24.



3. Copper coin of the reign of ᶜUmar. Struck at Ṭabariyyah, Palestine, A.H. 19 or 20. After Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XXII 4. Scale, 1:1.



4. Silver coin of the reign of ᶜUmar. Struck in Persia, A.H. 20. After Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XXII 1. Scale, 1:1.



5. Byzantine silver-plated bronze coin overstruck at Damascus, A.H. 23. After Bibl. nat. (Paris), *Cat. des monnaies musulmanes*, Pl. I 33. Scale, 1:1.



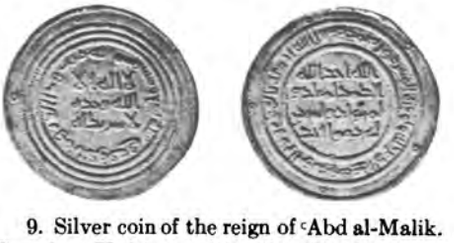
6. Silver coin of the reign of ᶜUthmān. Struck in Persia, A.H. 28. After Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XXII 3. Scale, 1:1.



7. Silver coin of the reign of ᶜAlī. Struck at Baṣrah, A.H. 40. After Bibl. nat. (Paris), *Cat. des monnaies musulmanes*, Pl. II 158. Scale, 1:1.

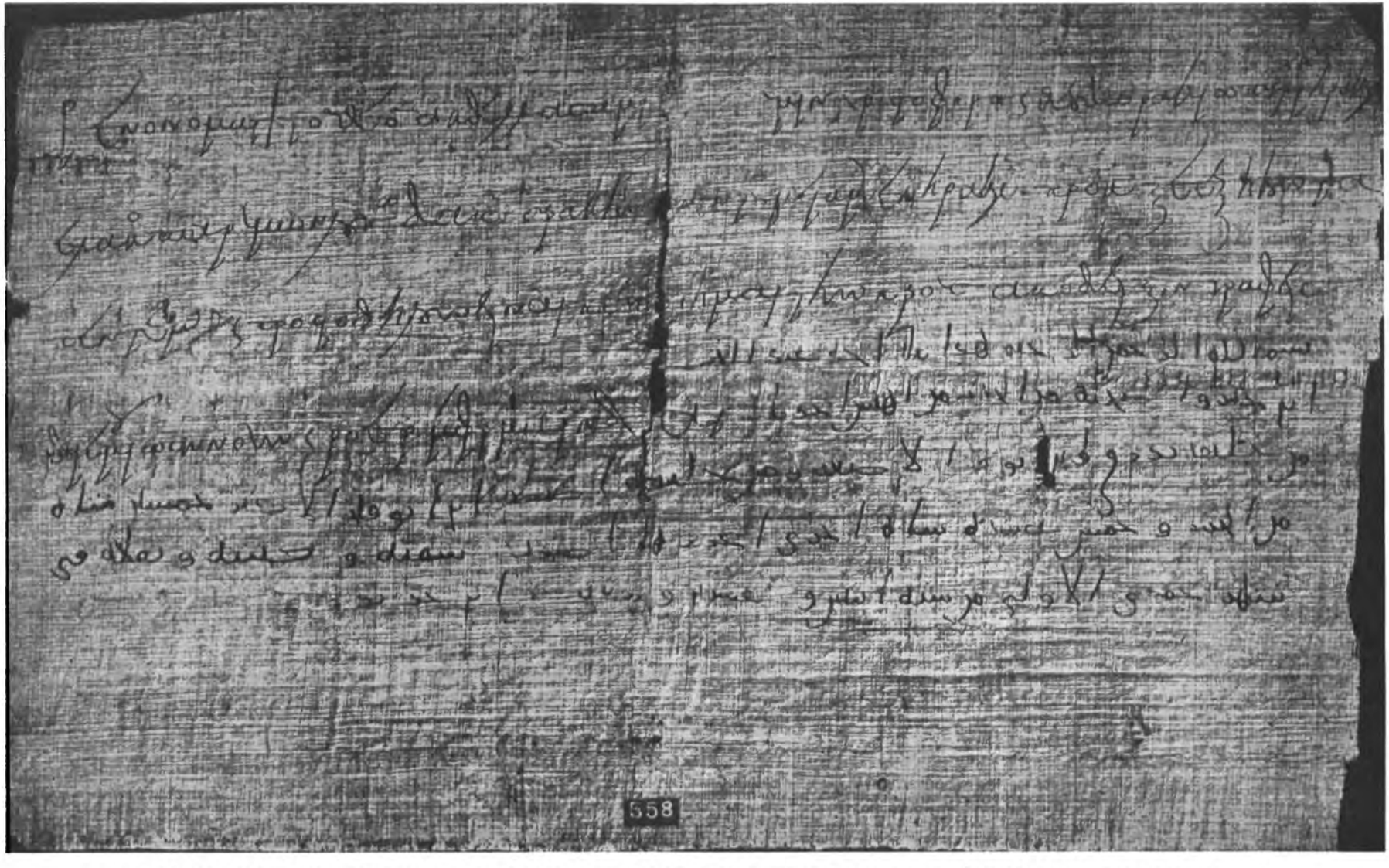


8. Gold coin of the reign of ᶜAbd al-Malik. Struck at Damascus(?), A.H. 77. After Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XXII 5. Scale, 1:1.



9. Silver coin of the reign of ᶜAbd al-Malik. Struck at Kūfah, A.H. 79. After Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. XXII 6. Scale, 1:1.

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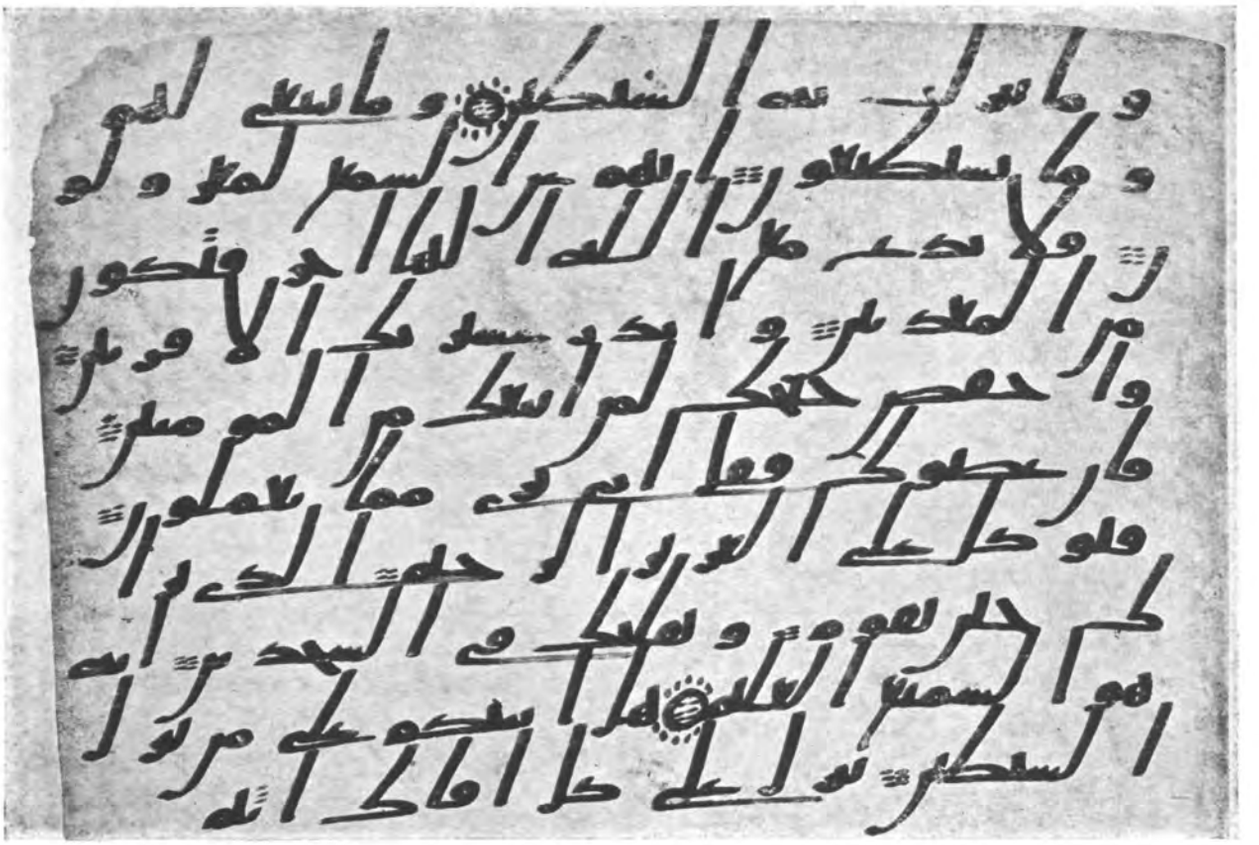
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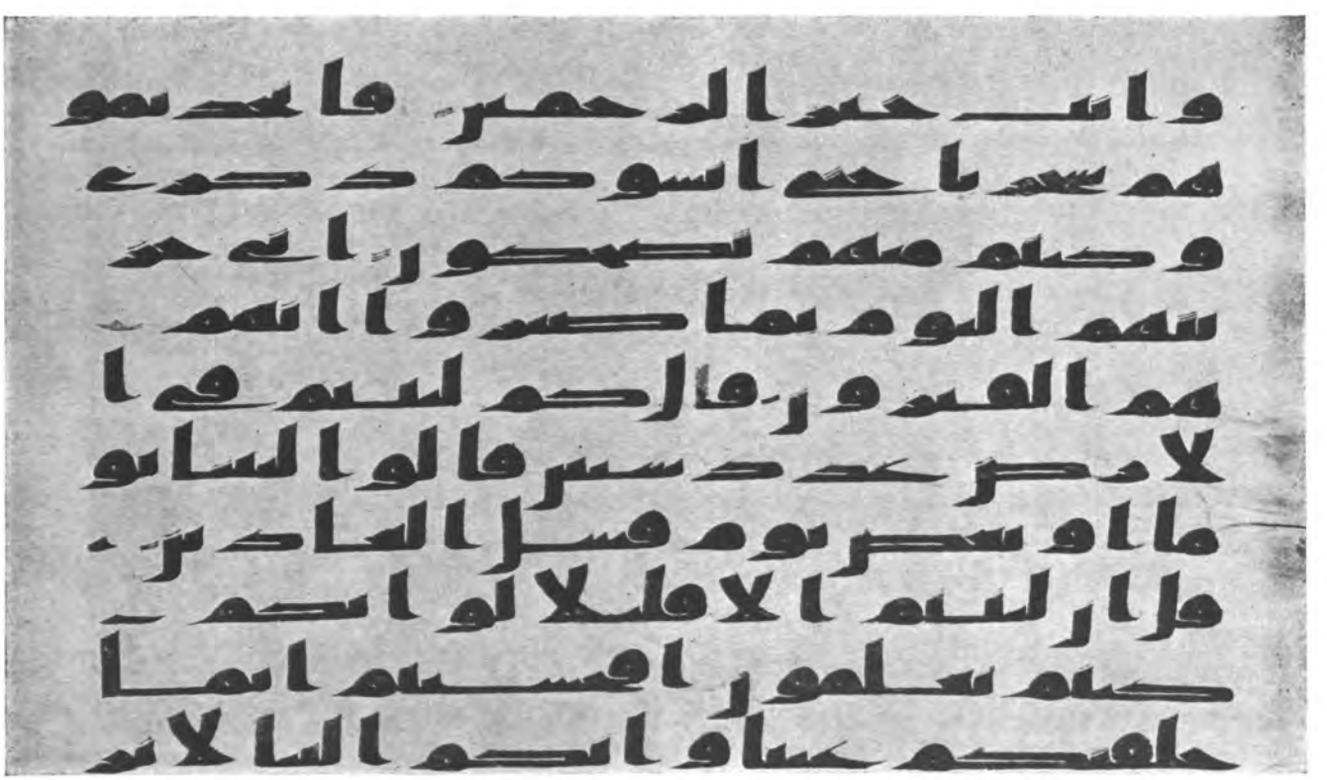
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	1st–3d Century	3d Century	4th Century	6th Century		7th–8th Century: Inscriptions			7th–8th Century: Papyri			
	Sinai, Petra, Ḥijr	Umm al-Jimāl I *ca.* 250 (Pl. I 1)	Namārah, 328 (Pl. I 2)	Zabad, 512 Ḥarrān, 568 (Pl. I 3–4)	Umm al-Jimāl II (Pl. I 5)	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khair A.H. 31/A.D. 651 (Pl. II 1)	Other Stones 72 ff./691 ff.	Coins 20 ff./640 ff.	*PERF* No. 558 22/643 (Pl. IV)	*PER* Inv. Ar. P. 94 *ca.* 30/650	Others	
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Sources of Forms	*EI*, art. "Arabia," Pl. I	*Flor. de Vogüé*, p. 386	*EI*, art. "Arabia," Pl. I	*EI*, art. "Arabia," Pl. I	*ZS* VII (1929) 198	Cairo. Musée national arabe, *Album* (Le Caire, 1930) No. 1	*EI*, art. "Arabia," Pl. I	*EI*, art. "Arabia," Pl. I	*CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 2, p. xxii	*CPR* III, Bd. I, Teil 2, p. xxii	*EI*, art. "Arabia," Pl. I	

Development of the Arabic Alphabet from the Third to the Eighth Century after Christ

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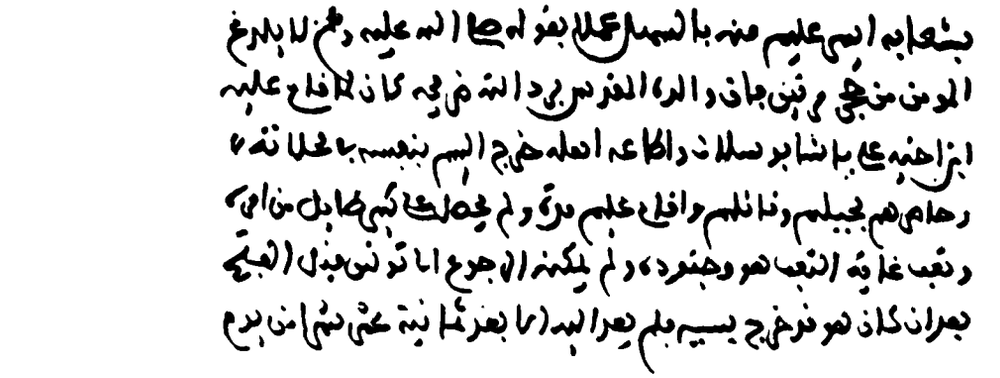
1. *Mā>il* script, from ms. B.M. Or. 2165. Sūrah 26:210–22. After Wright, *Facs.*, Pl. LIX. Scale, 3:4



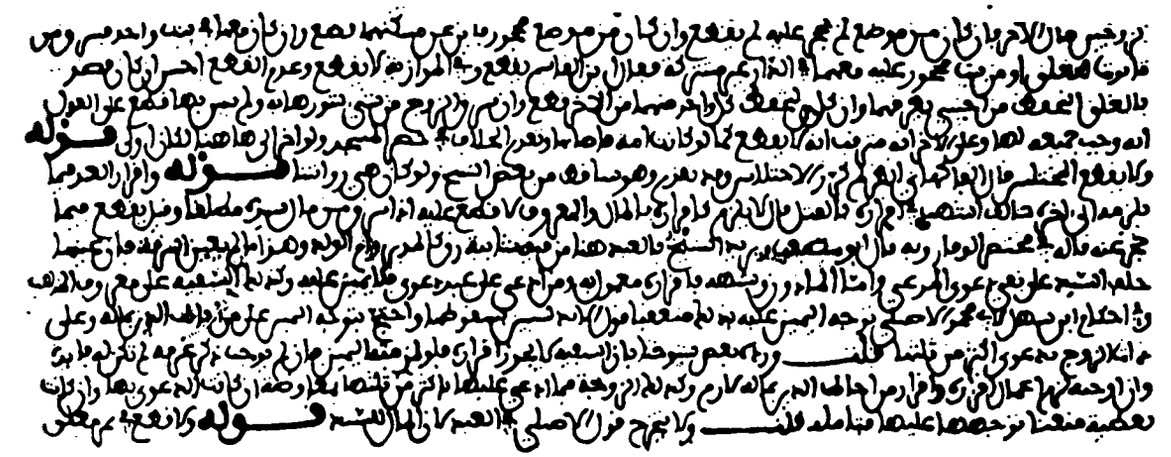
2. *Mashḳ* script, from a ms. of the Bibliothèque royale in Cairo. Sūrah 23:109–15. After B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, Pl. 17. Scale, 3:4.

EARLY ḲUR>ĀNIC SCRIPTS. EXAMPLES DATING FROM ABOUT THE SECOND CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

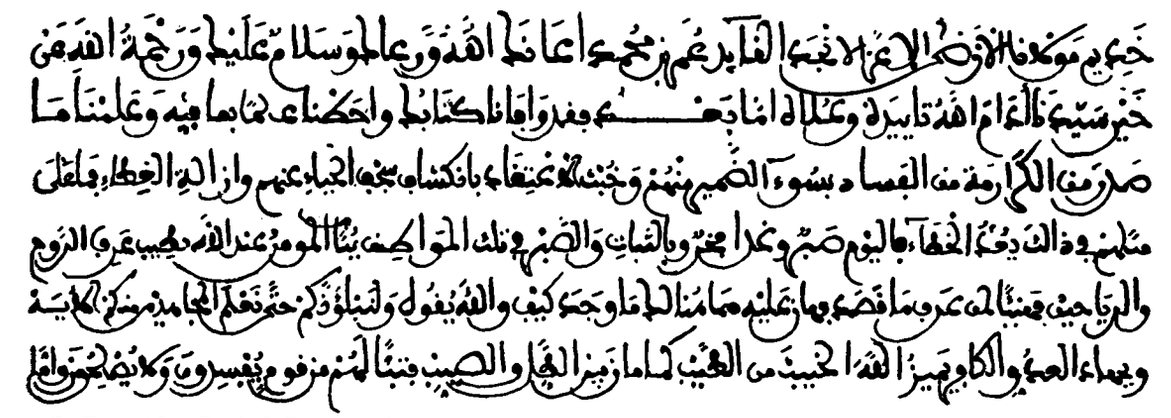
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1. Ḳairawānī. After Octave V. Houdas, "Essai sur l'écriture maghrebine" (in *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux* [Paris, 1886]) Pl. II 1.



2. Andalusī. After Houdas, *op. cit.* Pl. II 2

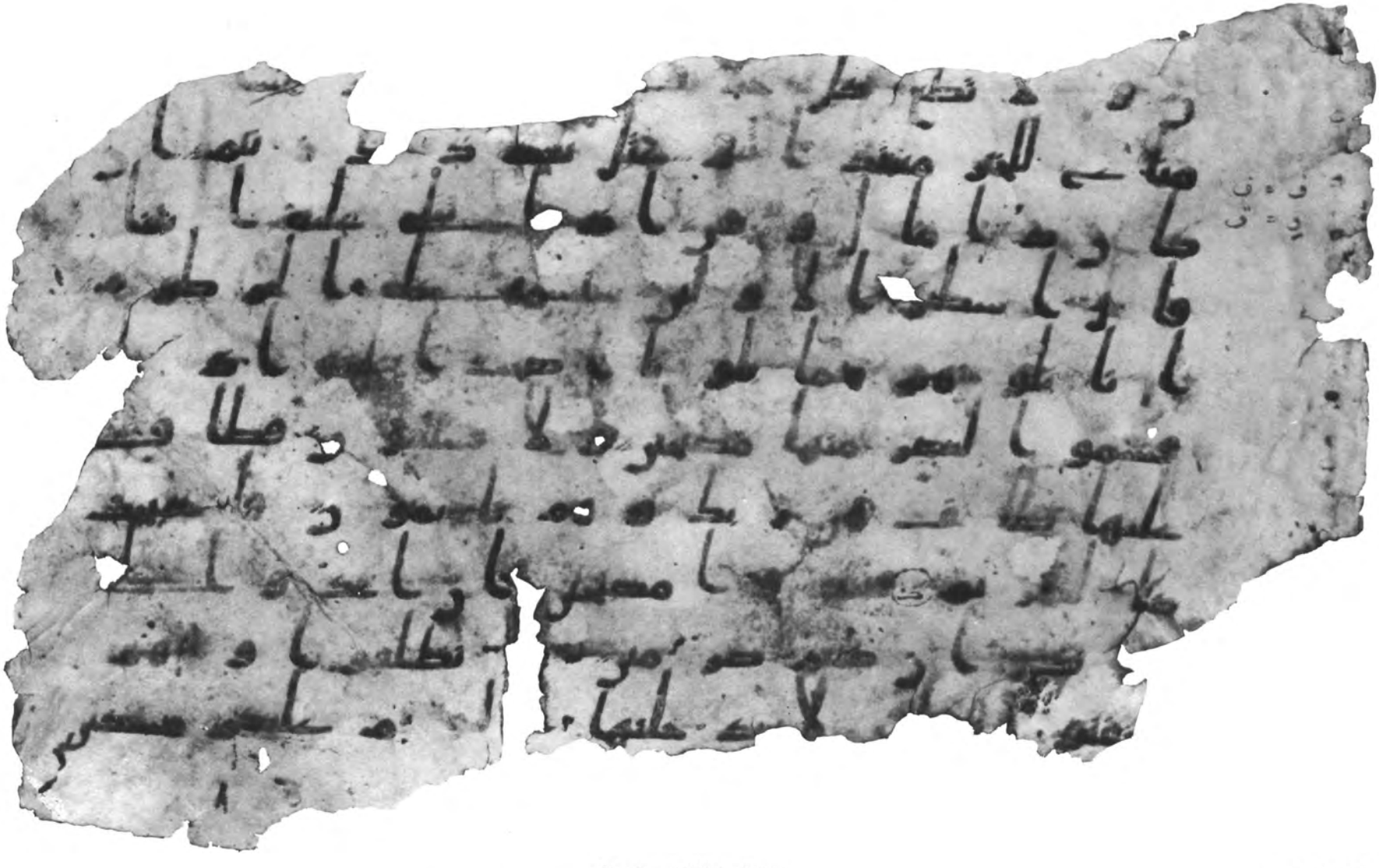


3. Fāsī. After Louis J. Bresnier, *Cours pratique et théorique de langue arabe* (Alger, 1855) Pl. XXXII on p. 150



4. Sūdānī. After Houdas, *op. cit.* Pl. III 2

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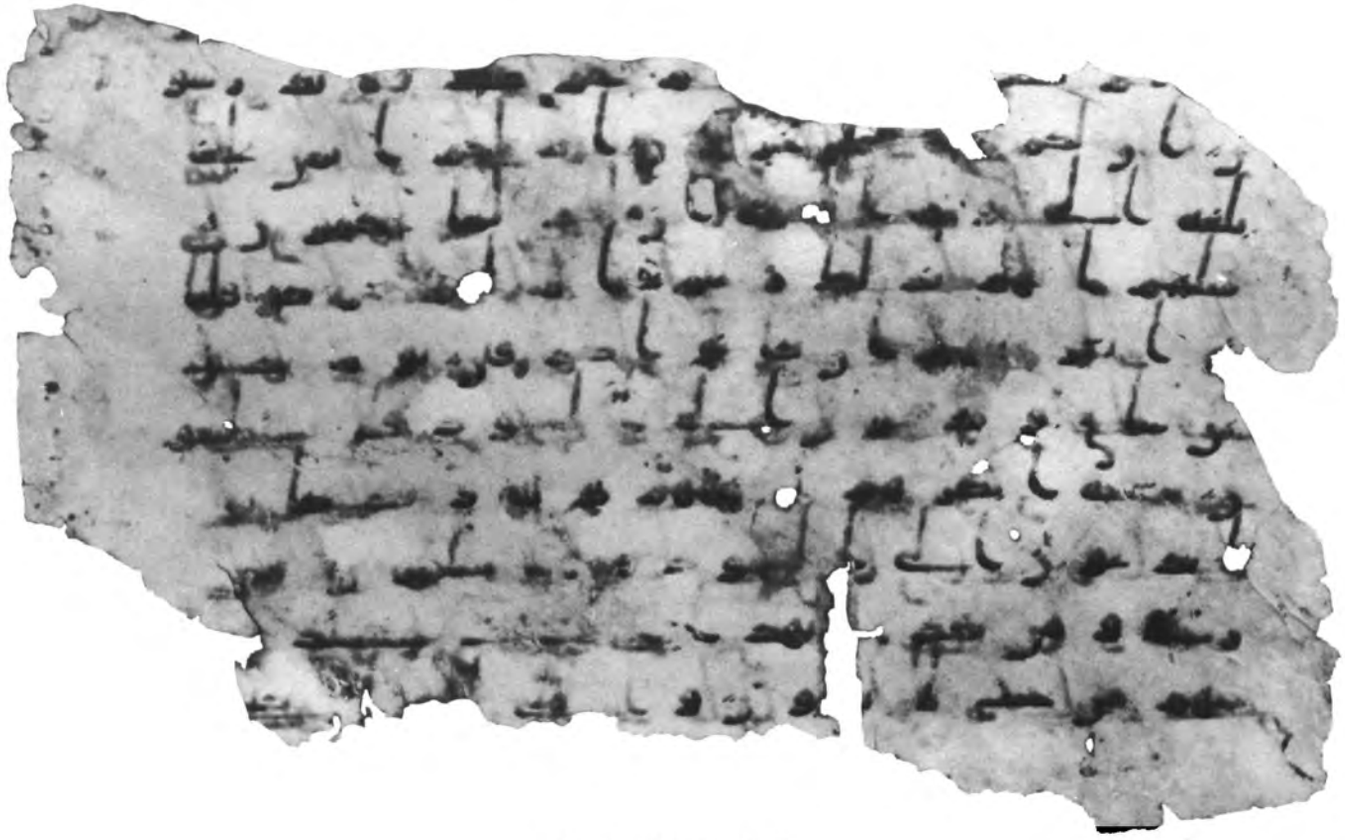


No. 1. A 6959. Recto

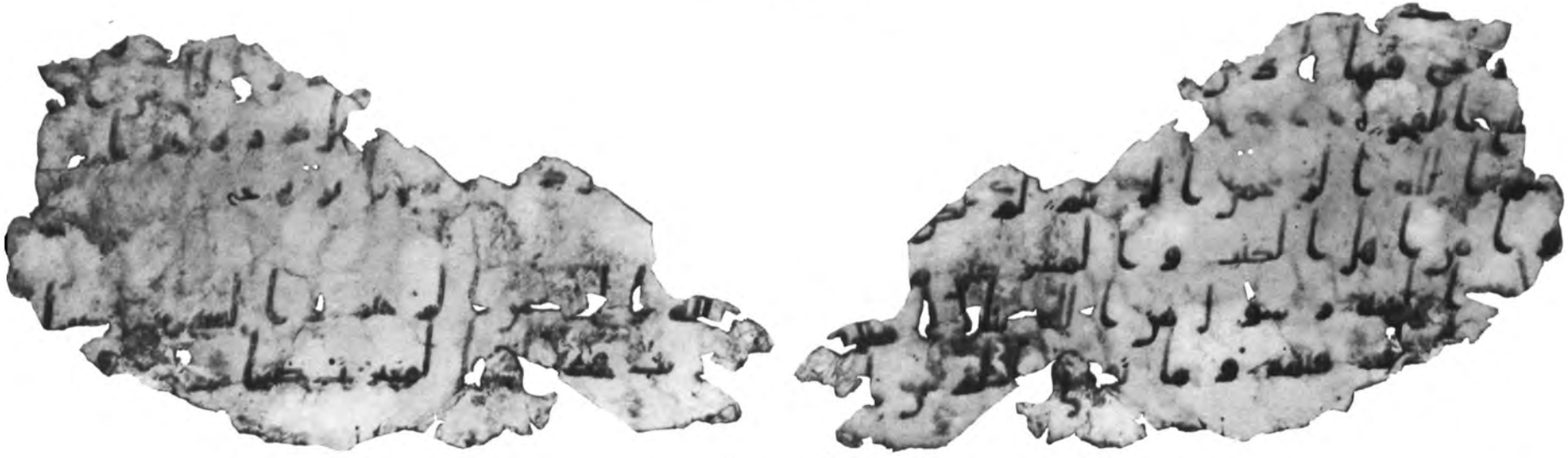
Scale, 2:3

Ḳur'ān Parchment. First to Second Century after the Hijrah

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No. 1. A 6959. Verso



Verso No. 2. A 6990 Recto

Scale, 1:2

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENTS. FIRST TO SECOND CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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Verso

No. 3. A 6988



Recto



Verso

No. 4. A 6991



Recto

Scale, 1:2

Ḳur²ān Parchments. No. 3, First to Second Century after the Hijrah; No. 4, Second Century

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No. 5. A 7000. Recto



No. 6. A 6978. Recto

Scale, 2:3

ḲUR'ĀN PARCHMENTS. SECOND TO THIRD CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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No. 5. A 7000. Verso



No. 6. A 6978. Verso

Scale, 2:3

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENTS. SECOND TO THIRD CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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Recto



Verso

Scale, 2:3

No. 7. A 6992

Ḳur'ān Parchment. Second to Third Century after the Hijrah

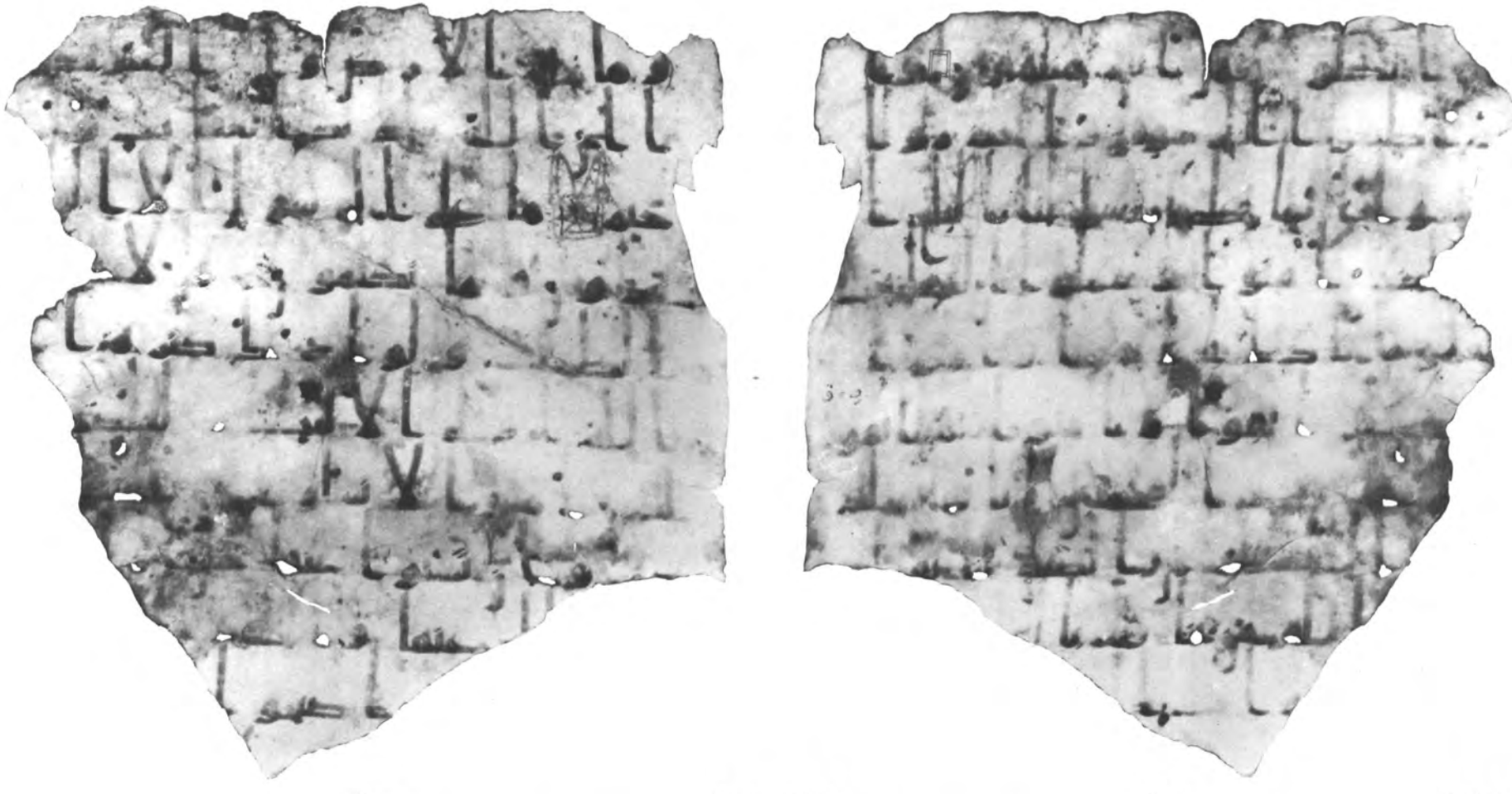
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Verso No. 8. A 7001 Recto Scale, 1:1

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENT. THIRD TO FOURTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

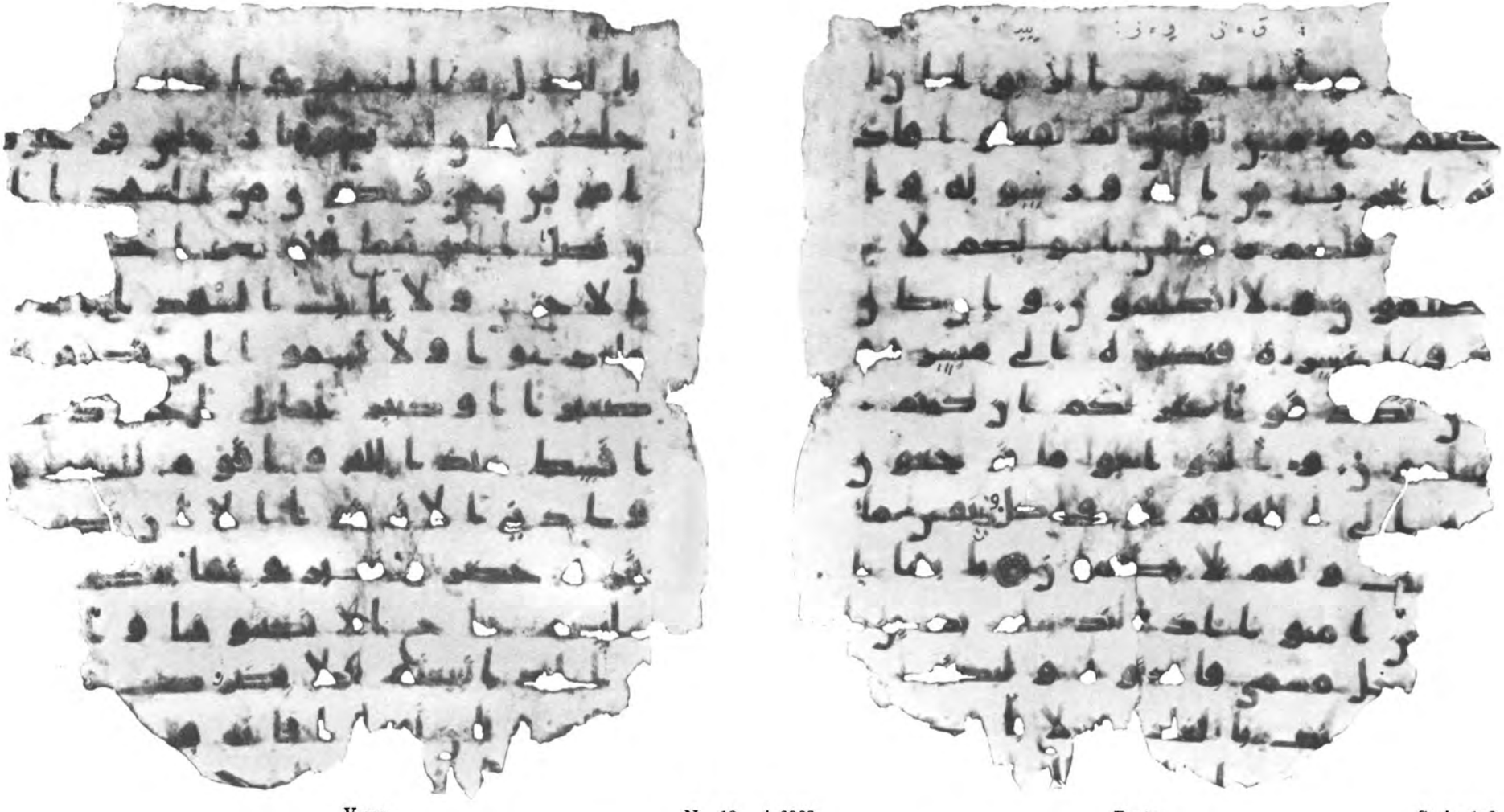
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Verso No. 9. A 6958 Recto Scale, 1:2

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENT. SECOND TO THIRD CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

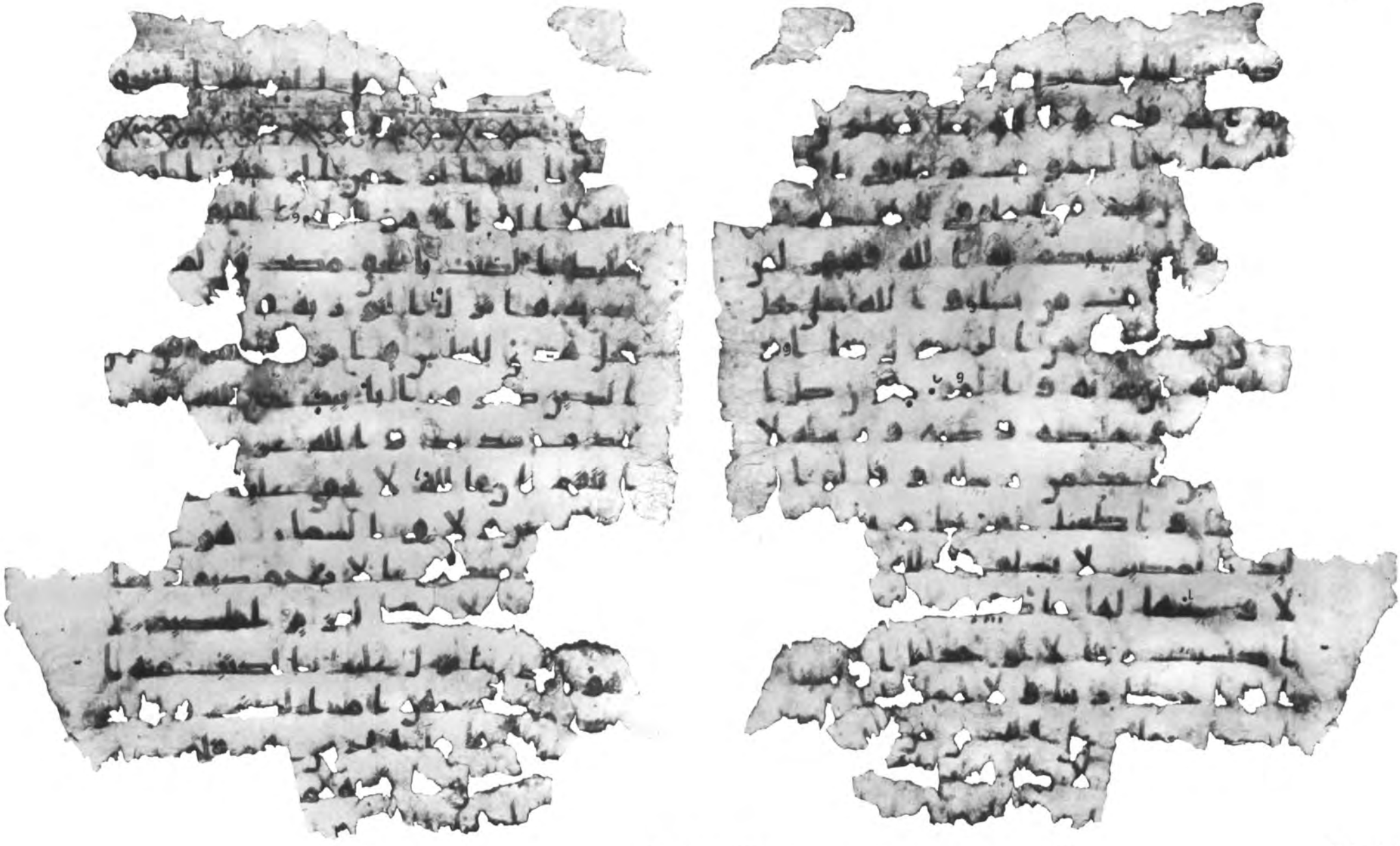
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Verso No. 10. A 6963 Recto Scale, 1:2

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENT. SECOND CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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Verso

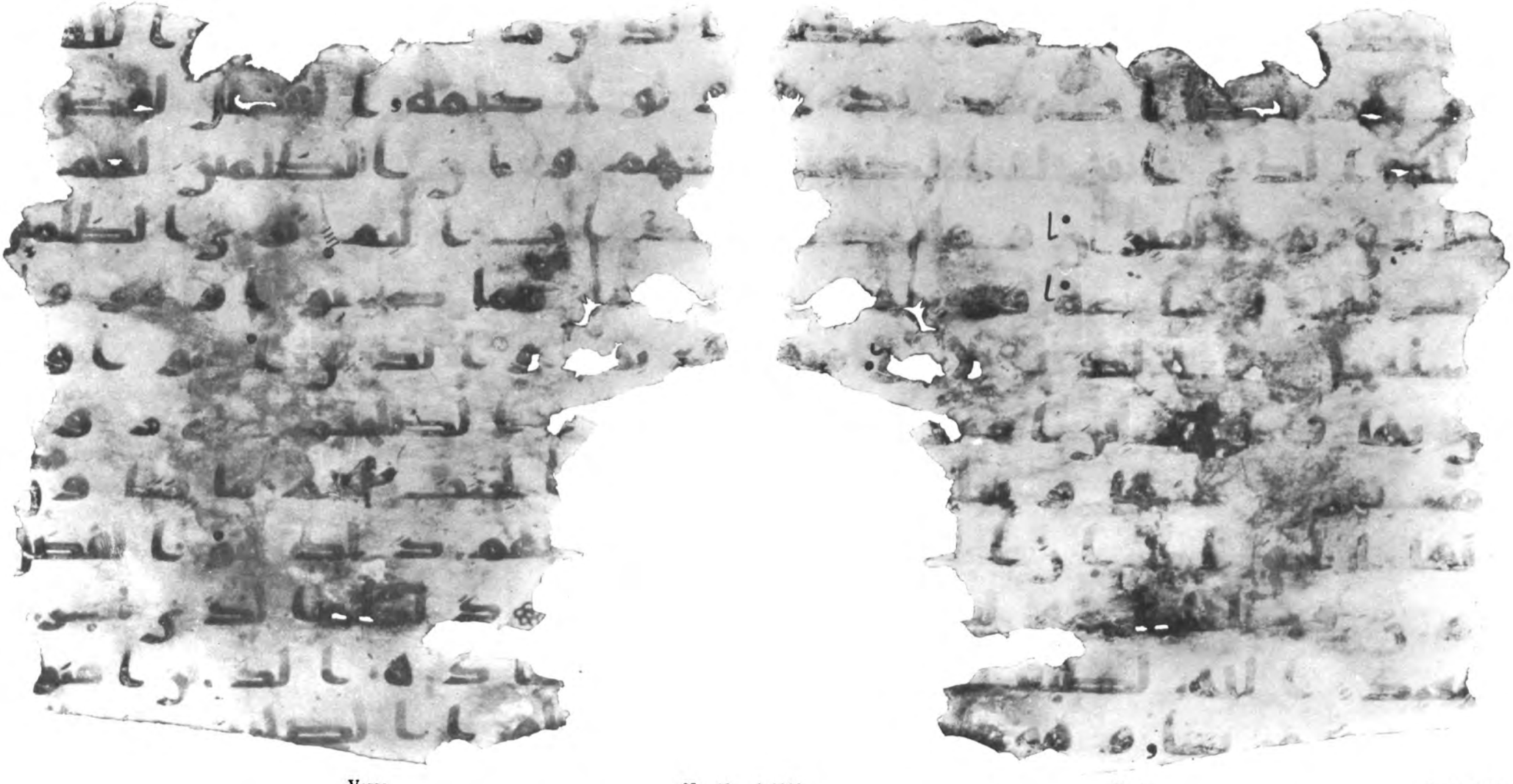
No. 11. A 6962

Recto

Scale, 1:2

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENT. SECOND CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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Verso

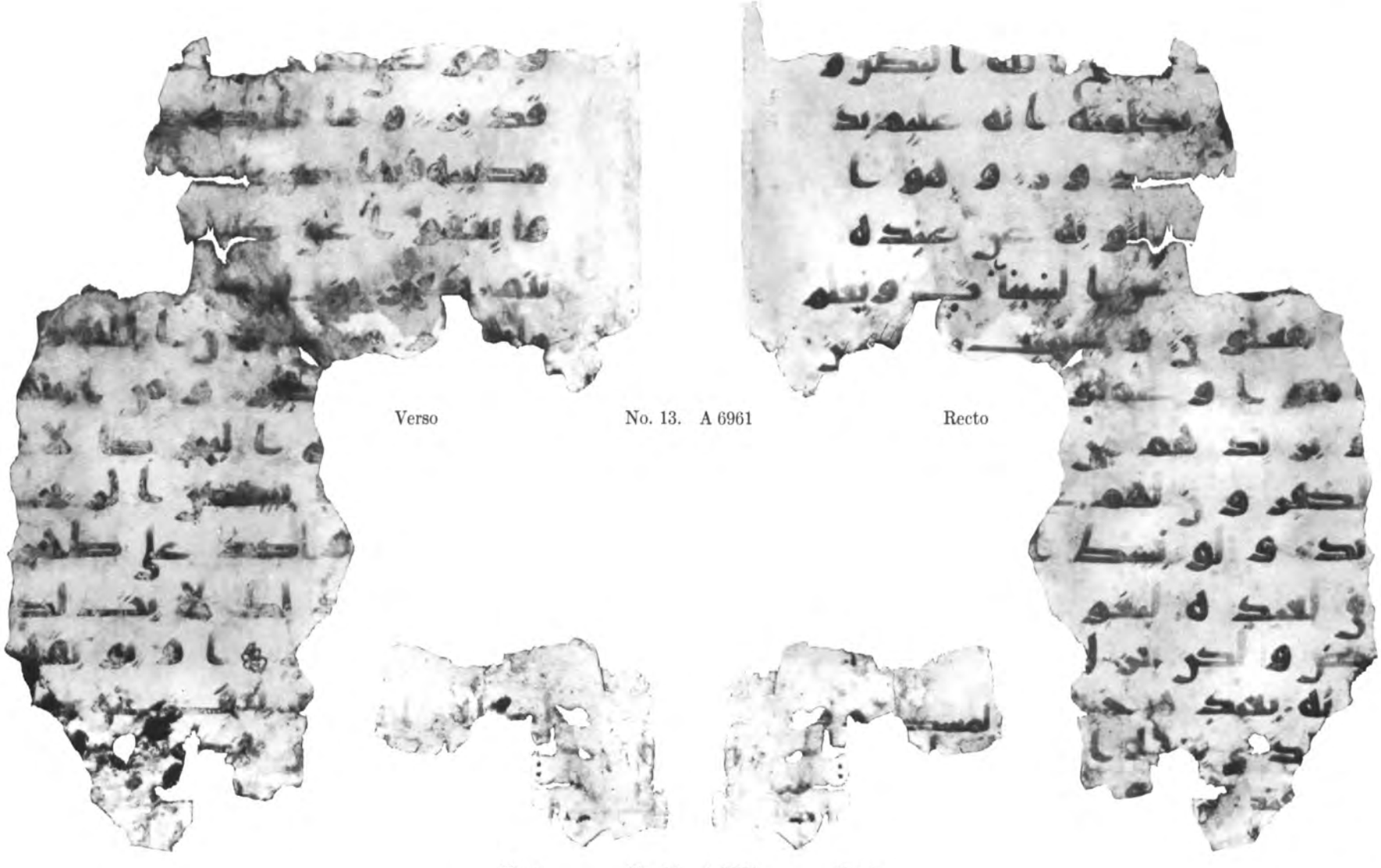
No. 12. A 6993

Recto

Scale, 2:3

Ḳur'ān Parchment. Second Century after the Hijrah

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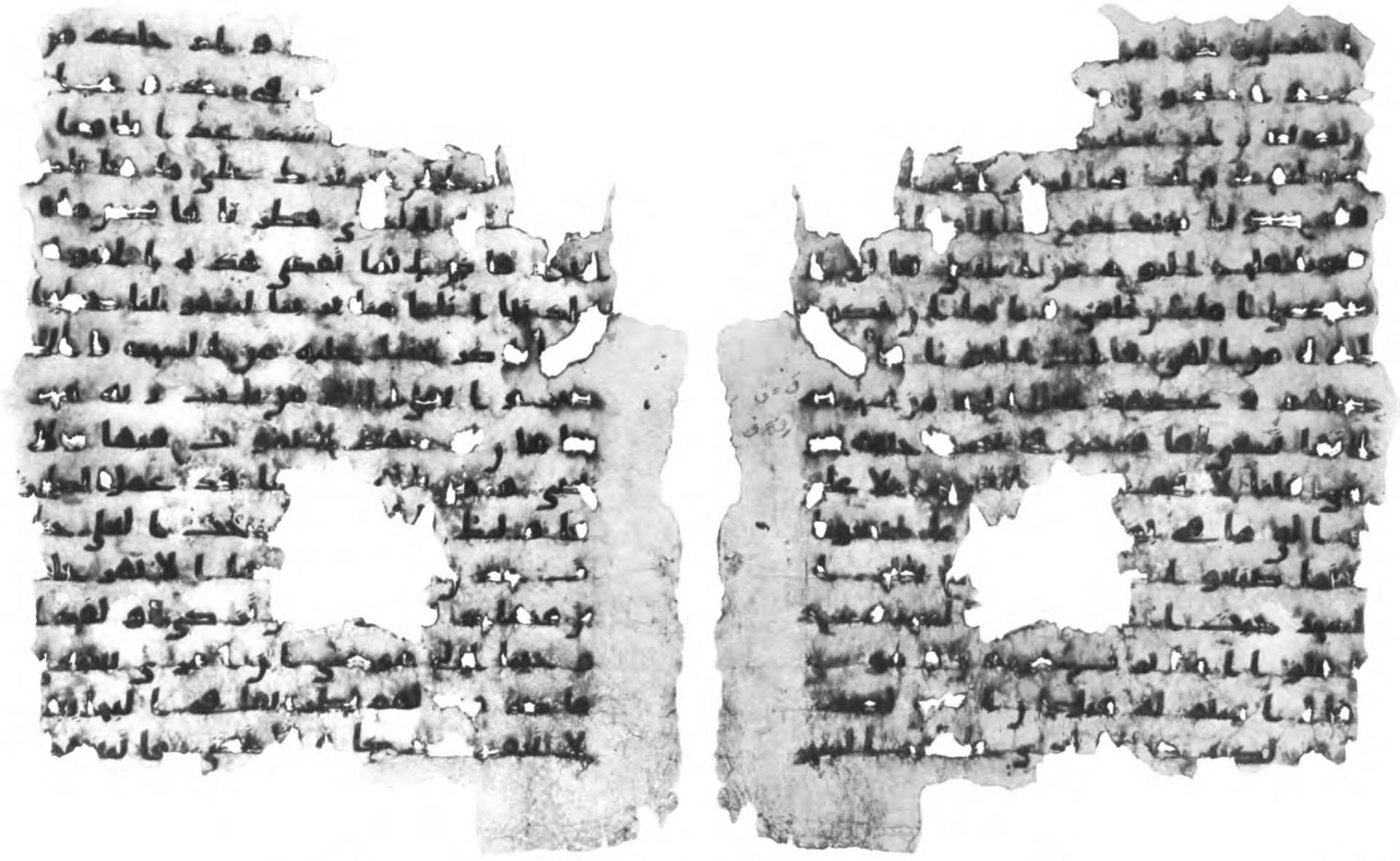
Verso No. 13. A 6961 Recto

Verso No. 14. A 7007 Recto

Scale, 1:2

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENTS. NO. 13, SECOND CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH; NO. 14, SECOND TO THIRD CENTURY

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Verso No. 15. A 6960 Recto Scale, 1:2

Ḳur'ān Parchment. Second to Third Century after the Hijrah

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Recto



Verso

No. 16. A 6975*a*



Verso No. 17. A 6975*b* Recto

Scale, 1:2

KUR'ĀN PARCHMENTS. No. 16, THIRD CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH; No. 17, THIRD TO FOURTH CENTURY

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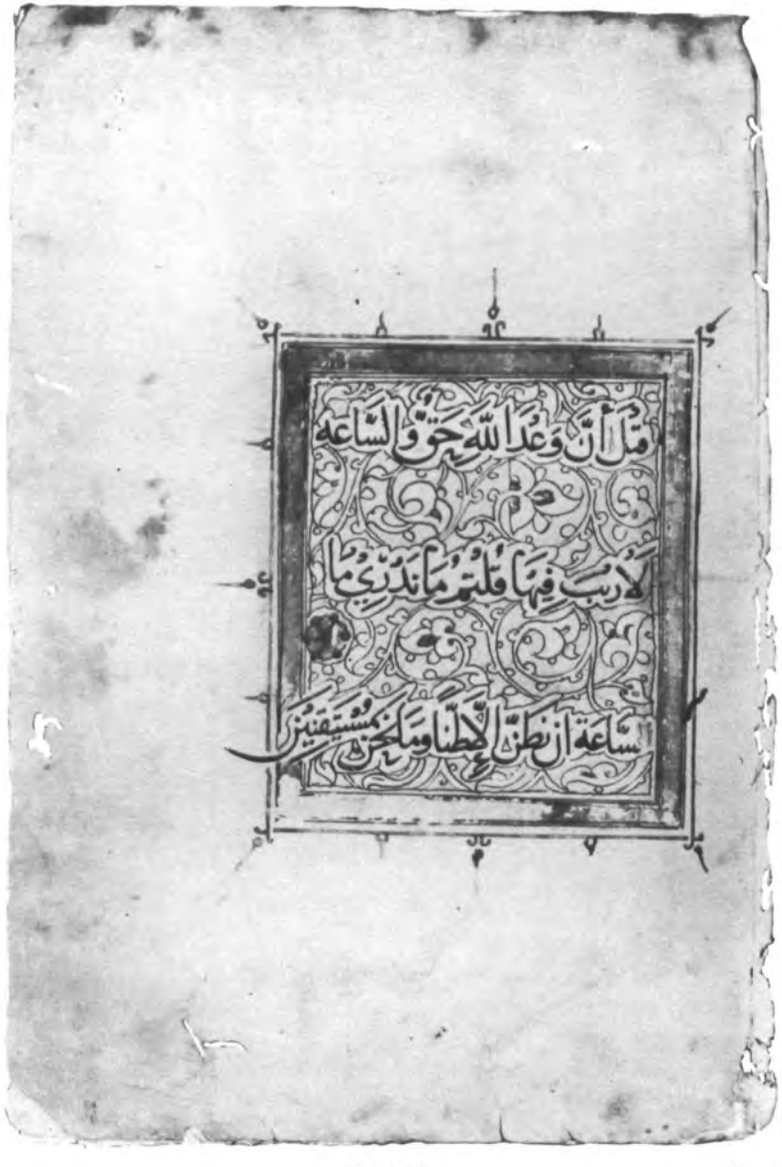


No. 18. A 12029*a*. Folio 2*b*

Scale, 1:2

PAPER QUR'ĀN GIVEN AS *wakf* BY SULTAN FARAJ (A.H. 801–15/A.D. 1399–1412)

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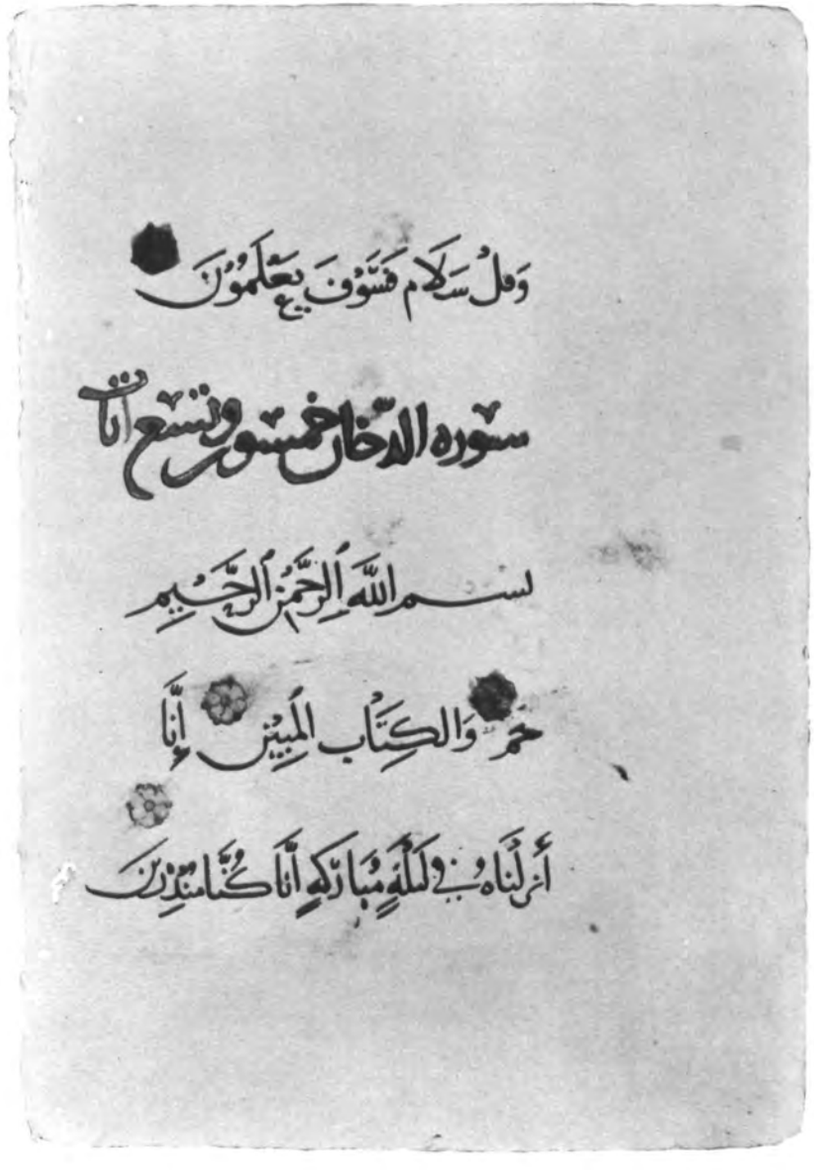
Folio 46*a* No. 19. A 12066 Folio 2*a* Scale, 4:5

PAPER ḲUR'ĀN GIVEN AS *waḳf*(?) BY SULTAN FARAJ (A.H. 801–15/A.D. 1399–1412)

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No. 20. A 12067. Page 50 Scale, 1:2



No. 19. A 12066. Folio 32*b* Scale, 4:5

PAPER QUR'ĀNS. NO. 19 GIVEN AS *waḳf*(?) BY SULTAN FARAJ (A.H. 801–15/A.D. 1399–1412)
NO. 20 DATED A.H. 812/A.D. 1409/10

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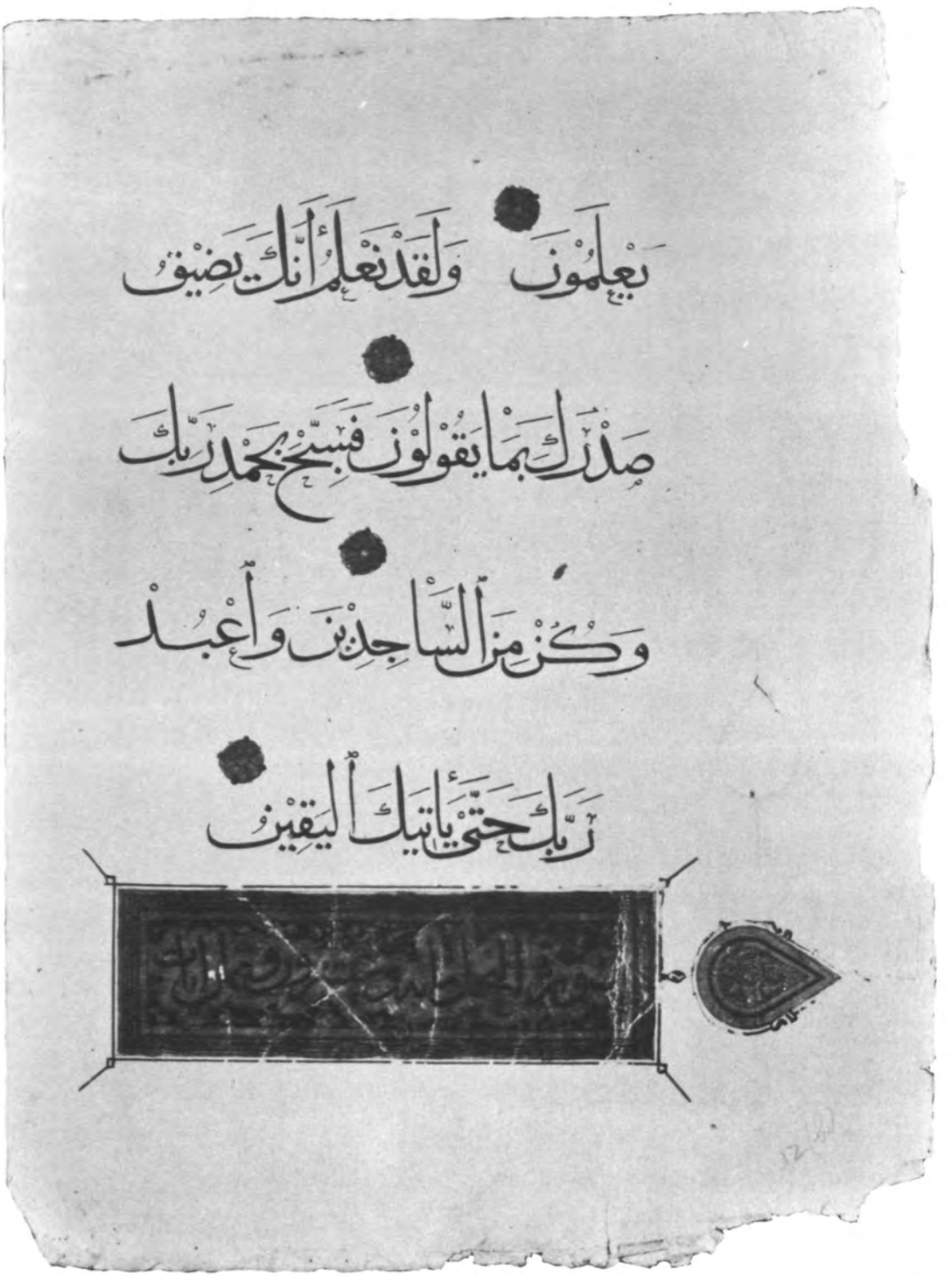




Folio 153*a* No. 21. A 12030*a* Folio 19*b* Scale, 1:2

PAPER KUR'ĀN DATED A.H. 839–40/A.D. 1435–36, GIVEN AS *wakf* BY SULTAN BARSBĀY

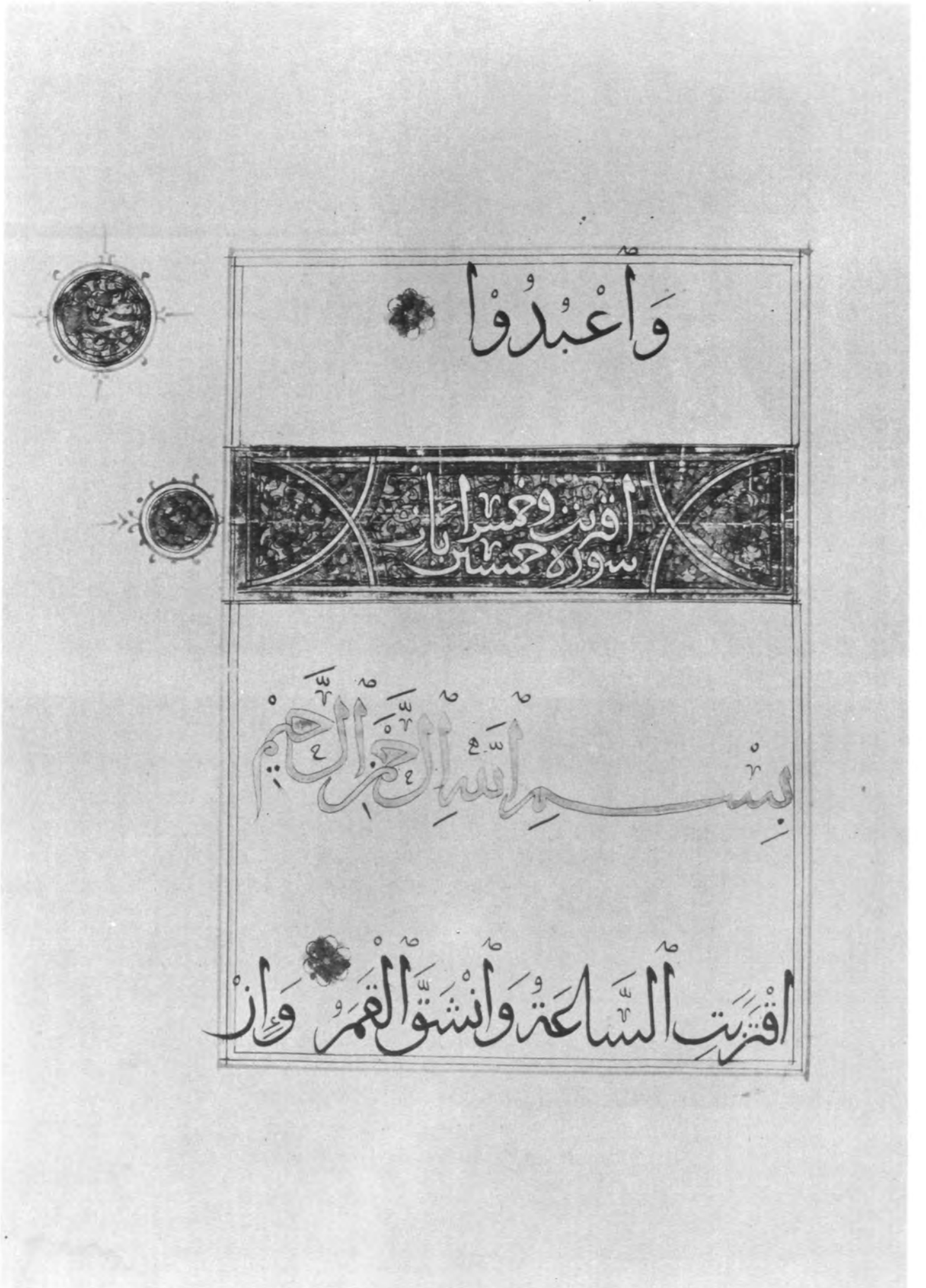
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No. 23. A 12029*b*. Folio 11*b* Scale, 1:2

PAPER ḲUR'ĀN. NINTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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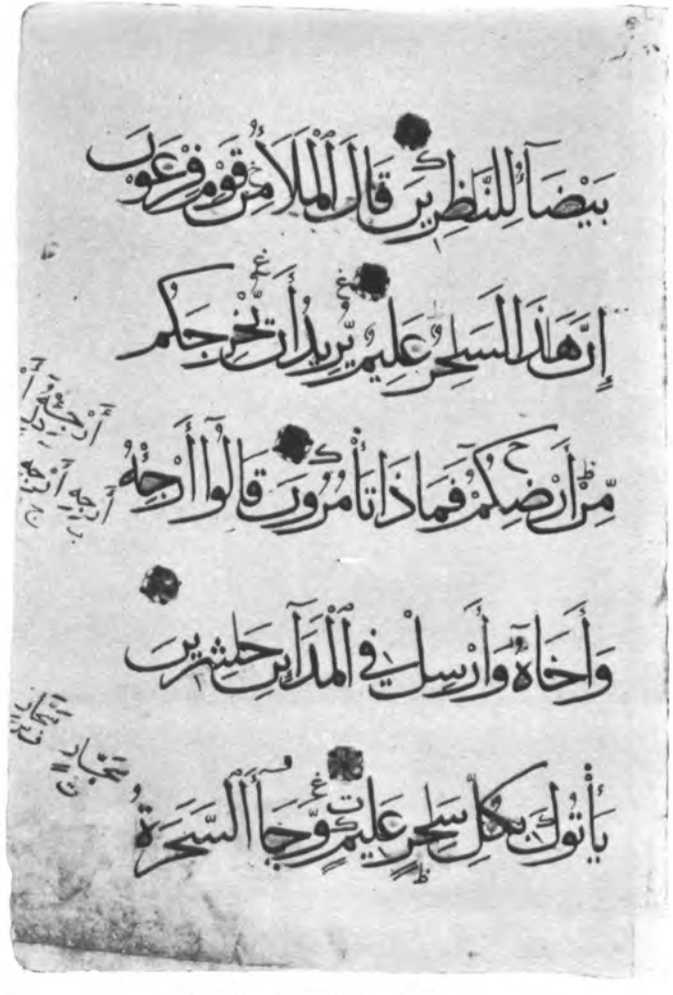
No. 25. A 12029*d*. Folio 214*a* Scale, 2:3

PAPER ḲUR'ĀN. NINTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH. MARGINS HAVE BEEN TRIMMED ON PLATE

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No. 26. A 12033. Folio 5*a*



No. 27. A 12032*a*. Folio 6*a*

Scale, 1:2

PAPER ḲUR'ĀNS. NINTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

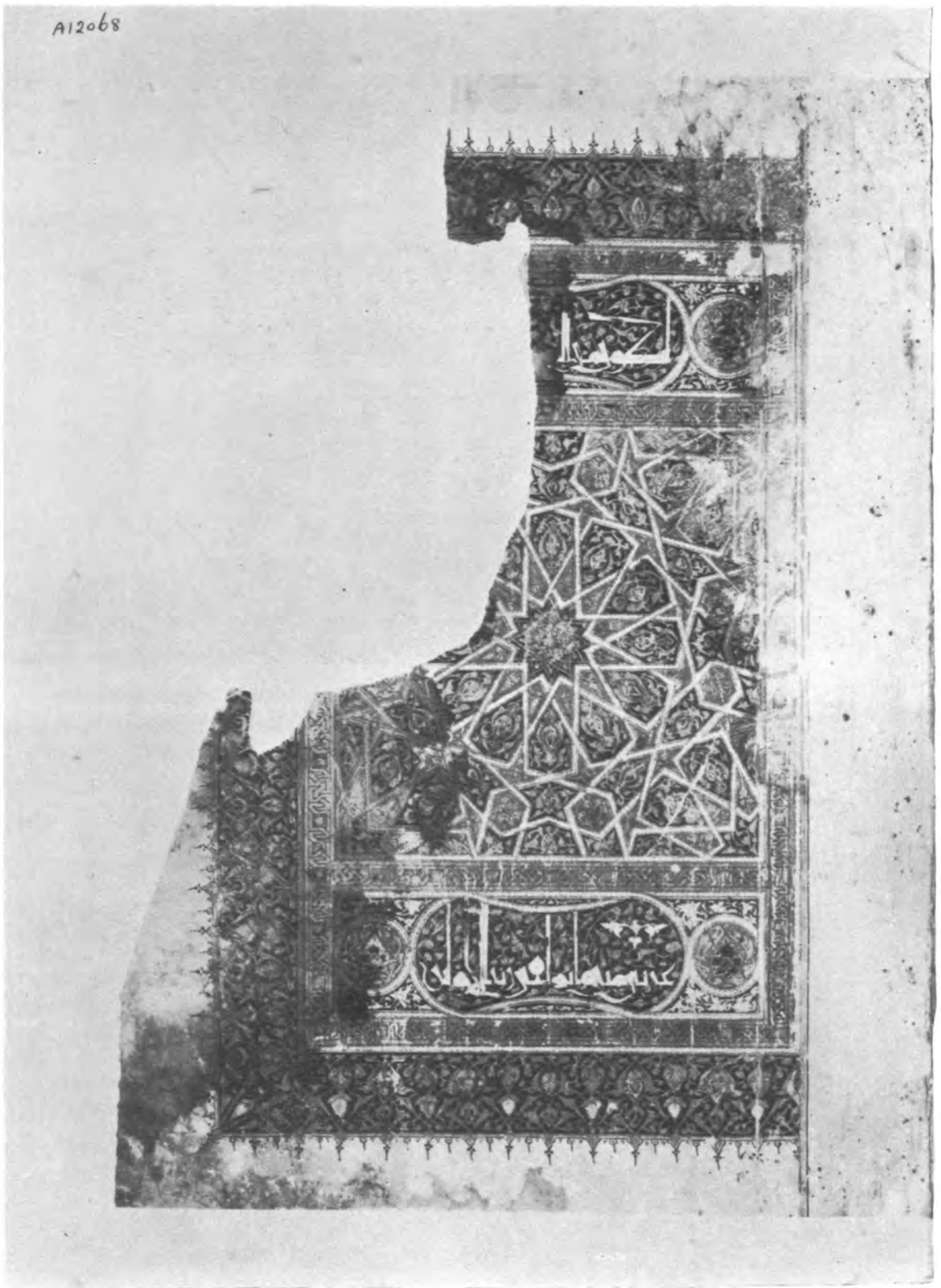
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No. 29. A 12031. Folio 2*b* Scale, 1:3

PAPER ḲUR'ĀN. NINTH TO TENTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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No. 30. A 12068. Folio 1*a* Scale, 1:2

PAPER ḲUR'ĀN. NINTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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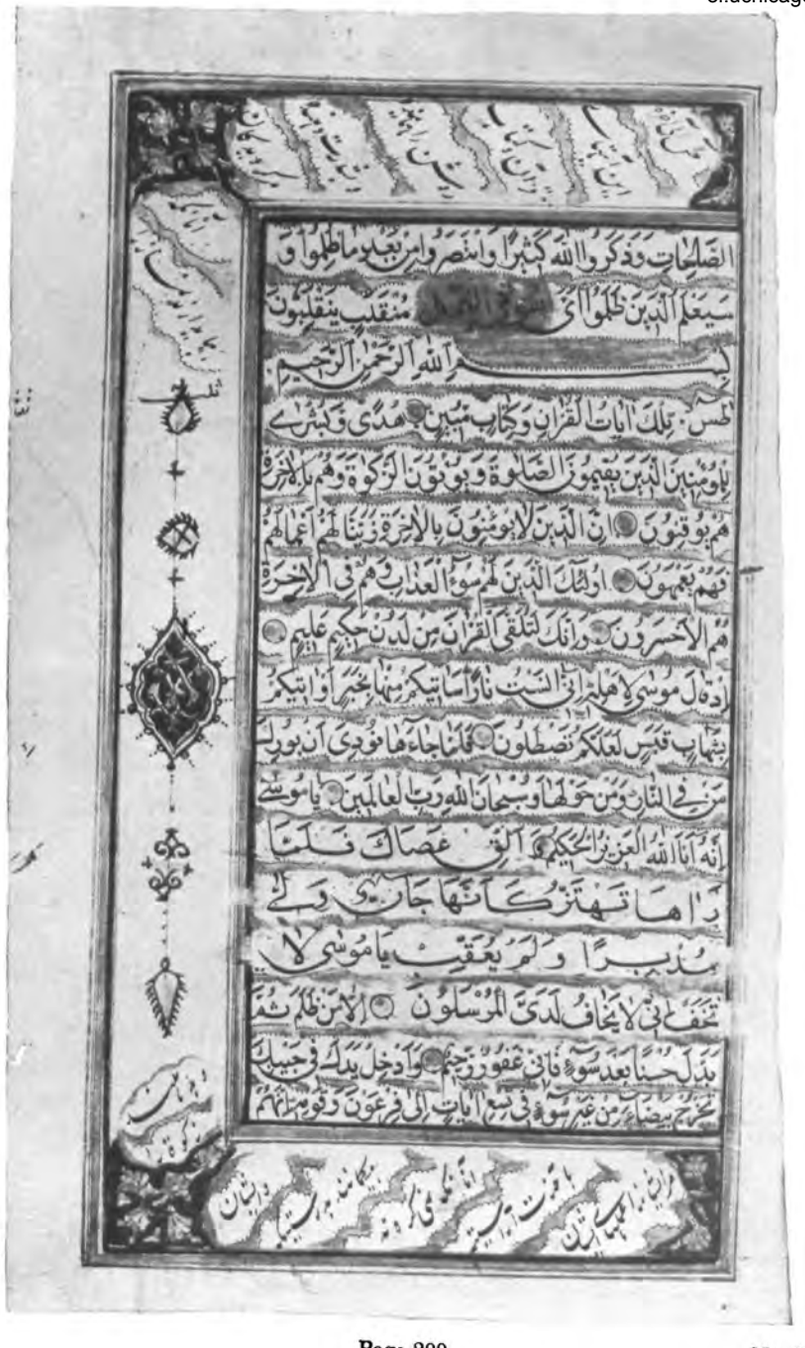


No. 30. A 12068. Folio 226*b*

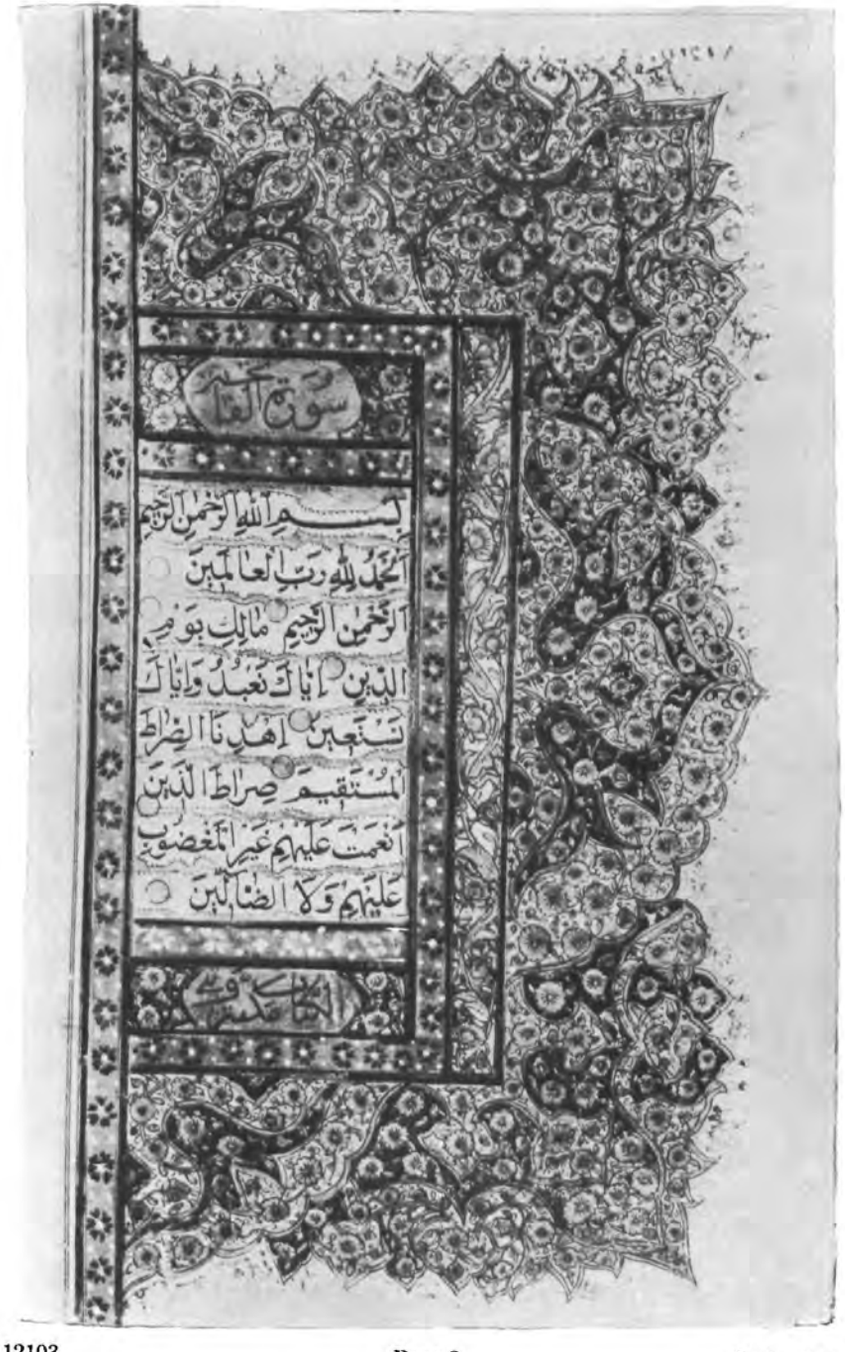
Scale, 1·2

PAPER ḲUR'ĀN. NINTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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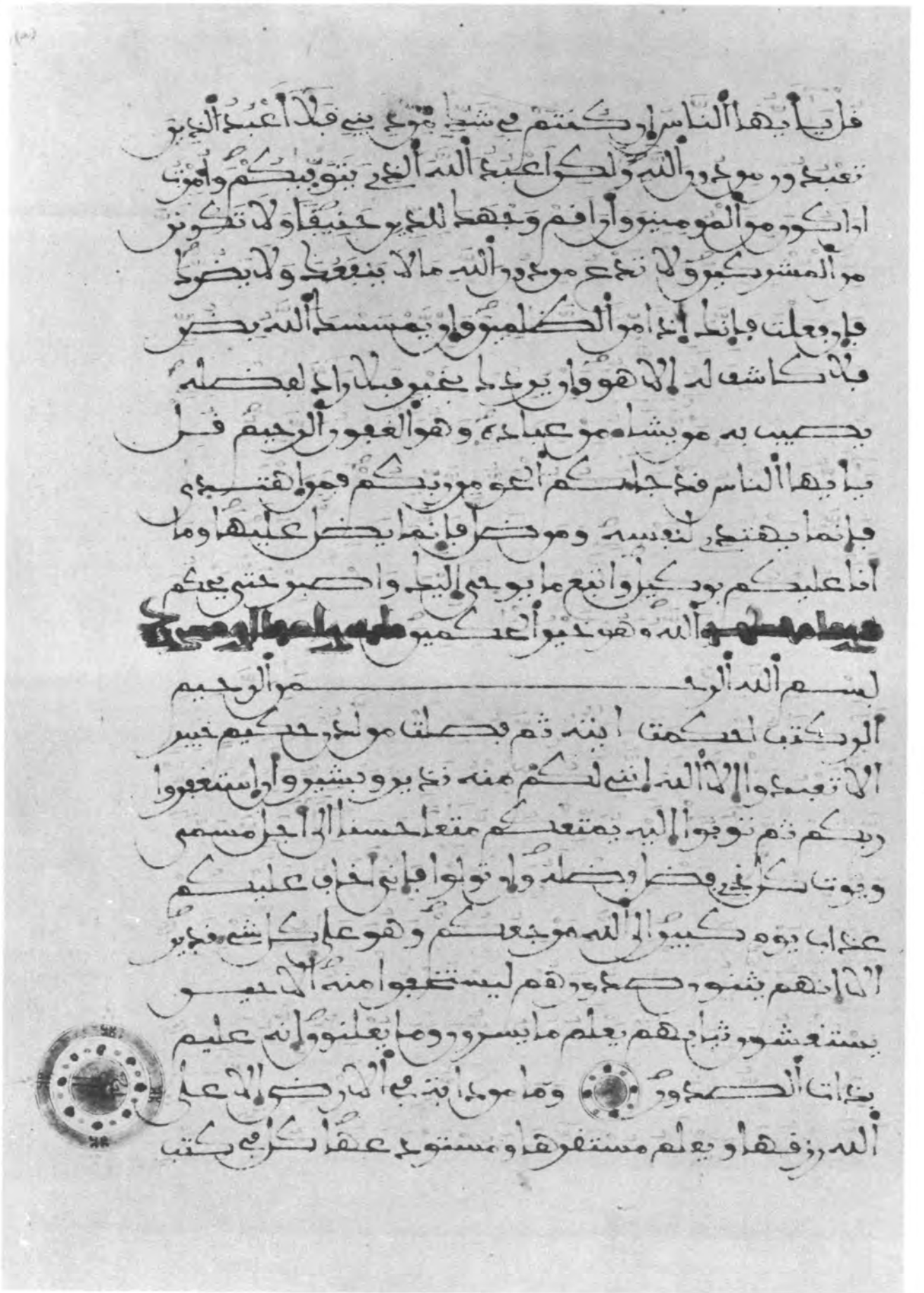
Page 2

No. 31. A 12103

Scale, 3:4

PAPER KUR'ĀN. THIRTEENTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH

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No. 32. A 16964. Folio 88*a*

Scale, 1:1

PAPER MAGHRIBĪ ḲUR'ĀN. SEVENTH OR EIGHTH CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH
MARGINS HAVE BEEN TRIMMED ON PLATE