

The Book of the Cow

# Documenta Coranica

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# The Book of the Cow

*An Early Qur'ānic Codex on Papyrus (P. Hamb. Arab. 68)*

*By*

Mathieu Tillier  
Naïm Vanthieghem



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The series *Documenta Coranica* is dedicated to the study of history of the Qurʾānic text as manifested in manuscripts and other sources. It publishes witnesses of the Qurʾān from the early period in the shape of facsimile, accompanied by transcription and a commentary. The series makes codices on parchment, papyri, inscriptions, variant readings and other relevant sources for the history of the Qurʾān accessible to the academic public.

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# Contents

<b>List of illustrations</b> .....	vii	<b>3.1. Orthography</b> .....	16
List of tables.....	vii	3.1.1. The consonantal ductus.....	16
List of graphs .....	vii	3.1.2. Diacritical dots.....	19
List of figures .....	vii	<b>3.2. Variations and corrections</b> .....	21
<b>Foreword (F. Déroche)</b> .....	ix	<b>3.3. Omissions</b> .....	25
<b>Preface</b> .....	xiii	<b>4. The manuscript's decoration</b> .....	27
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1	4.1. Verse separation .....	27
1. Between papyrology and Qur'ānic studies.....	4	4.1.1. Decade dividers.....	27
1.1. Papyrology .....	4	4.1.2. Verse-ending markers.....	28
1.2. Qur'ānic manuscripts .....	5	4.2. Other markers.....	29
1.2.1. Dating issues.....	5	4.3. Sūra-ending headband.....	29
1.2.2. Qur'āns on papyrus?.....	7	<b>5. P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in context</b> .....	30
1.3. History of the Hamburg papyrus collection and the manu- script.....	7	5.1. Origin and copying process.....	30
2. Codicology .....	10	5.2. A non-canonical Qur'ānic text? .....	32
2.1. The form of the codex.....	10	5.2.1. Omissions, interpolations, and the issue of fermented beverages.....	32
2.2. Paleography.....	13	5.2.2. The Book of the Cow .....	35
3. Copying the Qur'ānic Text.....	16	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	38

<b>P. Hamb. Arab. 68: Images and papyrological edition</b> .....	41
Papyrological edition .....	(99-44) ١٥٥-١٠٠
Textual notes .....	100
<b>Edition of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 according to the <i>Corpus Coranicum</i> mark-up system</b> .....	101
About the <i>Corpus Coranicum</i> mark-up system (M. Marx) .....	103
Edition according the <i>Corpus Coranicum</i> mark-up system .....	(134-107) ٩٢-٦٥
<b>Reconstruction of the presumedly original codex P. Hamb. Arab. 68</b> .....	(135-164) ٦٤-٣٥
<b>Appendix: P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176 (Qur'ān 9:67-71)</b> .....	165
1. Provenance .....	167
2. Codicological description .....	167
3. Paleography .....	168
4. The Qur'ānic ductus .....	168
4.1. Spelling .....	168
4.1.1. The consonantal ductus .....	168
4.1.2. Diacritical dots .....	168
4.2. Variations .....	169
4.3. Corrections .....	170
5. Paratextual features .....	170
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	181
<b>Primary sources</b> .....	183
Literary sources .....	183
Papyri .....	184
<b>Studies</b> .....	185
<b>Index</b> .....	191
<b>Index of proper names</b> .....	193
<b>Index of places</b> .....	195
<b>Index of subjects</b> .....	197

## List of illustrations

### List of tables

Table 1. Measurements of the papyrus sheets.....	11
Table 2. Paleography of P. Hamb. Arab. 68.....	15
Table 3. Three archaic paleographical features in P. Hamb. Arab. 68.....	16
Table 4. The use of <i>alif</i> as a <i>mater lectionis</i> for a long vowel /ā/.....	17
Table 5. Spelling of key Qur'ānic words in P. Hamb. Arab. 68.....	18
Table 6. The use of diacritics (letter by letter).....	19
Table 7. Most dotted particles and prepositions.....	20
Table 8. Most dotted pronouns.....	20
Table 9. Most dotted affixes.....	20
Table 10. Diacritization of the most attested verbs.....	21
Table 11. Diacritization of the most common names and adjectives.....	21
Table 12. Qur'ānic variations.....	22
Table 13. Corrections in P. Hamb. Arab. 68.....	24
Table 14. Ten-verse cuts.....	29
Table 15. The use of <i>alif</i> as a <i>mater lectionis</i> .....	168
Table 16. The use of diacritics, grapheme by grapheme.....	168
Table 17. Variations.....	169

### List of graphs

Graph. 1. Number of characters per page.....	14
Graph. 2. Number of characters per line and of lines per page.....	14

### List of figures

Fig. 1. Diagram of the quire.....	13
Fig. 2. Correction of * <i>mā anzalnā</i> in 2:159.....	25
Fig. 3. Correction of * <i>iqtatalū</i> in 2:253.....	25
Fig. 4. Ten-verse markers.....	27
Fig. 5. Verse-ending markers.....	29
Fig. 6. Line-ending marker.....	29
Fig. 7. Sūra-ending headband.....	30



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**Foreword**



Papyrus Hamb. Arab. 68, edited by Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem as the second facsimile in the *Documenta Coranica* series, demonstrates once again, if proof were needed, the value of systematically publishing the earliest manuscript evidence of the Qur'ānic texts that circulated during the first century of Islam. Not that this evidence is easy to interpret, or that it always allows us to decide between the different accounts dealing with the transmission of the sacred text in the seventh and eighth centuries that have been preserved in Muslim tradition.

In this case, Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem provide new and concrete elements that enrich our knowledge of early manuscript transmission. From a codicological point of view, for example, they answer a long-debated question about the use of papyrus for copying the Qur'ān. Leaving aside the position of those who, like Rudolf Sellheim, believed that it was not possible to use this material to make the bifolios that form the basis of the codex, many thought that the text of the Qur'ān had only been written on papyrus in the context of amulet production. Adolf Grohmann had thought he could provide a decisive element in favour of papyrus, but with Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem's publication, this debate comes to an end.

P. Hamb. Arab. 68 also provides the earliest example of a manuscript containing only a part of the Qur'ān. The text, which occupied a single quire of which 14 bifolios survive, ends on its last surviving verso with the last verse of Sūra 2. Was this an isolated extract, perhaps the *Book of the Cow* mentioned by John Damascene and a minor Syriac

author, or the first volume of a series? In the Qur'ān manuscript tradition, there is no division of the text into equal portions corresponding to the end of this Sūra, but we cannot rule out the possibility of an ancient local practice.

What is undoubtedly more important is the contribution made by Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem to the study of the dissemination of the Qur'ānic text in the early days of Islam. Although precise data is lacking, the authors convincingly argue that the papyrus was probably discovered in Edfu, which provides a context in terms of manuscript production. The question of Egypt's place in the history of the transmission of the text is once again raised, but in a new way: As we know, this province does not appear among the centres that had an influence on the dissemination of the Qur'ān, like Medina or Kūfa, for example, even though a wealth of material data, the manuscript trove in the 'Amr mosque in Fustāṭ and now P. Hamb. Arab. 68, suggest that the text was circulating not only in the capital city of the province, but also in more remote parts of the Nile valley. In Egypt, copies of the Qur'ān were apparently not only received, but also produced locally - and this may mirror a lively and specific oral transmission.

Finally, the text of the papyrus provides further food for thought about the way Muslim communities, in the second half of the seventh and the early eighth century, received the text traditionally associated with 'Uṭmān, or the Vulgate. The authors noted no fewer than four conspicuous omissions, one of which it involves verse 219, one of the legal basis for wine drinking prohibition. The question of the origin

of these omissions is crucial but difficult to answer. Were they copyist's errors, or the reproduction of an *exemplar* belonging to another textual line where these sections were absent, or a choice made by the copyist and/or his patrons? Whatever the answer, the small group of manuscripts whose text is basically that of the Vulgate but differs from it in certain places, which already includes Paris BnF Arabe 331 and Saint Petersburg IOM E-20, is now enriched by a new case with P. Hamb. Arab. 68.

The present edition by Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem is worthy of all praise. The accompanying study enables the reader to grasp in detail the codicological and paleographical particularities of the manuscript. The analysis of its textual specificities and of the historical context of fermented beverages consumption in Egypt also provides the reader with the elements needed to assess this witness to the handwritten transmission of the Qur'ān in early Islam. Their *Book of the Cow* clearly opens new avenues for discussion on the history of the text.

François Déroche

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**Preface**



This book provides an edition and historical analysis of what is to date the longest extant extract of the Qur’ān preserved on papyrus. This fragmentary quire consists of twenty-eight pages that include almost the entire Sūra of the Cow. The manuscript (P. Hamb. Arab. 68) was discovered in Egypt in the early twentieth century and brought to the collections of the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, where it remained unidentified for nearly a century. We started studying it in the Fall of 2017 and presented the preliminary results of our work in the Spring of 2018 at the Freie Universität of Berlin during the seventh Congress of Arabic Papyrology, “Documents and Manuscripts of the Arab-Islamic World,” organized by the International Society of Arabic Papyrology. In June of the same year, we had the opportunity to present our preliminary conclusions at the Collège de France in Paris, as part of the conference “The Qur’ān in the Cultural and Intellectual History of Fustāṭ between the Seventh and Tenth Centuries,” organized by Prof. François Déroche.

We are greatly indebted to several distinguished colleagues. Our thanks go first to the editors of the *Documenta Coranica* collection, Professors François Déroche, Angelika Neuwirth, Christian Julien Robin and Michael Marx for accepting our work in this series. Michael Marx handled the editorial process, while providing advice and expertise when needed. We extend our thanks to the successive curators of the Hamburg Arabic papyrus collection, Hans-Walter Stork, Jürgen Neubacher and Katrin Janz-Wenig, who have continually supported our endeavor, providing images and access

to the manuscript. We appreciate the generosity of our colleague Lev Weitz, who identified an additional Qur’ānic folio in the Arabic papyrus collection of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. and offered us the opportunity to edit it as an appendix to this volume. We are also grateful to Lahcen Daaif and Guillaume Dye for reading carefully a first draft of this work and proposing substantial amendments. Omar Abdel-Ghaffar and Luke Yarbrough have been kind enough to review the entire English text and improve its readability. Finally, we are thankful to Charlotte Bohm, who kindly adapted our papyrological edition to the editorial system of the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica (Corpus Coranicum)*, and to Monir Ghafouri, who prepared the final layout of the book.

This work would not have been possible without the backing of our institutions, Sorbonne Université, the Orient et Méditerranée CNRS team, and the Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes (CNRS), which provide us invaluable research freedom and independence. We dedicate this work to our families, whose support, patience and love nourish our inspiration.

Paris, December 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022.

Mathieu Tillier & Naïm Vanthieghem



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**Introduction**



The Islamic tradition links the history of the collection of the Qurʾān, its arrangement in a codex (*muṣḥaf*) and its dissemination primarily to the Near East. For instance, the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāʾūd al-Siġistānī (d. 316/929) focuses on discrepancies between the codices of Companions and Successors that settled in Iraq, Syria, and the Hijaz, but remains silent on the peculiarities of the Qurʾān in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> According to the most common narrative, the *muṣḥaf* established under ʿUṭmān’s (r. 23-35/644-656) supervision was sent to Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus, but not to Fustāṭ.<sup>2</sup> Only al-Yaʿqūbī (d. ca 292/905) includes the provinces of Egypt and the Ġazīra in his list of addressees.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the early history of the Qurʾān in Egypt may appear even more poorly known than the text’s history elsewhere.

Bits of novel information have recently resurfaced, although exactly how much credence scholars can place in them remains unclear.

Besides the assumption that a codex of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. between 63 and 77/682 and 696), the son of the conqueror of Egypt, might have found its way to Fustāṭ, Ibn Yūnus al-Ṣadafī al-Miṣrī (d. 347/958) claims to have examined a *muṣḥaf* attributed to the Companion and governor of Egypt ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Ġuhanī (d. 58/677-8).<sup>4</sup> The Islamic tradition takes a closer look at the history of the Qurʾān in the Nile Valley starting with the reign of the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (r. 65-86/685-705). At the time, the governor of Iraq, al-Ḥaġġāġ b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714), reportedly sent a new codex to Fustāṭ. Taken aback by this initiative, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had a reputedly error-free *muṣḥaf* written down, the famous “Qurʾān of Asmā” which was donated to the mosque of ʿAmr some years later, where it was kept.<sup>5</sup>

The secondary literature’s silence is all the more surprising since one

1 Ibn Abī Dāʾūd al-Siġistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Subḥān Wāʿiẓ (Beirut: Dār al-baṣāʾir al-islāmiyya, 2002), 283-387.

2 Th. Nöldeke, in Th. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl, *The History of the Qurʾān* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 305; A. T. Welch, “Qurʾān,” *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Other narratives include Mecca, Yemen and Baḥrayn in addition to these three cities. Ibn Ḍiyāʾ al-Makkī, *Taʾrīḥ Makka al-muṣarrafa wa-l-masġid al-ḥarām wa-l-Madīna al-šarīfa wa-l-qabr al-šarīf*, ed. ʿAlāʾ Ibrāhīm and Ayman Naṣr (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2004), 295.

3 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḥ*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1: 166-167.

4 M. Tillier, “Une tradition coranique égyptienne ? Le codex de ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Ġuhanī,” *Studia Islamica*, 117 (2022), 41-46.

5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Ch. C. Torrey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), 117-118; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿaqd al-amṣār*, ed. K. Vollers (Cairo: Būlāq, 1893 [rep. Beirut: al-Maktab al-tiġārī li-l-ṭibāʿa wa-l-tawzīʿ wa-l-naṣr, n.d.]), 72-73; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dīkr al-ḥiṭāṭ wa-l-āṭār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London: Muʾassasat al-furqān li-l-turāt al-islāmī, 2002), 4(1): 30-31; Ibn Ḥaġar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥānġī, 1998), 215; M. Tillier, “Une tradition coranique égyptienne ?,” 53-57.

of the four genizahs where a significant number of ancient Qur'ānic fragments have so far been found is, in fact, located in Egypt. Hundreds of obsolete manuscripts were thrown into a room in the Mosque of 'Amr, in Fustāṭ, where they were supposed to decay into dust. From the late seventeenth century onwards, these fragments were gradually acquired by travelers and are now scattered in various libraries in Europe and the United States.<sup>6</sup> Collections originating from Egypt therefore represent a major resource for reconstructing the history of the Qur'ān, as evidenced by François Déroche's work, which has greatly contributed to sorting out this fragmented and scattered Qur'ānic material.

The ambition of the present book is to add a small, but nonetheless significant, stone to the edifice of Qur'ānic codicological studies. The manuscript P. Hamb. Arab. 68 also originates from Egypt, though not from the mosque of 'Amr. The only Sūra it features (The Cow) is written on papyrus, a material that has been little attested so far among Qur'ānic manuscripts. Although the precise dating of this manuscript is questionable, it displays significant variations from the Qur'ānic *ductus* as described by literary tradition, not only in terms of orthography, but also in its content. Before moving to the edition, we shall first present the formal characteristics of this manuscript and examine the nature of the text it contains.

## 1. Between papyrology and Qur'ānic studies

### 1.1. Papyrology

In the last twenty years, the discipline of Arabic papyrology has developed significantly. This development has been spurred by the birth of the *International Society for Arabic Papyrology (ISAP)*, the establishment of databases, and the recognition of the importance of documents for the political, economic, and social history of medieval Egypt. In a narrow sense, this discipline studies documents written on papyrus in Arabic, discovered mainly in Egypt. The discipline's scope is in fact much broader, however, and encompasses texts written on any type of material – whether papyrus, parchment, pottery, paper, wood, textile or leather – originating from the entire Late Antique and Medieval Islamicate world.<sup>7</sup> Usually, the period taken into account extends from the Islamic conquest of Egypt in 640 to the Ottoman conquest in 1517, but the relevance of this periodization may be challenged insofar

as documentary and writing practices often remained stable in the Islamicate world until the nineteenth century.

Arabic papyrology is divided into two main branches. The first branch, documentary papyrology, deals with everyday documents, whether official (administrative) or private. Interest in everyday Arabic documents began as early as 1825 with a seminal study by Antoine Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838).<sup>8</sup> Arabic documents often appear daunting at first glance. Papyri are generally poorly written and littered with wormholes, while many are broken into pieces like a jigsaw puzzle, scattered in different collections, and must be patiently reassembled before becoming readable. When a researcher can at long last begin to decipher the document, he may be puzzled by the vocabulary, spelling, syntax and formulations that often deviate from standard Arabic.<sup>9</sup> Although their legibility may be impeded by improper ligatures between letters, or by over-simplification of the script (a phenomenon known as “Verschleifung” in German or “résorption” in French),<sup>10</sup> their formal content and the identifiable *topoi* they include help decipher them.<sup>11</sup>

The second branch, known as literary papyrology, focuses on the many fragments of literary works preserved specifically on papyrus, mainly composed in early Islamic Egypt. Such fragments drew little scholarly attention until the 1950s and Nabia Abbott's (1897-1981) outstanding work.<sup>12</sup> Raif G. Khoury (1936-2017) continued in her footsteps in the 1970s and 1980s,<sup>13</sup> but since then no major work on literary papyri

6 É. Cellard, “Les manuscrits coraniques anciens. Aperçu des matériaux et présentation des outils d'analyse,” in M. A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (ed.), *Le Coran des historiens* (Paris: Cerf, 2019), 667-669.

7 See A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo: Al-Maaref Press, 1952), 44-62.

8 A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe et récemment découverts en Egypte,” *Journal des savants* (1825), 462-473.

9 See S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic. Based upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

10 This concept comes from Greek papyrology. It refers to a tendency, in the cursive writing of mass-produced documents, to write only the most identifiable letters, usually the first ones, while the rest of the word is merely shaped in a very simplified and altered manner. For instance, in tax receipts, the verb *kataba* which introduces the date and the name of the scribe is often reduced to a simple *kāf* with a stretched lower part, without *tā'* or *bā'*. On this phenomenon, see the definition given by P. Heilporn, *Thèbes et ses taxes. Recherches sur la fiscalité en Égypte romaine (Ostraca de Strasbourg II)* (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 28-30.

11 This has been wonderfully summarized by C. Préaux, “Sur l'écriture des ostraca thébains d'époque romaine,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 40 (1954), 83-87.

12 N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. I. Historical texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); *Ead.*, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. II. Qur'ānic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), and *Ead.*, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. III. Language and Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

13 R. G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972), and *Id.*, *Abd*

has appeared. Only recently has research in literary papyrology resumed, leading to the publication of some noteworthy pieces.<sup>14</sup> Literary papyrology presents challenges that differ from its documentary counterpart. Although they can be just as damaged as everyday documents, surviving literary fragments are often written in a book script that features fewer simplifications and improper ligatures. Studying literary fragments is ultimately similar to the study of other medieval manuscripts, some of which are cotemporaneous to surviving papyri.<sup>15</sup> Parallels found in different literary texts that have been preserved through other channels often help scholars decipher them, as is the case with papyrus fragments of the Qurʾān.

## 1.2. Qurʾānic manuscripts

Like Arabic papyrology, the historical study of the Qurʾān has recently been energized by new manuscript editions, some of which may date back to the seventh century CE, *viz.* the decades following Muḥammad's preaching in western Arabia. François Déroche, who has devoted his career to Qurʾānic manuscripts, offered an in-depth examination and edition of one the earliest *muṣḥafs*, the so-called Parisino-petropolitanus codex.<sup>16</sup> The famous Ṣanʿāʾ palimpsest, first studied by Elisabeth Puin and Gerd R. Puin,<sup>17</sup> has been investigated

further and edited for the first time through the joint efforts of Behnam Sadeghi and Mohsen Goudarzi, and then by Asma Hilali.<sup>18</sup> Éléonore Cellard also edited a beautiful manuscript probably copied in the course of the eighth century CE.<sup>19</sup> On top of these ground-breaking publications, Michael Marx and his collaborators have compiled and published an online catalogue of Qurʾānic manuscripts, *Manuscripta Coranica*, under the auspices of the *Corpus Coranicum* project hosted by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences. In doing so, they have given access to a large number of digitized manuscripts and allowed for extensive exploration of variant readings as recorded by Islamic tradition.<sup>20</sup>

### 1.2.1. Dating issues

Unlike many literary manuscripts, the earliest Qurʾānic manuscripts never include a colophon containing the date of the copy. Therefore, historians have long been compelled to rely on relative dating, based on paleographic, orthographic, and codicological features, which they have tried to reconcile with accounts preserved in Islamic tradition concerning the writing of the Qurʾān in early Islam. In this endeavor, the most significant contribution during the last decades has been François Déroche's work on Umayyad manuscripts, which enabled him to offer a relative chronology of scripts and manuscript types.<sup>21</sup>

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*Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa (97-174/715-790) : juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne. Avec l'édition critique de l'unique rouleau de papyrus arabe conservé à Heidelberg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986).*

- 14 M. Muehlhaeusler, "Fragments of Arabic Poetry on Papyrus: Questions of Textual Genesis, Attribution, and Representation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 134 (2014), 673–687; *Id.*, "An Invitation to Dinner for Abū Nuwās and his Friends: An Early Textual Witness on Papyrus (Yale CtYBR inv. 2597(A))," *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, 4 (2016), 24-35; M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Une œuvre inconnue de Wakī b. al-Ġarrāḥ (m. 197/812 ?) et sa transmission en Égypte au III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Arabica*, 65 (2018), 656–700; M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Un traité de droit mālikite égyptien redécouvert : Aṣḥāb b. al-Faraġ (m. 225/840) et le serment d'abstinence," *Islamic Law and Society*, 26 (2019), 329-373; *Id.*, *Supplier Dieu dans l'Égypte toulounide. Le florilège de l'invocation d'après Ḥālid b. Yazīd (III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).
- 15 On early Arabic manuscripts, see J. E. Brockopp, *Muḥammad's Heirs. The Rise of Muslim Scholarly Communities, 622-950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 151-158, 199-209.
- 16 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'Islam. Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- 17 G.-R. Puin, "Observations on Early Qur'an Manuscripts in Ṣanʿāʾ," in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'an as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 107-111; E. Puin, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1)," in M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (ed.), *Schlaglichter. Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran. Band 3: Die*

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*beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2008), 461-493; *Id.*, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ II (DAM 01-27.1)," in M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (ed.), *Vom Koran zum Islam: Schriften zur Frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran. Band 4* (Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2009), 523-591; *Id.*, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1). Teil III: Ein nicht-utmānischer Koran," in M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (ed.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion I. Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam* (Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2010), 233-305.

- 18 B. Sadeghi and M. Goudarzi, "Ṣanʿāʾ 1 and the Origins of the Qurʾān," *Der Islam*, 87 (2010), 2-129; A. Hilali, "Le palimpseste de Ṣanʿāʾ et la canonisation du Coran: nouveaux éléments," *Cahiers Glotz*, 21 (2010), 443-448; *Id.*, *The Sanaa Palimpsest. The Transmission of the Qur'an in the First Centuries AH* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- 19 É. Cellard, *Codex Amrensis I* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018).
- 20 <https://corpuscoranicum.de/>. The catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica* edited by Michael Marx (available online at <https://corpuscoranicum.de/handschriften/uebersicht>) offers access to more than 35,000 images of 1,000 manuscripts and fragments (mostly on parchment) held in over 90 collections. This catalogue also displays digital transliterations of the most ancient copies (currently 2,500 pages online).
- 21 F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran. Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1983); *Id.*, *La transmission écrite du Coran; Id., Qurʾāns of the Umayyads. A First Overview* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

For about a decade, however, scholars have been experimenting with absolute radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) dating. The first results suggest that several manuscripts may date back to the seventh century CE, including some that scholars initially believed to have been produced in the eighth century on the basis of paleographic analysis.<sup>22</sup>

Both relative and absolute dating systems are problematic. The results of radiocarbon dating, which might be expected to have greater scientific value, are in fact far from being unanimously accepted. Some researchers doubt their reliability, particularly because of calibration issues with measuring instruments.<sup>23</sup> Conversely, using the Islamic tradition to explain certain formal developments in Qur'ānic manuscripts uncritically trusts narratives about the collection of the Qur'ān and its writing, despite the fact that these stories were collected at a later stage and often contradict one another. The reform of the 'Uṭmānic codex allegedly conducted under the auspices of al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714) during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) is believed to have been responsible for significant formal developments. Scholars therefore use this reform as a benchmark to differentiate between manuscripts that predate it and those that were supposedly produced afterwards.<sup>24</sup> However, one can easily observe that literary narratives are by no means always compatible with manuscript evidence. For instance, diacritics are undoubtedly older than what the Islamic tradition would have us believe.<sup>25</sup> Yet, while most skeptical historians have long expressed serious doubts about the account of 'Uṭmān's (r. 23-35/644-656) collection of a single codex, they tend to believe much more readily the role that some

sources ascribe to al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ, and suggest that Islamic sources might actually underestimate his contribution to the canonization of the Qur'ān.<sup>26</sup>

Islamic traditional narratives about the seventh century are generally part of a teleological and ideological discourse about the formation of a new social world. For this reason, it seems dangerous to give full credence to some accounts while completely rejecting others. The history of the *muṣḥaf's* formal characteristics (orthography, diacritical dots, decade markers, Sūra titles, decoration, codex dimensions, etc.) as it is told, for instance, in the *Muṣannaḡ* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/827), and later in the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siḡistānī (d. 316/928), largely belongs to a polemical register. These authors report controversies about scribal practices, ascribing either their condemnation or their authorization to lofty religious authorities, mainly from the generation of the Successors – such as the Kūfan Ibrāhīm al-Naḥā'ī (d. ca 96/717), and the Baṣrans Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/728) and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728).<sup>27</sup> Their purpose was not limited to certifying the authenticity of the Qur'ān or to legitimizing the Umayyad dynasty by highlighting 'Uṭmān's work (or vice versa, to validate the transmission of the Qur'ān by ascribing a major role to the caliph).<sup>28</sup> In all likelihood, eighth- and even ninth-century debates, of which only traces have survived, concerned some of the very manuscripts that have come down to us. Muslim scholars had these manuscripts before them, and only later did they reach the genizahs where they were spared from destruction. Early medieval scholars could already observe various spelling practices, irregularities, additions, scrapings and corrections, which must have raised questions, astonishment and even concern among them. The narratives they elaborated on the collection of the Qur'ān and the evolution of the formal characteristics of the *muṣḥaf* were primarily intended to explain and rationalize their observations, memorializing the roles of certain figures. From this point of view, al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ's role in the addition of orthographic signs in the *muṣḥaf* is undoubtedly far from positive, given the bad reputation of this reviled figure among Iraqis. Ascribing orthographic innovations to him may have been a way of criticizing formal developments observed in ancient manuscripts.

22 M. J. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qur'ān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents, 7th–10th Centuries, and the Problem of Carbon Dating Early Qur'āns* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 216.

23 On the dating of Qur'ānic manuscripts, see the studies by M. J. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Zu den Datierungen von Koranhandschriften durch die <sup>14</sup>C-Methode," *Koranforschung Verortung und Hermeneutik = Frankfurter Zeitschrift für islamisch-theologische Studien* 2 (Berlin: EB Verlag, 2015), 9-43; E. M. Youssef-Grob, "Radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) Dating of Early Islamic Documents: Background and Prospects," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qur'ān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents*, 139-187, and M. J. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," *Ibid.*, 188-221. The limits of carbon dating have been highlighted by É. Cellard, "Les manuscrits coraniques anciens," 678-679; S. J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an. A Historical-Critical Study* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2022), 70-93. Shoemaker considers the margin of error in the accuracy of <sup>14</sup>C dating for the early Islamic Near East to be no less than one century.

24 See for example F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 34, 96-97, 139.

25 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 72, 97, 138.

26 A.-L. de Prémare, "Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and the Process of the Qur'ān's Composition," in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (ed.), *The Hidden Origins of Islam. New Research into its Early History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2010), 189-221, 204-211; S. J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an*, chap. 1.

27 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *Muṣannaḡ 'Abd al-Razzāq*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1983), 4: 321-325; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siḡistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 418-424, 507-508, 511-529.

28 Cf. S. J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an*, 31.

In such etiological/exegetical accounts, disentangling what was rooted in authentic memories, what was the result of a reconstruction, and what was merely fiction is nearly impossible. Although we must, therefore, be careful not to take them at face value, should we completely disregard them? We would then be deprived of any benchmark against which to evaluate the relative chronology of surviving manuscripts. Therefore, our tentative dating of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in this book can only be hypothetical and depends to a large extent on how much credence is given to even the most minimal framework of narratives regarding the formation of the *muṣḥaf*.

### 1.2.2. Qur'āns on papyrus?

A large proportion of ancient Qur'ānic manuscripts identified so far originate primarily from Fustāṭ (Egypt), and secondly from Damascus (Syria) and Ṣan'ā' (Yemen). Researchers discovered dismembered sections of these manuscripts in mosque rooms where the texts had been discarded to let them slowly decay. This means of throwing away books and documents allowed Late Antique and Medieval pious men to get rid of outdated texts without committing the sacrilegious act of voluntarily destroying them.<sup>29</sup> All Qur'ānic fragments found in such genizahs were part of expensive parchment codices, usually commissioned by rulers.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, modest Qur'ānic copies on other materials resisted the passage of time to a much lesser extent. This was so much the case that in his lengthy 1906 review of Bernhard Moritz's (1859-1939) *Arabic Palaeography*,<sup>31</sup> Josef von Karabacek (1845-1918) doubted the historical existence of Qur'āns on papyrus<sup>32</sup> save amulets' pericopes.<sup>33</sup>

29 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 7-8.

30 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 154-155.

31 B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Texts from the First Century of the Hijra till the Year 1000* (Cairo: Khedivial Library, 1905).

32 On such amulets made up of Qur'ānic quotations or pericopes, see the recent article by U. Bsees, "Qur'ānic Quotations in Arabic Papyrus Amulets," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qur'ān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents*, 112-138.

33 J. von Karabacek, "Arabic Palaeography," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 20 (1906), 131-148, esp. 137: "Two fragments that reveal only a few poorly preserved words. Those on the left side begin with [جاء]هم الحق from Sūra 28:48 and end with verse 57. I leave it to the editor to prove that the remains of the fragment on the right side are Qur'ānic. It is quite doubtful whether the remains here are those of a Qur'ān or of prayers with Qur'ānic pericopes and punctuations [...]. Regrettably, one misses the indication whether these leaves are single-sided or double-sided, and in this case, how they are described. For my part, I still doubt the existence of Qur'āns on papyrus."

Von Karabacek's doubts must obviously be tempered based on both the literary tradition and material evidence. Relying on Ibn Wahb's (d. 197/813) *Muwatta'*, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) reports that the first caliph, Abū Bakr (r. 11-13/632-634) had the Qur'ān copied on *qarātīs* (sing. *qirtās*), a term of Greek origin (*chartēs*) which came to designate sheets of papyrus.<sup>34</sup> The Qur'ān itself suggests the existence, in pre-Islamic Arabia, of books written on *qirtās*.<sup>35</sup> While the original Arabic meaning of *qirtās* remains up for debate – whether it referred exclusively to papyrus or could also mean "parchment"<sup>36</sup> – seven non-talismanic Qur'ānic fragments on papyrus have been discovered, of which Michael Marx has recently compiled an inventory.<sup>37</sup> Qur'āns on papyrus did exist at one point, but how popular they were remains unclear.

The scarcity of early Qur'āns on papyrus makes P. Hamb. Arab. 68 all the more exceptional. This quire of a manuscript contains only seven leaves of barely decipherable dark papyrus, on which part of the Qur'ānic text was copied at an unknown date. Because of their poor state, these sheets of papyrus have long escaped the attention of scholars.

### 1.3. History of the Hamburg papyrus collection and the manuscript

The 135 Arabic papyri and paper documents housed at the *Staatsbibliothek* of Hamburg were purchased between 1909 and 1914 at the initiative of the Arabist and papyrologist Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933), who at that time held a professorship at the Colonial Institute in

34 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fi 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Riyad: Wizārat al-ṣū'ūn al-islāmiyya, n.d.), 1: 169.

35 Qur'ān 6:7: "Had We sent down upon you a book, inscribed on *qirtās*, which they touched with their very hands, those who blaspheme would say: 'This is nothing but manifest sorcery.'" In what follows, we use Tarif Khalidi's translation: *The Qur'ān* (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

36 M. J. Marx, "Introduction," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qur'ān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents*, 1-41, esp. 4.

37 M. J. Marx, "Introduction," 8-37. To this inventory, which identifies seven papyrological witnesses, we must now add an unpublished Ḥiḡāzī fragment of Sūra 9, which is held in the Washington Library of Congress and which we are publishing as an appendix to the present work (P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176; we thank Lev Weitz for informing us about the existence of this fragment), as well as a fragment of Sūra 18 (P. Paris BnF Inv. Ms Arabe 7075 [20]), and a still unpublished page of Sūra 19 held in the Geneva collection (P. Gen. Arab. Inv. 604 + 606). Regarding this last witness, see Kh. Younes's remarks in a short note entitled "Texte coranique (Sourate 19, versets 73-98 ou 'Sourate Maryam (Marie)'" in C. Méla and F. Möri (ed.), *Alexandrie la divine* (Geneva: Éditions de La Baconnière, 2014), 2: 1101.

Hamburg.<sup>38</sup> The vast majority of the documents were acquired through the *Deutsches Papyruskartell* (DPK), an association of German universities and museums whose purpose was to buy papyri in Egypt, primarily in Greek and Latin. The DPK distributed its acquisitions among affiliated institutions every year by drawing lots in proportion to each institution's annual financial contribution.<sup>39</sup> In 1934, the famous restorer Hugo Ibscher (1874-1943) restored 64 of these documents and placed them in glass casing.<sup>40</sup> The rest of the collection was framed in glass in 1938, on the eve of World War II, probably by Ibscher himself. Albert Dietrich (1912-2015) edited most of the documentary texts in two volumes.<sup>41</sup> The first volume, published in 1937, contains a series of legal documents and a few account records, whereas the second one, published in 1955, includes several private letters.<sup>42</sup>

The exact provenance of the Hamburg Arabic papyri and paper documents has not been ascertained yet. According to Albert Dietrich, batches of Arabic documents were occasionally labelled with information about their provenance upon their arrival in Hamburg. However, these data were lost during World War II, when the collection

was moved to protect it from the heavy shelling that hit Hamburg.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, the provenance of papyri and papers held in this collection can only be deduced from internal clues such as toponyms, anthroponyms, and paleographical evidence.

Despite his immense contribution to the field, Dietrich's system for identifying the geographical origin of the documents is erroneous. In his introduction to his first volume, Dietrich posited that the vast majority of the papyri held in the Hamburg collection originated from the Fayyūm, whereas the paper documents came from al-Ušmūnayn. In his second volume, however, Dietrich revised his judgment somewhat, stating that, while some documents originated from the Fayyūm and al-Ušmūnayn, others were discovered in al-Bahnasā, Idfū, Armant and Aswān. In order to identify the provenance of the letters he edited in his second volume, Dietrich apparently relied only on their mention of toponyms. Thus, whenever a papyrus refers to someone's arrival in Fustāṭ, Dietrich concluded that the letter was unearthed in the Egyptian capital. Whenever the sender of a letter mentions that he is in al-Ušmūnayn, Dietrich concluded that the document must have been unearthed in this town. His logic here is clearly faulty. Any letter specifying that the sender arrived in Fustāṭ was sent from that city to an addressee residing elsewhere, where the letter was likely actually discovered. Therefore, Dietrich's unreasonable and counter-intuitive system led him to propose, for twenty-five of the eighty-nine texts he published, mistaken provenances that are now generally accepted and recorded in the *Arabic Papyrology Database* (APD).<sup>44</sup>

While some papyri do come from al-Bahnasā<sup>45</sup> (the Greco-Roman Oxyrhynchus, ca. 90 km south of the Fayyūm) and the Fayyūm,<sup>46</sup> a closer examination shows that a large proportion of the Arabic documents held in the Hamburg collection (at least twenty of them) actually originate from Idfū in Upper Egypt (ca. 100 km south of Luxor). Such provenance can be established on the basis of either mentions of

38 A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1937), 1-3.

39 O. Primavesi, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Papyruskartells," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 114 (1996), 173-187; A. Martin, "Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities," in A. K. Bowman, R. A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink and P. J. Parsons (ed.), *Oxyrhynchus. A City and its Texts* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 40-49; H. Essler and F. Reiter, "Die Berliner Sammlung im Deutschen Papyruskartell," in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de papyrologie. Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 213-220.

40 A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde. I. Einführung* (Prague: Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelství, 1954), 45-46. On this restorer, see R. Ibscher, "Hugo Ibscher zum Gedächtnis," *Altertum*, 5 (1959), 183-189 and M. Krutzsch, "'Geduld will beim Werke sein'. Zur Erinnerung an Hugo Ibschers Aufnahme der selbständigen Tätigkeit in der Berliner Papyrusammlung 1894," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 40 (1994), 165-166.

41 A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri* as well as A. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrusammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1955). To these two publications should be added the article by the same A. Dietrich, "Eine arabische Eheurkunde aus der Aiyūbidenzeit," in J. Fück (ed.), *Documenta islamica inedita* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1952), 121-154.

42 This volume was revised by W. Diem, "Philologisches zu den arabischen Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek," *Zeitschrift für arabische Literatur*, 45 (2006), 7-54 and N. Vanthieghem, "Papyrologica X," *Chronique d'Égypte*, 95 (2020), 185-187, n° 108.

43 Unfortunately, A. Dietrich, who obviously had the opportunity to consult this information before the war, considered these labels with a skeptical eye, and regarded their information as vague and inaccurate.

44 Available online at <https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/project.jsp>. Two texts reportedly originate from Armant, one from Aswān, three from al-Bahnasā, eight from Idfū, three from Fustāṭ, and one from "Upper Egypt," while seven more supposedly come from al-Ušmūnayn.

45 The marriage contract *P. Dietrich Eheurkunde* explicitly states that the bride comes from al-Bahnasā.

46 *P. Hamb. Arab. I 1* was for instance written down in Ṭuṭūn or in Ṭalīt as was recently argued in N. Vanthieghem, "Papyrologica X," *Chronique d'Égypte*, 95 (2020), 187-188, n° 109.

this town,<sup>47</sup> prosopographical data,<sup>48</sup> formularies and lexical usage,<sup>49</sup> or paleographical comparisons.<sup>50</sup> This provenance is all the more likely as the majority of the Arabic collection in Hamburg was purchased between 1909 and 1912, at a time when many documents were being unearthed in Idfū.<sup>51</sup> French excavations carried out in this town also unearthed fragments of several literary works,<sup>52</sup> including some

47 See for example P. Hamb. Arab. 5 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 14 and *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 20), in which Idfū is mentioned as part of the district of Aswān (see N. Vanthieghem, “Jean Maspero, un papyrologue arabe méconnu. Redécouverte et réédition d’un brevet de nomination ecclésiastique daté de l’an 1254 (*P. Maspero Diplôme*),” in A. Boud’hors, E. Garel, C. Louis and N. Vanthieghem (ed.), *Vingtième journée d’études coptes [Ottawa, 19-22 juin 2019]* [forthcoming]), as well as the unpublished document P. Hamb. Arab. 67 verso, which mentions a donkey donated as *ḥubs* for the benefit of the Friday mosque of Idfū.

48 P. Hamb. Arab. 19 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 2 and 3), P. Hamb. Arab. 37 recto (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 7), P. Hamb. Arab. 43 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 5 and 6), P. Hamb. Arab. 61 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 1), P. Hamb. Arab. 62 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 42) mention people who are known to have been active in Idfū.

49 Ostrakon O. Hamb. Arab. 1 mentions various instances of *ṣakk*, a term which, in a legal context, means “a signed and sealed report of a judge’s decision” and, in a financial context, “a written order for payment of a salary, allowance, pension, etc.” or “a financial draft or assignment” (C. E. Bosworth, “*Ṣakk*,” *EP*, Suppl., s.v.), but which in Idfū seems to take on the specific meaning of a written obligation or acknowledgement of debt.

50 For instance, P. Hamb. Arab. 2 recto (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 2) and the unpublished document P. Hamb. Arab. 57 were written by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Rabī, while P. Hamb. Arab. 2 verso (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 37) and P. Hamb. Arab. 119 were written by his brother al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Rabī.

51 A series of documents now held in the Egyptian National Library were discovered in Idfū in 1911: the unpublished document P. Cair. Arab. VII 459, the back of which has recently been published by Kh. Younes, “Arabic Letters of Condolence on Papyrus,” in S. Bouderbala, S. Denoix and M. Malczycki (ed.), *New Frontiers of Arabic Papyrology: Arabic and Multilingual Texts from Early Islam* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2017), 67-100, esp. 69-76, and P. Cair. Arab. VIII 537, 579, 588, 599. In addition, J. Maspero started to work on some fragments of literary texts before his tragic death in 1915. See N. Vanthieghem, “Jean Maspero, un papyrologue arabe méconnu.” In 1911, the Halle Library purchased a collection of Coptic Idfū papyri, about which T. S. Richter has recently published an article. See T. S. Richter, “Die koptischen Papyri aus dem „Ankauf aus Edfū (Apollinopolis magna) vom Jahre 1911“ der Jenaer Papyrussammlung (P.Ien. Inv. 446–453),” *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 65 (2019), 156-175.

52 For instance the unpublished P. IFAO Edfou Arab. Inv. n° 1289 a (1-7). On these excavations, see H. Henne, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1921-1922)* (Cairo: Ifao, 1924); *Id.*, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1923 et 1924)* (Cairo: Ifao, 1925); O. Guéraud, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1928)* (Cairo: Ifao, 1929) and M. Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)* (Cairo: Ifao, 1935).

Qur’ānic quotations<sup>53</sup> and a beautiful manuscript preserving an long excerpt from the *Ġāmi‘* of Ibn Wahb (d. 197/813).<sup>54</sup>

P. Hamb. Arab. 68 was framed in glass in 1938 together with papyri catalogued under the reference Inv. 65-135. It remained unnoticed until Naïm Vanthieghem discovered it in March 2011.<sup>55</sup> Neither the inventory book nor the manuscript itself offer hints about its provenance. At most, it can be assumed that it originates from one of five major sites: the Fayyūm, al-Ušmūnayn, al-Bahnasā, Idfū, Armant, and Aswān, where the Hamburg Arabic papyri and paper documents were supposedly found. Given the high proportion of documents from Idfū, the manuscript might very well have been discovered in that town. Whatever its exact provenance, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 is probably the only Qur’ānic manuscript discovered so far in a rural environment.

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We offer here a diplomatic edition of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, alongside a systematic comparison with the reference edition of the Qur’ān (Cairo 1924), following a twofold presentation. The diplomatic study complies with rules typical of papyrological editions, and places unclear or missing words between brackets and semi-brackets. The second presentation, which intends to allow for a smoother reading, follows the style of the *Documenta Coranica* series, which in turn relies on the rules of the *Corpus Coranicum*. Before this edition, the rest of the present introduction aims at proposing an approximate date for the copy based on codicological, paleographical, orthographic, and stylistic analyses.<sup>56</sup> We also offer a few arguments regarding the text’s nature and historical uses. We shall argue that this partial copy of the Qur’ān, which probably included only the second Sūra (The Cow, *al-Baqara*), was most likely produced in the second half of the seventh or the first half of the eighth century CE. The manuscript does not exactly match the *ductus* of the ‘Uṭmānic recension, and the textual discrepancy of the Hamburg papyrus is certainly larger than what can be found in Ḥiḡāzī codices of the seventh century CE.<sup>57</sup> The differences are either

53 For instance the parchment P. IFAO Edfou Arab. Inv. n° 74.

54 J. David-Weill, *Le Djāmi‘ d’Ibn Wahb* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1939-1948). Cf. ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb, *al-Ġāmi‘ fī l-ḥadīth*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥasan Ḥusayn Muḥammad Abū l-Ḥayr (Riyad: Dār Ibn al-Ġawzī, 1995), 2vol.

55 We then had to wait six long years to obtain images and start preparing the present edition.

56 By stylistic characteristics, we mean features like verse dividers and decorative elements.

57 See for instance Sanaa DAM 01-25.1, DAM 01-29.1, Berlin ms.or.fol. 4313 or Tübingen Ma VI 165. We thank Michael Marx for sharing this information with us.

due to copying mistakes or because the manuscript reflects a version of the Sūra that predates the canonization of the Qur'ān. This might explain why this quire, whose text does not precisely match the canonical text, seems to have been discarded at one point.

## 2. Codicology

### 2.1. The form of the codex

Since pharaonic times, papyrus had been used as a writing medium. Originally, books were written down exclusively on the front side of long (several meters) papyrus rolls (*volumina*), which needed to be cautiously unrolled as the reader went. The back of the roll was left blank. For unknown reasons, from the second century CE onwards, the papyrus book appeared in a new codex format, which superseded papyrus rolls in Egypt over the course of the fourth century CE.<sup>58</sup> The codex format, whose diffusion seems to have rapidly increased with the development of Christian literature, consisted of folded sheets forming various types of quires, which each contained a certain number of folios. Unlike in the case of roll-books, both the recto and verso sides of each folio could be used, which presented a significant economic advantage that probably contributed to the dissemination of books as objects and their wider use in different strata of ancient societies.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the invention of the codex led to a veritable revolution in the way books were read and perceived. Browsing texts was much easier in this new format. The reader could now quickly move from one part to another by turning pages, which allowed for step-by-step reading of segments of a book. This also contributed to the emergence of a new conception of books. Whereas papyrus rolls contained the writings of one author only, miscellaneous or composite *codices* appeared, gathering excerpts from works by different authors and of different kinds.<sup>60</sup> Although Muslim scholars continued to use rolls as a writing medium,<sup>61</sup> they usually preferred the codex format for copying

literary works.

P. Hamb. Arab. 68 is an early example of an Arabic codex on papyrus. It is written on dark brown papyrus, sometimes difficult to decipher. Traces of *kolleseis* can be observed, meaning the place where papyrus leaves (*kollemata*) assembled in a roll overlap. Seven damaged bifolia (i.e. twenty-eight pages) have reached us in different states of preservation. The outer half of each bifolio is missing, which suggests that the quire may have been torn in half while closed.

ƒ<sup>o</sup> 1 recto – page 1 [Inv. 68 (7) verso left; 20 × 15.8 cm (↓)]<sup>62</sup> preserves the beginning of verses 21-29. The surface of the papyrus is badly abraded and the text difficult to decipher. A *kollesis* is visible 5.8 cm from the left edge.

ƒ<sup>o</sup> 1 verso – page 2 [Inv. 68 (7) recto right; 20 × 15.8 cm (→)] contains the end lines of verses 30-44, which are still legible.

ƒ<sup>o</sup> 2 recto – page 3 [Inv. 68 (6) recto left; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (↓)] preserves the beginning of verses 45-59, of which only very tiny traces are discernible, for the surface is badly damaged. Traces of a *kollesis* can be observed 9.5 cm from the right edge of the bifolio.

ƒ<sup>o</sup> 2 verso – page 4 [Inv. 68 (6) verso right; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (→)] includes the end lines of verses 59-67. The surface is so abraded that most of the text can no longer be read.

ƒ<sup>o</sup> 3 recto – page 5 [Inv. 68 (5) recto left; 20.3 × 21 cm (↓)] preserves the very beginning lines of verses 68-81.

ƒ<sup>o</sup> 3 verso – page 6 [Inv. 68 (5) verso right; 20.3 × 21 cm (→)] contains the very end lines of verses 81-89.

ƒ<sup>o</sup> 4 recto – page 7 [Inv. 68 (4) recto left; 20 × 18.1 cm (→)] preserves a generous quarter of the right-hand lines of verses 89-102. Although the ink has faded in several places, the text can still be read fairly well.

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with pseudo-historical and apocalyptic content reported by the qadi 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a (d. 174/790). S. Ory, "Un nouveau type de *mushaf*: Les Corans en rouleaux conservés à Istanbul," *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 33 (1965), 87-149; A. D'Ottone Rambach, "Early Qur'ānic Scrolls from the Qubbat al-khazna and their Links with the Christian Manuscript Tradition of Greek-Byzantine Scrolls," *Journal of Late Antique, Islamic and Byzantine Studies*, 1 (2022), 118-132; R. G. Khoury, *'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī'a (97-174/715-790): juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne. Avec l'édition critique de l'unique rouleau de papyrus arabe conservé à Heidelberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986). However, there is an important difference between the use of rolls in Antiquity and their use among Byzantines and Muslims: rolls were no longer written while unrolling the longest side horizontally, but *transversa charta*, i.e. by unrolling the longest side vertically. To distinguish between these two uses, papyrologists usually call the first roll format a *volumen*, while calling the other a *rotulus*.

62 The arrows symbolize the direction of the papyrus fibers. A vertical arrow (↓) means that the text was written perpendicular to the fibers, a horizontal arrow (→) that the text is parallel to the fibers.

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58 On the emergence of early *codices*, see, among others, E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977); C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: British Academy–Oxford University Press, 1983) and J. van Haelst, "Les origines du codex," in A. Blanchard (ed.), *Les débuts du codex. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris, 3 et 4-VII-1985* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 12-35.

59 T. C. Skeat, "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll and the Cost Advantage of the Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 45 (1982), 169-175.

60 J. Chapa, "Book Format, Patterns of Reading, and the Bible: The Impact of the Codex," *Segno e testo*, 16 (2018), 131-153.

61 See for instance several *vellum* manuscripts discovered in the Qubbat al-Khazna in Damascus, as well as a famous Heidelberg papyrus roll collecting traditions

There is a *kollesis* 2.3 cm from the left edge.

¶ 4 verso – page 8 [Inv. 68 (4) verso right; 20 × 18.1 cm (↓)] includes the last quarter of the lines of verses 102-112.

¶ 5 recto – page 9 [Inv. 68 (3) recto left; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (→)] contains the very beginning lines of verses 112-122. Two *kolleseis* are visible, the first one 2.7 cm from the left edge and the other 3 cm from the right edge. The space between these two *kolleseis* is approximately 17.6 cm.

¶ 5 verso – page 10 [Inv. 68 (3) verso right; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (↓)] contains the very end lines of verses 122-133. The text is so badly abraded that only a few letter sequences can be made out.

¶ 6 recto – page 11 [Inv. 68 (2) verso left; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (↓)] preserves the very beginning lines of verses 133-143. The ink has faded considerably and the surface of the papyrus is badly damaged.

¶ 6 verso – page 12 [Inv. 68 (2) recto right; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (→)] includes the very beginning lines of verses 143-149. There is a *kollesis* about 4.8 cm from the left edge.

¶ 7 recto – page 13 [Inv. 68 (1) verso left; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (↓)] contains the first quarter of the lines of verses 150-160.

¶ 7 verso – page 14 [Inv. 68 (1) recto right; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (→)] includes the last quarter of the lines of verses 163-172. There is a *kollesis* 2 cm from the left edge of the bifolio.

¶ 8 recto – page 15 [Inv. 68 (1) recto left; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (→)] preserves the very beginning of the lines of verses 173-181. The papyrus is so badly abraded that hardly any of the text can be read.

¶ 8 verso – page 16 [Inv. 68 (1) verso right; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (↓)] preserves the very end lines of verses 181-187.

¶ 9 recto – page 17 [Inv. 68 (2) recto left; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (→)] includes the beginning lines of verses 187-193, of which only some sequences remain legible.

¶ 9 verso – page 18 [Inv. 68 (2) verso right; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (↓)] preserved the beginning lines of verses 194-202. Only the upper third of the page is preserved.

¶ 10 recto – page 19 [Inv. 68 (3) verso left; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (↓)] contains slightly more than half of the lines of verses 203-214. The beginning of each line is badly abraded.

¶ 10 verso – page 20 [Inv. 68 (3) recto right; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (→)] preserves more than half of the end lines of verses 214-221.

¶ 11 recto – page 21 [Inv. 68 (4) verso left; 20 × 18.1 cm (↓)] includes the first quarter of the lines of verses 221-229.

¶ 11 verso – page 22 [Inv. 68 (4) recto left; 20 × 18.1 cm (→)] preserves the last quarter of the lines of verses 229-235.

¶ 12 recto – page 23 [Inv. 68 (5) verso left; 20.3 × 21 cm (→)] includes half of the lines of verses 235-247. The text is generally well preserved except for a hole in the upper part of the folio.

¶ 12 verso – page 24 [Inv. 68 (5) recto right; 20.3 × 21 cm (→)] contains half the lines of verses 247-256. The text is generally well pre-

served except for a hole in the upper part of the page.

¶ 13 recto – page 25 [Inv. 68 (6) verso left; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (↓)] contains half the lines of verses 256-265. The text is well preserved except for a small hole in the upper part of the page.

¶ 13 verso – page 26 [Inv. 68 (6) recto right; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (→)] includes half the lines of verses 265-277. The text is well preserved except for a small hole in the upper part of the page.

¶ 14 recto – page 27 [Inv. 68 (7) recto left; 20 × 15.8 cm (→)] contains a quarter of the lines of verses 277-285.

¶ 14 verso – page 28 [Inv. 68 (7) verso right; 20 × 15.8 cm (↓)] preserves the end lines of verses 285-286. The Sūra ends with a decorated headband and what might be a final prayer.

The present height of the manuscript's pages corresponds roughly to their original size. The reconstructions of the text that we propose below show that the pages' width must have originally been a little over twenty centimeters. The manuscript could therefore have been roughly square, or slightly rectangular in shape and horizontal in format. The dimensions are those of a modest-sized codex, smaller than large *codices* such as the Parisino-petropolitanus (33 × 24 cm) or Marcel 12 (36.8 × 31 cm).<sup>63</sup>

Table 1. Measurements of the papyrus sheets

	Height	Width
Sheet 1	19.8 cm	18.8 cm
Sheet 2	19.8 cm	15 cm
Sheet 3	20.4 cm	23.5 cm
Sheet 4	20 cm	18.2 cm
Sheet 5	20.5 cm	21.4 cm
Sheet 6	19.8 cm	24.8 cm
Sheet 7	20.1 cm	15.9 cm

The manuscript preserves only Sūra 2, except for verses 1-21, which are missing. As they stand, the seven bifolia form a *septenion*, a quire made up of seven papyrus leaves, comprising 14 folios or 28 pages. Since Antiquity, as a general rule, copyists made sure that the perfibril and transfibril sides of papyrus sheets did not touch each other.<sup>64</sup> The copyist observed these norms only for pages 6-7, 10-11, 14-15, 18-19 and 22-23. However, he did not follow this rule when arranging pages 2-3, 4-5, 8-9, 12-13, 16-17, 20-21, 24-25 and 26-27, where he left perfibril and tranfibril sides in contact with one another. Therefore, the copyist

63 See F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 17, 98.

64 A papyrus sheet is produced from strips that have been cut lengthwise in the

does not seem to have paid particular attention to the arrangement of the leaves. The quire was originally at least one folio longer, in order to accommodate the twenty or so verses missing from the beginning of the Sūra. We do not know whether the missing folio was a single one, or a bifolio (which would mean that the quire was originally an *octonion* rather than a *septenion*). At any rate, the missing folio at the beginning of the quire provided a writing surface much larger than what was required to copy verses 1-21. Notwithstanding hypothetical variants, these verses should have included 986 characters, which means that one single page should have been enough to accommodate them.<sup>65</sup> One may therefore speculate about the actual content of the missing first folio. Did the copyist add the first Sūra (al-Fātiḥa, 139 characters) at the beginning of the quire, perhaps followed by a decorated headband similar to the one on the last page?<sup>66</sup> Even if he did, this would still have left some space, unless the layout of the opening Sūra was more generous than that of the rest of Sūra 2, that is, featuring elongated words or larger margins and interlinear spaces. Perhaps the first page was simply used as a title page, following a practice attested in other papyrus manuscripts.<sup>67</sup>

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inner pith of the papyrus stick. The strips are disposed side by side slightly overlapping, before another layer of similar strips is laid on top, perpendicular to the first layer. The two layers are then compressed, which eventually glues them together into a single sheet. Just as parchment documents have hair and flesh sides, one distinguishes the two sides of papyrus sheets: the perfibril side (where the strips were placed horizontally), and the transfibril side (where the strips were placed vertically). Whenever papyrus sheets were bound into a codex, copyists or scribes avoided placing a transfibril and a perfibril side face to face, which would have damaged the surface of the papyrus.

65 As we shall see below, each page includes an average of 913 signs, with peaks as high as 1236 (page 24).

66 To our knowledge, the earliest Qur'ānic manuscript to preserve traces of the Fātiḥa is DAM 01-25.1 (Ṣan'ā', Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt), paleographically dated to the seventh century CE. See M. Marx (with assistance from J. Sauer), "Sanaa, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt: DAM 01-25.1," in M. Marx (ed.), *Manuscripta Coranica*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, online: <https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/116/page/1v> (accessed on October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2022). Other, eighth-century manuscripts in Kūfi scripts feature the Fātiḥa, although without any headband separation from the second Sūra. See M. Marx (with assistance from S. Cimiotti, E. Mahmutovic, M. Vogt), "Sankt Petersburg, Russische Nationalbibliothek: Marcel 20," in *Ibid.*, online: <https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/521/page/1r> (accessed on October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2022); M. Marx (with assistance from J. Sauer, S. Beridze, S. Franke), "Sanaa, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt: DAM 20-33.1," in *Ibid.*, <https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/114/page/1> (accessed on October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2022).

67 On title pages preserved on papyrus, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Une

Two parallel rows of perforations, approximately 2.5 cm apart, are still apparent on the sheets. They provide evidence that the bifolia were bound together at some point.

Verses 21 to 286 of the Sūra of The Cow represent roughly 7 % of the Qur'ānic text. We can therefore estimate that the copyist could copy 1 % of the entire *muṣḥaf* on two leaves (that is, one bifolio) on the average.<sup>68</sup> Thus, if P. Hamb. Arab. 68 represents one isolated quire of a manuscript that encompassed the entire Qur'ān, the original, entire manuscript should have been about 200 folios (100 bifolia). Considering that a papyrus sheet is not thicker than 0.50-0.75 mm, the manuscript as a whole should not have been more than 10-15 cm thick, without taking into account the binding.<sup>69</sup>

The upper margin of each page is relatively narrow, measuring between 0.8 and 1.3 cm, whereas the lower margin is always larger, between 1.8 and 2 cm. No margins are preserved on the external sides of the bifolia. A central margin of 6 cm separates each double page, which suggests the original existence of a roughly 3 cm margin on both sides of each page. François Déroche has shown that the earliest manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script left no margins at all and argued that margins were introduced into Qur'ānic manuscripts only with al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf's reform under Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705). This so-called "*maṣāḥif* project," may have resulted in an increased width of the *codices*.<sup>70</sup> One could therefore conclude that the Hamburg manuscript was copied after this reform, if it ever took place. However, Déroche's observation, which relies on parchment manuscripts, may not apply to papyrus manuscripts.<sup>71</sup> Papyrus was much more fragile

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œuvre inconnue," 677; M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Un traité de droit mālikite égyptien redécouvert," 332-333.

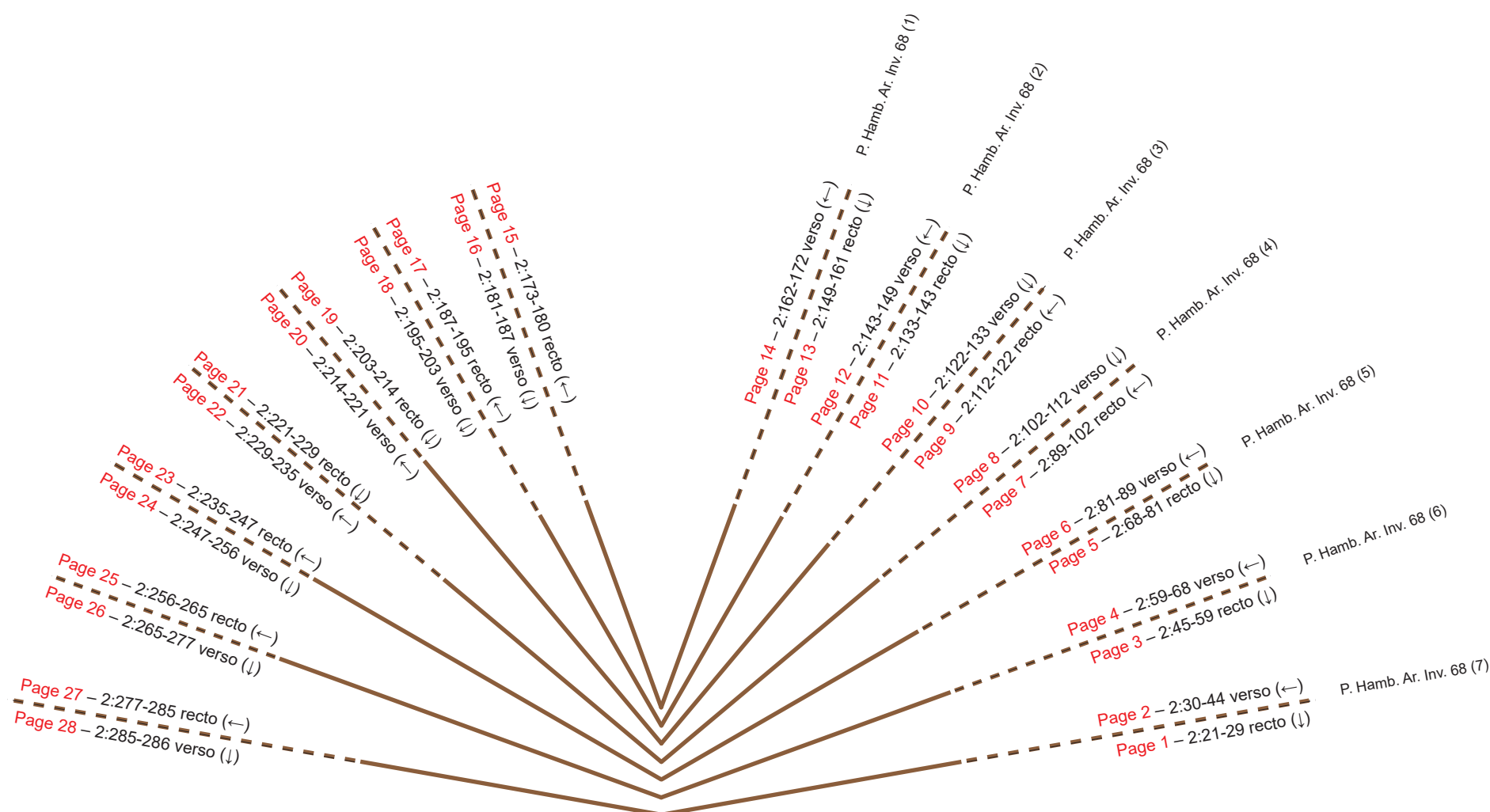
68 The calculation is as follows: verses 21 to 286 occupy 57 pages of Denise Masson's bilingual edition out of a total of 825 pages, or 6.9%. For similar counting exercises, see F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 23 and Y. Dutton, "Two 'Ḥiǧāzī' Fragments of the Qur'an and Their Variants, or: When Did the *Shawādh* Become *Shādhdh*?" *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 8 (2017), 1-56, esp. 15-16.

69 N. M. Waly, "Papyrus and Papyrus-like Paper Sheets, their Quality in Relation to Anatomical Features," *Taeckholmia*, 21 (2001), 135-141.

70 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 66, 139.

71 A manuscript like Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek Ma VI 165, whose parchment leaves have been carbon-dated to the second half of the seventh century CE, suggests that other formats may have been in use concurrently to large Ḥiǧāzī codices. M. Marx (with assistance from T. J. Jocham, S. Beridze, K. Weigle, and J. Sauer), "Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek: Ma VI 165," in M. Marx (ed.) *Manuscripta Coranica*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, online: <https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/17/verse/35/>

Fig. 1. Diagram of the quire (broken lines represent the missing parts of each folio)



than parchment, and the absence of any margins may have led to rapid, significant textual losses. It is therefore possible that papyrus manuscripts already had sizeable external margins before al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ's supposed reform, and the presence of margins in the Hamburg manuscript cannot be regarded as a reliable dating clue.

The text covers 12 to 17 lines per page, most often 13 or 14 lines. The reconstruction of the missing parts of each page, on the basis of the 1924 Cairo edition (which has served as the reference edition par excellence in Western scholarship since the 1950s),<sup>72</sup> suggests that

the number of characters per line was very different from one page to another. Some lines bear only thirty characters whereas others have eighty to ninety, with an average of sixty-two characters per line. Some of these variations result from the fact that the copyist occasionally introduced wider spaces between words and elongated certain letters. From page 22 to page 27, both the number of characters per line and the number of lines per page increase significantly (graph 2). We shall examine later how one may interpret this phenomenon.

## 2.2. Paleography

The Sūra was apparently copied by a single, experienced scribe using a relatively fine pen. The script is regular and smooth, and offers a

manuscripts/107/page/1r (accessed on October 17, 2022). This early date has however recently been challenged by S.J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an*, p. 85.

<sup>72</sup> As Asma Hilali points out, comparison between ancient manuscripts and this modern edition, based only on one single reading of the Qur'an among others, has only a heuristic value. The modern edition cannot be presumed to cor-

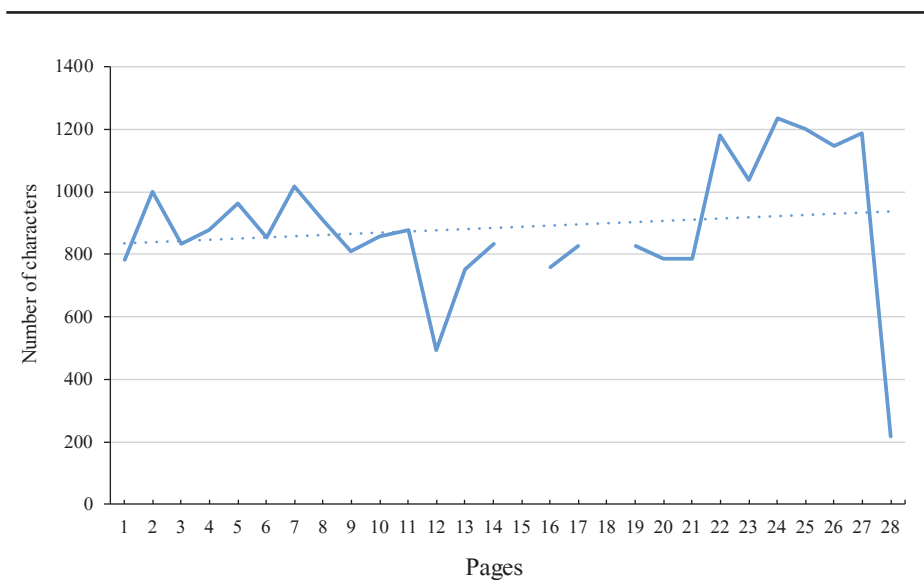
respond exactly to the historical 'Uṭmānic *ductus*. See A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 22.

contrast between strong and weak strokes. Alifs are generally curved and incline to the right by a 15° to 25° angle from the vertical. They sometimes incline slightly to the left. In isolated positions, they often bear a slight rightward bend at the base. Most of the time, the tooth of *bā'*, *tā'* and *ṭā'* inclines to the left (except when in middle position), forming an angle of about 45°. Letters *ǧīm*, *ḥā'* and *ḥā'* form a 45° angle to the basic script line, and when in final position, they end on a curved tail, particularly pronounced in certain instances. When in middle position, the junction between the oblique and the base of the letter goes slightly below the line. Letters *dāl* and *dāl* consist of a narrow curve that ends at the top in a small hook turning towards the right. Letters *rā'* and *zāy* feature the shape of a crescent moon. Letters *ṭā'* and *zā'* bear a right slanting ascender that extends below the line when written in final position. Initial *ʿayn* and *ǧayn* adopt a wide, rounded shape, whereas in middle and final positions, these letters look like either a circle with a flattened top or the upper part an x whose base is intersected by a horizontal line. Final *qāf* consists of a loop and a tail that dips vertically well below the line before curving to the left. Initial and medial *kāfs* feature a deep and narrow curve that looks like a half ellipse and end at the top with a small hook turning towards the right. When in final position, it forms a 45° angle extended by a short vertical line. Initial and medial *lāms* are either straight or curved and leaning to the right. In the final position, they tend to incline to the left and dip below the line. The final *mīm* consists of a circle with an oblique and short descender. Final *nūns* are often expanded and tend to go deep below the line. When unconnected to the right, they adopt a more rounded shape. The first loop of initial and medial *hā's* is wide and slightly angular in shape. Finally, the final *yā'* either adopts the shape of a printed Latin “s”, or ends with a long backward tail to the right.

Many features of this script, especially the slender, inclining appearance of many letters, are typical of Ḥiǧāzī style. Although the categorization of Ḥiǧāzī types remains problematic,<sup>73</sup> the handwriting of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 seems to be related to Ḥiǧāzī scripts identified in parchment *codices* like Arabe 328a/b (Paris) and Or. 2165 (London). The letters' relatively blocky shape recalls features of “Ḥiǧāzī III style” as defined by Déroche (although the latter appears more geometric). Although Déroche dates this script to the second half of the second/eighth century,<sup>74</sup> recent carbon-dating results suggest that it might have already been in use in the first/seventh century CE.<sup>75</sup> Other features

such as the distinctive form of final *ṭā'* (whose descender goes below the line) echo early Ḥiǧāzī scripts, such as hands A and B in the Parisino-petropolitanus codex, or even handwritings found in first/seventh century Arabic documents.<sup>76</sup> Also noteworthy is the shape of the final *qāf*, whose final tail in the earliest Arabic scripts looks like a Latin “s”. Similarly, the word *Allāh* adopts two distinct forms, one of which seems particularly archaic (Table 3). Initial *alifs* and *lāms* incline slightly to the right, while final *lāms* and *hā's* are vertical or slant slightly to the right. These features, which can be observed in documents dating back to the first fifty years after the conquest of Egypt, no longer appear in late first/seventh and early second/eighth century papyri. For example, in Qurra b. Šarīk's (ca 90-91/709-710) letters, the *alifs* of *Allāh* always incline to the right at an angle of 15° to 25° from the vertical, while the two *lāms* and the *hā'* incline towards the left.<sup>77</sup> In the letters of the pagarch (ʿāmil) Nāǧid b. Muslim to ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad (ca 111/730), all these letters incline to the left in *Allāh*.<sup>78</sup>

Graph. 1. Number of characters per page



73 See F. Déroche, *Qurʾāns of the Umayyads*, 7-11.

74 F. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qurʾāns of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD* (London: Nour Foundation, 1992), 28-29.

75 M.J. Marx and T.J. Jocham, “Zu den Datierungen von Koranhandschriften

durch die <sup>14</sup>C-Methode,” 33-36.

76 Early Qurʾānic scripts should be more systematically compared with those of early Arabic papyri. Specialists on the Qurʾān generally cite only the same two papyri (P. Berol. Inv. 15002 and P. Vindob. Inv. G 39726). See for instance A. George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Saqi, 2010), 28.

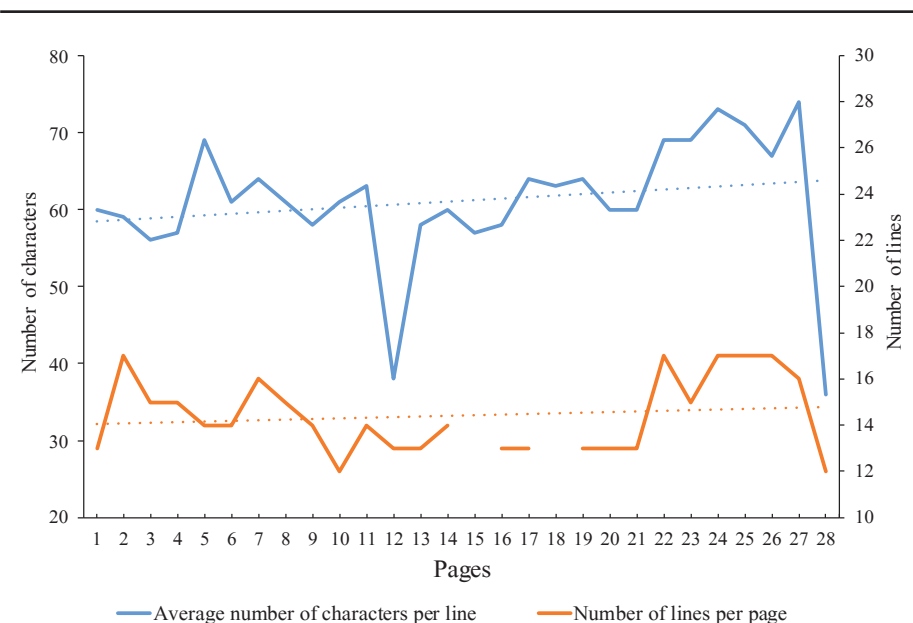
77 See for instance *P. Heid. Arab.* I 1 and 2.

78 *P. Muslim State* 1, 2, and 11.

Table 2. Paleography of P. Hamb. Arab. 68

Final letters	Medial letters	Initial letters	Isolated letters	Letters
١١١١	—	—	١١١١	ا
ثـ	ثـ	ثـ	ثـ	ب ت ث
حـ	حـ	حـ	حـ	ج ح خ
دـ	—	—	دـ	د ذ
رـ	—	—	رـ	ر ز
سـ	سـ	سـ	سـ	س ش
صـ	صـ	صـ	صـ	ص ض
طـ	طـ	طـ	—	ط ظ
عـ	عـ	عـ	—	ع غ
فـ	—	—	فـ	ف
قـ	قـ	قـ	—	ق
كـ	كـ	كـ	—	ك
لـ	لـ	لـ	لـ	ل
مـ	مـ	مـ	مـ	م
نـ	—	—	نـ	ن
هـ	هـ	هـ	هـ	ه
وـ	—	—	وـ	و
يـ	—	—	—	ي
لا	لا	—	—	لا

Graph. 2. Number of characters per line and of lines per page

Table 3. Three archaic paleographical features in P. Hamb. Arab. 68<sup>79</sup>

P. Hamb. Arab. 68	Parisino-petropolitanus (Hand A)	Parisino-petropolitanus (Hand B)

These archaic features suggest that P. Hamb. Arab. 68 could date back to the seventh century CE, despite appearing to use a more advanced Ḥiḡāzī script than the earliest Qur'ānic *codices* on record. This conclusion agrees with the orthographic characteristics of the manuscript.

<sup>79</sup> The letters or words extracted from P. Hamb. Arab. 68, of which a facsimile is provided here, appear on page 27, 2: 282 (*tā'*), on page 6, 2: 89 (*qāf*) and page 23, 2: 235 (*Allāh*). The facsimiles of two handwritings in the Parisino-petropolitanus codex are based on those given in F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 185-194.

### 3. Copying the Qur'ānic Text

#### 3.1. Orthography

##### 3.1.1. The consonantal ductus

The 'Uṭmānic recension of the Qur'ān allows many orthographic variations, some of which were collected and recorded early on.<sup>80</sup> For example, the name Ibrāhīm is spelled with a *yā'* in verse 125 (إبراهيم),<sup>81</sup> and without a *yā'* three lines later, in verse 127 (إبرهم).<sup>82</sup> Qur'ānic manuscripts in Ḥiḡāzī script usually alternate these two spellings, sometimes even a few words apart.<sup>83</sup> Like other Qur'ānic *codices* dated to the Umayyad period, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 often adopts a so-called defective spelling.<sup>84</sup> The copyist never wrote the *hamza* and skipped some *alifs* that one finds in the Cairo edition (Table 4).

Generally speaking, the spelling appears less defective than in many ancient Ḥiḡāzī manuscripts and, regarding a few words, even less than in the 1924 Cairo edition. For instance, the word *ḡannāt*, in verse 25, appears in *scriptio plena*, with an *alif*, whereas it is written today in *scriptio defectiva*, without an *alif*. Such preference for *scriptio plena* also applies to several key-words the spelling of which specialists in the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition have studied in detail. The verbs *qāla* and *qālū*, for example, are almost systematically written with an *alif*, whereas the earliest Ḥiḡāzī manuscripts prefer a defective

<sup>80</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 429.

<sup>81</sup> This first instance is therefore less defective than the current spelling of Ibrāhīm in Sūra 2 (1924 Cairo edition).

<sup>82</sup> According to al-Dānī (d. 444/1053), the spelling إبراهيم matches the Kūfa and Damascus traditions, and only appears in Sūra 2. Al-Dānī, *al-Muqni' fi ma'rifat marsūm maṣāḥif ahl al-amṣār*, ed. Nūra bint Ḥasan b. Fahd al-Ḥumayyid (Riyad: Dār al-tadmuriyya, 2010), 537-8. See also T. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 401; F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 60, and K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011), 50-54. The grapheme *yā'* might render /ī/ as well as /ē/ and /ā/. While *alifs* at places where one finds a long vowel /ā/ in the common text are often but not always missing in ancient manuscripts, *yā'* transcribing /ī/ is always present (according to Michael Marx, *per literas*). Therefore, the existence of both spellings (إبراهيم and إبراهيم) in the Qur'ān suggests that the *yā'* in the second spelling transcribed /ā/ and that the name was pronounced "Abraham." On the spelling of Ibrāhīm in the Qur'ān, see also M. van Putten, "Hiṣām's 'Ibrāhām': Evidence for a Canonical Quranic Reading Based on the *Rasm*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 30 (2020), 231-250.

<sup>83</sup> K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 53.

<sup>84</sup> A "defective spelling" is only "defective" compared to the 1924 Cairo edition. Compared to early orthographic standards, this kind of spelling was perfectly normal.

Table 4. The use of *alifs* as a *mater lectionis* for a long vowel /ā/

Missing <i>alifs</i> (present in the 1924 Cairo edition)			Extra <i>alifs</i> (absent in the 1924 Cairo edition)		
Verse	P. Hamb. Arab. 68	1924 Cairo edition	Verse	P. Hamb. Arab. 68	1924 Cairo edition
2:62	هدوا	هادوا	2:25	جنات	جنت
2:87	عيسى بن مريم	عيسى ابن مريم	2:145	بكل اية	بكل اية
2:125	مقم	مقام	2:109	شاي	شيء
2:145	بتبع	بتابع	2:113	شاي	شيء
2:151	يتلو	يتلوا	2:219	الايات	الآيات
2:186	عبدي	عبادي	2:231	ايات	آيت
2:214	البسا	البساء	2:251	ذوا	ذو
2:217	قتل (x2)	قتال	2:252	ايات	آيت
2:217	اخرج	إخراج	2:255	بشاي	بشيء
2:220	تخالطوهم	تخالطوهم	2:259	شاي	شيء
2:229	فامسك	فامسك	2:264	شاي	شيء
2:235	النكح	النكاح			
2:236	لاجنح	لاجنح			
2:240	اخرج	إخراج			
2:245	اضعفا	أضعفا			
2:246	القتل	القتال			
2:249	طلوت	طالوت			
2:249	بجلوت	بجالوت			
2:250	اقدما	أقدما			
2:256	انفصم	انفصام			
2:259	خوية	خاوية			
2:259	قل	قال			
2:259	حمرك	حمارك			
2:261	سنبل	سنابل			
2:264	صفون	صفوان			
2:265	مرضت	مرضات			
2:266	اصبه	أصابه			
2:270	انصر	أنصار			
2:273	المجهل	المجاهل			
2:273	الحفا	إلحفا			
2:282	كتب	كاتب			
2:282	رجلكم	رجالكم			

spelling.<sup>85</sup> The only occurrence of *ʿadāb* in our manuscript appears in *scriptio plena*, a spelling that appeared at an early stage in Qur'ānic manuscripts and cannot therefore be used to date the copy.<sup>86</sup> Out of four occurrences, the term *āyāt* appears three times in *scriptio plena* and once in *scriptio defectiva*. Conversely, the earliest manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script usually adopt a defective spelling for this word.<sup>87</sup>

According to Déroche, the use of *scriptio plena* to copy the Qur'ān developed during the Marwānid period.<sup>88</sup> If we follow his periodization, the preferential use of *scriptio plena* for those words might therefore suggest that the copying of the Sūra occurred after the first generation of manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script, that is, after around 695. However, Déroche's results have recently been challenged by M. van Putten, who argues that *scriptio defectiva* and *scriptio plena* already coexisted in the earliest Qur'ānic manuscripts and depended on the scribe's choice.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, Marx and Jocham note that four Qur'ānic manuscripts on parchment, carbon-dated to the seventh century CE, have medial *alifs* in the words *ǧannāt* and *qāla*.<sup>90</sup> The large number of *alifs* in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 may therefore not reveal the date of its copying. Likewise, the preposition *ʿalā* consistently appears with an *alif maqṣūra*, a spelling in use both in the seventh century and during the early decades of the eighth century CE, whereas some early Abbasid Qur'āns spell the word with an *alif mamdūda* instead.<sup>91</sup> This feature probably excludes

the possibility that the manuscript is an Abbasid copy but does not help one to decide between the seventh and the early eighth century.

Other spelling characteristics might be more significant. The consonantal *ductus* contains two important archaic features that are typical of the seventh century: (1) The word *šay'* incorporates, on five occasions, an *alif* between the *š* and the *yā'*, which corresponds to the earliest form of this word (see Table 5).<sup>92</sup> (2) Similarly, the only occurrence of *dū* adopts the ancient spelling which ends with an *alif al-wiqāya*.<sup>93</sup>

Table 5. Spelling of key Qur'ānic words in P. Hamb. Arab. 68

	<i>Scriptio defectiva</i>	<i>Scriptio plena</i>
<i>qāla</i>	2:259	2:33, 54, 67, 124, 243, 247, 258, 259 (3×), 260 (2×)
<i>qālū</i>		2:91, 93, 248
<i>ʿadāb</i>		2:96
<i>āyāt</i>	2:187	2:219, 231, 252, 266 (?)
	Archaic spelling	Spelling at the end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> century
	على	علا
<i>ʿalā</i>	2:90, 97, 169, 204, 233, 236, 241, 251, 253, 259 (2×), 264, 286	
	شاي	شي
<i>šay'</i>	2:109, 113, 255, 259, 264	2:148 (?)
	ذوا	ذو
<i>dū</i>	2:251	

85 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43. See also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 36-39. *Qāla* is only written *qala* in verse 259. Although only the final *lām* remains, a ligature extending on the right side of this letter is still visible, which rules out the presence of an *alif*. It is worth remarking that the three legible instances of *al-nās* also include a medial *alif*.

86 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 61; F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43, 51.

87 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43.

88 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 113, 120, 123. See also E. Cellard, "Les manuscrits coraniques anciens," 694.

89 M. van Putten, "The Grace of God' as Evidence for a Written Uthmanic Archetype: The Importance of Shared Orthographic Idiosyncrasies," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 82 (2019), 271-288, esp. 284. See also Sanaa DAM 01-25.1, dated to the first/seventh century on paleographical grounds, which contains *alifs* for long /ā/ before al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ's reform. See M. Marx (with assistance from J. Sauer), "Sanaa, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt: DAM 01-25.1," in M. Marx (ed.) *Manuscripta Coranica*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, fol. 1v, l. 4 (الصالح), l. 14 (فزادهم الله), l. 22 (وما كانوا). Online: <https://corpuscoranicum.de/de/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/116/page/1v> (accessed on October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2022).

90 M. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," 215.

91 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 50, 109. See also K. E. Small, *Textual*

*Criticism*, 45. To describe these letters, we must unfortunately use a terminology which actually appeared at a later stage, and which was intended to establish grammatical and spelling standards that did not exist at the time the first Qur'ānic manuscript were copied.

92 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43; Y. Dutton, "Two 'Ḥiǧāzī' Fragments," 11, 29. See also Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 429, in which the author regards the spelling شاي as one of the characteristic features of Ibn Mas'ūd's codex.

93 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 69, 118. See also M. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," 208.

The Hamburg manuscript thus apparently displays contradictory spelling features. On the one hand, the presence of a relatively high number of *alifs*, especially in the verb *qāla*, suggests that the copy was written after the earliest *codices*, which feature a more defective spelling. According to the Islamic tradition, *alifs* were added into a series of ambiguous words like *qāla* only towards the end of the seventh century CE, in order to differentiate them from conjugations such as the imperative *qul*.<sup>94</sup> If we accept this tradition, the manuscript should be interpreted as a product of the early eighth century CE. On the other hand, archaic spellings such as *šāy* suggest an earlier dating in the seventh century CE. However, these contradictions may only be superficial. The Qur'ānic manuscript tradition does not preserve any tangible trace of a sudden evolution of orthography which would be connected to the “*maṣāḥif* project” under ‘Abd al-Malik. Carbon-dating results suggest, if we accept them, that *alifs* may have been introduced in Qur'ānic manuscripts at an earlier stage, already in the seventh century CE. P. Hamburg. Arab. 68 might date back to the second half of the seventh century, unless we are being deceived by a deliberately conservative copy and by the preservation of orthographic archaisms.

### 3.1.2. Diacritical dots

The Hamburg manuscript bears traces of diacritical dots that are not always easy to spot, as some pages have been damaged or contaminated by the soil in which they were buried. Despite the incomplete state of the manuscript, consonantal dots are attested 444 times, in over 300 words. They adopt three different forms: single dots, double dots arranged vertically or slightly diagonally (according to an archaic practice),<sup>95</sup> and finally, in a few instances, three dots arranged either horizontally or in a pyramidal pattern. The letter *qāf* is signaled by a single dot on the top (a tradition that was preserved in Maghribi script), whereas *fā* is indicated by a dot below the letter.<sup>96</sup> The use of consonantal diacritics features few divergences from the Cairo edition. Only two mistakes appear: in verse 150, where the relative adverb *ḥaytu* is dotted حيت instead of حيث, and in verse 249, where one reads *ni-l-ḡunūd* instead of *bi-l-ḡunūd*.

The use of diacritics is consistent with previous observations in other contemporary or earlier Qur'ānic manuscripts. On average, 25% of the preserved letters that are expected to have dots feature diacritical

dots. Some letters are more consistently dotted than others, such as *nūns* and *yā*'s (Table 6), a phenomenon that has been observed in other Ḥiḡazī manuscripts.<sup>97</sup> Compared to other graphemes, the over-representation of diacritics on the letters *šīn* and *zā*' may be explained by the fact that both *šāy*' and words derived from the root *z.l.m*, regularly mentioned in Sūra 2, often bear diacritical dots (see below).

Table 6. The use of diacritics (letter by letter)

Letter	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances <sup>98</sup>	%
<i>bā</i> '	41	195	21 %
<i>tā</i> '	85	228	37 %
<i>tā</i> '	5	33	15 %
<i>ḡīm</i>	9	33	27 %
<i>ḥā</i> '	9	52	17 %
<i>dāl</i>	9	68	13 %
<i>zāy</i>	3	17	18 %
<i>šīn</i>	11	40	27.5 %
<i>dād</i>	4	30	13 %
<i>zā</i> '	5	18	28 %
<i>ḡayn</i>	2	18	11 %
<i>fā</i> '	30	181	17 %
<i>qāf</i>	27	117	23 %
<i>nūn</i>	120	446	27 %
<i>yā</i> '	84	328 <sup>99</sup>	27 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>1804</b>	<b>25 %</b>

Prepositions and particles (Table 7), especially the most common ones, are regularly provided with diacritics (27 % of the total number of dotted letters). For example, the particle *īyyā*- systematically bears dots, while the conjunction *id* and the preposition *inda* are diacriticized in 60 % of instances. The same is true for affixes (Table 9), whether prefixes, infixes or suffixes, as well as for personal and demonstrative pro-

94 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 140.

95 In papyrus documents, this practice does not seem to have survived into the second/eighth century.

96 On the distinction between *fā*' and *qāf* using different types of diacritical dots in early Qur'ānic manuscripts, see K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 70.

97 See F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 31-55.

98 Only preserved parts of the manuscript are considered in this table. We do not take into account restorations.

99 This figure includes unpointed *yā*'-s and *alif*-s *maṣūra*-s in the 1924 Cairo edition. This has however a minimal impact on the statistics.

nouns (Table 8). These three categories alone account for more than half of the total of letters bearing consonantal diacritics.

Table 7. Most dotted particles and prepositions

Particle / preposition	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
<i>id / idā</i>	5	15	33 %
<i>an / in / inna</i>	19	51	37 %
<i>bayna</i> <sup>100</sup>	2	3	66 %
<i>bi-</i>	11	39	28 %
<i>‘alā</i> <sup>101</sup>	7	16	44 %
<i>‘an</i>	2	7	29 %
<i>‘inda</i>	3	5	60 %
<i>fa-</i>	14	58	24 %
<i>fī</i> <sup>102</sup>	5	23	22 %
<i>min</i>	12	57	21 %
<i>īyyā-</i>	2	2	100 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>30 %</b>

Table 8. Most dotted pronouns

Pronoun	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
<i>alladīna</i>	7	21	33 %
<i>man</i>	4	18	22 %
<i>antum</i>	2	5	40 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>25 %</b>

Table 9. Most dotted affixes

Category	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%	
Inflexion of conjugated verbs	Perfect 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. (type <i>فعلنا</i> )	5	12	42 %
	Perfect 2 <sup>nd</sup> m. pl. (type <i>فعلتم</i> )	6	19	32 %
	Imperfect 2 <sup>nd</sup> m. sg. (type <i>تفعل</i> )	2	44	5 %
	Imperfect 3 <sup>rd</sup> m. sg. (type <i>يفعل</i> )	13	48	27 %
	Imperfect 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. (type <i>نفعل</i> )	4	6	66 %
	Imperfect 2 <sup>nd</sup> m. pl. (type <i>تفعلون/تفعلوا</i> )	12	37	32 %
	Imperfect 3 <sup>rd</sup> m. pl. (type <i>يفعلون</i> )	1	18	6 %
	Derivated forms	Infixe form V (type <i>تفعل</i> )	3	7
Infixe form VIII (type <i>افتعل</i> )		10	17	59 %
Pronouns	Sufix pronoun 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. (type <i>علينا</i> )	5	16	31 %
External plurals	Flexional ending <i>-āt</i> (type <i>فعالات</i> )	11	18	61 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>21 %</b>	

All verbal, as well as nominal and adjectival, roots may bear consonantal dots. Most dots are added to roots that should not have been particularly ambiguous to eighth-century learned people (Tables 10-11). This applies, for example, to the roots *q.w.l.*, *‘.m.n.*, *q.t.l.*, *š.y.’* and *h.y.r.*, which are fairly straightforward. Certain roots are systematically dotted (especially the verbal uses of *n.z.l* and *f.d.l.*, and the nominal uses of *f.r.q.*, *h.y.y* and *q.d.s*). Finally, in very rare instances, common proper names or group names such as *Ibrāhīm*, *Isrā’īl* and *našārā* are provided with diacritical dots.

100 Only the *yā’* bears diacritical dots.

101 Only instances in which a pronoun follows *‘alā*, with a *yā’* replacing the *alif maqṣūra*, are taken into account

102 The *fā’* is dotted twice, and the *yā’* four times.

Table 10. Diacritization of the most attested verbs<sup>103</sup>

Root	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
ʿ.t.y	4	14	29 %
ʿ.h.d	2	6	33 %
ʿ.m.n	5	10	50 %
t.b.ʿ	1	5	20 %
ǧ.y.ʿ	2	4	50 %
z.l.m	2	4	50 %
f.d.l	2	2	100 %
q.t.l	5	8	62.5 %
q.w.l	8	30	27 %
k.w.n	3	16	30 %
n.z.l	2	2	100 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>45 %</b>

The words which are most often provided with diacritical dots are, surprisingly, those whose *ductus* is the most straightforward and, very often, the most recognizable at first glance. Diacritical dots were not added to disambiguate the *ductus* (except perhaps in a few rare cases), as Andreas Kaplony argued regarding documentary papyri and, more recently, Adam Bursi regarding the Parisino-petropolitanus codex.<sup>104</sup> The use of dots in P. Hamburg. Arab. 68 matches orthographic trends of the late seventh and early eighth century.

### 3.2. Variations and corrections

Besides four missing portions to which we shall turn later,<sup>105</sup> the text

<sup>103</sup> Only diacritical dots appearing on one of the letters of the root are taken into account.

<sup>104</sup> A. Kaplony, “What are those Few Dots for? Thoughts on the Orthography of the Qurra Papyri (709-710), the Khurasan Parchments (755-777) and the Inscription of the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock (692),” *Arabica*, 55 (2008), 91-112; A. Bursi, “Connecting the Dots: Diacritics, Scribal Culture, and the Qurʾān in the First/Seventh Century,” *Journal of the International Qurʾānic Studies Association*, 3 (2018), 111-157.

<sup>105</sup> See § 3.3.

of the Sūra preserves traces of 37 secondary textual variations: 35 “additions” or “subtractions” with regard to the spelling of the Cairo edition of 1924, one case of word fusion (*fī mā* spelled as one word *fīmā*) and one case of *wāw* in the papyrus against *fāʿ* in the Cairo edition (Q 2:286).<sup>106</sup>

Table 11. Diacritization of the most common names and adjectives

Root	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
ʿ.d.n	2	2	100 %
ʿ.n.s	3	13	23 %
b.ʿ.d	1	3	33 %
b.n.w	2	4	50 %
h.y.y	1	1	100 %
h.y.r	5	14	36 %
š.y.ʿ	2	6	33 %
f.t.n	1	1	100 %
f.r.q	2	2	100 %
q.d.s	1	1	100 %
n.b.y	3	3	100 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>45 %</b>

Most of these spelling variations are not recorded in literary sources about Qurʾānic spelling.<sup>107</sup> Several are quite straightforward. In verse 282, the absence of a *yāʿ* in *šahīd* might merely be the result of a de-

<sup>106</sup> Pointing out that the concept of Qurʾānic “variants” derives from a literary tradition that appeared in the second/eighth century, Asma Hilali prefers the term “variations,” which allows for a more general perspective on the fluidity of the Qurʾānic *ductus* in the first/seventh century (A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 44-45).

<sup>107</sup> A systematic search was carried out based on the book of A. Muḥtār ʿUmar and ʿA.-ʿĀ. Sālim Makram, *Muḥam al-qirāʾāt al-qurʾāniyya* (Kuwait: Dāt al-salāsīl, 1988), 8 vols, as well as on the database *al-Maktaba al-šāmīla* (<http://shamela.ws/>).

fective spelling.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, in verse 269, the scribe wrote *yataḍakkaru* instead of *yaddakiru* in the 'Uṭmānic recension, which seems a deliberate choice not to assimilate the *tā*' of the V<sup>th</sup> form with the *dāl* of the root.

Table 12. Qur'ānic variations

Verse	1924 Cairo edition	P. Hamb. Arab. 68
2:42	ولا تكتموا الحق	ولا تكتمون الحق
2:48	نفس عن نفس	نفسا عن نفس
2:83	وآتوا الزكوة	واتوا الزكو
2:85	وإن يأتوكم أسرى تفدوهم	وإن يأتوكم أسرى تفدونهم
2:91	قل فلم تقتلون انبياء الله	قل فلم تقتلوا انبياء الله
2:93	وإذ أخذنا	فاذ اخذن
2:96	هو بمزحزحه	هو بمزحزه
2:106	ما ننسخ من آية أو ننسها نات بخير	ما ننسخ من آية أو ننسها نات بخير
2:109	أنفسهم من بعد ما	انفسهم لم من بعد ما
2:120	ولئن اتبعت أهواءهم	ولاين اتبعت أهواءهم
2:146	وإن فريقا منهم	[وإن فر]يق منهم
2:163	لا إله إلا هو	لا إليه الا هو
2:164	من كل دابة	من كل دابة
2:165	ظلموا إذ يرون	ظلموا اذا يرون
2:184	أياما معدودات فمن كان منكم مريضا	أياما معدودات فمن كان منكم مرنييا
2:187	عفا عنكم فالن	عفا عنكم ولن
2:214	الذين خلوا من قبلكم	الذين خلوا ممن قبله
2:215	وابن السبيل وما تفعلوا من خير	وابن السبيل وما تفعلون من خير

Verse	1924 Cairo edition	P. Hamb. Arab. 68
2:217	ومن يرتدد منكم	ومن يرتد منكم
2:219	يسلونك	سلونك
2:222	فإذا تطهرن فاتوهن	فاذا طهرن فاتوهن
2:226	فإن فاعو فإن الله	فان فاوا فان الله
2:230	فلا تحل له	فلا يحل له
2:240	فلا جناح عليكم في ما فعلن	فلا جناح عليكم فيما فعلن
2:253	ولو شاء الله ما اقتتل الذين	ولو شا الله ما اقتتل وا الذين
2:253	ولو شاء الله ما اقتتلوا ولكن	ولو شا الله ما اقتتل ولكن
2:258	في ربه أن آتاه الله الملك	في ربه ان اتاه الله الملك
2:259	ولنجعلك آية للناس	ولنجعلنك اية للناس
2:262	في سبيل الله ثم لا يتبعون	في سبيل الله ثم لم يتبعون
2:268	والله يعدكم مغفرة	والله يعدكم بمغفرة
2:269	فقد أوتي خيرا كثيرا وما يذكر إلا أولو الألباب	فقد اوتي خيرا كثيرا وما يتذكر الا اولو الالباب
2:271	وإن تخفوها وتؤتوها	وإن تخفوها وتوتونها
2:275	إلا كما يقوم الذي يتخبطه الشيطان	الا كما يقوم الذين يتخبطه الشيطان
2:280	تصدقوا خيرا لكم إن كنتم تعلمون	تصدقوا خيرا لكم إن كنتم تعلمون
2:282	شهداء من رجالكم	شهداء من رجالكم
2:282	جناح ألا تكتبوها	جناح الا تكتبوه
2:286	فانصرنا على القوم	وانصرنا على القوم

Conversely, other variations do not seem supported by any grammatical justification. The *tanwīn* in the direct case of *naḥsan 'an naḥsin* (verse 48), instead of *naḥsun 'an naḥsin*, perhaps derives from a contamination by several close words that bear the same inflection mark (*yawman*, *ṣay'an*). Verse 275 reads *allaḍīna yataḥabbaṭu-hu l-ṣayṭān*,

108 This spelling is mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, *Ġāmi' al-bayān fī tāwīl āy l-Qur'ān*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṣākīr (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-risāla, 2000), 6: 67.

here possibly again by contamination of a recurring plural relative pronoun in this part of the text. It introduces a grammatical mistake, though, as one would then expect *yataḥabbatu-hum*. The negation *lā* is replaced by a *lam* in verse 262, without the verb *yutbi'ūna* being conjugated in the apocopate form as one would expect from the perspective of Classical Arabic. In verse 271, the copyist seems to have written *tu'tūna-hā* instead of *tu'tū-hā*. Conversely, in verse 91, he wrote *taqtulū* instead of the *taqtulūna* as recorded in the 1924 edition, which suggests either a Middle Arabic influence or a different reading of what precedes. This verse reads today *qul fa-lima taqtulūna anbiyā'a llāhi* ("Say to them: 'Why then did you kill previous prophets of God...?"). The flexion of the verb in the manuscript might suggest that the scribe instead read *qul fa-lam taqtulū anbiyā'a llāhi* ("Say to them: 'You did not kill previous prophets of God..."). This reading and interpretation, however, is not attested elsewhere. In verse 146, the absence of direct case *tanwīn* in *fariq* might suggest that the preceding word was not *inna*. However, in the absence of other clues, it may be better to regard this variation as a mere scribal mistake, as is the addition of an *alif* of *tanwīn* at the end of *ḥayr* in verse 280.

The term *dābba* in verse 164 is spelt with two teeth after the *alif*, suggesting a duplication of the letter *bā'* instead of the expected *šadda*. More difficult to understand are, in verse 184, the two teeth that replace the expected *ḍād* in the word *marīḍan*, all the more since a diacritical dot above the first tooth indicates that it should be read *nūn* instead of *yā'*. Similarly, verse 258 includes an extra word, *a.l.n.*, which hardly makes any sense and whose presence is not recorded among the variants in non-ʿUṭmānic *codices*.

Most additions and omissions do not change the meaning of the text. For instance, verse 165 reads *idā* instead of *id*. In verse 215, the conjugation of *taf'alū min ḥayrin* (in the 1924 Cairo edition) is replaced by *taf'alūna min ḥayrin*, which does not modify the meaning in any way. Missing teeth at the beginning of *yas'alūna-ka* (verse 219) and *taṭaharna* (verse 222) seem pure copy mistakes. An intensive *nūn* is introduced, in verse 259, in the verb *nağ'alanna-ka* (*nağ'ala-ka* in the 1924 edition). In verse 268, the term *mağfira* is preceded by the particle *bi-*, probably under the influence of the beginning of the sentence, where this preposition appears in a parallel structure.

Only two spelling variations detected in P. Hamburg. Arab. 68 are recorded by the literary tradition. In verse 42, the flexion of *taktumūna* (instead of *taktumū* in the 1924 Cairo edition) matches the Qur'anic recension by ʿAbd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (d. 32/653).<sup>109</sup> Further-

more, verse 106 reads [*aw*] *nunsi-hā na'tī bi-ḥayr* [*min-hā*], adding a *yā'* to the *ductus* of *nunsi-hā* as recorded in the 1924 edition. This additional *yā'* could match the reading of the Medinan scholar Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib (d. 94/713) as reported in the *Sunan* of Sa'īd b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥurāsānī (d. 227/842).<sup>110</sup> However, the issue debated in the *Sunan* is primarily whether to read *nunsi-hā* or *nansā-hā*, as Ziyād b. Ayyūb al-Ṭūsī al-Bağdādī (d. 252/866) suggested.<sup>111</sup> The Islamic tradition reports other variant readings of this verb: *nansa'-hā*,<sup>112</sup> *tansā-hā*, *tansa'-hā*, *tunsā-hā*, *tunsa'-hā*, *nunsi'-hā*, *nunassi-hā*.<sup>113</sup> Although the copyist carefully added two diacritical dots under the *yā'*, his version comes closest to the (anonymous) reading *nunsi'-hā*.

Several variations that are not recorded by the Islamic scholarly tradition actually affect the meaning of the text. In two instances (verses 93 and 286), an interchange of the linking particles *wa-* and *fa-* leads to a slight alteration, insofar as the latter connotes succession or consequence whereas the former serves more strictly as a coordination tool.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, verse 187 reads *wa-lan* instead of *fa-l-āna*. In the 1924 Cairo edition, the meaning of the segment *fa-l-āna bašīrū-hunna* is rendered as "But now go in and lie with [your wives]" in Tarif Khalidī's translation. The verse started previously by stating that men are allowed to have sexual intercourse with their wives during the night following a fasting day, before an interruption stating that God has forgiven the Qur'ān's addressees their mistakes. Unfortunately, the word following *wa-lan* on the next line of the manuscript is missing. If not a mere deformation of *wa-l-āna* on account of *scriptio defectiva*, one could possibly interpret *lan* as the negation particle of a verb conjugated in the future tense, and expect [*tubāšīrū-hunna*] on the next line. This would lead to an opposite meaning to that of the 1924 Cairo edition: "You shall not lie with [your wives]."

110 Sa'īd b. Maṣṣūr, *Sunan Sa'īd b. Maṣṣūr*, ed. Sa'īd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Ḥumayyid (n.p.: al-Alūla, n.d.), 597.

111 See Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siğistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 398, where the dispute appears without any *yā'* being added to the *rasm*. About this character, see al-Ḍahabī, *Ta'rīḥ al-islām wa-wafāyāt al-maṣāḥir wa-l-a'lām*, ed. Baššār ʿAwwād Ma'rūf (Beirut: Dār al-ğarb al-islāmī, 2003), 6: 85-6.

112 These variant readings are assigned to Ibn Kaṭīr, Abū ʿAmr, ʿUmar, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAṭā, Muğāhid, Ubayy b. Ka'b, al-Naḥāʿī, ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, etc. See A. Muḥtār ʿUmar and ʿA. ʿĀ. Sālīm Makram, *Muğam al-qirā'āt al-qur'āniyya*, 1: 99.

113 A. Muḥtār ʿUmar and ʿA. ʿĀ. Sālīm Makram, *Muğam al-qirā'āt al-qur'āniyya*, 1: 99-100. See also entries about Q 2:106 in: M. Marx (ed.), *Variae Lectiones Coranicae*, published by Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, <https://corpuscoranicum.de/lesarten/index/sure/2/vers/106> (accessed on 30 October 2019).

114 See K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 80.

109 A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an. The Old Codices* (Leiden: Brill, 1937), 26; A. Muḥtār ʿUmar and ʿA. ʿĀ. Sālīm Makram, *Muğam al-qirā'āt al-qur'āniyya*, 1: 53.

Verse 214 offers the variant reading *alladīna ḥalaw mimman qabla-hu* instead of *alladīna ḥalaw min qabli-kum* in the 1924 Cairo edition. This is traditionally understood as “Or do you reckon you will enter the Garden without undergoing that which befell *those who came before you?*” However, the verse as it appears in the Hamburg manuscript should be translated, “Or do you reckon you will enter the Garden without undergoing that which befell *those who came before him?*” The substitution of *mimman* for *min* does not affect the meaning of the verse. However, the interchange of the suffix pronouns *-kum* and *-hu* suggests that the individuals being referred to at the time this verse was revealed are not the Qur’ān’s addressees, but rather an unnamed individual. The previous verse (213) does not mention anyone in the singular. Instead, it refers to ancient prophets (*nabiyyīn*) whom many failed to believe. Given this context, the pronoun *-hu* could refer to the prophet who conveys the word of God at the time of the revelation, *viz.* Muḥammad.

Towards the end of verse 282, the copyist wrote *allā taktubū-hu* where the 1924 Cairo edition reads *allā taktubū-hā*. The change in the suffix pronoun creates some confusion, for the feminine *-hā* refers to the term *tiḡāra* (“commercial deal”) mentioned a few words before. In the situation of an “immediate transaction deal” between two individuals, there is no blame in not writing it down. Conversely, the masculine pronoun *-hu*, already used in association with the verb *kataba* at the beginning of the verse, refers to the word *dayn* (“debt”). The verse specifically enjoins the writing down of debts. The masculine pronoun used here could imply an exception for debts where the 1924 Cairo edition only exempts people from writing down contracts reached on the spot.

In a few places, the copyist corrected his mistakes.<sup>115</sup> In verse 159, for instance, he wrote first *mā anzala*, then modified the final *lām* in order to add the first person plural ending (*mā anzal-nā*).<sup>116</sup> The scribe also made a mistake at the beginning of verse 216, where he started to write *kātaba* instead of *kutiba*. In verse 220, a crossed-out sequence suggests that the words *fa-iḥwānu-kum* had originally been copied twice.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, a few corrections are actually mistaken. It seems that in verse 226, the *alif al-wiqāya* of *wa-in fā’ū* was added afterwards, thereby introducing a variation. Another misplaced correction also produces a variation. In verse 253, the expression *law šā’ llāh* appears

twice in a row, followed by the verb *iqṭatala*, which is conjugated the first time in the masculine singular and the second time in the masculine plural in the 1924 Cairo edition. Here, however, the scribe first wrote the verb twice in the singular. Later, someone (perhaps the same copyist) added the two missing letters, *wāw* and *alif al-wiqāya*, but on the wrong line, correcting the first instance instead of the second one.

Table 13. Corrections in P. Hamb. Arab. 68

Verse	1924 Cairo edition	After correction of the rasm	Original rasm
2:33	بأسمائهم	باسمايهم	بسمايهم (?)
2:159	ما أنزلنا	ما انزلنا	ما انزل
2:216	كتب	كتب	كاتب
2:220	فاخونكم	فاخونكم	فاخونكم فاخونكم
2:226	فإن فاءو	فان فاوا	فان فاو
2:253	ولو شاء الله ما اقتتل الذين	ولو شا الله ما اقتتلوا الذين	ولو شا الله ما اقتتل الذين
2:267	أنفقوا	انفقوا	انفق

Some of these variations, especially those that apparently violate classical Arabic grammar, may thus appear to be copyist’s mistakes.<sup>118</sup> They can often be explained by the contamination of surrounding textual elements, that is, the influence of other words in the verse. It is nevertheless striking that, with few exceptions, these mistakes were never corrected, not to mention that one of the few corrections is wrong if compared to the 1924 Cairo edition. Therefore, one cannot rule out that some of these variations actually reflect a pre-canonical version of the Qur’ān that was not recorded by the scholarly tradition. The Hamburg manuscript could thus testify to a certain fluidity in the details of the consonantal text (*rasm*), perhaps dating back to an *exemplar* that predated the ‘Uṭmānic common text, from which it was copied. It is also possible that at the time of the scribe’s copying, minor modifications were somehow acceptable.

115 On corrections in Qur’ānic manuscripts, see K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 95-102, and D. A. Brubaker, *Corrections in Early Qur’ān Manuscripts. Twenty Examples* (Lovettsville: Think and Tell Press, 2019).

116 On some corrections to a Birmingham fragment, see Y. Dutton, “Two ‘Hijāzī’ Fragments,” 31 sq.

117 However, it cannot be ruled out that another word was written in its stead.

118 On similar copyist mistakes, see K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 65-66.

Fig. 2. Correction of *\*mā anzalnā* in 2:159Fig. 3. Correction of *\*iqtatalū* in 2:253

### 3.3. Omissions

Although no verse has been fully preserved due to the lack of each page's outer edge, the reconstruction of the Sūra's text reveals several important omissions compared to the 'Uṭmānic recension. These omissions are much more significant than omissions found so far on palimpsests.<sup>119</sup> It should be emphasized that the manuscript, as it has reached us, bears no sign of correction of these omissions, neither between the lines nor in the margins.

(1) The first omission is the most uncertain. The end of page 12 features the beginning of the word *masǧid*, as expected in the middle of verse 149. The beginning of the next page does open with the expected word, *al-ḥarām*. However, it does not continue with the rest of verse 149, but with the second half of verse 150. It appears, therefore, that

the scribe omitted the second half of verse 149 and the first half of verse 150. The lower margin of page 12 is higher than in other places, and the condition of the manuscript does not allow us to be entirely sure that what appears to be a lacuna was not written on a last line that has now been completely erased. However, page 13, which was facing page 12, offers an equally generous lower margin. Furthermore, what might appear to be a few traces of very faded ink at the bottom of page 12 is too far to the left, out of alignment with the rest of the text. Despite this degree of uncertainty, the most likely hypothesis is that the scribe committed a *homeoteleuton* (in French, *saut du même au même*), a mechanical copyist's error that is common in premodern manuscripts. During the constant back and forth of his eyes between the original work and its copy, his eyes would skip from one word to the same word on a later line and he would go on copying without realizing that he had just omitted one or several lines. In this case, the repetition at a 16-word interval of the terms *al-masǧid al-ḥarām* may have been a source of confusion and led the careless scribe, when turning the page of his quire, to skip directly to verse 150. This hypothesis suggests the following restitution (the text in bold indicates the section the scribe apparently omitted):

ومن حيث خرجت فول وجهك شطر المسجد الحرام وإنه للحق  
من ربك وما الله بغفل عما تعملون (١٤٩) ومن حيث خرجت فول  
وجهك شطر المسجد الحرام وحيث ما كنتم فولوا وجوهكم شطره  
لئلا يكون للناس عليكم حجة إلا الذين...

(149) From any place you leave, turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque. **It is indeed the Truth from your Lord; God is not unaware of what you do.** (150) From any place you leave, turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque. In any place you may be, turn your faces towards it, so that people can have no argument against you...

The missing portion of the text is an excursus that justifies the prayer's direction, in a context of polemics regarding a change in the direction of the *qibla*.<sup>120</sup> This omission does not affect the understanding of the text, since it consists of a simple gloss interrupting its progression, followed by its reiteration in order to resume the main idea. The reader of the manuscript would thus have understood verse 149 and the beginning of verse 150 as follows:

119 Omissions in Qur'anic palimpsests (whose text, in essence, was destroyed by scraping, presumably because it did not correspond to the canonical version) usually amount to one or two words. See for example A. Mingana and A. Smith Lewis, *Leaves from Three Ancient Qur'ans Possibly Pre-'Othmānic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), xl; A. Fedeli, "Early Evidences of Variant Readings in Qur'anic Manuscripts," in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (ed.), *The Hidden Origins of Islam. New Research into its Early History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2010), 314-315, 318, 324. See also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 67, 83-84.

120 See C. A. Segovia, "Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache)," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (ed.), *Le Coran des historiens* (Paris: Cerf, 2019), 2: 55-129, esp. 92.

(149) From any place you leave, turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque. (150) In any place you may be, turn your faces towards it, so that people can have no argument against you...

(2) The last legible word on page 13 is the verb *atūbu* (verse 160), while the first legible words on page 14 are [*wāḥi*] *d lā ilāh illā huwa* (verse 163). The preservation of a lower margin on page 13 and an upper margin on page 14 provides evidence that no lines are missing. Yet the two portions of text do not leave enough room for the end of verse 160, for verse 161, verse 162, and the beginning of verse 163. The word *'alay-him* is repeated in verses 160 and 161, which suggests that the copyist mistook the latter for the former, and missed thereby the end and beginning of these two verses:

اوليك يلعنهم [الله ويلعنهم اللعنون (١٥٩) إلا الذين تابوا وأصلحوا  
وبينوا فأولئك] اتوب عليهم وأنا التواب الرحيم (١٦٠) إن الذين  
كفروا وماتوا وهم كفار أولئك عليهم [لعنة الله والملائكة والناس  
أجمعين] (١٦١)

(159) ... those God shall curse, and all who curse shall curse them (160) – except for those who repent and reform their conduct and proclaim their faith. These I shall forgive. And I am All-Forgiving, Compassionate to each. (161) Those who blaspheme and die as unbelievers, upon them shall descend the curse of God, of the angels and of all mankind.

The lack of a significant part of the text is puzzling here. If our reconstruction is correct, the meaning of this passage, which also relates to the prayer's direction, is not deeply altered here either. The omission actually coincides, again, with a break in the narrative progression of the text. God, who has been referred to in the third person just a few words before, suddenly intervenes in the first person singular. Yet, if we exclude the omitted passage, the suffix pronoun in *'alay-him* refers to “those [whom] God shall curse” (that is, at the beginning of verse 159, to “those who suppress what We brought down of evident signs and Guidance”) and not to “those who blaspheme and die as unbelievers.” This creates an abrupt return to the cursed ones after a detour to repenting people, a return that is not very satisfying from a syntactical point of view. This version of the Qur'ānic text would thus require a revision of Tarif Khalidi's translation as follows:

(159) ... those God shall curse, and all who curse shall curse them (160) – except for those who repent and reform their conduct and proclaim their faith. These I shall forgive. Upon those (?) shall descend the curse of God, of the angels and of all mankind.

(3) The hypothesis of *homeoteleuton* is also possible on page 19, where the manuscript leaves no doubt: a significant part of verse 213 as it appears in the 1924 Cairo edition is missing. The repetition of the verb *iḥtalafa/ū fi-hi*, some fifteen words apart, suggests that the copyist unintentionally skipped an entire portion of the verse, and resumed his copying after the second instance of the verb instead of the first. This allows for the following reconstruction:

[كان ال]ناس امة وحدة فبعث الله ال[لنبيين مبشرين ومنذرين وأنزل  
معهم الكتب بالحق ليح[كم]م[م] بين الناس فيما اختلفوا [فيه وما  
اختلف فيه إلا الذين أوتوه من بعد ما جاءتهم البينات بغيا بينهم  
فهدى الله الذين ءامنوا لما اختلفوا فيه من الحق بإذنه والله يهدي  
[م]ن يشا [إلى] صر[ط] مستقيم (٢١٣)

(213) Mankind was one community. Then God sent forth prophets as heralds of glad tidings and as warners, and sent down with them the Book with the Truth in order to judge among mankind matters in which they disputed. **But there disputed concerning it only those to whom the Book was revealed and after clear signs were sent to them. They did so out of covetousness. Then God guided the believers to the truth regarding which they differed, by His leave. God guides whom-ever He wills to a path that is straight.**

Here again, if the proposed reconstruction is correct, the omitted part of the verse represents an excursus, which specifies that the “disputes” or “disagreements” referred to at the beginning of the verse involved monotheists who had a revealed Book and who experienced theological disagreements.<sup>121</sup> This omission modifies the scope of the verse which, without this excursus, would make no explicit reference to theological controversies between monotheists. Just before the omitted passage, the main idea is indeed that the Book of God makes it possible to render justice and to settle disputes, as in other verses (3:23; 4:105; 5:47; 24:48, 51). As it appears in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the verse merely means that the Book which God revealed to the prophets represents the main reference source on which to base justice:

(213) Mankind was one community. Then God sent forth prophets as heralds of glad tidings and as warners, and sent down with them the Book with the Truth in order to judge among mankind matters in which they disputed *regarding the truth*, by His leave. God guides whomever He wills to a path that is straight.

121 See C. A. Segovia, “Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache),” 101.

(4) A final omission is even more striking. On page 20, verse 219 (well known as one of the main sources for the prohibition of wine and gambling in Islam)<sup>122</sup> begins as in the ‘Uṭmānic recension with *yasʿalūna-ka*.<sup>123</sup> However, instead of continuing with ‘*an*’ as one would expect, the copyist wrote *mā* at the end of the line, undoubtedly the first syllable of the word *mādā* that should occur fifteen words further. The preserved portion of the next line shows that the scribe went directly to the end of the verse, skipping its central part that mentions wine and gambling:

﴿يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الْخَمْرِ وَالْمَيْسِرِ قُلْ فِيهِمَا إِثْمٌ كَبِيرٌ وَمَنَافِعٌ لِلنَّاسِ  
وَإِثْمُهُمَا أَكْبَرُ مِنْ نَفْعِهِمَا وَيَسْأَلُونَكَ مَا إِذَا يُنْفِقُونَ قُلِ الْعَفْوَ كَذَلِكَ  
يَبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَفَكَّرُونَ (٢١٩)﴾

(219) They ask you about wine and gambling. Say: ‘In them both lies grave sin, though some benefit, to mankind. But their sin is more grave than their benefit.’ They ask you what they shall spend. Say: ‘The surplus of possessions.’ Thus does God make clear His signs to you. Perhaps you will reflect.

Despite uncertainties due to the reconstruction, there is no escaping the conclusion that the verse, as it appears in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, is dedicated solely to financial issues. It should be noted that the verb *yunfiqūn* already appears in verse 2:215. Verses 215-220 intertwine the issue of war effort with that of charity, so that a sudden allusion to wine (*ḥamr*) and gambling breaks the narrative logic of the text somewhat. Without the omitted portion, the verse fits more logically into the whole section:

(219) They ask you what they shall spend. Say: ‘The surplus of possessions.’ Thus does God make clear His signs to you. Perhaps you will reflect.

## 4. The manuscript’s decoration

### 4.1. Verse separation

As Anton Spitaler has shown on the basis of literary traditions, breaks between verses supposedly varied according to regional systems. According to the scholarly literature, verse divisions of the Qur’ānic text

122 The Qur’ān has two other passages related to wine consumption, one calling for not performing the prayer while drunk (4:43), the second calling it (like gambling) an abhorrence and the work of Satan (5:90-91).







123 Although the initial *yāʿ* of the verb is missing, as we saw above in the list of variant readings.

were different in Mecca, Medina, Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus.<sup>124</sup> The Hamburg manuscript displays a division system that is only partially compatible with these descriptions.

#### 4.1.1. Decade dividers

The first type of verse marker consists of two concentric circles, one of which is closed and the other dotted. Six examples of this type occur in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, all of which were inserted into the text during the copying process (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Ten-verse markers

2:100	2:172	2:221	2:241	2:262	2:281
					

These are apparently ten-verse markers standing for the rosettes that can be found in other manuscripts to separate every ten verses. The Hamburg manuscript follows a different numbering from that of the 1924 Cairo edition. Yet, given its fragmentary state, the logic followed by the copyist in that respect is unclear. The table below (Table 14), based on Spitaler’s work, shows where ten-verse markers were supposed to be inserted according to the main verse numbering traditions, focusing on the places where the manuscript preserves dividers. While we shall add the numbering of the 1924 Cairo edition in the full transliteration of the manuscript, we restore here the presumed numbering of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 based on the preserved ten-verse markers.<sup>125</sup>

Table 14 shows that the verse count in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 does not match any system recorded by the Islamic tradition. The break at verse

124 A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung* (Munich: C. H. Beck), 1935. For example, the *basmala*, which is not counted as a verse in the 1924 Cairo edition, was regarded as a verse on its own by the Kūfans and the Meccans, but not by others (see Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur’ān*, 94). The letters *alif-lām-mīm* with which Sūra 2 begins counted as a verse only in the Kūfan tradition (see al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ‘add āy l-Qur’ān*, ed. Gānim Qaddūrī al-Ḥamad [Kuwait City: Markaz al-maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-turāṭ wa-l-watā’iq, 1994], 140). On the different types of verse-ending markers, see also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 89-93.

125 The verse numbering in the last column of the table (P. Hamb.) is therefore different from that inserted in our edition, which corresponds to the numbering of the 1924 Cairo edition.

100 fits the Kūfan system, which could mean that the letters *alif-lām-mīm* were counted as a verse.<sup>126</sup> The break at verse 170 does not agree with any system (the Kūfans and Baṣrans inserted a break two verses before, the Syrians and the people of Hijaz one verse before). Verse 220 matches the Baṣran numbering and one of the Damascene systems. The break of 240 is consistent with the counting of the same Damascene system. At the end of verse 260, the break matches the second Damascene system as well as a Meccan one. Finally, the numbering of verse 280 is consistent with one of the Damascene traditions, one of the Meccan and both of the Medinese.

The lack of correlation between the system of the Hamburg manuscript and those described by literary traditions is not surprising. Keith Small has already demonstrated that no early Qur'ānic manuscript follows one of those systems in a consistent manner.<sup>127</sup> Yet, in the case of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the discrepancy with the recorded systems might be partly caused by the absence of portions of verses 149-150 and 160-161 (as numbered in the 1924 Cairo edition, see above). Therefore, one cannot rule out the possibility that these two pairs of verses were counted as one, which might have contributed, when reaching number 170, to a two-verse shift with respect to the Kūfan numbering which may have originally been followed from the beginning.

Originally, ancient Qur'ānic manuscripts in Ḥiḡāzī script did not include ten-verse markers, an observation that is supported by traditions according to which some Companions and Successors objected to the addition of such markers in the Qur'ānic text.<sup>128</sup> Whenever they bear such dividers, these were added by later hands.<sup>129</sup> The insertion of ten-verse markers while P. Hamb. Arab. 68 was being copied may suggest therefore that this manuscript does not belong to the earliest generation of Qur'ānic manuscripts, but was rather copied at a time when the use of this kind of divider became widespread.

#### 4.1.2. Verse-ending markers

In addition to ten-verse markers, a series of short dashes, arranged in columns along a rectangular pattern, separate two verses.<sup>130</sup> As evi-

denced from a marker at the end of verse 34, the scribe had not originally left any space for these dividers, which were added after the completion of the copy.<sup>131</sup> It is impossible to say at this point whether these dashes were inserted by the copyist himself or by someone else, such as a reader or the owner of the manuscript. At any rate, this device compares with similar dividers observed in other Ḥiḡāzī manuscripts.

Only four verse-ending markers can be identified in the manuscript, three of which appear on page 2 and the fourth on the next page. A hole in the papyrus at the end of verse 104 might have taken out a fifth marker. These four dividers all match places identified as verse endings in the 1924 Cairo edition.

The bulk of the Sūra, however, bears no trace of verse-ending markers. Yet, despite the damaged state of the manuscript, one would expect to find a greater number of such dividers. The end of verses 55, 60, 114, 215, 218, 219, 251, 255, 259, 260, 265, 266, 270 and 273 are all extant (mostly written in the middle of a line), and yet no verse-ending marker is visible there. Such absences might be explained, in some cases, by the hypothetical existence of a break at another place in the verse, which would not be preserved in the manuscript. For instance, the Baṣran tradition makes verse 114 stop after *illā ḥā'ifīn*, a word which is missing on the papyrus.<sup>132</sup> Similarly, the first Medinese system as well as the Meccan system ends verse 219 after *yunfiqūn*, also missing in the manuscript.<sup>133</sup> The second Medinese system, as well as the Meccan and Baṣran systems, insert a break in verse 255 after *huwa l-ḥayy al-qayyūm*.<sup>134</sup> However, these possible variations do not explain the absence of markers in all other instances whose division is not controversial in the Islamic tradition. The most likely conclusion is therefore that the addition of verse-ending markers on the manuscript was left unachieved. It seems that after verse 49, the reader (if not the copyist) who undertook to add these dividers gave up his efforts.

126 One would nevertheless expect in this case a ten-verse marker at the end of verses 60 and 140, which is not the case in the manuscript. It is therefore likely that deviations from the Kūfan count occurred both before and after verse 100.

127 K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 90-92.

128 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *Muṣannaḡ*, 4: 322.

129 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 67, 83; E. Cellard, "Les manuscrits coraniques anciens," 698. For such later additions see also Ms BnF Inv. Arabe 331, as well as Ms. London Inv. Or. 2165.

130 For a typology of such markers, see F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*, 1983, 27. See also F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 67, 83.

131 On this phenomenon, see Y. Dutton, "Two 'Ḥiḡāzī' Fragments," 19.

132 Al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī 'add āy l-Qur'ān*, 140. On the systems of division of the Qur'ānic text into verses, see in particular I. Rabb, "Non-Canonical Readings of the Qur'an: Recognition and Authenticity (The Ḥimṣī Reading)," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 8 (2006), 84-127, esp. 87-8.

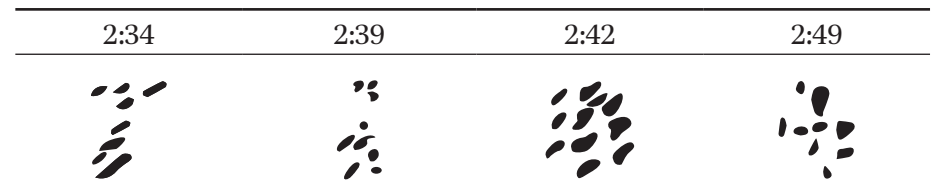
133 Al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī 'add āy l-Qur'ān*, 140.

134 Al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī 'add āy l-Qur'ān*, 140.

Table 14. Ten-verse cuts  
(according to A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung*, 32-33)<sup>135</sup>

Last word of the verse	1924	K	B	Sa	Sb	Ma	Mb	I	II	P. Hamb.
يومنون	100	100	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	100
يعلمون	101	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101 ?
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
يهتدون	170	170	170	169	169	169	169	169	169	168 ?
يعقلون	171	171	171	170	170	170	170	170	170	169 ?
تعبدون	172	172	172	171	171	171	171	171	171	170
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
حكيم	220	220	219	219	218	218	217	218	218	219 ?
يتذكرون	221	221	220	220	219	219	218	219	219	220
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
حكيم	240	240	240	239	238	238	237	238	238	239 ?
المتقين	241	241	241	240	239	239	238	239	239	240
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
حكيم	260	260	261	259	258	259	258	259	259	258 ?
عليم	261	261	262	260	259	260	259	260	260	259 ?
يخزنون	262	262	263	261	260	261	260	261	261	260
حليم	263	263	264	262	261	262	261	262	262	261 ?
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
تعلمون	280	280	281	279	278	279	278	279	279	279 ?
يظلمون	281	281	282	280	279	280	279	280	280	280
ولا شهيد	○	○	○	○	○	○	280	○	○	281 ?
عليم	282	282	283	281	280	281	281	281	281	282 ?

Fig. 5. Verse-ending markers



#### 4.2. Other markers

A last type of sign appears only once in the manuscript. It is not made up of a series of oblique dashes arranged in columns, but of five or six dots in no apparent order, at the end of line 6 on page 14. This sign, which occurs in the middle of verse 166, after a preposition (*min*), can in no way represent a verse-ending marker.

The text on this page is not left-justified, except for the first four lines. Line 6 is especially short. A possible explanation might therefore be that these dots were intended to fill the gap at the end of the line, to indicate that nothing was missing, and to protect the text from possible additions.

Fig. 6. Line-ending marker



#### 4.3. Sūra-ending headband

The Sūra of The Cow ends with a decorated headband, drawn in a black ink whose composition is different from that used in the rest of the manuscript<sup>136</sup>. Of this decoration, there remains only two scrolls formed by three approximately concentric circles. This headband did not cover an entire line, as in some post-Ḥiḡāzī Qur'ānic manuscripts,<sup>137</sup> but only the end of the last line of the Sūra, in order to seal off the text and prevent any additions.<sup>138</sup> The last line of the Sūra included only three words, which suggests that the strip was originally longer and was made up of three or four sets of concentric circles.

The simple, clumsy design of this strip contrasts with the elaborate illuminations of the lavish surviving Umayyad manuscripts on parchment, which feature intricate vegetal and geometric patterns or architectural elements, such as a twisted column depicted on Ms. Saint

135 Sigla: K = Kūfa; B = Baṣra; Sa = Damascus?; Sb = Damascus?; Ma = Mecca?; Mb = Mecca?; I = Medina I; II = Medina II; P. Hamb. = P. Hamb. Arab. Inv. 68.

136 We thank Claudia Colini (University of Hamburg) for sharing this information based on a multi-spectral analysis of the manuscript.

137 See F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 85 and fig. 19-25.

138 Cf. F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 127-8.

Petersburg NLR Marcel 13 (fol. 1a).<sup>139</sup> According to François Déroche, such scrolls at the end of Sūras appeared during the reign of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, when al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf oversaw his famous reform of the Qur'ānic codex.<sup>140</sup>

Fig. 7. Sūra-ending headband



Although it can be compared in both its shape and function to these other Sūra dividers, this strip was executed in a much cruder manner. In some respects, it is more reminiscent of roughly crafted strips depicted on early manuscripts in Ḥiḡāzī script. The design of this decoration can be compared, for example, with a decorative strip found on the Cambridge Lewis-Mingana palimpsest, which preserves a series of six concentric circles drawn in a more skillful hand, in black and orange ink. According to Alain George, this palimpsest may be dated to the second half of the seventh century, or even to the first decades of the Hegira.<sup>141</sup> Such comparison, however, remains somewhat difficult. The Hamburg manuscript, of a much less sophisticated execution than luxurious *codices* copied on parchment, perhaps merely adopted a cheap decorative style designed for its audience.<sup>142</sup>

## 5. P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in context

### 5.1. Origin and copying process

This manuscript of the Sūra of The Cow was most likely prepared by a copyist from a written model (an *exemplar*), and did not result from a dictation process.<sup>143</sup> Comparing the spelling and the few decorative elements to reports recorded by the Islamic tradition allows some hypotheses as to the date of this copy.

According to Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siḡistānī (d. 316/928), the Qur'ānic

*ductus* remained defective until the end of the seventh century CE. The practice of expanding *qāla* and *kāna* with *alifs* to distinguish those forms from *qul* and *kun* reportedly began with the governor of Iraq 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (d. 67/686).<sup>144</sup> The Baṣran commission supposedly assembled around 84-85/703-704 by al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf and led by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728)<sup>145</sup> is also believed to have been responsible for the addition of headbands between Sūras and the introduction of diacritical dots in order to distinguish consonants with similar *ductus* (even though such dots had been known since the mid-seventh century CE).<sup>146</sup> This commission also reportedly generalized the use of rows of dashes as verse-ending markers, as well as the use of ten-verse markers, which originated in the Kūfan and Medinese teaching methods of the Qur'ān.<sup>147</sup> Our manuscript features the widespread adoption of *scriptio plena* for key terms such as *qāla* and *qālū*, and uses ten-verse markers as well as a decorated headband marking the end of the Sūra. When considered in light of the Islamic literary tradition, these features suggest that the Hamburg manuscript may have been copied around the time of the reform carried out under Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) at the turn of the eighth century CE, or just after, in the first half of the eighth century.

Conversely,<sup>148</sup> C analyses suggest so far that manuscripts in Ḥiḡāzī script might date back to the seventh century, even when they include a relatively large number of *alifs*. Several features of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 point in the same direction. First, the text's paleographic characteristics remain close to seventh-century scripts. Second, the copy contains several orthographic archaisms, such as the spelling of *šay'* and *dū*. Third, the sparing use of verse-ending markers, added after the copy was completed without the copyist having left any room to insert them, could also point toward a pre-reform dating.

In view of these contradictory features, deciding between an early date tracing P. Hamb. Arab. 68 back to the second half of the seventh century, and a later dating to the first half of the eighth century CE, is difficult. As we argued earlier, it largely depends, in the end, on how

139 See F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 85 and fig. 25.

140 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 140.

141 A. George, "Le palimpseste Lewis-Mingana de Cambridge, témoin ancien de l'histoire du Coran," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 155 (2011), 377-429, esp. 395-6, 403-4 (fig. 7).

142 Regarding the text that follows the ending strip, see *infra*, § 5.2.2.

143 On this point, our conclusion is in line with that of M. van Putten, "'The Grace of God' as Evidence for a Written Uthmanic Archetype," 279.

144 Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siḡistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 462.

145 O. Hamdan, "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project: A Step Towards the Canonization of the Qur'ānic Text," in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (ed.), *The Qur'ān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 775-835, esp. 796-7, 801.

146 O. Hamdan, "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project," 807-9. According to Ch. J. Robin, the addition of diacritical dots to the *rasm* dates back to the very beginning of the Islamic period, before the advent of Caliph Mu'āwīya. See Ch. J. Robin, "La réforme de l'écriture arabe à l'époque du califat méridional," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 59 (2006), 157-202, esp. 341-345.

147 O. Hamdan, "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project," 816-7.

much credence one gives to the Islamic tradition and the reforms it ascribes to key figures such as ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf. Considering the substantial variations compared to the canonical version of the Qur’ānic text, and the fact that it could be a stand-alone quire containing only the Sūra of The Cow, as we shall see, the Hamburg manuscript may conceivably have been written down in the second half of the seventh century CE, before the reform attributed to ‘Abd al-Malik’s governors. Conversely, one cannot rule out that the Hamburg manuscript exhibits residual archaic features and dates back to a conservative copyist of the early eighth century CE.<sup>148</sup>

Produced on papyrus rather than parchment, this manuscript of modest size and minimal decoration was obviously not a ceremonial *muṣḥaf* designed for public use, but rather a private copy. François Déroche has argued that individuals probably began, “from an early date,” to own copies of the Qur’ān.<sup>149</sup> Nicolai Sinai observes that, according to al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1506), private copies of the Qur’ān multiplied after ‘Abd al-Malik’s reform. Al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ’s codex was allegedly disseminated in secondary towns (*qurā*).<sup>150</sup> Whether from the late seventh or early eighth century, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 might be one of the few witnesses to such a dissemination of the Qur’ānic text to a wide audience on a cheap medium.

Where this copy was prepared is difficult to say. Given the history of the papyri’s acquisition, which we discussed above, the manuscript was most likely discovered in Upper Egypt, perhaps in Idfū, where other literary manuscripts have also been unearthed, such as the later (third/ninth century) manuscript of Ibn Wahb’s *Ġāmi’*.<sup>151</sup> Could this copy of the Sūra of The Cow have been executed in Upper Egypt? Such a hypothesis is rather unlikely for, as far as we know, Muslim presence remained marginal in most of Upper Egypt until the third/ninth century.<sup>152</sup> It would appear more plausible to assume that the manuscript

was originally copied in Fustāṭ and brought to Upper Egypt at an unknown time.

For what purpose was this manuscript brought there? Was it intended for personal use, or for liturgical purposes in a mosque?<sup>153</sup> As far as one can tell, the papyri found in Idfū come mainly from the personal archives of various merchants and landowner families, which would need further study. If the manuscript was indeed unearthed in Idfū, then the copy was probably used there for private rather than public purposes. The manuscript might thus have arrived in southern Egypt by means of Idfū notables, who travelled between Fustāṭ and Aswān for business. Papyrological documentation provides other instances of merchants who owned libraries in Egypt and had an interest in religious sciences. For instance, the now famous Abū Hurayra Ġa’far b. Aḡmad (fl. 250-264/864-878), part of whose archives Yūsuf Rāḡib edited, possessed a library in Madīnat al-Fayyūm that included prayer books and prophetic traditions, as well as selected pieces of a notary’s manual, all of which remain unpublished.<sup>154</sup> Little is known about the scholarly community of Idfū. It should be noted, however, that the earliest scholar from this city recorded by historiographical sources, named Abū Bakr Muḡammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḡmad al-Udfuwī (d. 388/998), was a Qur’ān reader, an expert in Nāfi’s reading system and the author of a large Qur’ānic exegetical work.<sup>155</sup>

148 François Déroche has indeed highlighted the influence of conservative scholars, who criticized any attempt to modify the *ductus* of the Qur’ān. F. Déroche, *Qur’āns of the Umayyads*, 140.

149 F. Déroche, *Qur’āns of the Umayyads*, 141.

150 N. Sinai, “When did the Consonantal Skeleton of the Quran reach Closure? Part I,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 77 (2014), 273-292, esp. 280.

151 See above § 1.2.

152 However, it is worth mentioning the discovery of Qur’ānic verses engraved in two houses in Upper Egypt. The first set, consisting respectively of the end of Qur’ān 41:40 and excerpts from Qur’ān 3:92 and 3:95-97, was found on the wall of a private house in the city of Anṣinā (Antinoopolis). The pericope was written down in black ink in *raġab* 117/July-August 735 by a man named Mālik b. Kaṭīr. This long-known graffito has been reproduced by B. Moritz, *Arabic*

*Palaeography*, pl. 107-110 and was published in *RCEA*, I, n° 30. The second one, still unpublished, was recently discovered by an Italian mission in two rooms of the monastery of Abba Nefer in Manqabad, near the city of Asyut. It is briefly described in R. Pirelli and R. Giunta, “The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut): First and Second Campaign,” *Newsletter di Archeologia CISA*, 5 (2014), 441-454, in part. 445. This inscription is a quotation from Qur’ān 3:26, although it contains important variations. According to its reproduction (fig. 10), one can observe that the person who produced it wrote [ل شى قدير] instead of [ل شى قدير] and [وَتَنْزِجُ الْمَلَكُ مِمَّنْ نَشَاءُ وَتُعْزُجُ مِمَّنْ نَشَاءُ وَتَذَلُّ مِمَّنْ نَشَاءُ بِبَيْدِكَ الْخَيْرِ إِنَّكَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ] as one reads in the 1924 Cairo edition.

153 To the best of our knowledge, there is no information in literary sources about the existence of a congregational mosque in Idfū in medieval times. However, such a mosque is mentioned in the unpublished papyrus Hamb. Arab. 67 (*ġumādā* I 302/November-December 914): *wa-awṣā anna l-ḡimār al-aḡḡar ḡubbisa ‘alā ġāmi’ Idfū* (“he bequeathed the dust-colored donkey in perpetual donation to the congregational mosque of Idfū”).

154 On this issue, see N. Vanthieghem, “Les archives des marchands d’étoffes du Fayoum revisitées I: Un nouveau *dīkr ḡaqq* du marchand Abū Hurayra,” *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 60 (2014), 406-412.

155 Al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḡāḡara fī ta’rīḡ Miṣr wa-l-Qāḡira*, ed. Muḡammad Abū l-Faḡl Ibrāḡīm (Cairo: Dār iḡyā’ al-kutub al-‘arabiyya-‘Īsā al-Bābī al-ḡalabī, 1967), 1: 490.

## 5.2. A non-canonical Qur'ānic text?

### 5.2.1. Omissions, interpolations, and the issue of fermented beverages

To explain missing passages in the Sūra, we have so far favored the hypothesis of *homeoteleutons*, that is, unintentional omissions of parts that should be present, made during the process of copying. However, can we be positive that each of these passages was present in the model from which the copyist was working? The repetition of proximate words certainly increases the risks of *homeoteleuton*. Could such repetitions, however, not also point to the insertion of additional material into the text? When the text was composed, could some segments not have been duplicated, which would have allowed another phrase or even a whole sentence to be interpolated?

Interpolations and deletions in the Qur'ān are addressed by Islamic sources themselves, in those that came to be labelled as “Sunni” and “Shi'i” alike. Theodor Nöldeke listed passages that some Islamic traditions explicitly see as parts of the Revelation although they do not appear in the Qur'ān, considering them to have been removed from the Book, or forgotten in the course of its successive recensions.<sup>156</sup> The example that most echoes the version of verse 219 appearing in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 concerns a text condemning the fornicator to stoning (absent from the Qur'ān). 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb is said to have been the only one to remember such injunctions, which he believed were part of the Revelation. Some Muslim authors even argue that they originally belonged to Sūra 24 or 33. Nöldeke doubts, however, that they were ever part of the Qur'ān.<sup>157</sup> Islamic tradition thus preserves the memory of missing verses, which were remembered in some other way (for example in the form of hadith) or, if the pattern is reversed, of attempts to interpolate new verses. The example of 'Umar is particularly telling: had he not wanted to avoid being regarded as an innovator, he would have incorporated the verse about stoning into the Book. While they should not necessarily be taken as an accurate description of historical reality, these traditions reflect the dynamic formation of a corpus of textual materials over the years (even decades) following Muḥammad's death, before they became canonized in the Qur'ān. Recent studies show, indeed, how the involvement of several successive compilers led to the expansion of the original text by interpolating parts of verses or

even entire verses.<sup>158</sup>

The four omissions in the manuscript may thus be interpreted under two alternative hypotheses:

(1) These sections appeared in the manuscript that the copyist was working from (the *exemplar*). They are no more than *homeoteleutons* committed by a copyist whose attention failed, especially when turning the page of his quire (omissions 1 and 2). The absence of subsequent corrections by later readers of the manuscript, however, is puzzling. How did anyone not realize that short parts of the Sūra were missing in several places?

(2) These sections were absent from the manuscript that was used as a model, and the scribe did not commit any mistakes while copying the text. This would mean that these passages were probably missing in some early recensions of the Qur'ān, and were inserted by expanding a verse using similar wording to connect them to the existing text, or even by creating a new verse (e.g., verse 149).

Apart from the fact that they were never corrected, two features of these omissions are particularly striking. First, with the exception of omission 2, their absence does not disrupt the syntactic construction of the verses, so that someone could certainly read the text without noticing that something was wrong. Moreover, these missing sections consist of either a whole sentence whose theme contrasts with the surrounding text (omission 4 on wine and gambling), or an excursus glossing over what precedes (omissions 1 and 3), sometimes disrupting the style (change of speaker in omission 2). In other words, one cannot rule out that these “missing” passages were added to the 'Uṭmānic recension at a later date in order to incorporate a proscription absent from the original text (the condemnation of wine and gambling), or to give a different meaning to a verse. Verse 213 features the latter possibility; the interpolation of the missing section could result from a reinterpretation of the verse in the context of polemics against Jews and Christians.

The absence of the portion of verse 219 relating to *ḥamr* is particularly noteworthy. Indeed, Islamic traditions admit that due to the apparent ambiguity of the Qur'ān's few allusions to *ḥamr* (2:219; 4:43; 5:90-91; 47:15), not all Muslims recognized this beverage as prohibited from the start. Al-Ṭabarī records as follows an incident that reportedly

156 Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 189 sq. See also H. Modarressi, “Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur'ān: A Brief Survey,” *Studia Islamica*, 77 (1993), 5-39, esp. 10-13, 25-26; Cl. Gilliot, “Un verset manquant du Coran ou réputé tel,” in M.-Th. Urvoy (ed.), *En hommage au Père Jacques Jomier, O.P.* (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 73-100, esp. 90-91.

157 Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 199-201.

158 See G. Dye, “Le corpus coranique : contexte et composition,” in M. A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (ed.), *Le Coran des historiens* (Paris: Cerf, 2019), 1: 733-846, esp. 788, 804, 815-822, and *Id.*, “Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation,” in *Ibid.*, 898-902. David S. Powers suggests for his part that a verse may have been added at a later stage in the Parisino-petropolitanus codex. D. S. Powers, *Muḥammad is not the Father of any of your Men. The Making of the Last Prophet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 188.

occurred in 18/639. Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Ġarrāh, the Muslim general who commanded the Syrian army in al-Ġābiya, wrote to Caliph ‘Umar (r. 13-23/634-644): “Several Muslims started drinking wine (*ḥamr*), including Ḍirār [b. al-Azwar al-Asadī] and Abū Ġandal [b. Suhayl b. ‘Amr]. We asked them about this and they justified their behavior on the basis of their personal interpretation, arguing, ‘We have been given the choice and so we have chosen! [God] said, ‘*Will you desist* (5:91)?’ So He did not command us [not to drink any].” ‘Umar replied, “It is indeed [this interpretation] that separates us! ‘*Will you desist?*’ [actually] means ‘Desist!’”. And ‘Umar ordered that any Muslim claiming that wine was lawful be executed.<sup>159</sup> It would seem, therefore, that the prohibition of *ḥamr* was not clear to all these virtuous, early conquerors. It should further be observed that ‘Umar’s argument relies on a rhetorical analysis of verse 5:91, and that he does not quote verse 2:219, which, being more explicit about the sin of drinking wine, would have been more compelling.

According to documentary sources, people also drank wine in Egypt during the reign of the governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān (r. 65-86/685-705).<sup>160</sup> Through the intermediary of Duke Flavius Atias, son of Goedos (himself represented by his estate manager), the governor concluded a contract with a winemaker, who was to filter the 200 *knidia* of wine (*oinos*), i.e. around 440 liters,<sup>161</sup> produced on one of the caliph’s (*prōto-symboulos*) estates in Fayyūm. This document remains silent, however, on whether this wine was designated for the caliph’s personal use and for his court, or whether the governor intended to sell it. Furthermore, on 1 May 710, another governor, Qurra b. Šarīk (r. 90-96/709-714), wrote a letter in Greek to Basileios, the village headman of Aphrodito (Išqūh) in Middle Egypt, commanding him to provide 165 *knidia* of wine (*oinos*), that is, around 363 liters, for the maintenance of several of his officials, both Christians and Muslims.<sup>162</sup> Wine drinking does not seem to have been the monopoly of the elites. For instance, during the reign of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān, the soldiers of a military expedition, perhaps led by the famous Mūsā b. Nušayr, were entitled to at least 140 *knidia* of wine (*ḥamr*), that is about 308 liters.<sup>163</sup>

During the decades following the conquest of Egypt, then, conquerors went on drinking wine and other fermented beverages, especially a kind of sweet liquor obtained by cooking and reducing the freshly pressed must. Some considered that this product, called *ṭilā’* in Arabic, had been authorized by Caliph ‘Umar himself.<sup>164</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) reported the following regarding its consumption in Egypt:

There was, next to the Palace of the Chain (*dār al-silsila*), [...] a basin (*ḥawḍ*) of marble that was filled with *ṭilā’* on festival days. Vessels (*āniya*) were placed on the edge, and people drank some. This lasted until the reign of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who ended this practice.<sup>165</sup>

The historian al-Kindī (d. 350/961) suggests that not only did Egyptian Muslims commonly drink *ṭilā’* until that time, but that other intoxicating beverages were not forbidden in Fuṣṭāṭ. He reports that during the reign of the governor Ayyūb b. Šuraḥbīl (r. 99-101/717-720), “a letter from the Commander of the Faithful arrived, in which he ordered everyone’s pay (*aṭiyāt*) to be increased. Wine (*ḥamr*) was prohibited, [jars] were broken, and cabarets were deprived of supplies.”<sup>166</sup> The caliphal rescript he refers to is reproduced in detail by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 214/829) in his biography of ‘Umar II b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. After recalling the Qur’ānic verses relating to the prohibition of wine, the caliph devotes lengthy developments to the *ṭilā’*, a name that, he argues, the Muslims of Egypt give to various fermented beverages to make indulging in them technically licit. Any intoxicating drink, he concludes, must be equated with *ḥamr* and, therefore, must be strictly prohibited.<sup>167</sup>

*Ṭilā’* drinking in the second/eighth century is well documented. In the earliest Arabic merchant letter, written in the first/seventh century on a piece of palimpsest parchment originally featuring a Latin excerpt from Exodus, the sender informs his addressee that he has sold

159 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīḥ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-ma‘ārif, 1967), 4: 96.

160 CPR VIII 82.

161 In the early Islamic period, 1 *knidion* was the equivalent of about 2.2 liters. See Ph. Mayerson, “Knidion Jar,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 141 (2002), p. 205-209.

162 P. Lond. IV 1375.

163 P. Merx 6-9 (the text will be republished with substantial amendments by A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem). It should be noted that the hundreds are missing, which means that the quantity may have been larger.

164 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīḥ*, 3: 612; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīḥ*, 2: 167; ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Šan‘ānī, *Muṣannaf*, 4: 541; 9: 254, 255; Ibn Abī Šayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Awwāma (Beirut: Dār al-qibla-Mu‘assasat ‘ulūm al-Qur‘ān, 2006), 12: 242-248. On *ṭilā’* in early Islamic Egypt, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, “Des amphores rouges et des jarres vertes. Considérations sur la production et la consommation de boissons fermentées aux deux premiers siècles de l’hégire,” *Islamic Law and Society*, 30 (2023), p. 1-64.

165 Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 136.

166 Al-Kindī, *Ta’rīḥ Miṣr wa-wulāti-hā*, in *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 68.

167 ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Ubayd (n.p.: Maktabat Wahba, n.d.), 84-86.

*ṭilā'*.<sup>168</sup> Considering that the sender may be writing from Ifrīqiyya and that his addressee resided in Bahnasā, this suggests that this beverage was exported outside Egypt. More significantly, Egyptian glass stamps reveal the importance of the production and sale of *ṭilā'*. These stamps bearing the names of financial superintendents Usāma b. Zayd (in office from 96 to 99/714-717)<sup>169</sup> and Ḥayyān b. Surayḡ (in office 90-91/709-710, then from 99-102/717-721?)<sup>170</sup> were used to authenticate liquid measures of ¼, ½ or 1 *qist*, a capacity unit whose definition varied according to the commodity under consideration, and which seems for wine to have corresponded to 20 ounces (i.e. about 520 grams).<sup>171</sup> These stamps reveal that until the late first/early eighth century, the sale of *ṭilā'* was regulated by the Islamic government – along with other fermented beverages like *usqurqa*, a kind of beer made of millet (*ḍura*) according to some, or of rice (*aruzz*) according to others.<sup>172</sup> This

regulation implies that its production and consumption were deemed lawful by the authorities.<sup>173</sup>

Many Greek and Coptic documents relating to requisitions mention a beverage that is called *hepsēma*.<sup>174</sup> Many of the jars of *hepsēma* mentioned in papyri were specifically destined to Arabs.<sup>175</sup> Both ancient and medieval lexicographical books show that *hepsēma*, derived from the verb *hepsō* (to boil), designated a sweet wine obtained by cooking and reducing the must, and was just the Greek term for *ṭilā'*.<sup>176</sup> Papyrologists generally assumed that this term could not refer to a fermented drink or, if it did, only to a very low-alcohol drink.<sup>177</sup> However, Muslims themselves were aware that *ṭilā'* potentially contained a certain level of alcohol and could be intoxicating. Yet, Arabic sources corroborate that the new masters of Egypt did not renounce *ṭilā'* / *hepsēma* until the decree of Caliph 'Umar II.<sup>178</sup> These different sources thus offer a consistent picture of Egypt where, until the end of the first century A.H., probably as in other provinces, Muslims continued drinking several kinds of fermented beverages, before these were prohibited by order of the imperial power.

Several early Umayyad manuscripts include the whole of verse 219 and thus mention the *ḥamr*.<sup>179</sup> It seems that *ḥamr* was quickly under-

168 P. Ragib *Plus Ancienne Lettre*.

169 G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1948), 72 (n° 7); *Id.*, "Umayyad and 'Abbāsid Glass Weights and Measure Stamps in the Corning Museum," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 13 (1971), 64 (n° 2); P. Balog, *Umayyad, 'Abbasid and Ṭulūnid Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1976), 48-49 (n° 25-26, 27, 28, 29-30); A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 1985), 48 (n° 13); E. Ollivier, *Poids et mesures de l'Égypte musulmane. Poids et estampilles en verre de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (Paris: Collège de France, 2019), 63, 105.

170 G. C. Miles, *Contributions to Arabic Metrology. I. Early Arabic Glass Weights and Measure Stamps Acquired by the American Numismatic Society 1951-1956* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1958), 7 (n° 16); P. Balog, *Umayyad, 'Abbasid and Ṭulūnid Glass Weights*, 56 (n° 54, 55-57, 58); A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps*, 50 (n° 24).

171 On the *qist*, see M. H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes. Troisième partie. Mesures de capacité* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1887), 101-104; A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 167-169; G. C. Miles, "Egyptian Glass Pharmaceutical Measures of the 8th Century A.D.," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 15 (1960), 384-389, esp. 385.

172 E. Th. Rogers, "Unpublished Glass Weights and Measures," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 10 (1878), 98-112, esp. 101 (n° 3); P. Balog, *Umayyad, 'Abbasid and Ṭulūnid Glass Weights*, 52 (n° 39), 84 (n° 173); K. Eldada, "Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps," in J. L. Bacharach (ed.), *Fustat Finds: Beads, Coins, Medical Instruments, Textiles, and Other Artifacts from the Awad Collection* (Cairo-New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 112-166, esp. 147 (n° 59); E. Ollivier, *Poids et mesures*, 60-61. Cf. A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum*, 51. On *usqurqa* or *sukurka/uskurka*, see al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-'ayn*, ed. Maḥdī al-Maḥzūmī and Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī (n.p.: Dār wa-maktabat al-hilāl, n.d.), 5: 309; Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Ḡarīb al-ḥadīṭ*, ed. Ḥusayn Muḥammad Muḥammad

Šaraf and 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo: al-Hay'a l-'amma li-šu'un al-maṭābi' al-amīriyya, 1984), 1: 394; Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Aṣriba*, ed. Šubḥī Ḡāsim (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-'ānī, n.d.), 87 (n° 225); Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-aṣriba wa-ḍikr iḥtilāf al-nās fi-hā*, ed. Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1999), 119; Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. Muḥammad al-Dālī (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-risāla, n.d.), 166.

173 See A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps*, 35; E. Ollivier, *Poids et mesures*, 61-65.

174 *O. Sarga* 210, 3; *P. Apoll.* 30, 3; *P. Apoll.* 93, 17; *P. Brux. Bawit* 27, 1; *P. Hermitage Copt.* 16; *P. Lond.* IV 1375, 18; *P. Lond.* IV 1414, 41; *P. Lond.* IV 1415 *passim*; *P. Lond.* IV 1433, 51; *P. Lond.* IV 1447 *passim*; *P. Lond.* IV 1449, 31; *P. Lond.* IV 1486; *P. Lond.* IV 1491 f; *SB* III 7241, 32-34; *SB* XX 14219, 1-3; *SB* XXVI 16664, 7 and *SPP* X 124, 5.

175 On this issue, see A. Delattre, "Le monastère de Baouît et l'administration arabe," in A. T. Schubert and P. M. Sijpesteijn (ed.), *Documents and the History of the Early Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 43-49.

176 On the preparation of this kind of wine, see the information provided by Columella. Cf. D. Nisard (ed.), *Les agronomes latins : Caton, Varron, Columelle, Palladius* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1874), 465-466.

177 See for example F. Morelli, "Die wein- und trinkfreudigen Ägypter: Weinkonsum und seine Kosten," in B. Palme and A. Zdiarsky (ed.), *In vino veritas. Wein im alten Ägypten* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2019), 51-58, esp. 57.

178 For details regarding this issue, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Des amphores rouges et des jarres vertes."

179 See for instance Arabe 331, fol. 7v (M. Marx, "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: Arabe 331," in *Manuscripta Coranica*, <https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/>

stood as “fermented grape juice,”<sup>180</sup> and there is little doubt that its prohibition was quickly enacted by Muslim authorities. As early as the first/seventh century, the Pseudo-Sebeos reports that Muḥammad had forbidden his followers to drink wine (*gini* = *oinos*).<sup>181</sup> The extension of this prohibition to other fermented beverages, however, was not an obvious decision and could only be a matter of interpretation of the scripture. Therefore, the Muslims of Egypt who consumed large quantities of *ṭilāʾ* did not violate any Qurʾānic commandment as long as exegetes, jurists and public authorities did not decide to equate *ṭilāʾ* with *ḥamr*. Nevertheless, if one considers such consumption of fermented beverages – including wine (*ḥamr/oinos*) and products derived from it such as *ṭilāʾ/hepsēma* – one might wonder to what extent our manuscript might be representative of early versions of the Qurʾān that did not include some of the verses on the basis of which *ḥamr*, and subsequently other fermented beverages, were prohibited.

At this stage, it remains difficult, if not impossible, to explain the omissions found in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 by either of the two hypotheses presented above – *homeoteleuton* or later expansion of certain verses. If, as we believe, the manuscript was indeed copied from a previous one, the hypothesis of *homeoteleutons* is quite plausible. Yet it is hard to understand how these omissions could have gone unnoticed, while some corrections made in the manuscript attest to revision activity. One could certainly hypothesize the existence of such corrections in the outer margins, which would have now disappeared, but we shall never be able to find out. If the second hypothesis were confirmed, the Hamburg manuscript would represent a unique and unprecedented testimony to the slow process of formation of the Qurʾānic corpus. It would offer material support for a hypothesis that has so far been

mainly defended on the basis of literary analysis: that of a redactional or editorial process, including interpolations, that allowed the Revelation to be completed and reinterpreted according to post-conquest theological and normative evolution.<sup>182</sup>

### 5.2.2. *The Book of the Cow*

There remains the question of the nature of the text that has come down to us. We have, so far, considered it to be naturally the second Sūra of the Qurʾān, entitled *sūrat al-Baqara* or “Sūra of The Cow.” The last page of the manuscript, however, ends in a mysterious way, with a decoration formed by a double series of concentric circles that we analyzed above. The rest of the page displays traces of very patchy graphic elements, which look different from the Ḥiǧāzī of the preceding pages. The text is written with the same ink as the Sūra-ending headband<sup>183</sup>, in more of a cursive script intended for everyday documents than a book script. Although the meaning of the few discernable words in this final excerpt escapes us, it does not appear to be the beginning of Sūra 3 (*Āl Imrān*), nor presumably any other Qurʾānic section.<sup>184</sup> The few snippets that we manage to decipher suggest that the scribe speaks in the first person (l. 7, *wa-innī*; l. 8, *fa-innī* – unless one reads *fa-annā*, as in 6:95), while the name Allāh is repeated at least twice. These fragments are rather reminiscent of a prayer, including praise to God, such as in a colophon. This might be an apotropaic text, similar to the eschatological prayers called *al-muʾawwidātān* that

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verse-navigator/sura/2/verse/219/manuscripts/32/page/7v) and Minutoli 296 (Ahlwardt 304, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), fol. 17v (M. Marx, “Staatsbibliothek: Minutoli 296 (Ahlwardt 304),” in *Manuscripta Coranica*, <https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/2/verse/219/manuscripts/428/page/17v>).

180 For the earliest definition of *ḥamr*, see Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ*, 1: 392.

181 Sebeos, *Histoire d'Héraclius*, trad. F. Macler (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904), 95; *Id.*, *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 96; R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), 131. The authors extend their thanks to Patrick Donabédian for his valuable assistance with the Armenian text. For external sources, one must then wait for the middle of the eighth century, when John of Damascus mentioned that Muḥammad absolutely forbade the drinking of wine (*oinoposia*). Jean Damascène, *Écrits sur l'islam*, trad. Raymond Le Coz (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 227.

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182 Cf. G. Dye, “Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation,” 867. One should mention, however, that Alba Fedeli detected, in the lower layer of the Bonhams palimpsest, an omission that could suggest a later editorial work on verses 2:217 and 5:42, in order to adapt them to the extra-Qurʾānic narration of the events to which they are supposed to refer. A. Fedeli, “Early Evidences of Variant Readings in Qurʾānic Manuscripts,” 322-324.

183 We thank Claudia Colini (University of Hamburg) for sharing this information based on a multi-spectral analysis of the manuscript.

184 Some Qurʾānic *codices* are believed not to have adopted the order that became canonical. Thus, Ibn Masʿūd's codex opened with the Sūra of The Cow, followed by that of The Women (4). In ʿAlī's codex, the Sūra of The Cow is assumed to have been followed by the Sūra of Joseph (12). In Ibn ʿAbbās' codex, The Cow was followed by The Booty (8). None of these Sūras' opening verses appear to match the traces preserved in our manuscript. See A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān*, 22, 183, 194; V. Comerro, *Les traditions sur la constitution du muṣḥaf de ʿUthmān* (Beirut: Orient Institut, 2012), 155; C. Gilliot, “Les traditions sur la composition ou coordination du Coran (*taʿlīf al-qurʾān*),” in Cl. Gilliot and T. Nagel (ed.), *Das Prophetenḥadīṭ. Dimensionen einer islamischen Literaturgattung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 29.

feature as the last two Sūras in the common text of the Qur'ān.<sup>185</sup> It seems, therefore, that the quire that has reached us was not the first quire of a complete Qur'ānic codex, but rather an autonomous codicological unit. This hypothesis is supported by the observations we presented above regarding the number of lines per page and the number of characters per line. It seems that the copyist, fearing that he would run out of space to complete his work within the limited space of the quire, shortened the distance between each line of the text between pages 22 and 27. Obviously reassured of his ability to complete the Sūra within the quire as he approached the very end, he allowed himself to stretch the lines of the last page, so much so that each line only contains about thirty characters instead of the average sixty-two characters in the rest of the quire.

This hypothesis deserves all the more attention since several sources from the early Islamic period, long studied by scholars, suggest that the “Sūra of The Cow” was not originally part of a single book called the “Qur'ān,” but rather formed one among various sacred texts adopted by the followers of the new faith. Alfred-Louis de Prémare has identified several Muslim sources that refer, independently of each other, to a “writing of The Cow,” the name of which allegedly served as a rallying motto for its “followers” (*aṣḥāb sūrat al-Baqara*) in the earliest days of Islam.<sup>186</sup> Two Christian scholars of the second/eighth century also assert that Muslims derived their doctrine from several writings, including the Qur'ān, the “Writing of The Cow,” and other texts, some of which seem to match well-known Sūras of the Qur'ān (“The Table,” “The Woman,” *al-Tawba*, “The Spider”), and some of which do not (“The She-camel of God”). The first of these authors is none other than the famous John Damascene (d. mid-eighth century), who discusses the writings of Islam in a chapter of his book *Peri hairéseon (Concerning Heresy)*.<sup>187</sup> The second text, a pseudepigraphon attributed to an anonymous author known as “the Monk of Beth Hale,” was written in Syriac by a member of the East Syrian Church in the late eighth or early ninth century CE.<sup>188</sup> According to de Prémare, these accounts

suggest that the Qur'ān resulted from a process of literary composition (*ta'lif*), drawing on originally separate writings while excluding others. Al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf, he argues, may have been the main artisan of this literary composition.<sup>189</sup> It should be added that the Sūra of The Cow is one of those that open – after a series of mysterious letters<sup>190</sup> – with a formula that may appear as a self-referential presentation: “That is the Book/Scripture (*dālika l-kitāb*)! There is no trace of doubt in it. It is a guide to the pious...” (2:2) Although the formula *dālika l-kitāb* remains ambiguous,<sup>191</sup> the structure of the Sūra, which ends with a prayer, is not inconsistent with the hypothesis that it originally formed a “book” in its own right. Evidence from both Muslim tradition and early Christian writings on Islam therefore suggests that parts of the Qur'ān may have circulated independently of each other, especially the longer chapters, such as the Sūra of The Cow and that of The Women.

Nicolai Sinai has since criticized de Prémare’s conclusions, pointing out that the Sūra of The Cow is partly preserved in the lower layer of the San‘ā’ palimpsest, which supposedly predates al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ’s reform.<sup>192</sup>

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Syriac Text and Annotated English Translation,” in S. H. Griffith and S. Grebenstein (ed.), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt. Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 187-242, esp. 200, 229. Cf. R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others saw it*, 465-472; A.-L. de Prémare, “Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,” 194-5. For a dating of this text at the end of the eighth century, see D. G. K. Taylor, “The Disputation,” 200.

189 A.-L. de Prémare, “Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,” 206-209.

190 See for example Sūras Āl ‘Imrān (3), Yūnus (10), Hūd (11), al-Ra’d (13), Luqmān (31), al-Saḡda (32), Fuṣṣilat (41).

191 C. A. Segovia, “Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache),” 67. Despite the fact that the word *kitāb* can be interpreted as referring to a heavenly scripture, this expression also carries a strong self-referential significance, as argued by A.-S. Boisliveau, *Le Coran par lui-même. Vocabulaire et argumentation du discours coranique autoréférentiel* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014), 25-28. We have taken some liberties here with Tarif Khalidi’s translation, who translated verse 2 as follows: “Behold the Book! No trace of doubt in it. A guide to the pious...”

192 N. Sinai, “When did the Consonantal Skeleton of the Quran reach Closure? Part I,” 286. See A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 98-101. In her study of this manuscript, Asma Hilali doubts, however, that the Qur'ānic excerpts recorded in this lower layer originally constituted a codex. According to her, they were rather fragments used for teaching purposes (A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 66-67). However, her thesis is not unanimously accepted among the specialists of this manuscript, and has been refuted by N. Sinai, “Beyond the Cairo Edition: On the Study of Early Quranic Codices,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 140 (2020), 189-204, esp. 202-204. More recently, in a careful codicological study, Éléonore Cellard has demonstrated that the lower text did indeed originally belong to a codex whose order of Sūras differed from that of the ‘Uṭmānic canon, as did other *codices* of Companions such as Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ubayy b. Ka‘b. See É. Cellard, “The San‘ā’ Palimpsest: Materializing

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185 Cf. A. Neuwirth, *The Quran and Late Antiquity. A Shared Heritage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 237-238.

186 A.-L. de Prémare, “Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,” 189-221, esp. 206-8. Cf. C. A. Segovia, “Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache),” 65. See also E. Stefanidis, *Du texte à l'histoire : la question de la chronologie coranique*, Ph.D Thesis, Sorbonne Université, 2019, 66, where the author points to a minority interpretation of Qur'ān 15:87 expressed by al-Dānī, according to which the Sūra of The Cow is one of seven distinct *matānī* of the Qur'ān.

187 Jean Damascène, *Écrits sur l'islam*, 221-227. Cf. A.-L. de Prémare, “Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,” 195-197; C. A. Segovia, “Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache),” 64.

188 D. G. K. Taylor, “The Disputation between a Muslim and a Monk of Bēt Hālē:

There seems to remain little doubt that this text was included in the sacred corpus of the Muslims already in the last third of the seventh century CE. Yet, to what extent was it indissociably part of the Qurʾān? Could one imagine that texts from the Qurʾānic corpus were at some point in their history circulating independently, leading some contemporary witnesses to develop the impression of a plurality of texts? The Muslim tradition itself refers to a corpus of “obligations” (*farāʾid*), distinct from the Qurʾān, the substance of which is attributed to the Companion Zayd b. Ṭābit, Muhammad’s scribe and a close advisor of Caliph ʿUṭmān (r. 23-35/644-656).<sup>193</sup> Like the Sūras of The Women (4) and Repentance (9), the Sūra of The Cow consists largely of verses with normative significance, which may have justified an autonomous circulation of this textual material.<sup>194</sup>

In this respect, a few textual clues, drawn from the work of al-Kindī (d. 350/961) raise questions about the nature of the Qurʾān, the role of The Cow in Fuṣṭāṭ and, more generally, the Sūra’s role in late seventh-century Egypt.

• One of the earliest qadis of the Egyptian capital, Sulaym b. ʿItr al-Tuḡībī (in office from 40 to 60/660-661 to 679-680), was known to be able to recite the Qurʾān three times in a row during the night, while also honoring his wife in her bed between each recitation.<sup>195</sup> Despite its hyperbolic form, this narrative depicts the qadi as part of a community of renunciants memorialized for being able to recite the Qurʾān at high speed.<sup>196</sup>

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the Codices,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 80 (2021), 1-30. One could add that the verb *allaḥa*, which de Prémare translates as “to compose,” could more logically mean “to arrange” the Sūras in the hadith he quotes in support of his demonstration. See Muslim b. al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī (Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīṭ, 1991), 2: 942 (n° 306).

193 Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥānḡī, 2001), 7: 230; al-Fasawī, *Kitāb al-maʿrifa wa-l-tārīḥ*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī (Medina: Maktabat al-dār, 1410 H.), 1: 486. See P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God’s Caliph. Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 71; A.-L. de Prémare, “Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,” 202-203, 215 n. 63. One might object that in classical Islamic inheritance law, the term *farāʾid* assumed the more precise meaning of “appointed or obligatory portions” (see Th. W. Juynboll, “Farāʾid,” *EP*, s.v.), which suggests that Zayd b. Ṭābit was an expert in this field. It should be noted, however, that the singular *farīda* refers more generally in the Qurʾān to an “obligation” originating from God (4:11, 24; 9:60).

194 What Guillaume Dye calls “instructional texts” in terms of genre. G. Dye, “Le corpus coranique : contexte et composition,” 796.

195 Al-Kindī, *Aḥbār quḍāt Miṣr*, in *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 308.

196 See Ch. Melchert, *Before Sufism. Early Islamic Renunciant Piety* (Berlin-Boston:

• While in Egypt in 65/685, the Umayyad caliph Marwān I (r. 64-65/684-685), reportedly questioned the qadi of Fuṣṭāṭ, ʿĀbis b. Saʿīd (in office from 60 to 68/679-680 to 687-688), about the sources of the law he enforced, making a distinction between “[legal] obligations” (*farāʾid*) and the Qurʾān. Al-Kindī reports that the caliph also asked the qadi whether he had “collected” (*ḡamaʿta*), perhaps in the sense of “memorized,” the Qurʾān.<sup>197</sup> A literal understanding of this verb suggests that a senior official in Fuṣṭāṭ could still, at that time, be involved in the “collection,” that is, in the constitution of the sacred text. Later, the caliph tested him and found out that, despite his earlier denials, the qadi actually knew parts of the Qurʾān.<sup>198</sup> Was it modesty on the part of this judge? Or, like Monsieur Jourdain in Molière’s *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, did ʿĀbis b. Saʿīd know passages of the sacred text without being aware that they belonged to the Qurʾān? Let us note that ʿĀbis b. Saʿīd was regarded as a close companion of the governor ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Ḡuhanī (d. 58/677-678), whose *muṣḥaf* may have been authoritative in al-Fuṣṭāṭ for some time in the late seventh century CE.<sup>199</sup>

• The qadi Buṣayr b. al-Naḍr (in office from 68-69/687-688 to 688-689) is said to have explained a verse of the Sūra of The Cow (2:233) to infer a rule regarding inheritance.<sup>200</sup>

• Al-Kindī finally reports that Muḡāhid b. Ḡabr (d. between 100 and 104/718 and 722), one of the early references of Qurʾānic exegesis,<sup>201</sup> was reportedly surprised to hear the governor Maslama b. Muḡhallad (47-62/667-682), behind whom he was praying, reading “from the Sūra of The Cow (*bi-sūrat al-baqara*) without omitting any *alif* or *wāw*.” Another contemporary witness insists that this governor “used to lead our canonical prayers. At noon, he would get up, and the man would often read the Cow.”<sup>202</sup> Al-Kindī’s first remark emphasizes that Maslama b. Muḡhallad, although he read a *muṣḥaf* in which spelling was defective, knew the text well enough to avoid any mistakes. The particle *bi-* makes it clear that the governor did not recite the text but read it in a book,<sup>203</sup> which might have been a standalone Sūra of The Cow.

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De Gruyter, 2020), 92-93.

197 Al-Kindī, *Aḥbār quḍāt Miṣr*, 312. According to Ibn Abī Dāʿūd, *ḡamaʿa* does not only mean “to collect,” but also “to memorize.” See Ibn Abī Dāʿūd al-Siḡistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 170.

198 Al-Kindī, *Aḥbār quḍāt Miṣr*, 312.

199 See M. Tillier, “Une tradition coranique égyptienne ?,” 38-63.

200 Al-Kindī, *Aḥbār quḍāt Miṣr*, 314.

201 See A. Rippin, “Mudjāhid b. Djabr al-Makkī,” *EP*, s.v.

202 Al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 39-40.

203 See A. de B. Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1860), 2: 701.

The second remark suggests that this Sūra, whose recitation was not adapted to the canonical prayer because of its length, was nevertheless read out in public after the Friday collective prayer. The verb “get up” (*yaqūmu*) suggests furthermore that Maslama left after the prayer and that the Sūra of The Cow was read aloud outside the mosque. This agrees with an observation attributed to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), according to whom al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf was the first to introduce *muṣḥaf* readings inside mosques. Mālik was highly critical of this practice and rather advocated that “people leave the mosque (*yuqāmū min al-masǧid*)” before gathering to read the *muṣḥaf*.<sup>204</sup> This excerpt is the only one in the *Book of the Governors* where al-Kindī mentions a “Sūra.”

These few narratives raise more questions than they answer. Beyond their anecdotal significance, could they record the memory of ambiguities that still existed at the end of the seventh century about what was Qur'ān and what was not? Was the “Qur'ān” as lengthy as it became in the 'Uṭmānic recension? Did the Sūra of The Cow, because of its normative content, have a specific status? Could its importance have justified its dissemination as a separate text? Or did it have a semi-autonomous status with respect to the rest of what became the Qur'ān? The very existence of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, despite some uncertainties due to the papyrus's poor state, might, at any rate, provide evidence that the Sūra of The Cow may have been circulating as a standalone booklet in the second half of the seventh century, or even as late as the early eighth century CE. This phenomenon may mean the Sūra was used as a legal reference for early Muslim communities, in Fustāṭ or/and in Upper Egypt.

The fact remains that the Hamburg manuscript, in all likelihood, quickly fell into disuse. It bears very few traces of corrections and no annotations, though the text is deficient by classical Qur'ānic standards. The insertion of verse dividers might not have even been carried out to the end of the Sūra. We cannot, at this stage of research, determine whether the four identified omissions correspond to *homeoteleutons*, or whether these passages, missing in an early, non-canonical version of the Sūra, were added at a later stage. Be that as it may, the individual or community who owned this manuscript must have realized, after an uncertain period (perhaps when inserting ten-verse or verse-ending markers) that it was erroneous with respect to the reference text in use at that time. Perhaps the date of 99/717, when Caliph 'Umar II decreed the prohibition of *ṭilā'* and sent a rescript on this subject to Egypt, should be regarded as the *terminus ante quem* of its copying. The numerous spelling mistakes and the absence of four parts of the Qur'ān, including one of the key passages relating to the prohibition

of wine (henceforth prohibited in Egypt on the basis, in particular, of a verse supposedly quoted by 'Umar II and “incomplete” in the manuscript) must have persuaded its owner that correcting it was useless. Indeed, the fragile nature of papyrus did not allow for extensive corrections, unlike texts written on parchment, which could be erased by scratching in order to reuse the material (even to rewrite a canonical version of the Qur'ān, as evidenced by several palimpsests). It was therefore better to discard this faulty copy into the garbage (perhaps after tearing it in half from top to bottom, as suggested by the disappearance of the outer part of each page)<sup>205</sup> and purchase a more careful or revised copy of the same Sūra, or even a full copy of the Qur'ān.

## Conclusion

As Guillaume Dye points out, the process of canonization of a religion's founding texts necessarily involves several stages. Their formation stage implies variability in their transmission, as well as interventions that may include rewritings. The canonization stage itself is more complex than it might appear at first sight. Not only does it require the introduction of a reference version by an authority that undertakes to disseminate it, but for the process to be completed, the text necessarily must be received and accepted as canonical by the target community.<sup>206</sup>

Despite the abundance of narratives concerning the canonization process of the Qur'ān, establishing a solid link between the already self-contradictory literary tradition and the surviving Qur'ānic manuscripts is still a challenge. The stages of collection and reform of the sacred text may offer an oversimplified interpretive framework of its early evolution. This framework attached to major figures more complex dynamics that involved debates among early Muslims about what exactly should be in the Qur'ān and how to record it. As new fashions emerged – some of them acquiring a normative value – those manuscripts that could be modified were adjusted, and those that could not be were abandoned or destroyed. Pre-canonical versions that were too dissonant with the emerging canon can therefore, in theory, only have survived in partially destroyed manuscripts – as in the lower layers of palimpsests.

Given its antiquity and formal characteristics, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 might fall into the latter category of pre-canonical texts. Rather than

204 Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā bi-aḥbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: n.p., 1955), 2: 667.

205 It should be noted that, according to Islamic traditions, Caliph 'Uṭmān also “tore up” (*mazzaqa*, *ḥarraqa*) ancient Qur'ānic fragments or regional *codices* in order to destroy them. See Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 185, 196.

206 G. Dye, “Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation,” 850-851, 898. See also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 144.

considering it as a lacunary copy of the Qurʾān, it may be safer to view it as a simple “textual item”<sup>207</sup> which, in the canonical version of the Qurʾān, became the second Sūra. However, it can neither be assumed that it always enjoyed this status, nor that this status was invariable. Several codicological and textual clues suggest indeed that this manuscript, which bears a text very similar to that of the Sūra of The Cow, formed an autonomous booklet. Hence, two hypotheses may follow:

(1) If one postulates that, at the time this manuscript was copied, the Qurʾān existed as a canonical book, as we know it, this means that an individual took the initiative to extract a Sūra from the book and isolate it in a booklet for specific reasons. The manuscript is too carefully written for it to represent a mere school exercise. One cannot rule out the possibility that the booklet was used for liturgical purposes, as al-Kindī suggests that this Sūra was read inside the mosque during collective prayers.<sup>208</sup> However, it must be emphasized that this text, which is both longer and less poetic than other Qurʾānic texts, was not the most suitable for congregational prayer. Its public reading, presumably outside the mosque if we follow again al-Kindī,<sup>209</sup> more likely had a didactic purpose, namely that of introducing the community to a certain number of religious and legal precepts. The first part of the Sūra, which focuses on unbelievers, Jews and Christians, helps to define what Muslims should not be, prompting them to distinguish themselves from other believers. The second part, from verse 142 onwards, specifies how Muslims should behave, through a series of regulations concerning prayer, food, almsgiving, retaliation, wills, fasting, fighting in God’s path, pilgrimage, orphans, marriage, oaths, repudiation, breastfeeding, usury and debts.<sup>210</sup> It cannot therefore be ruled out that the Sūra of The Cow served as a *vademecum* for ordinary Muslims, and as such was the subject not only of public readings at the end of the seventh century CE but also of isolated, cheap, and sometimes mistaken copies intended for its dissemination to a wider audience. This might explain why the audience, which was being islamized, failed to notice the absence of four half-verses, which should in this scenario be interpreted as *homeoteleutons*.

(2) If one postulates that at the time of its copying, the process of

canonization of the Qurʾān had not yet been completed *in the community that produced this manuscript*,<sup>211</sup> it might have been copied from a pre-canonical version of the Qurʾān, or even a “Book of the Cow” that was not yet unanimously regarded as an integral part of a single sacred book, an autonomous book still mentioned in Christian polemical writings in the early second/eighth century. Although this second hypothesis sounds less likely, several textual clues could point in this direction. Minor variations are somewhat numerous despite the small proportion of the text that has survived. While some of them can be interpreted as copying mistakes, the absence of any systematic correction suggests that the text was received by readers and listeners who did not find it objectionable, and who may have accepted a certain fluidity in the written shape of the text. In this scenario, the four major “omissions” might reflect an archaic, pre-canonical version of the Sūra of The Cow, before interpolations were added to the text of these verses.

Even if we consider that the readers of the manuscript did not notice anything for a while, because they were not familiar with its canonical version, and whatever the hypothesis we adopt, the non-conformity of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 with the canonical text makes it a major witness to the formation of the Qurʾānic corpus. Whether the text in question is an erroneous copy of a canonical manuscript or a faithful copy of a pre-canonical text, its flexibility reflects the compositional process of a canonical text, which evolves through both voluntary and involuntary changes before it stabilizes.

In all likelihood, some reader, perhaps when adding ten-verse or verse-ending markers, realized that the manuscript did not conform to the canon of his day and threw it away, perhaps after tearing it up. When the abandonment or destruction of this manuscript took place cannot be precisely determined. It may have been as early as the end of the seventh century CE, when someone became aware of the problem while adding dividers. The date of 99/717, which marked the prohibition of fermented beverages to Egyptian Muslims, might be a possible *terminus post quem*. People may have realized then that one of the verses cited by Caliph ʿUmar II to justify this prohibition was missing. If the manuscript was indeed copied in Fustāt and discovered in Upper Egypt, as we have hypothesized, this Sūra of The Cow did circulate before being dumped. The manuscript is therefore unlikely to have been discarded immediately upon completion.

207 See G. Dye, “Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation,” 899.

208 Al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 39. Although Qurʾān readers knew the text by heart, they frequently had a copy of the *muṣḥaf* in front of them as an aide-memoire, so as not to commit mistakes. Some criticized that a person would lead the prayer by “reading from the *muṣḥaf*,” but others accepted this practice which was attributed to ʿĀʾiṣa and Ibn Sirīn (d. 110/728) among others. See ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaḥ*, 2: 419-420.

209 Al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 40.

210 See C. A. Segovia, “Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache),” 56-61.

211 We emphasize this last point in order to insist on the temporal and geographical variability of the canonization process. The establishment of a canonical corpus and its dissemination by an authority does not limit the length of time necessary for the canon to be received and accepted by everyone. It is therefore possible to postulate that certain communities, because of their distant geographical location or their social characteristics, adopted the canonical text later than others.

Finally, this document helps explain why the vast majority of early Qur'ānic manuscripts were copied onto parchment, and why papyrus copies were so scarce. Certainly, the prestige of parchment made it a privileged material for holy scriptures. However, there was also a practical reason for this choice. The formation of the Qur'ānic corpus, while awaiting the final stages of its canonization, involved reworking, adjustments, and rewriting. Parchment, which could be washed and scratched, allowed for such revisions and thus guaranteed a longer life for the copy. By contrast, altering a text on papyrus left more visible traces, which did not allow for long-term use of the copy. A text on papyrus was likely to become outdated very quickly, and as soon as it appeared too faulty in comparison with the new canon, was doomed to meet the fate of destruction.

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**P. Hamb. Arab. 68: Images and papyrological edition**



The following edition adopts the Leiden system used in Arabic papyrology:

- [...] indicates that a sequence was originally present on the papyrus, but that it has completely disappeared and is therefore reconstructed;
- '...' means that the sequence is partially broken, leaving traces barely legible but sufficient to restore the text;<sup>212</sup>
- \.../ signals a word or a letter added by the scribe above the line;
- [...] indicates a word erased or crossed out by the copyist;
- (*vacat*) signals a blank space.

Other symbols and colors used in the edition:

← ↓	Direction of the papyrus fibers (horizontal, vertical)
⋮	Verse-ending marker.
∴	End of line marker.
◎	Decade divider.
☉	Sūra-ending headband.
انزل	Correction (red background).
افتتل	Correction with additional letters compared to the 1924 Cairo edition (in green on a red background).

نفسا

Additional letter compared to the 1924 Cairo edition (green background).

تقتلوا

Different letter compared to the 1924 Cairo edition (blue background).

اخذن

Missing letter. The presence in the 1924 Cairo edition of a letter absent from the manuscript is indicated by a yellow background on the line or on the preceding letter.

فما

Combination of two words that are separated in the 1924 Cairo edition (grey background).

[ولما بانكم]

Hypothetical reconstruction of the text on the missing side of each page, based on the 1924 Cairo edition (in grey).

The numbering of the verses corresponds to the 1924 Cairo edition and does not appear in the manuscript.

Only diacritical dots that appear in the manuscript are reproduced here. The position of double and triple dots does not correspond to that of the manuscript, but to their modern positioning.

212 On this convention, which is not part of the Leiden system, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Une œuvre inconnue," 689, n. 73.

↓ [عفرانك ربا واليك المصير ﴿٢٨٥﴾ لا تكلف الله نفسا] [الا] وسعها لها

[ما كسب وعلها ما اكسب ربا لا نواحدنا] ان نسنا

[واخطانا ربا ولا يحمل علينا اصرا كما حم] [الذ] به على

[الدين من قبلنا ربا ولا يحملنا ما لا طاقه لنا به] واعف

5 [عنا واعفر لنا وارحمنا اب م] [و] لسا [ابصر]نا

[على العوم الكفرس ﴿٢٨٦﴾]

[...] [الله واني؟

[...] [لك فاني

[...] [ب الله

[...] 10 [نم

[...] [حاني



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11



- ← وعملوا الصلح و[فاموا الصلوه وابوا الركوه لهم احرهم عند رهم ولا خوف عليهم ولا هم محزون ﴿٢٧٧﴾]
- بابها الدين اموا [بقوا الله ودررو ما بقى من الربوا ان كسم مومس ﴿٢٧٨﴾ فان لم يفعلوا فادبوا محرب من الله [
- ورسوله وان بسم و[لكم روس امولكم لا يظلمون ولا يظلمون ﴿٢٧٩﴾ وان كان دو عسره فطره الى مسره وان [
- بصدفوا احبيرا لك]م ان كسم تعلمون ﴿٢٨٠﴾ وانفوا يوما برجعون فيه الى الله بم بوقى كل نفس ما كسب [
- 5 وهم لا يظلمون ﴿٢٨١﴾] بابها الدين اموا اذا بداسم بدن الى احل مسى فاكسوه وليكب بسكم كاتب بالعدل [
- ولا ياتى كسب ان يك]ب كما علمه الله فليكب وللمل الذى عليه الحق ولسق الله ربه ولا يحس [
- مدته سا فان كان [الذى عليه الحق سعيها او صعفا او لا تسطيع ان يمل هو فليمل ولنه بالعدل واستشهد [
- واسهدين من رجلا]كم فان لم يكونا رجلين فرجل وامرأتان ممن برصون من السهدا ان يصل احدهما فدكر [
- احدهما الاحترى [ولا يات السهدا اذا ما دعوا ولا تساموا ان تكسوه صعبرا او كسرا الى احله ذلكم [
- 10 افسط عند الله و[فوم للسهده وادى الا ربناوا الا ان يكون محره حاصره بدروها بسكم فليس عليكم [
- حاح الا تكسوه]وا [سهدوا اذا ساعم ولا نصار كاتب ولا شهد وان يفعلوا فانه فسوق بكم وا] [
- بقوا الله وبعلا]كم الله والله نكل سى علم ﴿٢٨٢﴾ وان كسم على سفر ولم يجدوا كتابا فربهن مفوضه فان امن [
- بعصكم بعصا فليو]د الذى او من امسه ولسق الله ربه ولا تكسوا السهده ومن تكمها فانه ام فله وا] [
- لله بما يعملون عد]بم ﴿٢٨٣﴾ لله ما فى السموت وما فى الارض وان سدوا ما فى انفسكم او محفوه محاسكم [
- 15 نه الله فعفر]م من نسا وبعده من نسا والله على كل سى قدير ﴿٢٨٤﴾ امن الرسول بما انزل اله من ربه و [
- المؤمنون كل امن بال]له ومليكه وكسه ورسله لا يعرفون احد من رسله وقالوا سمعنا واطعنا [



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Handwritten Arabic script on a fragment of papyrus, showing significant damage and fragmentation. The text is arranged in approximately 17 horizontal lines, with some lines being partially obscured by tears and holes in the material. The script is a cursive style, likely Maghrebi or similar, and appears to be a fragment of a larger text. The fragment is divided into three main sections by vertical tears, with the most legible text in the middle section. The right edge of the fragment is numbered 1 through 17, corresponding to the lines of text.

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- ↓ [أحق بالملك منه ولم يوب سعه من المال قال إن الله اصطفاه عليكم] [و] [إن] [أ] [ده] [سطه] [في] [العلم] [و] [الح] [س] [م] [والله] [يؤتي] [ملكه] [من] [نسا] [والله] [وسع] [علم] [٢٤٧] [وقال] [لهم] [سهم] [إن] [إنه] [ملكه] [إن] [بأنكم] [ال] [ب] [أ] [ب] [وب] [فه] [س] [ك] [س] [به] [من] [ر] [بكم] [وبصه] [مما] [ب] [رك] [ال] [موسى] [وال] [هرون] [محملة] [الملئكة] [إن] [في] [ذلك] [لأنه] [لكم] [إن] [ك] [ب] [س] [م] [مومد] [س] [٢٤٨] [فلما] [فص] [ل] [طلب] [ب] [الجود] [قال] [إن] [الله] [مسلئكم] [بهر] [من] [سرب] [منه] [فلس] [مى] [ومن] [لم] [ب] [ط] [ع] [مه] [ف] [أ] [به] [مى] [ال] [من] [أ] [عرف] [عرفه] [٥] [بده] [فسربوا] [منه] [ال] [فلئلا] [مهم] [فلما] [حاوره] [هو] [والدين] [أموا] [م] [ع] [ه] [ف] [الوا] [لا] [طافه] [ل] [ب] [نا] [ال] [يوم] [ب] [جلوب] [و] [حوده] [قال] [الدين] [بظون] [أهم] [ملفوا] [الله] [كم] [من] [ف] [ه] [ف] [لئله] [ع] [ب] [س] [فه] [كسره] [ب] [ادن] [ال] [له] [و] [الله] [مع] [الصبر] [٢٤٩] [ولما] [نرروا] [المحالب] [و] [حوده] [ف] [الوا] [ربنا] [أ] [ب] [ع] [ع] [لنا] [ص] [ب] [ر] [أ] [و] [ب] [أ] [ب] [أ] [ف] [د] [منا] [و] [انصرنا] [على] [القوم] [الكفر] [٢٥٠] [فهم] [موهم] [ب] [ادن] [الله] [وقبل] [داود] [حالب] [أ] [و] [أ] [ه] [الله] [الملك] [و] [الحكمه] [وعلمه] [مما] [نسا] [ولو] [لا] [دفع] [الله] [الباس] [بعضهم] [بعض] [لفسد] [الارض] [ولك] [ب] [س] [الله] [د] [و] [ف] [ص] [ل] [ع] [لى] [ال] [علم] [س] [٢٥١] [بلك] [آيات] [١٠] [الله] [سلوها] [عليك] [بالحق] [وإنك] [لمن] [المرسل] [٢٥٢] [بلك] [ال] [رسل] [ف] [ص] [ل] [ب] [أ] [ع] [ضهم] [على] [بعض] [م] [هم] [من] [كلم] [الله] [ورفع] [بعضهم] [درج] [وإنسا] [عسى] [إن] [مریم] [السب] [وإن] [د] [ه] [روح] [القدس] [و] [لو] [س] [أ] [ال] [له] [م] [أ] [افتتلوا] [الدين] [من] [بعدهم] [من] [بعد] [ما] [حائم] [السب] [ولكن] [أحلفوا] [فمهم] [من] [أمن] [ومهم] [من] [ك] [ع] [رو] [لو] [س] [أ] [ال] [له] [ما] [أ] [ف] [سل] [ولكن] [الله] [يفعل] [ما] [يريد] [٢٥٣] [بأنها] [الدين] [أموا] [انصفوا] [مما] [ررئكم] [من] [فل] [إن] [بأنى] [أ] [يوم] [لا] [أ] [ب] [ع] [ف] [س] [ه] [ولا] [أ] [أ] [ه] [ولا] [سفعه] [والكفرون] [هم] [الظلمون] [٢٥٤] [الله] [لا] [اله] [إلا] [هو] [الحى] [الصوم] [لا] [ب] [أ] [أ] [ده] [س] [ه] [ولا] [ب] [أ] [له] [ما] [فى] [السموب] [١٥] [وما] [فى] [الارض] [من] [دا] [الدى] [سفع] [عنده] [إلا] [بأنه] [نعلم] [ما] [س] [أ] [ب] [هم] [وما] [أ] [ف] [هم] [و] [لا] [ب] [أ] [ب] [طون] [س] [أ] [من] [علمه] [إلا] [بما] [سا] [وسع] [كرسه] [السموب] [والارض] [و] [لا] [ب] [وده] [حفظهما] [و] [هو] [العلی] [العظم] [٢٥٥] [لا] [أ] [كره] [فى] [الدين] [فد] [س] [الرسد] [من] [العی] [فمن] [بكر] [بالطوب] [و] [بوم] [بالله] [ف] [أ] [س] [مسك]

		١
	والله يرحم عباده	٢
	فوقه مما	٣
	طوبى للعباد	٤
	من يوم	٥
	اليوم لا يلوون	٦
	عنهم ولا يورثون	٧
	الارضنا وامصرتنا	٨
	الارضه وعلمه مما	٩
	الارض والسموات	١٠
	والارض والسموات	١١
	والارض والسموات	١٢
	والارض والسموات	١٣
	والارض والسموات	١٤
	والارض والسموات	١٥
	والارض والسموات	١٦
	والارض والسموات	١٧



- ← ان الله عفو رحيم ﴿٢٣٥﴾ لا [ح] يح [ع] عليكم ان تطلمصوا اليتيم [سا ما لم تمسوهن او تصرفوا لهن فرصه ومعهن] على الموسع قدره وعدلى [الى] مفسر قدره معا بالمتبع [يروف حفا على المحسن ﴿٢٣٦﴾ وان طلعموهن من قبل ان] تمسوهن وقد فرصتم لهن فرصه فبصف ما فرصم الا ان يعفون او يعفوا الذى سده عهده الكاح [وان يعفوا اقر للبع [وى ولا تنسوا الف] صل تسك [م ان الله بما تعملون بصير ﴿٢٣٧﴾ حفظوا على الصلوة] والصلوة الوسطى [وفوموا لله] فس ﴿٢٣٨﴾ وان [حضم فرحالا اوركنا فاذا امسم فادكروا الله كما] علمكم ما لم تكونوا [تعلموا] ان ﴿٢٣٩﴾ [والدين] سوفون [منكم ويندرون اروحا وصه لاروحهم معا الى الحول] عرا حرج فان حرج فلا حرج عليكم فيما فعلن فى [انفسهن من معروف والله عذر حكيم ﴿٢٤٠﴾ وللمظلم] مع بالمعروف [ح] ما على المنص ﴿٢٤١﴾ كذالك [س] الله لكم انه لعلكم تعملون ﴿٢٤٢﴾ الم ير الى الذين حرجوا [من دبرهم وهم الوف حذر الموت فعال لهما] الله موبوا ثم احبهم ان الله لدو فصل على الناس ولكن] 10 اكرال [با] س لا تسكرون ﴿٢٤٣﴾ وقلوا فى [س] سئل الله واعلموا ان الله سميع علم ﴿٢٤٤﴾ من ذا الذى يعرض الله فرصا ح [س] لنا فصعفه له اصعب [ا] كسره والله يقص ويصط والله يرحعون ﴿٢٤٥﴾ الم ير الى الملا من [س] [اسريل من بعد مو] [س] [د] قالوا لى لهم ابع لنا ملكا يقبل فى سئل الله قال هل عسى ان كتب عليكم الفيل الا نقتلوا [ا] قالوا وما لنا الا يقبل فى سئل الله وقد احرحنا من دبرنا واسيا [ا] فلم [ا] كتب عد [هم] [ا] ليعال تولوا الا فلينا مهم والله علم بالظلمس ﴿٢٤٦﴾ 15 وقال لهم نبيهم ان الله قد بع لكم [طالبون ملكا قالوا اى نكون له الملك علسا ونحن]

- ← [ان يحافا الا نصما حدود الله فان حصم الا نصما حدود الله فلا حياح علد] هـما فـ[ما افتتدت  
 ]به تلك حدود الله فلا بعدوها ومن بعد حدود الله فاولئك هم الظلمون ﴿٢٢٩﴾ فان طلعـ[ها] فـ[ولا يحل له (vacat) من  
 ]بعد حتى يسبح روحا غيره فان طلعها فلا حياح عليهما ان سراحعا ان طبا ان نصما حدـ[و]اد الـ[له] و[الـ]ك  
 ]حدود الله نسها لقوم يعلمون ﴿٢٣٠﴾ وادا طلعم النساء فلعن اولهن فامسكوهـ[ن] بمعرفـ[و]ف او سرحوهن  
 5 [بمعروف ولا تمسكوهن صرارا لبعدها ومن يفعل ذلك فقد ظلم نفسه] ولا تتخذوا آيات الله هروا  
 ]وادكروا نعمت الله عليكم وما ابرل عليكم من الكسب والحكمة يعظكم به وايـ[و]ا الله واعلموا ان الله  
 ]بكل شئ عليم ﴿٢٣١﴾ وادا طلعم النساء فلعن اولهن فلا يعصلوهن ان يسكنن اروحهنـ[ن] ادا برصوا بينهم نا  
 ]لمعروف ذلك نوعط به من كان مسك يومئذ بالله والنوم الا حر ذلكم اركي لكم وا[طه]ـ[ر] والله يعلم واسم  
 ]لا تعلمون ﴿٢٣٢﴾ والولد برصع اولدهن حولن كاملن لمن اراد ان سم الرصاعه و[على] لمولود له ررهن  
 10 [وكسوتهن بالمعروف لا تكلف نفس الا وسعها الا بصار ولده نو]لدـ[ها] ولا مولود له بولده  
 ]وعلى الوارب مثل ذلك فان ارادا فصلا عن براص منهما ودياور فلا حياح علدـ[هم] ما وان اردنم ان دـ[سر]  
 ]صعوا اولدكم فلا حياح عليكم ادا سلمتم ما اسم بالمعروف وايـ[و]ا الله واعلموا ان  
 ]الله بما تعملون بصير ﴿٢٣٣﴾ والدين سوفون مسك ويندرون اروحا برصن نايـ[هن] اربعة اشهرو  
 ]عسرا فاذا بلعن اولهن فلا حياح عليكم فيما فعلن في انفسهن بالمعروف] والله بما تعملون حسيـ[ر] ﴿٢٣٤﴾  
 15 [ولا حياح عليكم فيما عرصم به من حطه النساء او اكسمن في انفسكم] علم الله انكم سيدكر  
 ]ويهن ولكن لا نواعدوهن سرا الا ان يقولوا قولنا معروفا ولا نعرموا ععدـ[ه] الكـ[ح] حتى سلع  
 ]الكسب احله واعلموا ان الله يعلم ما في انفسكم فاحدروه] واعلموا





- ↓ سَكَحُوا التَّمَةَ سَرَكَاءَ [سِ حَى يَوْمِئِذٍ مَوْمِنٍ حَرَمٍ مَسْرُوكٍ وَلَوْ أَعْحَكُمُ أَوْلِيكُ] [دَعَوْنَ] [إِلَى التَّمَةِ] [بِأَرْوَاقِهَا] [بِهِ يَدْعُو إِلَى الْحَمَةِ وَالْمَعْفَرَةِ بِأَدْبِهِ وَيَسُ اسْمَهُ لِلنَّاسِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ] [۲۲۱] [وَسَلُّوْكَ عَنِ الْمَتِحِ] [بِصَ فَلَ هُوَادِي فَاعْرَلُوا السَّاءِ فِي الْمَحْصِ وَلَا تَقْرَبُوهُنَّ حَتَّى يَطْهَرْنَ] [فَإِذَا طَهَّرْنَ فَأَيُّهُنَّ تَمَّ] [سِ حَسْبُ أَمْرِكُمْ اللَّهُ إِنْ اللَّهُ يَحِبُّ التَّوْبَةَ وَيَحِبُّ الْمُطَهَّرِينَ] [۲۲۲]
- 5 سَاكُمُ حَرْبٌ لَكُمْ فَإِنْ بَوَّأْتُمْ حَرْبَكُمْ أَيْ سَسِمُوا وَفَدَمُوا لِأَنفُسِكُمْ وَأَيُّوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا] [أَنْتُمْ مَلْعُونَةٌ] [وَسِرَّالْمِ] [يَوْمِئِذٍ] [۲۲۳] [وَلَا تَحْمِلُوا اللَّهَ عَرْصَةَ أَنْ تَسْجُدَ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَسْرُوا وَيَسْعُوا وَيَصْلِحُوا] [بِئْسَ الدِّينَاسُ] [وَاللَّهُ سَدَّ] [مَنْعَ عِلْمٍ] [۲۲۴] [لَا يُوَاحِدُكُمْ اللَّهُ بِاللَّعْوِ فِي أَسْمِكُمْ وَلَكِنْ يُوَاحِدُكُمْ بِمَا] [كَسَبْتُمْ] [فَوَلَّوْا نَفْسَكُمْ] [وَاللَّهُ] [بِهِ عَمُورٌ] [حَلِيمٌ] [۲۲۵] [لِلَّذِينَ يُولُونَ مِنْ دَسَائِمِهِمْ] [بَرِيصٌ] [أَرْبَعَةَ] [أَشْهُرٍ] [فَإِنْ] [فَأَوْ] [فَاتَى] [اللَّهُ] [عَدَّ] [عَمُورٌ] [رَحِيمٌ] [۲۲۶] [وَإِنْ] [عَرَمُوا] [الطَّلُقَ] [فَإِنَّ] [اللَّهُ] [سَمِيعٌ] [عَلِيمٌ] [۲۲۷] [وَالْمَطْلُفَ]
- 10 بَرِيصٌ دَائِمٌ سَهْنٌ بِلَيْهِ [فَرَوْوَلَا] [يَحِلُّ] [لَهُنَّ] [أَنْ] [تَكُنَّ] [مَا] [حَلَقَ] [اللَّهُ] [فِي] [أَرْحَامِهِنَّ] [أَنْ] [كُنَّ] [يَوْمَئِذٍ] [دَائِمَةً] [اللَّهُ] [وَالنَّوْمُ] [الْأَحْرُ] [وَيَعُولُهُنَّ] [أَحْوٌ] [بَرْدُهُنَّ] [فِي] [ذَلِكَ] [أَنْ] [أَرَادُوا] [أَصْلِحًا] [وَلَهُنَّ] [مِثْلُ] [الَّذِي] [عَدَّ] [لَهُنَّ] [بِالْمَعْرِ] [رُوفٍ] [وَلِلرَّحَالِ] [عَلَيْهِنَّ] [دَرَجَةٌ] [وَاللَّهُ] [عَرِيبٌ] [حَكِيمٌ] [۲۲۸] [الطَّلُقُ] [مَرِيانٌ] [فَامٌ] [سِ] [بِكُمْ] [مَعْرُوفٌ] [أَوْ] [سَرِيحٌ] [بِأَحْسٍ] [وَلَا] [يَحِلُّ] [لَكُمْ] [أَنْ] [تَأْخُذُوا] [مِمَّا] [أَسْمَوْهُنَّ] [سِ] [أَلَا]



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- ↓ لمن انفي واد<sup>٢</sup> [عوا الله واعلموا انكم اليه محسرون ﴿٢٠٣﴾ ومن الناس من يعحك قوله في الحوهِ الدسا ويسهد الله [عد<sup>٢</sup> ما في قلبه وهو<sup>٢</sup> [الدا] لل[حصد] م ﴿٢٠٤﴾ وادا بولى سعى في الارض لفسد فيها وبهلك الحرب والنسل والله لا<sup>٢</sup> تحب ال<sup>٢</sup> [فسد] ماد<sup>٢</sup> ﴿٢٠٥﴾ [وا] دا [قل له انق] الله [احدنه] ل<sup>٢</sup> [لعره بالانم] [ف] [احد] [سسه جهنم وليس المهاد] ﴿٢٠٦﴾ ومن الناس من يسرى [نفسه اسعا مرضاب الله والله] روف بالعد [ماد] ﴿٢٠٧﴾ يا ايها الذين امنوا ادخلوا في السلم كافة
- 5 [ول] [ما] سعوا حد<sup>٢</sup> [طوب ال] [تسط] [ين] [انه ل] [كم] [عد] دو مبس ﴿٢٠٨﴾ فان رللم من بعد ما حانكم النسب [فاعلم<sup>٢</sup> [وا ان الله عرب] [حكيم] ﴿٢٠٩﴾ هل يد<sup>٢</sup> [طرو] ان الا ان ناسه تم<sup>٢</sup> [الله في ظل من العمام والملكه] [وفصى الا] [مروالى الله تر] [جمع الامور] ﴿٢١٠﴾ [س] [يل] [د] [نق] اسربل [كم] انهم من انه نسبه ومن بدل [نعم] [ه] [الله] (vacat) [من] [بعد ما] [حانه فان] الله سدند العف<sup>٢</sup> [ب] ﴿٢١١﴾ رن للدين كفروا الحوهِ الدسا [و] [تسحر] [ون من] [الدين] [منوا] [و] [الدين] [نقوا] [فهم يوم الصمه والله يروق من نسا نعر] [احساب] ﴿٢١٢﴾ [كان ال] [ناس] [ا] [مه وحده فعب ال] [له] [لسن مسربين ومندرين وانزل معهم] [الكب نا] [لحق لحد] [تك] [م] [بين] [الناس فيما] [احلفوا] [فيه من الحق نادنه والله يهدى] [م] [ين] [يش] [الى] [اصر] [ط] [مسعم] ﴿٢١٣﴾ [ا] م حسبم ان [يدخلوا المحه ولما ناكم] [امل الد] [د] [ن] [حلوا] [من] [من] [مستهم النسا] [لصرا ورتلوا] [حتى يقول الرسول]

↓ [أدى من رأسه فعدته من صيام أو صدقه أو نسك فإذا أمسم فمن نصح بالعمرة إلى الحج] فما أسدسر من  
 [الهدى فمن لم يجد فصيام بئله إنا في الحج وسعنا إذا رجعتم بلك ع] أسره ك [با] أمله  
 [ذلك لمن لم يكن أهله حاضري المسجد الحرام وانصوا الله واعلموا أن الله س] دد د الع عاب ﴿١٩٦﴾  
 [الحج أسهر معلوم من فرض فهن الحج فلا رف ولا فسوق و] لا [حدا] ل [في] [ال] حج  
 5 [وما فعلوا من حبر بعلمه الله وبرودوا فان حبر الراد الصوى وانصون ناول] ل [اللد] ب ﴿١٩٧﴾

± 8 to 10 lines missing





- ← ولا تبشروا هُنَّ وَاِذَا سَمِعْتُمْ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ لَكُمْ حَدُودَ اللَّهِ فَلَا تَعْرِبُوهَا كَمَا سَمِعْتُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ [
- آيَةُ لِلنَّاسِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ] مَن يَبْغُضْكُمْ وَيَبْغُضُوا وَلَا تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَالَكُمْ بَيْنَكُمْ بِالْبُطْلِ وَيَبْدُلُوا بِهَا إِلَى الْحُكْمِ لِأَكْلُوا فَرِيضًا [
- مِنَ أَمْوَالِ الَّذِينَ هَانَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْحَيَاةُ وَاللَّذِينَ هَانَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَمْوَالُهُمْ فَلَا هُمْ يَفْقَهُونَ] نَسَلُوكَ مِنَ الْإِنثَاءِ فَلَا يَصِحُّ لِلنَّاسِ وَالْحَيَّةِ وَلِلنَّاسِ [
- الْبِرِّ بَانَ نَاتُوا الْبَيْتَ] يَوْمَ مِنْ طَهَّرَهَا وَلَكِنَّ الرِّمَّ مِنْ أَيْمَانِ وَأَيْمَانِ السُّبُورِ مِنْ أَيْمَانِهَا [
- 5 [وَأَمَّا] وَوَاللَّهُ لَعَدُوٌّ لَكُم مَن يَفْلَحُونَ ﴿١٨٧﴾ وَفَلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ الَّذِينَ يَصِلُونَكُمْ وَلَا يَعْدُوا [
- أَنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَدْرِي] حَتَّى الْمَعْدِينِ ﴿١٩٠﴾ وَأَقْبَلُوهُمْ حَتَّى يَفْصِمُوهُمْ وَأَحْرَجُوهُمْ مِنْ حَتَّى أَحْرَجُوكُمْ [
- وَالْبَيْتِ] سَدِّهَا [سَدِّ مِنَ الصَّلَاةِ وَلَا يَصِلُوهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ حَتَّى يَصِلُوَكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِنْ فُتِقُوا [
- [وَأَقْبَلُوهُمْ] كَمَا [بَدَلُوا حَرَامَ الْكُفْرِيِّ] فَإِنْ أَسْهَوْا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ ﴿١٩٢﴾ وَفَلُوا حَتَّى [
- [لَا] تَأْتِكُمْ [يَوْمَ] فِيهِ وَيَكُونُ الَّذِينَ لَكُمْ فَإِنْ أَسْهَوْا فَلَا عُدُونَ إِلَّا عَلَى الظُّلْمِ ﴿١٩٣﴾ السَّهْرُ [
- 10 الْحَرَامِ بِالشَّهْرِ] بِرِ الْحَرَامِ وَالْحَرَمِ فَصَاصَ فَمَنْ أَعْدَى عَلَيْكُمْ فَاعْبُدُوا عَلَيْهِ نَسَلِ [
- مَا أَعْدَى] عَلَى عَلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْصَبُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿١٩٤﴾ وَأَنْصَبُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ [
- [وَالَّذِينَ] لَا يَلْفَعُوا [بِ] تَأْتِيكُمْ إِلَى الْهَلِكَةِ وَأَحْسَبُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ بِحَسْبِ الْمُحْسِنِينَ ﴿١٩٥﴾ وَأَمَّا الْحَجُّ وَالْعُمْرَةُ [
- [لِللَّهِ] فَإِنْ أَحْصَرْتُمْ فِيهَا مَا اسْتَسْرَمَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ وَلَا يَحْلِفُوا بِرُؤْسِكُمْ حَتَّى يَبْلُغَ الْهَدْيُ مَحَلَّهُ فَمَنْ كَانَ مِنْكُمْ مَرِيضًا أَوْ بِهِ [

- ↓ [فمن بدله بعدما سمعه فانما اسمه على الدين بدلوه ان الله سمع علم ﴿١٨١﴾ فمن حا] ف من مواص (vacat)
- [حفا او انما فاصلح سهم فلا اسم عليه ان الله عفور رحيم ﴿١٨٢﴾ بانها الدين] امنوا كتب عليكم
- [الصيام كما كتب على الدين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون ﴿١٨٣﴾ انما معدود] ف من كان منكم مريضا
- [او على سفر فعده من انام احرو على الدين بطهونه فدينه طعام مس] كي من فمن تطوع
- 5 [حررا فهو حر له وان بصوموا حر لکم ان کسم تعلمون ﴿١٨٤﴾ شهر رمضان الذي ا] نزل فيه الفرقان
- [هدى للناس ونسب من الهدى والفرقان فمن شهد منكم ال] شهر فليصمه
- [ومن كان مريضا او على سفر فعده من انام احرو بريد الله لكم السر ولا بريد نك] ام العسر
- [وليكملوا العده وليكروا الله على ما هديكم ولعلكم تذكرون ﴿١٨٥﴾ واد] سالک عبيدى عنى
- [فانى قربت احب دعوه الداع اذا دعان فليستحسوا لى وليوم] نو [ا] لى لعلهم
- 10 [يرسدون ﴿١٨٦﴾ احل لكم لبلة الصيام الرف الى سائكم هن لباس] لکم وانتم
- [لباس لهن علم الله انكم كسم محابون انفسكم فبات عليكم و] ع [با] عندكم ولن
- [تسروهن واسعوا ما كتب الله لكم وكلوا واسربوا حتى تنس] لکم ال [حيط
- [الانص من الحظ الاسود من الفجر ثم اموا الصيام] لى اليل





± 5 to 7 lines missing

← السد [١٧٤] بل [١٧٥] والسائلين وفي الرفاق واقام الصلوه واني الركوه والموفون بعهدهم ادا  
 عهدو [١٧٦] والصبرين في الناسا والصرا وحن الناس اولئك الدس صدقوا واولئك  
 هم [١٧٧] لمسعون ﴿١٧٧﴾ بابها الدس اموا كتب عليكم الفصاص في الصلى الحر بالحر والعد  
 [١٧٨] لعد [١٧٩] والانى بالانى فمن عفى له من احنه سى فاسباع بالمعروف وادا الله باحسن ذلك  
 5 تحصف [١٨٠] من ربكم ورحمه فمن اعدى بعد ذلك فله عذاب اليم ﴿١٨٠﴾ ولكم في الفصاص  
 حيوه نا [١٨١] والى الالب لعلكم بسعون ﴿١٨١﴾ كتب عليكم ادا حصر احدكم الموت  
 ان ترك [١٨٢] الوصيه للولدس والافريس بالمعروف حفا على المسس ﴿١٨٢﴾

- ← [وَأَلْهَمَ سَبْرُونَ ﴿١٦٣﴾ وَالْهَكْمَ لَهُ وَحْدًا لِّبَابِ إِلَيْهِ الْإِهْتِدَاءُ وَالرَّحْمَنَ الرَّحِيمَ ﴿١٦٤﴾
- [أَنَّ فِي حُلُقِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَأَحْلَفَ اللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ وَالْعُلُوكَ] التي تحرى فى البحر بما يتنزه جمع
- [النَّاسِ وَمَا أُنزِلَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مِنْ مَّا فَاحَا بِهِ الْإَرْضَ بَعْدَ مَوْبِهَا وَدِئَابِ فِيهَا] من كل دابته
- [وَبَصُرِيفَ الرِّيحِ وَالسَّحَابِ الْمَسْحُورِ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ لِأَنَّ لِقَوْمَ] يعقلون ﴿١٦٤﴾ ومن الناس من يتحد
- 5 [مَنْ دُونَ اللَّهِ أَنْدَادًا مَحْوَاهُمْ كَحُبِّ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَسَدًا حَالًا لِلَّهِ وَلَوْ] ترى الدين ظلموا ادا
- [يُرُونَ الْعَذَابَ أَنَّ الْفَوْهَ لِلَّهِ جَمْعًا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَدِيدَ الْعَذَابِ ﴿١٦٥﴾ أَدْبَارًا] الذين اتبعوا من :::
- [الَّذِينَ اسْتَعَاوُوا إِلَى الْعَذَابِ وَبَطَّعَتْ لَهُمُ الْإِسْبَابَ ﴿١٦٦﴾ وَقَالَ] الذين اتبعوا لو ان لنا
- [كَرِهَ فَسَدْرًا مَهْمًا كَمَا سَرُوا مِمَّا كَذَلِكَ يَرْهَمُ اللَّهُ أَعْمَلَهُمْ] حسرتت عداهم وما
- [هُمْ مَحْرُوسُونَ مِنَ النَّارِ ﴿١٦٧﴾ نَابَهَا النَّاسُ كُلُّوْا مِمَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ حَلَالًا] طمنا ولا تتبعوا
- 10 [حَطُوبِ السَّيْطَانِ إِنَّهُ لَكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مُبِينٌ ﴿١٦٨﴾ إِنَّمَا نَأْمُرُكُم بِالسُّوَالِ] حسنا وان تقولوا على الله
- [مَا لَا نَعْلَمُونَ ﴿١٦٩﴾ وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمْ اسْتَعَاوُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ فَالْوَالِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مَا الْفَعْلُ] لنا عليمه
- [إِنَّا أَوَّلُ كَانُوا هُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ سَاءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ ﴿١٧٠﴾ وَمِثْلَ الَّذِينَ] كفروا كمل
- [الَّذِينَ سَعَوْا بِمَا لَا نَسْمَعُ إِلَّا دَعَا وَبَدَا صَمٌّ بِكُمْ عَمِي فَهَمَّ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ ﴿١٧١﴾ نَادَى]ها الذين امنوا
- [كُلُّوْا مِنْ طَيِّبِ مَا رَزَقْنَاكُمْ وَاسْكُرُوا لِلَّهِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْبُدُونَ ﴿١٧٢﴾]





- ↓ الحرام وحيت <sup>١</sup> ما ك <sup>٢</sup> [سم فولوا وحوهكم سطره لئلا تكون للناس عليكم ححه الا الدين] [ظلموا منهم <sup>٣</sup> فلا محسوههم <sup>٤</sup> [واحسوى ولا تم نعمى عليكم ولعلكم بهدون <sup>٥</sup> ﴿١٥٠﴾ كما ارسلنا فيكم رسولا منكم <sup>٦</sup> يت <sup>٧</sup> [لد] <sup>٨</sup> **تو** عليكم <sup>٩</sup> [م اسما وبرككم وبعلمكم الكتب والحكمه وبعلمكم ما لم تكونوا تعلمون <sup>١٠</sup> ﴿١٥١﴾ <sup>١١</sup> فاذك <sup>١٢</sup> [روى اذكركم واسكروا الى ولا تكفرون <sup>١٣</sup> ﴿١٥٢﴾ نايها الدين اموا استعسوا]
- 5 بالصبرو (vacat) <sup>١٤</sup> الصلوا <sup>١٥</sup> [ه ان الله مع الصبرين <sup>١٦</sup> ﴿١٥٣﴾ ولا يقولوا لمن فصل في سبل الله اموب] بل احيا و <sup>١٧</sup> ك <sup>١٨</sup> س لا <sup>١٩</sup> تشع <sup>٢٠</sup> [رون <sup>٢١</sup> ﴿١٥٤﴾ ولسلوككم نسي من الخوف والجوع وبص من الامول والانس] والثمرت وبشر <sup>٢٢</sup> [لصبرين <sup>٢٣</sup> ﴿١٥٥﴾ الدين ادا اصمهم مصسه فالوا انا لله وانا اله رجعون <sup>٢٤</sup> ﴿١٥٦﴾ اوليك عليهم <sup>٢٥</sup> صل <sup>٢٦</sup> [وب من رهم ورحمه واوليك هم المهيدون <sup>٢٧</sup> ﴿١٥٧﴾ ان] الصفا و <sup>٢٨</sup> المرو <sup>٢٩</sup> [ه من سعاد الله فمن حج البت او اعمر فلا حياح]
- 10 عليه ان يطوب <sup>٣٠</sup> [بهما ومن بطوع حبرا فان الله ساكر علم <sup>٣١</sup> ﴿١٥٨﴾ ان الدين نكمون] ما انزلنا <sup>٣٢</sup> **من** السد <sup>٣٣</sup> [ب والهدى من بعد ما سبه للناس في الكتب] اوليك <sup>٣٤</sup> يلعمهم <sup>٣٥</sup> [الله وبعلمهم اللعون <sup>٣٦</sup> ﴿١٥٩﴾ الا الدين نايوا واصلحوا وبتوا فاوليك] اتوب <sup>٣٧</sup> علمهم <sup>٣٨</sup> [عنه الله والملكه والناس احمعن <sup>٣٩</sup> ﴿١٦٠﴾ حلدن فيها لا محف عنهم العذاب]

← [انمكم ان الله بالناس لرووف رحمم ﴿١٤٣﴾ فد] [د] [ر] [ي] تغلب وحهك  
 [في السما فلو لسك فله برصها فول وحه] [ك] [شطر المسحد  
 [الحرام وحب ما كسم فولوا وحوهكم س] [ط] [ره وان الدين  
 [اوبوا الكب لعلمون انه الحق من رهم وما] [الله بغبل عما  
 5 [عملون ﴿١٤٤﴾ ولس انب الدين اوبوا الكب د] [ك] [ل اياه ما  
 [نعوا فليك وما انب سابع فلهم وما نع] [ضهم بتبع  
 [فله نعص ولس اسعب اهواهم م] [ن] [بعد ما جا  
 [ك من العلم انك ادا لمن الظلمس ﴿١٤٥﴾ الد] [ين اتيهم  
 [الكب يعرفونه كما يعرفون اساهم وان فر] [نق م] [هم  
 10 [لكم من الحق وهم يعلمون ﴿١٤٦﴾ الحق من ربك] [ف] [لا تكونن  
 [من الممرس ﴿١٤٧﴾ ولكل وحهه هو مولها فاسدعوا] [الخيرت  
 [اس ما تكونوا باب نكم الله حمعا ان الله] [على كل شئ  
 [فدبر ﴿١٤٨﴾ ومن حب حرحب فول وحهك سطر] [المس] [حد]







- ↓ [العلمس ﴿١٢٢﴾ وانفوا يوما لا تحرى نفس عن نفس سا ولا فصل منها عدل ولا نفع] لها شعبه [ولا هم]
- [بصرون ﴿١٢٣﴾ واد اسلى ابرهم ربه نكلمت فامهن فال ابى حاعلك للناس اماما] [و] [مال ومن ذ] [رب] [تى فال]
- [لا سال عهدي الظلمس ﴿١٢٤﴾ واد جعلنا البت مبانه للناس واما واحدوا م] [ن مضم ابرهيم] [مصلى]
- [وعهدنا الى ابرهم واسمعيل ان طهرا نبي للطافس والعكس والركع ا] [لسجود ﴿١٢٥﴾] [واد]
- 5 [فال ابرهم رب احعل هذا بلدا اما واررو اهلته من السمرب من امن منها] [م بالله و] [ال] [تو] [م]
- [الاحرفال ومن كفر فامعه فللا نم اصطره الى عذاب النار وبتس المصير ﴿١٢٦﴾ واد برفع ا] [برهيم] [ال] [تفو] [اع] [تد]
- [من البت واسمعيل ربا فصل ما انك اب السمع العلم ﴿١٢٧﴾ ربا واحدا] [ت] [ا] [مسد] [مس لك]
- [ومن دربا امه مسلمه لك واربا ماسكنا وب علما انك اب النوا] [ت] [ال] [رحم] [ر] [رنا]
- [واعب فهم رسولا مهم سلو علمهم انك ويعلمهم الكت والح] [تكمه] [وبركهم انك]
- 10 [اب العربر المحكم ﴿١٢٩﴾ ومن برعب عن مله ابرهم الا من سعه نفسه ولعدا] [صد] [طفسه و] [تى]
- [الديا وانه فى الاحره لمن الصلحس ﴿١٣٠﴾ اد فال له ربه اسلم فال اسلمت لرب] [ال] [علمس]
- [ووصى بها ابرهم سبه ويعقوب نبي ان الله اصطفى لكم الدين فلا تمون الا واسم مسلمون]
- [ام كنم شهدا اد حصر يعقوب الموت اد فال لسبه ما بعدون من بعدى فالوا بعد الهك واله]
- [انا انك ابرهم واسمعيل واسحق]



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فانما احسن من  
تدبر علم كالم  
يا و هو سر ل  
انما هو سر و ج  
قد و الله كسر  
واو و هو سر  
الاول و هو  
الذي هو سر  
الاول و هو  
الذي هو سر  
الاول و هو



- ↓ [الملكس سائل هروب ومروب وما تعلمان من احد حتى يقولوا انما نحن فسد ولا نكفر فسد] [علمون] [منهم] [ما  
 [ما يعرفون به من المر وروحه وما هم بصارين به من احد الا نادى الله و] [تتعلمون] [ما نصبرهم] [م ولا  
 [تسمعهم ولقد علموا لمن اسرته ما له في الاحره من حلق ولبس ما] [شروا] [د] [ه] [انفسهم] [لو] [كا  
 [بوا تعلمون] [لو] [اهم] [اموا] [وانصوا] [لمنوبه] [من عبد الله حر لو ك] [ابوا] [د] [علمون] [بانه] [الد] [ن  
 5 [اموا لا يقولوا رعنا وقلوا انظربا واسمعوا وللكفرس عذاب] [الم] [ما يو] [ا] [الد] [ن  
 [كفروا من اهل الكتب ولا المسركس ان يرل عليكم من حد] [ر] [من ركم] [والله] [محتص  
 [برحمه من ساء والله ذو الفصل العظم] [ما يسح من انه او] [ننسيها] [نات] [بحير  
 [منها او مبلها الم تعلم ان الله على كل شى قدير] [الم تعلم ان الله له ملك] [الد] [س] [موت  
 [والارض وما لكم من دون الله من ولى ولا نصير] [ام يريدون ان نس] [و] [ارسول] [كم] [ما  
 10 [سل موسى من قبل ومن سدل الكفر بالانص فقد صل سوا السدل] [و] [د كثير من اهل  
 [الكتب لو يردونكم من بعد انكم كفارا حسدا من عند انفسهم لم] [من] [د] [عد] [ما  
 [س لهم الحق فاعفوا واصفحوا حتى يابى الله بامرهم ان الله على كل شى قدير] [و] [د  
 [واقموا الصلوه وابوا الركوه وما بعدوا لانفسكم من] [ن خير] [تجد] [وه] [عد] [د  
 [الله ان الله بما تعملون بصير] [و] [قالوا لن ندخل الجنة الا من كان هودا] [او نصرى] [ت] [د] [ك  
 15 [امانهم فل هابوا برهكم ان كسم صدق] [ن] [بلى من اسلم و] [جهه] [الله] [وهو]

Fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll with Arabic script, showing three columns of text. The fragment is numbered 1 through 15 on the right side, indicating lines of text. The script is written in a cursive hand. The fragment is divided into three vertical columns: a dark left column, a light tan middle column, and a lightest right column. A small number '7' is written in white ink near the bottom of the middle column.

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- ← به بلعه [ال]له على [الكفر]س [٨٩]د [سما اسروا به انفسهم ان تكفروا بما انزل الله بما انزل الله من فضل على من سا [س] [عباده] [فد] [او يعص على عص و للكفر عذاب مهس] و اذا قيل لهم امنوا بما انزل الله فالا [وا] [نو] من [بما انزل علنا و يكفرون بما وراه وهو الحق مصدقا لما معهم فل فلم]
- تفتلوا انبيا الله من [فد] [بل ان ك] [سم مومس] و لقد حاكم موسى بالنسب ثم احدث العجل من بعده واسم
- 5 ظلمون [٩٢] فاذا احدا [د] [ن] [ميش] [مكم و رفعا فوقكم الطور حدوا ما اسمكم نفوه و اسمعوا]
- فالوا س [معد] [ا و ع] [صد] [ا و] [سروا في فلوهم العجل تكفرهم فل نسما نامركم به اسمكم]
- ان كنتم مومنين [٩٣] فل ان [كاتب لكم الدار الاخره عند الله حالصه من دون الناس فممنوا]
- الموت ان اكتم [صد] [د] [س] [٩٤] و لن نسوه اندا بما قدمت اندهم و الله علم بالظلمس [٩٥]
- [و] [لتحدثهم ا] [ر] [ص] [ال] [س على حوه و من الدس اسركوا بود احدهم لو نعر الف سه و ما]
- 10 هو مخرج [م] [ا] [ال] [عذاب] [ان نعر و الله نصرنا نعملون] [٩٦] فل من كان عدوا لحريل فانه نرله على قلبك [بادن] [ال] [لله مصدقا لما نس نده و هدى و سرى للمومس] [٩٧] من كان عدوا لله و ملكته و رسله و [حريل و منكل فان الله عدو للكفرس] [٩٨] و لقد انزلنا النك ابنت و ما تكفر [ر] [ها] [ال] [س] [٩٩] او كلما عهدوا عهدا سده فريق مهم بل اكفرهم لا نومون]
- © [١٠٠] [و] [لما جاهم] [ر] [س] [ول] [من] [عند الله مصدق لما معهم سد فريق من الدس او بوا الكف]
- 15 كتب الاله [ور] [ا] [طه] [ورهم كماهم لا تعلمون] [١٠١] و اسعوا ما سلوا السطن على ملك
- سلتمس [و] [ما] [كف] [رسلتمس ولكن السطن كفروا تعلمون الناس السحر و ما انزل على]

- ← [كسب سديه واحطت به حطيه فاوليك اصحاب النار هم فيها حلدون ﴿٨١﴾ والدين امسوا وعملوا]
- [الصلح اوليك اصحاب المحه هم فيها حلدون ﴿٨٢﴾ واد احدنا مسو نبي اسريل لا] تعبدون الا الله
- [وبالولدين احسانا ودي العري والسمي والمسكن وقولوا للناس حسنا وافسموا الصدا] ملوه وانوا الركو
- [ه نم بولسم الا قليلا منكم واسم معرضون ﴿٨٣﴾ واد احدنا مسفكم لا تسفكون دما] كم ولا تخرجون
- 5 [انفسكم من ديركم نم افرريم واسم تسهدون ﴿٨٤﴾ نم اسم هولنا نصلون انفسكم] وتخرجون
- [فربعا منكم من ديرهم نظهرون علمهم بالانم والعدون وان نابوكم اسرا] ي بعدوهم وهو
- [محرم عليكم احراهم افومون بعض الكسب ويكفرون بعض فما] حررا ام من نصل
- [ذلك منكم الا حري في الحوه الدنيا ويوم القمه تردون الى اسد العدا] ب و ام ما الله
- [نعمل عما نعملون ﴿٨٥﴾ اوليك الدين اسرروا الحوه الدنيا بالاحره فلا د] احرف عهم
- 10 [العدا ولا هم نصرون ﴿٨٦﴾ ولقد اسنا موسى الكسب وفصا من بعده بالرسل واند] ما عسرا ي د [س م] اريم
- [السب واندبه بروح القدس افكلما حاكم رسول نما لا بهوي انفسكم اسكريم ففر] يفا كد [د] انتم
- [وفرربعا نصلون ﴿٨٧﴾ وقالوا فلوبنا علف بل لعهم الله نكفره] ام ففلي لا ما
- [يومون ﴿٨٨﴾ ولما حاهم كسب من عبد الله] مصدق [لم] ا
- [معهم وكانوا من قبل تسفحون على الدين كفروا فلما حاهم ما عر] فوا كفروا





- ↓ لا تفار [ص ولا تك] بر [عوان سن ذلك فافعلوا ما يومرون ﴿٦٨﴾ فالوا ادع لنا ربك سن لنا ما لوبها قال انه [
- يدقول ا] [بها] د [عنه صد] [عرا فافع لوبها بسر الطرس ﴿٦٩﴾ فالوا ادع لنا ربك سن لنا ما هي ان العر سنه [
- عليذ و] [انا ا] ان سا [الله لمهدون ﴿٧٠﴾ قال انه يقول انها نعه لا دلول بسر الارص ولا نسي الحرب [
- مسلمه] [لا سه] فه] [يا فالوا ال حب بالحق فد محوها وما كادوا يفعلون ﴿٧١﴾ واد فسلم نسا [
- 5 فادريم [فيها والله محر ح ما كسم بكمون ﴿٧٢﴾ فقلنا اصربوه نعضها كدلك نحي الله الموني [
- وبر [نكم اد] اته [لعلكم يفعلون ﴿٧٣﴾ نم فسب فلوبكم من بعد ذلك فهي كالحجاره او اسد فسوه وان من الحجاره [
- لما يت [محر منه] [الا د] [هروان منها لما نسيو فحرح منه الما وان منها لما نهط من حسه الله وما [
- المله] [نعد] بل [عما نعد] [لن] ﴿٧٤﴾ [افطمعون ان يوموا لكم وفد كان فريق مهم نسمعون كلم [
- المله] [نم مح] [رفونه] [من بعد ما عفلوه وهم نعلمون ﴿٧٥﴾ وادا لعوا الدس اموا فالوا اما وادا [
- 10 خلا [نعضهم الى نعض فالوا احدثوهم بما فتح الله عليكم لساحوكم نه عد ربكم افلا يفعلون ﴿٧٦﴾ [
- [ولا نعلمون ان الله نعلم ما نسررون وما نعلمون ﴿٧٧﴾ ومهم امون لا نعلمون الكس الا اماني [
- وان [هم الا نطون ﴿٧٨﴾ فويل للذين نكسوا الكس ناند هم نم يقولون هذا من عد الله لنسروا نه بما [
- [ولملا فويل لهم مما كسب اند هم وويل لهم مما نكسوا ﴿٧٩﴾ وقالوا لن نسا النار الا انما معدوده [
- [فل احدثم عند الله عهدا فلن محلف الله عهده ام يقولون على الله ما لا نعلمون ﴿٨٠﴾ نلى من [

- ← [عبرالدى قبل لهم فابرلنا على الدس ظلموا رحرا من السما د] ما كانوا بع[سعد]ون ﴿٥٩﴾ واد<sup>ر</sup>  
 [استسقى موسى لقومه فقلنا اصرب بعصاك المحرف فاصحرب منه ادس] ما عسره عينا فد  
 [علم كل اناس مسرهم كلوا واسربوا من ررق الله ولا بعوا فى الارص] مفسدس ﴿٦٠﴾ واد<sup>ر</sup>  
 [فلم بموسى لن بصر على طعام وحد فادع لنا ربك محرج لنا مما] اد<sup>ر</sup> [د] اد<sup>ر</sup> [د] اد<sup>ر</sup> الارص من  
 5 [بعلها وفابها وفومها وعدسها وبصلها فال استسدلون الذى هوادى د] بالدى هو حصر<sup>ر</sup> [ا] اهد<sup>ر</sup> [ط] وا  
 [مصرا فان لكم ما سالم وصرب عد] هم الذله والمسكه  
 [وناو بعصب من الله ذلك نا هم كانوا بكفرون باب الل] ه وفتلون النبين ابغ<sup>ر</sup> ير  
 [الحق ذلك بما عصوا وكانوا بعدون ﴿٦١﴾ ان الدس اموا و] الدس هدا<sup>ر</sup> وا<sup>ر</sup> [والد] اصرى<sup>ر</sup>  
 [والصس من امن بالله والنوم الاحر وعمل صلحا فلهم اجرهم] عند رهم و<sup>ر</sup> الا<sup>ر</sup> [حو] اف<sup>ر</sup>  
 10 [علمهم ولا هم محربون ﴿٦٢﴾ واد احدنا مسعكم ورفعا فوفكم الط] و[ر] اد<sup>ر</sup> ادوا ما ات<sup>ر</sup> [سكم]  
 [بعوه وادكروا ما فيه لعلكم بعون ﴿٦٣﴾ ثم بولسم من بعد ذلك فلولا ف] ضل الله عد<sup>ر</sup> كم<sup>ر</sup> ورحمته  
 [لكسم من المحسرس ﴿٦٤﴾ ولقد علمم الدس اعدوا مسكم فى الس] ب فقلنا ل<sup>ر</sup> هم كو<sup>ر</sup> نوا  
 [فرده حسس ﴿٦٥﴾ فحعلها بكلا لما بس بديها وما حلفها و] موعظه للمت<sup>ر</sup> [مس ﴿٦٦﴾ وا] اد<sup>ر</sup> فال  
 [موسى لقومه ان الله نامركم ان بدمحو بعره فالوا استحدنا ه] اد<sup>ر</sup> وا<sup>ر</sup> فال اد<sup>ر</sup> [ود باللد] اه<sup>ر</sup> ان  
 15 [اكون من الجهلس ﴿٦٧﴾ فالوا ادع لنا ربك سس لما ما هى فال اد] ه بقول انها بعره

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Handwritten Arabic script on a fragment of papyrus, showing significant damage and tear. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is dark brown and heavily worn, with many missing sections of text. The right edge of the fragment is numbered 1 through 15, corresponding to the lines of text. The text is written in a cursive style, typical of early Islamic manuscripts. The fragment is a portion of a larger sheet, as evidenced by the irregular edges and the way the text is cut off on the right side.



- ↓ وانها [لكسره الا على المحسعين ﴿٤٥﴾ الذين يظنون انهم ملءوا ربهم وانهم اليه رجعون ﴿٤٦﴾ سي] [اسريل اد] [كروا نعمي الي انعمت عليكم واني فصلتكم على العلمس ﴿٤٧﴾ وانفوا يوما لا تحرى] [نفسا] [عن] [نفس سا ولا تفعل منها سعهه ولا يوحد منها عدل ولا هم بصرون ﴿٤٨﴾ واد محسكم من ال] [فرعون] [سور] [موبكم سو العذاب يدحون انساكم وديسحون نساكم وفي ذلكم بلا من ر] [بكم] [عظم] [﴿٤٩﴾] [و] [ا] [د] [فر] [و] [ما] [بكم] [البحر] [فاحسكم] [واعرفنا] [ال] [فرعون] [واسم] [بظرون] [﴿٥٠﴾] [واد] [وعدنا] [موسى] [اربع] [س] [ل] [ل] [ل] [ه] [ثم] [ا] [ت] [يخدم] [العجل] [من] [بعده] [واسم] [ظلمون] [﴿٥١﴾] [ثم] [عقوبا] [عنكم] [من] [بعد] [دل] [ك] [لعلكم] [س] [ك] [رو] [ن] [﴿٥٢﴾] [و] [اد] [اسا] [موسى] [الكب] [والعرفان] [لعلكم] [يهدون] [﴿٥٣﴾] [واذ] [قال] [موسى] [القوم] [ه] [د] [و] [م] [انكم] [ظلمتم] [انفسكم] [بما] [حادكم] [العجل] [فوبوا] [الي] [باريكم] [بافتل] [و] [ا] [ان] [سكم] [دلکم] [ح] [ير] [لكم] [عد] [باريكم] [فان] [عليكم] [انه] [هو] [البواب] [الرحم] [﴿٥٤﴾] [واذ] [فلتم] [د] [موسى] [ال] [نوم] [ل] [ك] [حي] [يرى] [الله] [حهره] [فاحدكم] [الصعقه] [وا] [تم] [تنظر] [ون] [﴿٥٥﴾] [ثم] [بعثنا] [كم] [من] [بعد] [موبكم] [لعلكم] [تسكرون] [﴿٥٦﴾] [وظللتنا] [عليكم] [العمام] [واذ] [يرلنا] [عليكم] [المن] [و] [السلوى] [كلوا] [من] [طيب] [ما] [ررفكم] [وما] [ط] [لم] [ا] [ونا] [و] [ل] [ك] [ا] [نوا] [انفسهم] [بظلمون] [﴿٥٧﴾] [واد] [فلنا] [ادخلوا] [هذ] [ه] [الفر] [انه] [فكلا] [وا] [منها] [حب] [سدم] [رعدا] [وادخلوا] [الباب] [سجد] [ا] [و] [ولو] [ا] [حط] [ه] [بغير] [لكم] [حظكم] [وسريرد] [المحسن] [﴿٥٨﴾] [فدل] [الذين] [ظلموا] [فولا]

- ← [واد فال ربك للملكه ابي حائل في الارض حلقه فالوا المحعل فيها من بفسد فد] بها وسفك الدما  
 [ومح نسح محمدك وبعديس لك فال ابي اعلم ما لا تعلمون ﴿٣٠﴾ وعلم ادم ال] باسمها كلها ثم عرصهم  
 [على الملكه فقال ابوبى ناسما هولاء ان كسم صدقن ﴿٣١﴾ فالوا سجد] تك لا علم لنا الا ما علمنا  
 [انك اب العلم الحكيم ﴿٣٢﴾ فال نادم انهم ناسماهم فلما اد] هم باسمهم فال الم  
 5 [افل لكم ابي اعلم عب السموت والارض واعلم ما سدون وما] كسم نكتمون ﴿٣٣﴾ واذ فلنا  
 [للملكه اسجدوا لادم فسجدوا الا ابليس ابي واسكروكان م] الكفريس ﴿٣٤﴾ وقلنا نادم  
 [اسكن اب وروحك المحه وكلامها رعدا حب سبما] ولا نفرنا هذه (vacat)  
 [السحره فكونوا من الظلمن ﴿٣٥﴾ فارلها السطن عنها فاحرحه] مما [ك] نافعها وقلنا  
 [اهبطوا بعصمكم لعص عدوولكم في الارض مسفرومع الى] احسن ﴿٣٦﴾ فد] ابي ادم من ربه  
 10 [كلمت فبات عليه انه هو النواب الرحم ﴿٣٧﴾ فلنا اهبطوا] منها حمعا فاما يا  
 [بسكم مي هدى فمن سع هداى فلا خوف عليهم ولا هم] محرون ﴿٣٨﴾ والردس كفروا  
 [وكذبوا ناسا اوليك اصحب النارهم فد] بها حلدون ﴿٣٩﴾ سدسى اسريل  
 [ادكروا نعمى الى انعبت عليكم واوفوا بعهدى او] ف [بع] بها دكم وابي  
 [فارهبون ﴿٤٠﴾ واموا بما اربل مصدفا لما معكم ولا تكونوا] اول اكافره ولا تسروا  
 15 [ناسى بما فللا وابى فانبون ﴿٤١﴾ ولا تلبسوا الحو بالنطل وبكم] الو الحاقى وادم تعلمون ﴿٤٢﴾  
 [واقموا الصلوه وانوا الركوه واركعوا مع الركعن ﴿٤٣﴾ انا] مرون التباس بالرويسون  
 [انفسكم وانم تلون الكتب افلا تعلمون ﴿٤٤﴾ واسعبوا بالصبر] والصدلوه

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### Textual notes

**Page 2, 3** The horizontal line that appears under the negation *lā* belongs to a *kāf* whose ending must have been particularly elongated.

**Page 2, 3** There is a correction at the beginning of the phrase *باسماهم*. The copyist clearly started out tracing another letter in place of the first *alif*. He may have briefly been inclined to write *دسماهم* before realizing his mistake.

**Page 2, 9-10** Immediately below the sequence *مها*, one can see an oblique stroke running in between lines 9 and 10. This is clearly the descending part of a letter, but we cannot ascertain which one.

**Page 2, 13** It seems that a slash intersects the *fā'* that follows the break, so much so that it looks like a final *kāf*. We do not understand the purpose of this slash.

**Page 2, 14** The *rā'* of *kāfir* drops so deep that it almost looks like a final *nūn*.

**Page 8, 5** A hole in the papyrus is exactly between two verses, with neither the last word of verse 104 nor the first one of 105 missing. Therefore, it seems that either a blank space was left here, or an extra word was added, or a verse-ending marker inserted. We prefer this last solution, although it remains hypothetical.

**Page 23, 8** The decade divider placed after the participle *al-muttaqīn* seems to have been added by the copyist at a second stage. In the center of the mark, the remains of a *kāf* might be detected, as if the copyist had started writing *ka-dālīka* before changing his mind and drawing

the decade divider.

**Page 18** The surface of the papyrus is so completely abraded that only a few traces of unreadable text remain. The reconstruction of the quire reveals, however, that the page must have contained Qur'ān 2:194-202.

**Page 26, 1** The reading of the word is uncertain. One would expect *bi-mā ta'malūna baṣīr*, but the manuscript clearly displays the sequence *وا* [حسوں نصر] at the level of the break. The tooth before the *wāw* could be interpreted as the lower part of a *lām* whose upper part would be erased, in which case the scribe may have written *وا* [ع] as expected.

**Page 26, 3** The copyist apparently started writing *وا* [ع], before changing his mind and adding the plural inflection *وا*.

**Page 26, 4** It should be noted that the *tā'* of *al-ḥabīṭ* is so elongated that it extends below the *mīm* of *lastum*.

**Page 26, 8** The *rasm* clearly features the form *ووبوها* instead of *ووبوها*.

**Page 26, 9** The horizontal stroke that appears immediately below *hadā-hum* belongs to a *kāf* whose ending was elongated as much as possible.

**Page 27, 6** The final *bā'* of the participle *kātib* is so stretched that it passes under the verbal form *yaktuba*.

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**Edition of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 according to the  
*Corpus Coranicum* mark-up system**



### About the *Corpus Coranicum* mark-up system

The following transliteration presents the text of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in the mark-up system developed for the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica* used also for the series *Documenta Coranica*.<sup>213</sup> This conversion and transposition of Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem's papyrological edition into the system of the series was carried out by Charlotte Bohm (Berlin) and emended by the authors. *Documenta Coranica* uses the editorial system of *Corpus Coranicum*, developed and established in 2008 in collaboration with Tobias J. Jocham for the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica*.<sup>214</sup> We have developed a specific presentation mode using colour codes because brackets, as used in most modern text editions, disrupt words written in Arabic script.<sup>215</sup>

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213 Inspired by the editorial system of *Corpus Coranicum*, the respective colour codes showing differences with the King Fu'ād Edition (Cairo 1924) have been integrated into the "papyrological edition" by Tillier and Vanthieghem in the first section of this book.

214 *Manuscripta Coranica*, edited by M. Marx, published by Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences accessible under <https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/manuscripts>, provides access to more than 1,000 fragments of Qur'āns (including catalogue data, some 2,500 pages of transliteration, and more than 35,000 images).

215 This system takes into account suggestions given by Tobias J. Jocham in his unpublished master thesis (2009) dedicated to the edition of Qur'ān manuscripts Is. 1615 I and Is. 1615 II of the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin).




The mark-up system we present is better adapted to the horizontal connection between letters, a "backbone feature" of Arabic script and its aesthetics.

Seven different colour modes (see the table below) highlight letters and verse separators to direct the reader to relevant philological information on three levels:

(A) The first level is readability: The Arabic manuscript text is transliterated in the spelling as it appears in the document, with or without diacritical dots. If ascertaining a letter or a verse separator is ambiguous, the editors' interpretation is marked by blue coloured letters with a beige background. Text that is supposedly missing, in passages no longer available or in damaged and destroyed parts of the document, is written in grey using the spelling of the Egyptian printed edition without diacritics and vocalisation. First published in Cairo in 1924, it has been adopted by scholarship and became, academically speaking, the most important recent textual reference on the Qur'ān.<sup>216</sup>

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216 The official Egyptian edition printed in Cairo in 1924 was adopted by Western academics after Bergsträßer's introduction (G. Bergsträßer, "Koranlesung in Kairo," *Der Islam*, 20 [1932], 1-42; 21 (1933), 110-140) and has supplanted Gustav Flügel's Arabic edition of the Qur'ān (*Corani Textus Arabicus* [Leipzig: Ernst Bredt, 1834]). Since 1986, it has been tacitly reproduced (without its origin being cited in printed copies) by the Medinan Complex of King Fahd, which increased its popularity. The Cairene print, often labelled as "Standard Edition" of the Qur'ān (e.g. in some articles of the *Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān*), cannot however be considered a "global standard." Most African countries

The colour code mark-up system serves the purposes of a diplomatic edition, aiming at a visual representation of each manuscript page. Two of its features go – strictly speaking – beyond the rules of a diplomatic edition, as they add textual information from a reference edition: (a) With regard to the manuscript text<sup>217</sup> – usually quite close in spelling and wording to the commonly used text nowadays –, missing text is represented by the aforementioned reference edition. To guide the reader through the manuscript, (b) the verse numbering system of Kūfa used in the Egyptian print is provided inside verse separators . The edition does not take into account their different shapes in the manuscript. Verse ending markers (individual and decades) are represented, for instance, by  for the eighth verse of the Sūra, according to the numbering system of Kūfa, while the marker for the end of the line is represented by a stroke. Like in the papyrological edition, the sign  is used to represent the ornament sign used in the Sūra-ending headband (fol. 7v right).

(B) A second level of the transliteration registers modifications: Letters and signs erased by the initial scribe or by a later hand are written on a red background. The original spelling is highlighted, whereas the margin of the edition displays the presumed initial shape and the actual shape of the text. Modified letters, separators and words are marked up on a blue background. When possible, the initial state is given in the text, and the modified version in the margin. Elements not belonging to the Qur'ānic text, like traces of words after the last verse of Sūra 2, appear with the same colour code.

(C) On a third and last level, three colour codes allow us to visualize differences between the manuscript's spelling and the Egyptian print (Cairo 1924). "Additional" letters feature on a green background, "different" letters in blue, and "missing" letters (i.e., letters in the spelling of the Egyptian print that do not appear in the text of the papyrus) are marked by yellow colour. The reader will find the spelling of the

Egyptian print in the margins. Any textual element without any marking is identical with the Egyptian print. If two words in the 1924 Cairo edition are connected in the manuscript (or vice versa), the connected letters are highlighted using the colour code for discrepancy ("different letter").

After the edition of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in the *Corpus Coranicum* mark-up system (pp. 134-107), all images of the papyrus are provided in the order of the original codex (pp. 164-137). This mode of display represents the original structure of the codex. As all seven fragments are bifolia ("double folios"), the distribution of the Qur'ānic text on the existing fragments appears to be somewhat intricate. Each folio of the papyrus constitutes a heavily damaged fragment of an original bifolium; seven or presumably eight (p. 12) were bound together as a codex. Therefore, the 14 damaged surviving sheets contain remnants of 28 pages, displayed page by page in the following presentation. The square, slightly horizontal page format of the following edition gives also an idea of the presumed original size of the codex dimensions of about 200mm height to ca. 230 mm width (p. 11). The grey background corresponds vaguely to the presumedly original size of the pages.

Michael Marx

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adopt different readings and spellings, while Turkey, Iran, and the Indian subcontinent have their own spelling tradition (as becomes clear by the compilation of Arno Schmitt, *Kein Standard. Druckausgaben des Korans und ar-rasm al-Uṭmānī* [Berlin: Independently published, 2021]). Since a catalogue and edition require a *tertium comparationis*, the digital research data of *Corpus Coranicum* adopted the Cairene print, which contains the recension of Ḥafṣ following 'Āṣim, as a technical and philological reference.

<sup>217</sup> Looking at ancient manuscripts accessible in the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica*, we see little reason to assume that the Qur'ānic text was significantly different during the seventh and eighth centuries when compared with the common text today. Although we do not know in which spelling the missing text once appeared – and we cannot rule out the possibility that parts of the common text were different or missing, – we believe that giving an idea of presumably "missing text" is helpful for the reader.

**Readability of the text**

A-1	Easily readable	قال	Consonantal skeleton as Cairo 1924 or conforming therewith
A-2	Hard to read, ambiguous	قال	Decipherable text but ambiguous readability
A-3	Undecipherable, corrupt, missing text	قال	The text is noted as Cairo 1924 but without diacritical marks.

**Modifications of the text**

B-1	Without alterations	قال	Identical markup as A-1
B-2	Modified, corrected, manipulated	ينظرون	Modified text noted, whereas the original character is used if decipherable; corrections, Sūra headings etc. are marked likewise.
B-3	Erased	د و ا د	Erased in the original text

**Comparison with the printed edition of the Qur'ān, Cairo 1924**

C-1	Identical and compatible respectively	انزلنا	Identical markup as A-1
C-2	Additional text in the manuscript	فقال	Additional letter compared to Cairo 1924
C-3	Missing text in the manuscript	قل	Yellow background on the preceding letter or on the line before the letter, whilst the letter missing in the manuscript is given in the marginalia only.
C-4	Different letter	تختلف	Different letter form with regard to Cairo 1924 (mostly the same basic form with different diacritical marks, sometimes a different basic form).



- 1 عفرانک ربا والک المصر ﴿٢٨٥﴾ لا نکلف الله نفسا الا وسعها لها
- 2 ما کسب وعلها ما اکسب ربا لا نواحدنا ان نسبا
- 3 او احطانا ربا ولا يحمل علنا اصرا کما حملہ علی
- 4 الدس من فلنا ربا ولا محملا ما لا طافه لنا به واعف
- 5 فَأَنْصُرْنَا عما واعفر لنا وارحمنا اب مولسا وانصربا
- 6 علی العوم الکفرس ﴿٢٨٦﴾
- 7 الله وای .....
- 8 لک فای .....
- 9 الله .....
- 10 بم .....
- 11 حای .....

- 1 وعملوا الصلح واماوا الصلوه وانوا الركوه لهم احرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم ولا هم محزون ﴿٢٧٧﴾
- 2 نابها الدس اموا انعوا الله ودرروا ما نهي من الربوا ان كسم مومس ﴿٢٧٨﴾ فان لم يفعلوا فادبوا محرب من الله
- 3 ورسوله وان نسم فلکم روس امولکم لا نطمون ولا نطمون ﴿٢٧٩﴾ وان كان دو عسره فطره الى مسره وان
- 4 نصدفوا حبرا لکم ان کسم نعلمون ﴿٢٨٠﴾ وانعوا يوما برجعون فيه الى الله نم نوقى كل نفس ما کسب خیر
- 5 وهم لا نطمون ﴿٢٨١﴾ نابها الدس اموا ادا نداسم بدس الى احل مسمى فاکسوه ولنکت بسکم کاتب بالعدل
- 6 ولا ناب کتب ان نکت کما علمه الله فلنکت ولنملل الדי علیه الحق ولسق الله ربه ولا نحس کاتب
- 7 مبه سا فان کان الדי علیه الحق سفها او صعفا او لا نسطع ان نمل هو فلنمل وله بالعدل واسدشهد
- 8 وا شهدس من رجالکم فان لم نکوبا رحلس فرحل وامرانا من نرصون من السهدا ان نصل احدیها فذکر شَهِيدَيْنِ اَرَجَالِكُمْ
- 9 احدیها الاخرى ولا ناب السهدا ادا ما دعوا ولا نسموا ان نکسوه صعبرا او کسرا الى احله دلکم
- 10 افسط عند الله وافوم للسهده وادى الا نربانوا الا ان نکون محره حاصره ندروبها بسکم فلس علیکم
- 11 حجاج الا نکسوه واسهدوا ادا نابعم ولا نبار کاتب ولا شهد وان يفعلوا فانه فسوون نکم وا تَكْتُبُوها
- 12 نعوا الله وبعلمکم الله والله نکل سی علم ﴿٢٨٢﴾ وان کسم على سفر ولم محدوا کابا فرهن مصوصه فان امن
- 13 نعصکم نعصا فلنود الדי او من امسه ولسق الله ربه ولا نکموا السهده ومن نکمها فانه ام فله وا
- 14 لله ما نعملون علم ﴿٢٨٣﴾ لله ما فی السموت وما فی الارض وان ندوا ما فی انفسکم او محفوه محاسکم
- 15 نه الله فعبر لمن نسا وبعده من نسا والله على کل شی فدر ﴿٢٨٤﴾ امن الرسول بما انزل اله من ربه و
- 16 المومنون کل امن نالله وملیکه وکسه ورسله لا نعرو ن احد من رسله وقالوا سمعنا واطعنا

- 1 فان لم نصها وابل فطل والله بما **تعملون** **نصر** ﴿٢٦٥﴾ ابود احدكم ان يكون له
- 2 وَأَصَابَهُ حيه من محل واعباب محرى من محها الانهر له فيها من كل السمرب واصبه الكر وله دريه صعفا فا
- 3 أَنْفِقُوا صابها اعصار فيه نار فاحرف كذلك س الله لكم الات لعلكم **تفكرون** ﴿٢٦٦﴾ **بابها الدس امنوا انفقوا**
- 4 من طب ما كسسم ومما احرحا لكم من الارص ولا سموا الحسب **مه تفهون** ولسم باحدنه الا
- 5 مَغْفِرَةً ان عمصوا فيه واعلموا ان الله عى حمد ﴿٢٦٧﴾ السطن **بعدكم** **الفقر** وبامرکم بالفحسا والله **بعدكم** بمعره
- 6 يَذَكِّرُ مه وفصلا والله وسع علم ﴿٢٦٨﴾ نوى الحكمه من نسا **ومن نوب** الحكمه فقد ابى حرا **كسرا** وما **بد**
- 7 أَنْصَارٍ كرا الا اولو الالب ﴿٢٦٩﴾ وما انصم من **تفه** او **تدرم** من **تدر فان الله بعلمه** وما للظلمس **من اصبر** ﴿٢٧٠﴾
- 8 وَتَوَثُّوْهَا ان سدوا الصدق فعما هى وان محوها **وتوبونها** **الفقر** فهو حر لكم ونكر عنكم من
- 9 سائكم والله بما تعملون حبر ﴿٢٧١﴾ لس عليك **هدبهم** **ولكن** الله يهدى من نسا وما **تفها** من
- 10 حر فلانفسكم وما تفهون الا اسعا وحه الله وما **تفها** من **حبر** نوب النكم واسم لا
- 11 الْجَاهِلُ يظلمون ﴿٢٧٢﴾ **للفقر** الدس احصروا فى سبل الله لا **تسطعون** **صربا** فى الارص محسهم **الجهل** اعسا
- 12 **إِحْطَاءً** من العصف يعرفهم نسهم لا نسلون **الناس** **الحما** وما تفها من حر فان الله نه عليم ﴿٢٧٣﴾
- 13 الدس تفهون امولهم نالل والنهار سرا وعلاسه **فلهم** **احرهم** عند رهم ولا خوف عليهم
- 14 الَّذِي وَلَا هم محربون ﴿٢٧٤﴾ الدس ناكلون الربوا لا تفومون الا كما تفوم الدس **تسحطه** **السطن** من المس
- 15 ذلك ناهم فالوا انما السع مل الربوا واحل الله **السع** وحرم الربوا فمن حاه موعطه
- 16 من ربه فادهى فله ما سلف وامره الى الله ومن **عاد** فاولك اصحب النار هم
- 17 فيها حلدون ﴿٢٧٥﴾ **تمحو** الله الربوا ويرى الصدق **والله لا** مح كل كفار اسم ﴿٢٧٦﴾ ان الدس امنوا

- 1 بالعروه الوصي لا انفصم لها والله سمع علم ﴿٢٥٦﴾ الله ولي الدين اموا محرهم من الظلم الى النور والدين كفروا اولياوهم انفصام
- 2 الطعوب محرهم من النور الى الظلم اوليك اصحب النار هم فيها حلدون ﴿٢٥٧﴾ الم نرالى الدي حاح ابرهم
- 3 في ربه **الن** ان اسه **الله الملك اد** فال ابرهم **ربي** الذي يحيى ويميت فال انا احيى واميت فال ابرهم فان الله ناني **اِبْرَهُمُ**
- 4 بالسمنس من المسرو فاب بها **من** **المعرب** فهب الذي كفروالله لا نهدي الصوم الطلمس ﴿٢٥٨﴾ او كالدي مر
- 5 على فربه وهي حوبه على عروسها **فل** انى يحي **هده** الله بعد موبها فامانه الله مانه عام نم نعه فال كم **خَاوِيَةً** اَقَالَ
- 6 لسب **فال** لسب يوما او بعض نوم فال بل لسب **مبته** عام فانظرالى طعامك وسرايك لم نسنه وانظرالى **مِائَةً**
- 7 **حمرک** ولجعلك انه للناس وانظرالى العظام **كف** نسرهما نم نكسوها لحما نس له فال اعلم **حَمَارِكَ** وَلَنَجْعَلَكَ
- 8 ان الله على كل **ساي** قدر ﴿٢٥٩﴾ واد فال ابرهم **رب اربى** **كف** يحي الموي فال اولم نومس فال نلى ولكن لطمس **شَيْءٍ** **اِبْرَهُمُ**
- 9 فلى فال فحد اربعة من الطر فصرهن النك نم اجعل على كل حل مهن حرا نم ادعهن ناسك
- 10 سعا واعلم ان الله عبر **حكيم** ﴿٢٦٠﴾ مثل الدين **سفعون** **امولهم** في سسل الله كمثل حه انس سع
- 11 **سبل** في كل سسله مانه **حبه** والله **بضعف** لمن نسا والله وسع علم ﴿٢٦١﴾ الدين **سفعون** **امولهم** **سَنَائِلٍ**
- 12 في سسل الله نم **لم** **سفعون** ما انفعوا **مبا** ولا ادى لهم احهم عد رهم ولا خوف علمهم
- 13 ولا هم محربون ﴿٢٦٢﴾ قول معروف معره **حر** من صدقه نبعها ادى والله عى حلم ﴿٢٦٣﴾ نانها الدين
- 14 اموا لا **نظلو** صدقكم **بالمس** **والادى** **كالدى** نعو ماله ربا الناس ولا نومس نا
- 15 لله **والنوم** **الاحر** فمله **كامل** **سفعون** **عليه** براب فاصانه وانل فركه صلدا **صَفْوَانٍ**
- 16 لا نعدرون على **ساي** مما كسوا والله لا **نهدي** الصوم الكفرس ﴿٢٦٤﴾ ومثل الدين **سفعون** **امولهم** **شَيْءٍ**
- 17 اسعا **مرصت** الله ونسا **من** **انفسهم** **كامل** حه نربوه اصابها وانل فاب اكلها **صعس** **مَرَضَاتٍ**

- 1 احو بالمك منه ولم يوب سعه من المال قال ان الله اصطفاه عليكم **وراده** نسطه في **العلم والحسم** والله يوبى ملكه
- 2 من سا والله وسع علم ﴿٢٤٧﴾ وقال لهم سبهم ان انه ملكه ان ناسكم السابق فيه **سكسه** من **ربكم** وبصه مما
- 3 **طَلُوتُ بِالْجُنُودِ** ترك ال موسى وال هرون محمله الملكه ان في ذلك لانه لكم ان **كسم** مومس ﴿٢٤٨﴾ فلما **فصل** **طلوب** **نالجبود**
- 4 قال ان الله مسلكم سهر فمن سرب منه فلس مى ومن لم **نطعمه** **فانه** مى الا من اعرف عرفه
- 5 **يَجَاوِزُ** سده فسربوا منه الا قليلا مهم فلما حاوره هو والدس اموا **معه** قالوا لا طافه **لنا** اليوم **مجلوب**
- 6 وحوده قال الدس نطون اهم ملعوا الله كم من **فيه** **فليله** **علب** فيه كسره نادن الله وا
- 7 **أَقْدَمْنَا** لله مع الصرس ﴿٢٤٩﴾ ولما برروا لمالوب وحوده قالوا ربا **افرع** **علسا** **صبرا** **وبس** **افدمنا** وانصرنا
- 8 على العوم الكفريس ﴿٢٥٠﴾ فهموهم نادن الله وفيل داود حالوب **وانسه** الله **الملك** والحكمه وعلمه مما
- 9 **ذُؤَاءِئِثُ** سا ولولا دفع الله الناس بعضهم بعض لفسدت الارض ولكن الله **دوا** **فصل** **على** العلمس ﴿٢٥١﴾ **نلك** ايات
- 10 الله سلوها عليك بالحق وانك لمن المرسلس ﴿٢٥٢﴾ **نلك** الرسل **فصلنا** **بعضهم** على بعض **مهم** من كلم
- 11 الله ورفع بعضهم درحب وانسا عسى ان مريم السب وانده روح القدس **ولو سا** الله ما **افتتلوا** الدس
- 12 **أَفْتَتَلُوا** من بعدهم من بعد ما حاهم السب ولكن احلفوا فمهم من امن ومهم من **كفر** **ولو سا** الله ما **افسل** ولكن
- 13 الله بفعل ما نريد ﴿٢٥٣﴾ **نابها** الدس اموا انفقوا مما ررفكم من قبل ان ناي **يوم** لا **سبع** فيه ولا **حله** ولا
- 14 سعه والكفرون هم الظلمون ﴿٢٥٤﴾ الله لا اله الا هو الحي الصوم لا **ناحده** **سه** ولا **يوم** له ما في السموب
- 15 **بَشِيءٌ** وما في الارض من دا الذى نسفع عده الا نادبه تعلم ما بس **اندهم** وما **حلفهم** ولا **مخطون** **نساى** من
- 16 علمه الا نما سا وسع كرسه السموب والارض ولا **نوده** **حفظهما** وهو العلى العظم ﴿٢٥٥﴾ لا
- 17 + **اكراه** في الدس فد بس الرسد من العى فمن **نكفر** **نالطعوب** **ويومس** **نالله** **فعد** **اسمسك**



- 1 ان الله عفور حلیم ﴿٢٣٥﴾ لا حیح علیکم ان تطلعتم النسا ما لم تمسوهن او تفرصوا لهن فریصه ومعههن جُنَاحٌ
- 2 علی الموسع قدره وعلی المصغر قدره معا بالمعروف حفا علی المحسس ﴿٢٣٦﴾ وان تطلعتموهن من قبل ان
- 3 تمسوهن وقد فرصتم لهن فریصه فصیف ما فرصم الا ان یعفون او یعفوا الدی سده عهده النکاح
- 4 وان یعفوا افرت للنفوی ولا نسوا الفصل نسکم ان الله بما تعملون بصیر ﴿٢٣٧﴾ حفظوا علی الصلوی
- 5 والصلوه الوسطی وفوموا لله فس ﴿٢٣٨﴾ فان حصم فرحالا او ركبانا فادا امسم فادکروا الله کما
- 6 علمکم ما لم ینکبوا تعلمون ﴿٢٣٩﴾ والذین یوفون منکم یندرون اروحا وصیه لاروحهم معا الی الحول
- 7 عبر اخرج فان حرحس فلا حیح علیکم فیما فعلن فی انفسهن من معروف والله عریر حکم ﴿٢٤٠﴾ وللمطلقب إخراج افي ما
- 8 مع بالمعروف حفا علی المفس ﴿٢٤١﴾ کذلک نس الله لکم انه لعلکم یعلمون ﴿٢٤٢﴾ الم برالی الذین حرحوا
- 9 من دبرهم وهم الوف حدر الموت فعال لهم الله موتوا تم احبهم ان الله لدو فصل علی الناس ولكن
- 10 اکبر الناس لا ینسکرون ﴿٢٤٣﴾ وفلوا فی سئل الله واعلموا ان الله سمع علم ﴿٢٤٤﴾ من دا الدی
- 11 یفرص الله فرصا حسنا فصعفه له اصعبا کسره والله یفص ویصط والله یرجعون ﴿٢٤٥﴾ أضعافاً
- 12 الم برالی الملا من سی اسرئل من بعد موسی اد فالوا لسی لهم اعب لنا ملکا یصل فی سئل الله فال
- 13 هل عسسم ان کتب علیکم الفیل الا یفتلوا فالوا وما لنا الا یصل فی سئل الله وقد احرحنا من القتال
- 14 دیریا وایانا فلما کتب علیهم الفیل بولوا الا فلیلا منهم والله علم بالظلمن ﴿٢٤٦﴾ وَأَبْنَائِنَا
- 15 وقال لهم نبیهم ان الله قد بع لکم طالوت ملکا فالوا انی ینکون له الملك علیا ونحن

1 ان يحافا الا بصما حدود الله فان حصم الا بصما حدود الله فلا حياح عليهما فما افتدت  
 2 تَجِلُّ به تلك حدود الله فلا بعدوها ومن بعد حدود الله فاولئك هم الظلمون ﴿٢٢٩﴾ فان ظلفها فلا يحل له من  
 3 بعد حتى سكب روحا غيره فان ظلفها فلا حياح عليهما ان سراحعا ان طبا ان بصما حد ود الله وبلك  
 4 حدود الله بسها لعمو تعلمون ﴿٢٣٠﴾ وادا ظلفم النسا فلعن اهلهم فامسكوهن بمعروف او سرحوهن  
 5 عَائِتِ بمعروف ولا بمسكوهن صرارا لبعدوا ومن يفعل ذلك فقد ظلم نفسه ولا تتخذوا ابات الله هروا  
 6 واذكروا نعمت الله عليكم وما ابرل عليكم من الكتب والحكمه يعطكم به وانفوا الله واعلموا ان الله  
 7 بكل شى علم ﴿٢٣١﴾ وادا ظلفم النسا فلعن اهلهم فلا يعصلوهن ان سكب اروحهن ادا برصوا بيهم نا  
 8 لمعروف ذلك بوعط به من كان منكم بومس بالله والنوم الاحر ذلكم اركى لكم واطهر والله يعلم واسم  
 9 لا تعلمون ﴿٢٣٢﴾ والولد برصع اولدهن حولس كاملن لمن اراد ان سم الرصاعه وعلى المولود له ررهن  
 10 وكسونهن بالمعروف لا تكلف نفس الا وسعها لا بصار ولده بولدها ولا مولود له بولده  
 11 وعلى الوارب مثل ذلك فان ارادا فصالا عن براص مهما ودياور فلا حياح عليهما وان اردتم ان بسر  
 12 صعوا اولدكم فلا حياح عليكم ادا سلمم ما اسم بالمعروف وانفوا الله واعلموا ان  
 13 الله بما تعملون بصر ﴿٢٣٣﴾ والديس بوفون منكم ويندرون اروحا برصص بانفسهن اربعه اسهر و  
 14 عسرا فادا بلعن اهلهم فلا حياح عليكم فما فعلن فى انفسهن بالمعروف والله بما تعملون حسر ﴿٢٣٤﴾  
 15 ولا حياح عليكم فما عرصم به من حطه النسا او اكسم فى انفسكم علم الله انكم سدكر  
 16 اَلْتَكَاِحِ وبهن ولكن لا بواعدوهن سرا الا ان يقولوا قولا معروفا ولا نعروا عفته الكح حتى سلع  
 17 الكتب امله واعلموا ان الله يعلم ما فى انفسكم فاحدروه واعلموا

- 1 سَكُّوا الْمَسْرِكِينَ حَتَّى يَوْمُوا وَلَعَدَ مَوْمٍ حَرٌّ مِنْ مَسْرِكٍ وَلَوْ أَحْكَمَ أُولَئِكَ
- 2 يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْبَارِ وَاللَّهِ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْحَيَّةِ وَالْمَعْفَرَةِ بَادِيَهُ وَسَيَأْتِيهِمُ النَّاسُ لَعَلَّيْكُمْ يَدْعُونَ
- 3 ﴿٢٢١﴾ وَيَسْلُبُكَ عَنِ الْمُحْصِ فَلَهُ هُوَ أَدَى فَاعْرَلُوا النَّسَاءَ فِي الْمُحْصِ وَلَا تَقْرَبُوهُنَّ حَتَّى يَطْهَرْنَ
- 4 فَإِذَا طَهَّرْنَ فَانْوِهْنَ مِنْ حَبِّ أَمْرِكُمْ اللَّهُ إِنْ اللَّهُ يَحِبُّ التَّوْبَةَ وَيَحِبُّ الْمُطَهَّرِينَ ﴿٢٢٢﴾ تَطَهَّرْنَ
- 5 نَسَاكُمْ حَرْبٌ لَكُمْ فَانْوُوا حَرْبَكُمْ إِنْ سَدِمَ وَفَدِمُوا لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ وَأَنْفُوا اللَّهُ وَاعْلَمُوا
- 6 أَنْكُمْ مَلْفُوهٌ وَسِرُّ الْمَوْمِسِ ﴿٢٢٣﴾ وَلَا تَجْعَلُوا لِلَّهِ عَرَصَهُ لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ إِنْ سَرُوا وَسَفُوا وَيَصْلِحُوا
- 7 مِنْ النَّاسِ وَاللَّهُ سَمِعَ عِلْمٌ ﴿٢٢٤﴾ لَا يُوَاحِدُكُمْ اللَّهُ بِاللَّعْوِ فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ وَلَكِنْ يُوَاحِدُكُمْ بِمَا
- 8 كَسَبْتُمْ فَلَوْكُمْ وَاللَّهُ عَفُورٌ حَلِيمٌ ﴿٢٢٥﴾ لِلدِّسِ بُولُونَ مِنْ نَسَابِهِمْ يَرِصُ أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْهُرٍ
- 9 فَإِنْ فَاوَا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ ﴿٢٢٦﴾ وَإِنْ عَرَمُوا الطَّلُقَ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِعَ عِلْمٌ ﴿٢٢٧﴾ وَالْمَطْلُفُ فَأَنْوُوا
- 10 يَرِصُ نَافِسَهُنَّ بَلْبَهُ فَرُو وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَهُنَّ أَنْ يَكُنَّ مَا حَلَقَ اللَّهُ فِي أَرْحَامِهِنَّ إِنْ
- 11 كُنَّ يَوْمًا بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَيَعُولُهُنَّ أَحْوَى بَرْدَهُنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ إِنْ أَرَادُوا إِصْلَاحًا وَلَهُنَّ
- 12 مِثْلُ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَلِلرِّجَالِ عَلَيْهِنَّ دَرَجَةٌ وَاللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿٢٢٨﴾ الطَّلُقُ مَرِيانٌ
- 13 فَمَا سَبَّكَ مَعْرُوفٌ أَوْ دَسْرِيحٌ نَاحِسٌ وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ إِنْ نَاحَدُوا مِمَّا اسْمُوهُنَّ سَاءَ إِلَّا فَمَا مَسَّاكُ

- 1 والذين آمنوا معه من نصر الله إلا أن نصر الله قريب ﴿٢١٤﴾ وسلوبك ماذا يفعلون فل ما انصم من حر
- 2 تَفْعَلُوا أَكْتَبَ كَاتِبٌ كَاتِبٌ للولدين والافريس والسمى والمسكن وان لسيل وما يفعلون من حر فان الله به علم ﴿٢١٥﴾ كات
- 3 عليكم الصال وهو كره لكم وعسى ان نكرهوا سا وهو خير لكم وعسى ان تحبوا سا وهو سر لكم
- 4 قِتَالٍ اِقْتَالَ وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَاسْمُ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٢١٦﴾ وسلوبك عن السهر الحرام فتل فه فل فل فه كسر وصد عن
- 5 وَإِخْرَاجُ سِجْلِ اللَّهِ وَكُفْرٌ بِهِ وَالْمَسْحُودُ الْحَرَامُ وَإِحْرَاجُ أَهْلِهِ مِنْهُ أَكْرَهُ عَدُّ اللَّهِ وَالْبَيْتُ الْأَكْرَبُ مِنَ
- 6 يَزِيدُ الصَّلَاةَ وَلَا يَرَالُونَ يَفْلُوبِكُمْ حَتَّى يَرُدُّوكُمْ عَنْ دِينِكُمْ إِنْ اسْتَطَعُوا وَمَنْ يَرِدْ مِنْكُمْ
- 7 عَنْ دِينِهِ فَمَبْعُوتٌ وَهُوَ كَافِرٌ فَأُولَئِكَ حَبِطَتْ أَعْمَالُهُمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَأُولَئِكَ
- 8 لَكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ ﴿٢١٧﴾ ان الذين آمنوا والذين هاجروا وجاهدوا في
- 9 يَسْأَلُونَكَ سِجْلَ اللَّهِ فَأُولَئِكَ يَرْحَمُهُمُ اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ عَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ ﴿٢١٨﴾ سلونك ما
- 10 الْآيَاتِ دَا بَعَثُوا فَلِ الْعَوْدِ كَذَلِكَ سَبَّحَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ الْآيَاتِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَفَكَّرُونَ ﴿٢١٩﴾ في الدنيا
- 11 تُخَالِطُوهُمْ وَالْآخِرَةَ وَدَسَلُوكَ عَنِ السَّمِيِّ فَلِ إِصْلَاحِ لَهُمْ حَرٌّ وَإِنْ تَخَلَطُوا بِهِمْ ..... فاحوبكم
- 12 وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ الْمَفْسَدَ مِنَ الْمَصْلُوحِ وَلَوْ سَاءَ اللَّهُ لَأَعْتَكُمُ اللَّهُ إِنْ اللَّهُ عَرَبٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿٢٢٠﴾
- 13 وَلَا تَسْكُحُوا الْمَسْرُوكَ حَتَّى يَبْشُرَ بِأَمْرِهِمْ أَوْ يُنْفِخُوا مِنْهُمُ مِثْرَهُمْ أَوْ يَكُونُوا لَكُمْ أَعْيُنًا وَمَنْ يَسْكُحُوا الْمَسْرُوكَ يُجْزَأْ مِنْ عَذَابِ اللَّهِ عَظِيمًا وَلَا

- 1 **لمس انفى وادفوا** الله واعلموا انكم اليه محسرون ﴿٢٠٣﴾ ومن الناس من يعحك قوله في الحوه الدنيا ويسهد الله
- 2 **على ما في قلبه وهو** الد الحصام ﴿٢٠٤﴾ وادا بولى سعى في الارض لتفسد فيها ويهلك الحرب والنسل والله لا
- 3 **يح الفساد** ﴿٢٠٥﴾ وادا قيل له ابو الله احديه **العره بالانم** **فحسبه** جهم وليس المهاد ﴿٢٠٦﴾ ومن الناس من يسرى
- 4 نفسه اسعا مرصا لله والله روف بالعباد ﴿٢٠٧﴾ يا ايها الذين امنوا ادخلوا في السلم كافة
- 5 **ولا تدعوا** حطوب السطن **انه لكم** **عدو** مبين ﴿٢٠٨﴾ فان رلتم من بعد ما حانكم السبت
- 6 **فاعلموا** ان الله عرر **حكم** ﴿٢٠٩﴾ **هل** سظرون الا ان ناسهم الله في طلل من العمام والملئكه
- 7 **وفصى الامر** والى الله **ترجع الامور** ﴿٢١٠﴾ **سل** بنى اسربل كم انهم من انه نسه ومن سدل
- 8 **نعمه الله** من بعد ما **حانه** فان الله **سدده العباب** ﴿٢١١﴾ رس للذين كفروا الحوه الدنيا
- 9 **وسحرون** من الذين امنوا **والذين** انفوا فوفهم يوم الصمه والله يروق من نسا نعر
- 10 **حساب** ﴿٢١٢﴾ كان **الناس** امه وحده فع الله **الس** مسرس ومدرس وابل معهم
- 11 **الكب** بالحو **لحكم** بين **الناس** فيما **احلوا** فيه من الحو ناده والله بهدى
- 12 من **يشا** الى **صرط** مسمم ﴿٢١٣﴾ ام حسبم ان **يدخلوا** الحه ولما ناكم
- 13 **مل** **الذين** حلوا **ممن** **قله** مستهم **النسا** **والصرا** ورلروا حتى **يعول** الرسول **من قبلكم** **اللباساء**

- 1 ادى من راسه فعدته من صيام او صدقه او نسك فاذا امسم فمن نبع بالعمره الى الحج **فما** اسدسر **من**
- 2 الهدى فمن لم يجد فصيام بليه انام في الحج وسعه اذا رجعم تلك **عسره** **كامله**
- 3 ذلك لمن لم يكن اهله حاصري المسجد الحرام وانفوا الله واعلموا ان الله **سدبد** **العقاب** 
- 4 الحج اسهر معلومت فمن فرص فهو الحج فلا رف ولا فسو **ولا** **حدال** **في** **الحج**
- 5 وما يفعلوا من حر بعلمه الله وبرودوا فان حر الراد القوى وانفون **ناولى** **الالب** 

± 8 to 10 lines  
missing

- 1 ولا تبشروهن **واسم** عكفون في المسجد تلك حدود الله فلا تقربوها كذلك سب الله
- 2 آيته للناس **لعلهم** ينعون ﴿١٨٧﴾ ولا تاكلوا اموالكم بسكم بالظلم وبدلوا بها الى الحكام لتاكلوا قريبا
- 3 من اموال الناس **بالانم** واسم تعلمون ﴿١٨٨﴾ تسلوبك عن الاهله فل هي موفيت للناس والمحق وليس
- 4 البر بان تاتوا **البسوت** من طهورها ولكن البر من انى وانوا السوت من ابوها
- 5 وانصوا **الله** لعلكم يفلحون ﴿١٨٩﴾ وقلوا في سبيل الله الدس يصلوكم ولا بعدوا
- 6 ان **الله** لا يحب المعدس ﴿١٩٠﴾ وافلوهم حب يفسموهم واحرحوهم من حب احرحوكم
- 7 والقتنه **اسد** من الفل ولا يصلوهم عد المسجد الحرام حتى يصلوكم فيه فان فلوكم
- 8 فافتلوهم **كذلك** حرا الكفريس ﴿١٩١﴾ فان اسهوا فان الله عفور رحيم ﴿١٩٢﴾ وصلوهم حتى
- 9 لا **تكون** فيه ويكون الدس لله فان اسهوا فلا عدون الا على الظلمس ﴿١٩٣﴾ السهر
- 10 الحرام **بالشهر** الحرام والحرم فصاص فمن اعدى عليكم فاعدوا عليه بسمل
- 11 ما **اعدى** عليكم وانصوا الله واعلموا ان الله مع المتصس ﴿١٩٤﴾ وانصوا في سبيل الله
- 12 ولا **تلغوا** باندكم الى الهلكه واحسوا ان الله يحب المحسس ﴿١٩٥﴾ وانصوا المح والمعمره
- 13 لله فان **احصرهم** فما اسدسر من الهدى ولا محلفوا روسكم حتى سلع الهدى محله فمن كان منكم مريضا او به

- 1 فمن بدله بعدما سمعه فانما ائمه على الدس بدلوه ان الله سمع علم ﴿١٨١﴾ فمن حاف من مواص
- 2 حفا او انما فاصلح بسهم فلا ائمه ان الله عفور رحم ﴿١٨٢﴾ بابها الدس امنوا كتب عليكم
- 3 مَرِيضًا الصيام كما كتب على الدس من فيلكم لعلكم بسون ﴿١٨٣﴾ اناما معدودت فمن كان منكم مَرِيضًا
- 4 او على سفر فعده من انام اجر وعلى الدس بظفونه فده طعام مسكين فمن تطوع
- 5 حرا فهو حر له وان بصوموا حر لكم ان كسم تعلمون ﴿١٨٤﴾ سهر رمضان الذي انزل فيه القرآن
- 6 هدى للناس وسب من الهدى والفرقان فمن شهد منكم الشهر فليصمه
- 7 ومن كان مريضا او على سفر فعده من انام اجر بريد الله بكم السر ولا بريد بكم العسر
- 8 عِبَادِي وَلِكُمُلُوا الْعِدَّةَ وَلِكُتْرُوا اللَّهَ عَلَى مَا هَدَيْتُكُمْ وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ ﴿١٨٥﴾ وادا سالك عبدي عنى
- 9 فابى قرب احب دعوه الداع اذا دعان فليسبحوا لى ولومنوا لى لعلمهم
- 10 برسدون ﴿١٨٦﴾ احل لكم لله الصيام الرف الى سائكم هن لباس لكم وانتم
- 11 فَالَّذِينَ لَاسَ لَهُمْ عِلْمَ اللَّهِ انكم كسم محابون انفسكم فاب عليكم وعما عنكم ولن
- 12 سروهن واسعوا ما كتب الله لكم وكلوا واسربوا حى بس لكم الحيط
- 13 الانص من الحط الاسود من الفجر نم اموا الصيام الى اليل

± 5 to 7 lines  
missing

- 1 السبل والسائلين وفي الرفاق واقام الصلوه واني الركوه والموفون بعهدهم ادا
- 2 عهدوا والصرين في الناسا والصرى وحس الناس اولئك الدس صدقوا واولئك
- 3 هم المعون ﴿١٧٧﴾ ناهيا الدس اموا كتب عليكم الفصاص في الصلى الحر بالحر والعد
- 4 بالعد والانى بالانى فمن عفى له من احه سى فاساع بالمعروف وادا اله ناحس ذلك
- 5 تحصف من ربكم ورحمه فمن اعدى بعد ذلك فله عذاب اليم ﴿١٧٨﴾ ولكم في الفصاص
- 6 حيوه ناولى الالب لعلكم سعون ﴿١٧٩﴾ كتب عليكم ادا حصر احدكم الموب
- 7 ان برک حرا الوصه للولدس والافرس بالمعروف حفا على المصن ﴿١٨٠﴾

1 إِلَهَ وَلَا هُمْ سَطْرُونَ ﴿١٦٢﴾ وَالْهَكْمَ إِلَهُ وَحْدَ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ ﴿١٦٣﴾  
 2 ان في خلق السموات والأرض وإحلف الليل والنهار والملك التي تحرى في البحر بما ينبع  
 3 دَابَّةِ النَّاسِ وَمَا أُبْرِلَ اللَّهُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مِنْ مَا فَاحَا بِهِ الْأَرْضَ بَعْدَ مَوْبِهَا وَبِهَا مِنْ كُلِّ دَابَّةٍ  
 4 وَبَصْرِيفِ الرِّيحِ وَالسَّحَابِ الْمَسْحُورِ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ لِأَنَّ لَعُومَ يَعْفَلُونَ ﴿١٦٤﴾ وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَتَّحِدُ  
 5 إِذْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ إِتْدَادًا يُحِبُّونَهُمْ كَحُبِّ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ أَسَاءُوا بِمَا عَمِلُوا لَئِن لَّمْ يَظْهَرِ لَهُمْ  
 6 دِينُ اللَّهِ فَذَرُوا مَا بَدَّلَهُمْ بِمَا عَمِلُوا فَيَكُونُوا مِنَ الْمُمْتَدِّينَ ﴿١٦٥﴾ أَدَّ سِرًّا الَّذِينَ أَتَّبَعُوا مِنْ  
 7 الَّذِينَ أُسْعَفُوا وَرَأَوْا الْعَذَابَ وَبَطَعَتْ بِهِمُ الْأَسْبَابُ ﴿١٦٦﴾ وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ أَتَّبَعُوا لَوْ أَنَّ لَنَا  
 8 كَرِهَ فِيسِرًا مِّمَّهُمْ كَمَا سَرُوا مَا كَدَلَكُ رَبِّهِمْ اللَّهُ أَعْمَلَهُمْ حَسْرَتٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَمَا  
 9 هُمْ بِمُحَرِّصِينَ مِنَ النَّارِ ﴿١٦٧﴾ نَابَهَا النَّاسُ كُلُّوْا مِمَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ حَلَلًا طَيِّبًا وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا  
 10 حُطُوبَ السَّيْطَانِ إِنَّهُ لَكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مُّبِينٌ ﴿١٦٨﴾ أَمَّا بِنَاكُمْ بِاللِّسَانِ وَالْمِحْسَا وَأَنْ تَقُولُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ  
 11 مَا لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿١٦٩﴾ وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمْ اسْعُوا مَا أُبْرِلَ اللَّهُ فَالُوا بِلِ سَعٍ مَا الْعَيْنَا عَلَيْهِ  
 12 إِنَّا أَوَّلُوا كَانَ إِنَّاوَهُمْ لَا يَعْفَلُونَ سَا وَلَا يَهْدُونَ ﴿١٧٠﴾ وَمِنَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا كَمَلْ  
 13 الَّذِينَ سَعُوا نَمَا لَا نَسْمَعُ إِلَّا دَعَا وَبَدَا صَمٌ نَكَمُ عَمِي فَمَهْمُ لَا يَعْفَلُونَ ﴿١٧١﴾ نَابَهَا الَّذِينَ أَمَّنُوا  
 14 كُلُّوْا مِمَّنْ طَبَّ مَا رَرَفِكُمْ وَأَسْكُرُوا لِلَّهِ أَنْ كَسَمُ أَيَاهُ تَعْدُونَ ﴿١٧٢﴾

- 1 الحرام وحيت ما كسبم فولوا وحوهكم سطره لئلا تكون للناس عليكم حجه الا الدس
- 2 ظلموا منهم فلا محسوهم واحسوى ولانم نعمى عليكم ولعلكم يهدون ﴿١٥٠﴾ كما ارسلنا فيكم
- 3 رسولا منكم يتلو عليكم اسا ويرككم ويعلمكم الكتب والحكمه ويعلمكم ما لم يتلوا
- 4 تكونوا تعلمون ﴿١٥١﴾ فاذكروى اذكركم واسكروا لى ولا تكفرون ﴿١٥٢﴾ بانها الدس اموا اسعسوا
- 5 بالصبر والصلوه ان الله مع الصبرس ﴿١٥٣﴾ ولا تقولوا لمن نصل فى سسل الله اموب
- 6 بل احيا ولكن لا تشعرون ﴿١٥٤﴾ ولسلوبكم نسى من الحوف والجوع وبص من الامول والانفس
- 7 والثمرت وبشر الصبرس ﴿١٥٥﴾ الدس اذا اصدهم مصده فالوا انا لله وانا اله رجعون ﴿١٥٦﴾
- 8 اوليك عليهم صلوب من ربهم ورحمه واوليك هم المهدون ﴿١٥٧﴾ ان
- 9 الصعا والمروه من سعار الله فمن حح السب او اعمر فلا حاح
- 10 عليه ان يطوب بهما ومن بطوع حرا فان الله ساكر علم ﴿١٥٨﴾ ان الدس يكسون
- 11 ما انزلنا من السب والهدى من بعد ما نسه للناس فى الكتب أنزلنا انزل ← انزلنا
- 12 اوليك يلعبهم الله ويلعبهم اللعون ﴿١٥٩﴾ الا الدس نابوا واصلحوا وسوا فاوليك
- 13 اتوب عليهم لعه الله والملكه والناس اجمعس ﴿١٦١﴾ حلدس فيها لا يحصف عنهم العدا

- 1 امسکم ان الله بالناس لرووف رحم ﴿١٤٣﴾ فد یری تغلب وحهک
- 2 فی السما فلنولسک فله برصها قول وحهک شطر المسحد
- 3 المحرام وحب ما کسم فولوا وحوهکم سطره وان الدین
- 4 اوبوا الکب لعلمون انه الحق من ربهم وما الله بغفل عما
- 5 ءایة يعملون ﴿١٤٤﴾ ولس است الدین اوبوا الکب کل اياه ما
- 6 بتابع سعوا فلیک وما اب سابع فلیهم وما بعضهم بتبع
- 7 فله بعض ولس اسع اهوهم من بعد ما جا
- 8 ک من العلم انک اذا لس الظلمس ﴿١٤٥﴾ الدین اتیهم
- 9 فریقاً الکب يعرفونه کما يعرفون اساهم وان فریق منهم
- 10 لیکمون الحق وهم يعلمون ﴿١٤٦﴾ الحق من ربک فلا تكونن
- 11 من الممرس ﴿١٤٧﴾ ولکل وجهه هو مولها فاسدعوا الخیرت
- 12 اس ما نکوبوا ناب نکم الله حمعاً ان الله على کل شی
- 13 فدر ﴿١٤٨﴾ ومن حب حرح قول وحهک سطر المسحد

- 1 إليها وحدا **ويحسن** له مسلمون ﴿١٣٣﴾ بل لك أمه فد حلت لها ما كسبت ولكم **إلهاً**
- 2 ما **كسبتم** ولا تسلون عما كانوا يعملون ﴿١٣٤﴾ وقالوا كذبوا هودا أو نصري بهدوا فل بل مله
- 3 **إبراهيم حنينا** وما كان من المسركس ﴿١٣٥﴾ فولوا أما بالله وما اتزل السا وما اتزل الى **إبراهيم**
- 4 **إبراهيم** واسمعيل واسحق ويعقوب والاساط وما اوى موسى وعسى وما اوى السون من **إبراهيم**
- 5 ربهم لا **نعرف** بس احد منهم ويحسن له مسلمون ﴿١٣٦﴾ فان اموا نمل ما امسم به فقد اهدوا وان
- 6 **تولوا** فانما هم في سفاو فسكفكمهم الله وهو السمع العلم ﴿١٣٧﴾ صعه الله ومن احسن
- 7 **من الله** صعه ويحسن له عدون ﴿١٣٨﴾ فل احاحوسا في الله وهو ربا وربكم ولنا اعمالنا ولكم اعمالكم
- 8 **ويحسن له مخلصون** ﴿١٣٩﴾ ام يقولون ان ابرهم واسمعيل واسحق ويعقوب والاساط كانوا هودا او
- 9 **نصري** فل اسم اعلم ام الله ومن اطلم ممن كم سهده عنده من الله وما الله يعفل عما
- 10 **تعملون** ﴿١٤٠﴾ بل لك امه فد حلت لها ما كسبت ولكم ما كسبتم ولا تسلون عما كانوا يعملون ﴿١٤١﴾
- 11 **سيفول** السفاها من الناس ما ولهم عن فلهم الى كانوا عليها فل لله المسرو والمعرب
- 12 **بهدي** من نسا الى صرط مسعم ﴿١٤٢﴾ وكذلك جعلكم امه وسطا لىكونوا شهدا على الناس
- 13 **ويكون** الرسول عليكم شهدا وما جعلنا الفله الى كب عليها الا لعلم من نسع
- 14 **الرسول** ممن نعلت على عصفه وان كاب لكسره الا على الدس هدى الله وما كان الله لىصع

- 1 العلمس ﴿١٢٢﴾ وانفوا يوما لا محرى نفس عن نفس سا ولا يصل منها عدل ولا يفعها شعبه ولا هم
- 2 نصرون ﴿١٢٣﴾ واد اسلى ابرهم ربه نكمت فامهن فال اى حاعلك للناس اماما **فال** ومن ذرسى **فال**
- 3 مَّقَامٌ لا سال عهدى الظلمس ﴿١٢٤﴾ واد جعلنا السب مناه للناس وامنا واحدوا من مفم ابرهيم مصلى
- 4 وعهدنا الى ابرهم واسمعل ان طهرا سى للطانفس والعكفس والركع السحود ﴿١٢٥﴾ واد
- 5 فال ابرهم رب احعل هدا بلدا اما واروق اهله من التمرب من امن مهم **بالله** و **السوم** م
- 6 **اِبْرَهُمُ** الاحرف فال ومن كفر فامعه فلنلا نم اضطره الى عذاب النار وبس المصر ﴿١٢٦﴾ واد برفع ابرهيم **الفواعد**
- 7 من السب واسمعل ربا يصل ما انك اب السمع العلم ﴿١٢٧﴾ ربا واحعليا **مسلمس** لك
- 8 ومن دربا امه مسلمه لك وارا ماسكا وب علنا انك اب النواب **الرحم** ﴿١٢٨﴾ ربا
- 9 وانعب فهم رسولا منهم سلو عليهم انك وعلمهم الكتب **والحكمة** وبركهم انك
- 10 اب العربر الحكيم ﴿١٢٩﴾ ومن برعب عن مله ابرهم الا من سعه نفسه ولقد اضطفبه **فى**
- 11 الدسا وانه فى الاحره لمن الصلحس ﴿١٣٠﴾ اد فال له ربه اسلم فال اسلمت لرب **العلمس** ﴿١٣١﴾
- 12 ووصى بها ابرهم نسه ويعفوب سى ان الله اضطفى لكم الدين فلا نموس الا واسم مسلمون ﴿١٣٢﴾
- 13 ام كسم شهدا اد حصر يعفوب الموب اد فال لسه ما بعدون من بعدى فالوا بعد الهك واله
- 14 اناك ابرهم واسمعل واسحق

- 1 محسن **فله** **أحره** عند ربه **ولا خوف** عليهم **ولا هم** محزون ﴿١١٢﴾ **وقالت** اليهود **لسب** النصرى **على**
- 2 **شأى** **وقالت** **النصرى** **لسب** اليهود **على** **سبى** وهم **سلون** الكتب **كذلك** **قال** **شئاً**
- 3 **الدين** **لا يعلمون** **مثل** قولهم **فالله** **محكم** **بسهم** **يوم** **الغمة** **فما** **كانوا** **فيه** **مخلمون** ﴿١١٣﴾
- 4 **ومن** **أظلم** **من** **مع** **مسجد** **الله** **ان** **تذكر** **فيها** **اسمه** **وسعى** **في** **حرايبها** **أولئك**
- 5 **ما** **كان** **لهم** **ان** **يدخلوها** **الا** **حافض** **لهم** **في** **الديار** **حرى** **ولهم** **في** **الأحره** **عذاب**
- 6 **عظيم** ﴿١١٤﴾ **ولله** **المسرور** **والمعرب** **فإنما** **بولوا** **فمن** **وحه** **الله** **ان** **الله** **واسع** **علم** ﴿١١٥﴾
- 7 **وقالوا** **اتخذ** **الله** **ولدا** **سحبه** **بل** **له** **ما** **في** **السموت** **والارض** **كل** **له** **فسون** ﴿١١٦﴾ **يدع**
- 8 **السموت** **والارض** **وإذا** **فصى** **أمرنا** **فإنما** **يقول** **له** **كن** **فكنون** ﴿١١٧﴾ **وقال** **الدين** **لا** **يعلمون** **لولا**
- 9 **يكلمنا** **الله** **او** **نأبأ** **انه** **كذلك** **قال** **الدين** **من** **فلهم** **مثل** **قولهم** **نسب** **فلوهم**
- 10 **فد** **بنا** **الآب** **لقوم** **يوسفون** ﴿١١٨﴾ **انا** **ارسلتك** **بالحق** **نسرأ** **ونديرا** **ولا** **نسل** **عن** **اصحب**
- 11 **المحتم** ﴿١١٩﴾ **ولن** **ترضى** **عنك** **اليهود** **ولا** **النصرى** **حتى** **يسع** **ملهم** **فل** **ان** **هدى** **الله** **هو** **الهدى**
- 12 **ولأين** **انعب** **اهوهم** **بعد** **الدى** **حاك** **من** **العلم** **ما** **لك** **من** **الله** **من** **ولى** **ولا** **نصر** ﴿١٢٠﴾ **ولأين**
- 13 **الدين** **انساهم** **الكتب** **سلونه** **حو** **بلاونه** **أولئك** **يومنون** **به** **ومن** **نكفر** **به** **فاولئك** **هم** **المحسر**
- 14 **ون** ﴿١٢١﴾ **يبنى** **اسرئيل** **اذكروا** **نعمى** **الى** **انعب** **عليكم** **واى** **فصلتكم** **على**

- 1 الملكس سابل هروب ومروب وما نعلمان من احد حى بقولا انما نحن فسه فلا نكفر فسلعلمون مهما
- 2 ما برفون نه نس المر وروحه وما هم بصارس نه من احد الا نادن الله وتعلمون ما بصرهم ولا
- 3 بفعهم ولعد علموا لمن اسبره ما له فى الاحره من حلق ولسن ما شروا نه انفسهم لو كا
- 4 نوا بعلمون ﴿١٠٢﴾ ولو انهم اموا وانقوا لمونه من عد الله حر لو كانوا بعلمون ﴿١٠٣﴾ نايها الدين
- 5 اموا لا بقولوا رعا وقولوا انطربا واسمعوا وللكفرس عذاب الم ﴿١٠٤﴾ ما يود الدين
- 6 كفروا من اهل الكتب ولا المسركس ان نزل عليكم من حر من ربكم والله محتص
- 7 نُنسِها برحمه من نسا والله دو الفصل العظم ﴿١٠٥﴾ ما بسح من انه او ننسِها نات بجزر
- 8 منها او ملها الم بعلم ان الله على كل سى فدر ﴿١٠٦﴾ الم بعلم ان الله له ملك السموت
- 9 والارض وما لكم من دون الله من ولى ولا بصر ﴿١٠٧﴾ ام برردون ان بسلا رسولكم كما
- 10 سل موسى من فل ومن بسدل الكفر بالانمن فعد صل سوا السدل ﴿١٠٨﴾ ود كثر من اهل
- 11 اَنفُسِهِمْ مِّنْ الكتب لو برردوكم من بعد انمكم كفارا حسدا من عد انفسهم لم من بعد ما
- 12 شَيْءٌ سس لهم الحق فاعفوا واصفحوا حى نانى الله نامره ان الله على كل شاي فدر ﴿١٠٩﴾
- 13 وافموا الصلوه وانوا الركوه وما بدموا لانفسكم من خير تجدوه عد
- 14 الله ان الله بما بعملون بصر ﴿١١٠﴾ وقالوا لن ندخل المحه الا من كان هوذا او نصرى تلك
- 15 اماهم فل هابوا برهكم ان كسم صدقس ﴿١١١﴾ نلى من اسلم وجهه لله وهو

- 1 به فلعنه الله على الكفرس ﴿٨٩﴾ نسما اسرورا به انفسهم ان تكفروا بما انزل الله نعا ان نزل الله من
- 2 فضله على من نسا من عبادہ فباو نعصب على عصب وللکفرس عذاب مهس ﴿٩٠﴾ وادا فل لهم اموا
- 3 بما انزل الله فالوا نومس بما انزل علسا ويكفرون بما وراه وهو الحق مصدفا لما معهم فل فلم
- 4 تفتلوا انبيا الله من فل ان كسم مومس ﴿٩١﴾ ولعد حاكم موسى بالنسب نم اخدم العجل من بعده واسم تَقْتُلُونَ
- 5 ظلمون ﴿٩٢﴾ فاذا احدن ميثفكم ورفعا فوقكم الطور حدوا ما انكم نفوه واسمعوا واذا اخذنا
- 6 فالوا سمعنا وعصبا واسرورا في فلوبهم العجل نكفرهم فل نسما نامركم به انكم
- 7 ان كتم مومنس ﴿٩٣﴾ فل ان كات لكم الدار الاحره عد الله حالصه من دون الناس فموا
- 8 الموت ان كتم صدفس ﴿٩٤﴾ ولن سموه اندا بما فدمت اندهم والله علم بالظلمس ﴿٩٥﴾
- 9 ولتحدبهم احرص الناس على حوه ومن الدس اسركوا بود احدهم لو نعر الف سه وما
- 10 هو بمرجره من العذاب ان نعر والله نصر ما نعملون ﴿٩٦﴾ فل من كان عدوا لحريل فانه نرله بِمَرْحَرِهِ
- 11 على قلبك بادن الله مصدفا لما بس نديه وهدى ووسرى للمومس ﴿٩٧﴾ من كان عدوا
- 12 لله وملكته ورسله وحريل ومكل فان الله عدو للکفرس ﴿٩٨﴾ ولعد انرنا الك اب
- 13 بنت وما نكفر بها الا الفسسون ﴿٩٩﴾ اوكلما عهدوا عهدا نده فرى منهم بل اكرهم لا نومون
- 14 ﴿١٠٠﴾ ولما جاهم رسول من عد الله مصدو لما معهم سد فرى من الدس ابوا الكس
- 15 كتب الله ورا طهورهم كانهم لا نعلمون ﴿١٠١﴾ وانعوا ما سلوا السطس على ملك
- 16 سلس وما كفر سلس ولكن السطس كفروا نعلمون الناس السحر وما انزل على

- 1 كسب سببه واحطت به حطبه فاولئك اصحاب النار هم فيها خالدون ﴿٨١﴾ والذين امنوا وعملوا
- 2 الصالحات اولئك اصحاب الجنة هم فيها خالدون ﴿٨٢﴾ واد احدنا مسوقى نبي اسرى لا تعبدون الا الله
- 3 اَلزَّكٰوٰةَ وبالولدين احسانا ودى القرى والسمى والمسكن وفولوا للناس حسبا وافسموا الصلوة وانوا الركو
- 4 ه نم بولسم الا قليلا منكم وانم معرضون ﴿٨٣﴾ واد احدنا مسعكم لا تسفكون دماكم ولا تخرجون
- 5 انفسكم من دبركم نم افرريم وانم تسهدون ﴿٨٤﴾ نم انم هولاء يصلون انفسكم وتخرجون
- 6 تَقْدُوهُمُ فربما منكم من درهم يطهرون عليهم بالانم والعدون وان نابوكم اسرى بعدوهم وهو
- 7 محرم عليكم احراهم افومون بعض الكسب وكفرون بعض فما حرا من يفعل
- 8 ذلك منكم الا حرى فى الحوه الدسا ويوم الصمه يردون الى اسد العذاب وما الله
- 9 يعقل عما يعملون ﴿٨٥﴾ اولئك الذين اسروا الحوه الدسا بالاحره فلا يحفف عنهم
- 10 اَبْنَ العذاب ولا هم يصرون ﴿٨٦﴾ ولقد انسا موسى الكسب وفصا من بعده بالرسل وانسا عيسى بن مريم
- 11 السب وانده بروح القدس افكلما حاكم رسول بما لا نهوى انفسكم اسكريم فريفنا كد نتم
- 12 ورفربا يصلون ﴿٨٧﴾ وقالوا فلوسا علف بل لعهم الله بكفرهم بفليلا ما
- 13 نومون ﴿٨٨﴾ ولما حاهم كسب من عد الله مصدو لما
- 14 معهم وكانوا من قبل تسفحون على الذين كفروا فلما حاهم ما عرفوا كفروا

- 1 لا **فارض** ولا نكر عوان من ذلك فافعلوا ما يومرون ﴿٦٨﴾ قالوا ادع لنا ربك من لنا ما لوبها قال انه
- 2 **يقول** انها **نفره** **صعرا** فافع لوبها نسر الطرس ﴿٦٩﴾ قالوا ادع لنا ربك من لنا ما هي ان النفر نسه
- 3 علينا **وانا ان سا** الله لمهدون ﴿٧٠﴾ قال انه يقول انها نفره لا دلول نسر الارض ولا نسي الحرب
- 4 مسلمه لا سه **فيها** قالوا ان حب نالحو فدمحوها وما كادوا يفعلون ﴿٧١﴾ واد فسلم نسا
- 5 فادريم فيها والله محرج ما كسم نكمون ﴿٧٢﴾ فعلنا اصربوه نعضها كذلك نحي الله الموي
- 6 وربكم **انته** لعلكم يفعلون ﴿٧٣﴾ نم فسب فلوبكم من بعد ذلك فهي كالحجاره او اسد فسوه وان من الحجاره
- 7 لما يتفجر منه **الا نهر** وان منها لما نسيق فحرج منه الما وان منها لما نهط من حسه الله وما
- 8 **الله** **يعفل** عما **نعملون** ﴿٧٤﴾ افطمعون ان يوموا لكم وقد كان فربو منهم نسمعون كلم
- 9 **الله** نم **مخرفوه** من بعد ما عفلوه وهم نعلمون ﴿٧٥﴾ وادا لفوا الدس اموا قالوا اما وادا
- 10 خلا نعضهم الى نعض قالوا امحدونهم بما فتح الله عليكم لبحاكوكم نه عد ربكم افلا نعملون ﴿٧٦﴾
- 11 اولوا نعلمون ان الله نعلم ما نسررون وما نعلمون ﴿٧٧﴾ ومهم امون لا نعلمون الكتب الا اماي
- 12 وان هم الا نطون ﴿٧٨﴾ فويل للذين نكسوا الكتب نانديهم نم يقولون هدا من عد الله لنسروا نه بما
- 13 فلنلا فويل لهم مما كسب انديهم وويل لهم مما نكسوا ﴿٧٩﴾ وقالوا لن نسا النار الا اناما معدوده
- 14 فل امخدم عد الله عهدا فلن محلف الله عهده ام يقولون على الله ما لا نعلمون ﴿٨٠﴾ نلى من

- 1 عر الذي قبل لهم فارتلنا على الذين ظلموا رحرا من السما بما كانوا يفسفون ﴿٥٩﴾ **واد**
- 2 اسدسى موسى لقومه فقلنا اصرب بعصاك الحجر فاصحرت منه انسا عسره عينا ود
- 3 علم كل اناس مسربهم كلوا واسربوا من ررق الله ولا نعوا فى الارص مفسدس ﴿٦٠﴾ **واد**
- 4 فلم نموسى لن بصر على طعام وحد فادع لنا ربك بمرح لنا مما **سب** الارص من
- 5 بقلها وفانها وقومها وعدسها وبصلها فال اسسدلون الذى هو ادنى بالدى **هو حبر** اهبطوا
- 6 مصرا فان لكم ما سالم وصرب عليهم الذله والمسكه
- 7 وناو بعصب من الله ذلك نابهم كانوا بكفرون باب الله وبقتلون النبىن **بغير**
- 8 هادؤا الحق ذلك بما عصوا وكانوا يعدون ﴿٦١﴾ ان الذين امنوا والذين **هدوا** والبصرى
- 9 والصبس من امن بالله واليوم الاخر وعمل صلحا فلهم اجرهم عند ربهم **ولا خوف**
- 10 عليهم ولا هم محربون ﴿٦٢﴾ **واد** احدا مسبكم ورفعا فوقكم الطور **حدوا** ما **اتسكم**
- 11 بعوه وادكروا ما فيه لعلكم بعبون ﴿٦٣﴾ بم بولسم من بعد ذلك فلولا فضل الله عليكم ورحمته
- 12 لكسب من المحسرس ﴿٦٤﴾ ولقد علمس الذين اعدوا مكبم فى السبت بقلنا **لهم كبروا**
- 13 فرده حسس ﴿٦٥﴾ فبعلها بكلا لما بس بديها وما حلبها وموعظه للمتمس ﴿٦٦﴾ **واذ** قال
- 14 موسى لقومه ان الله بامركم ان بدمحوا بقره فالوا اسحدا **هزوا** قال **اعود** بالله ان
- 15 اكون من الجهلس ﴿٦٧﴾ فالوا ادع لنا ربك بس لما ما هى قال انه يقول انها بقره

- 1 واها لكسره الا على المسعس ﴿٤٥﴾ الدس بطون انهم ملعوا ربهم وانهم اله رجعون ﴿٤٦﴾ سى
- 2 اسربل اذكروا نعمى الى انعمت عليكم وائى فصلكم على العلمس ﴿٤٧﴾ وانعوا نوما لا بحرى
- 3 نبسا عن نفس سا ولا فصل منها سععه ولا يوحد منها عدل ولا هم نصرون ﴿٤٨﴾ واد محسكم من ال نَفْسُ
- 4 فرعون نسوموبكم سو العدا بدمحون اساكم ودمسحون نساكم وئى دلکم بلا من ر
- 5 بكم عظم ﴿٤٩﴾ واد فرقا بكم البحر فامحسكم واعرفنا ال فرعون واسم سظرون ﴿٥٠﴾ واد وعدنا
- 6 موسى اربعس ليله ثم اتخدم العجل من بعده واسم ظلمون ﴿٥١﴾ نم عفوا عنكم من
- 7 بعد ذلك لعلكم تسكرون ﴿٥٢﴾ واد اسنا موسى الكب والفرقان لعلكم بهدون ﴿٥٣﴾
- 8 واذ فال موسى لقومه بقوم انكم ظلمتم انفسكم باحدكم العجل فوبوا الى ناركم
- 9 بافتلوا انفسكم دلکم حر لكم عند ناركم فاب عنكم انه هو النواب الرحم ﴿٥٤﴾
- 10 واذ فلتم بموسى لن نومس لك حى برى الله حهه فاحدكم الصعفه
- 11 وانتم تنظرون ﴿٥٥﴾ نم بعثكم من بعد موبكم لعلكم تسكرون ﴿٥٦﴾ وطللنا عنكم العمام
- 12 وانرلنا عنكم المن والسلوى كلوا من طب ما ررفكم وما
- 13 ظلموا ولكن كانوا انفسهم بظلمون ﴿٥٧﴾ واد فلنا ادحلوا
- 14 هذه القره فكلوا منها حب سدم رعدا وادحلوا الباب
- 15 سحدا وفولوا حطه بعمر لكم حطكم وسررد المحسس ﴿٥٨﴾ فدل الدس ظلموا فولوا

- 1 واد قال ربك للملكه انى حاعل فى الارض حلقهه فالوا المحعل فيها من تصد فيها وسفك الدما
- 2 ويح سح محمدك وبعسد لك قال انى اعلم ما لا تعلمون ﴿٣٠﴾ وعلم ادم الاسما كلها نم عرصهم
- 3 على الملكه فعال اسوى ناسما هولاً ان كسم صدق ﴿٣١﴾ فالوا سحك لا علم لنا الا ما علمنا
- 4 انك اب العلم المحكم ﴿٣٢﴾ قال نادم انهم ناسماهم فلما اساهم ناسماهم قال الم
- 5 افل لكم انى اعلم عب السموت والارض واعلم ما سدون وما كسم نكمون ﴿٣٣﴾ واذا فلنا
- 6 للملكه اسحدوا لادم فسحدوا الا انلس انى واسكر وكان من الكفرس ﴿٣٤﴾ وولنا نادم
- 7 اسكن اب وروحك المحه وكلا منها رعدا حب سسما ولا نصرا هذه
- 8 السحره فكبوا من الظلمس ﴿٣٥﴾ فارلها السطن عنها فاحرحهما مما كانا فيه وولنا
- 9 اهبطوا بعصكم لعص عدو ولكم فى الارض مسفر ومع الى حن ﴿٣٦﴾ فلبى ادم من ربه
- 10 كلم فاب عليه انه هو النواب الرحم ﴿٣٧﴾ فلنا اهبطوا منها جمعا فاما يا
- 11 سكم مى هدى فمن سع هداى فلا خوف عليهم ولا هم محربون ﴿٣٨﴾ والدى كفروا
- 12 وكذبوا ناسا اولك اصحب النار هم فيها حلدون ﴿٣٩﴾ نسى اسريل
- 13 اذكروا نعمى الى اعبت عليكم واوفوا بعهدى اوف بعهدكم واىي
- 14 فارهبون ﴿٤٠﴾ واموا بما اربل مصدفا لما معكم ولا تكونوا اول كافر نه ولا تسروا
- 15 وَتَكْتُمُوا ناسى بما فللا وانى فانبون ﴿٤١﴾ ولا تلبسوا الحق بالنطل وبكمون الحق واسم تعلمون ﴿٤٢﴾
- 16 وافموا الصلوه وابوا الركوه واركعوا مع الركعس ﴿٤٣﴾ انامرون الناس نالر وبسون
- 17 انفسكم واسم سلون الكب افلا بعلمون ﴿٤٤﴾ واسبعوا بالصبر والصلوه

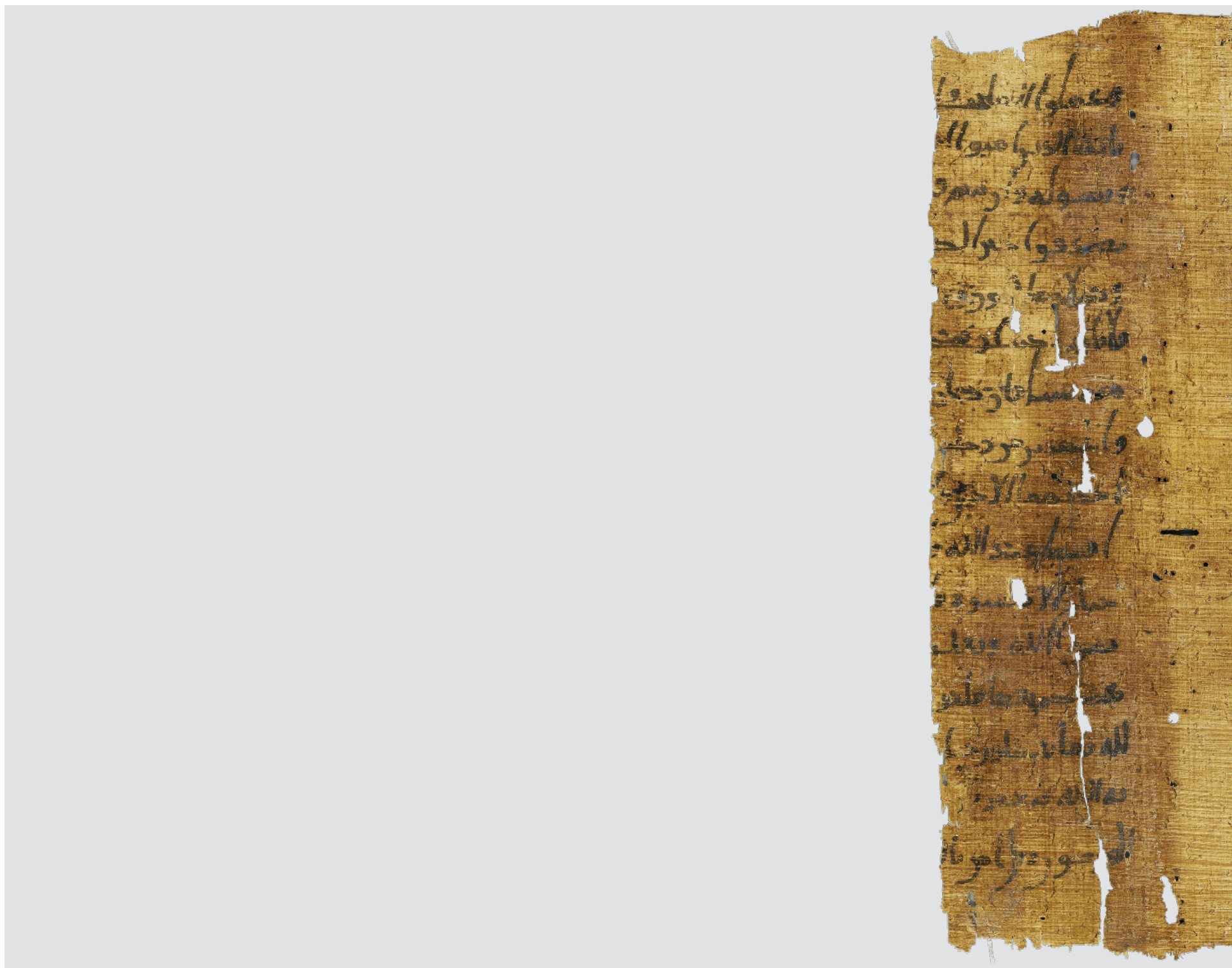


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**Reconstruction of the presumedly original  
codex P. Hamb. Arab. 68**











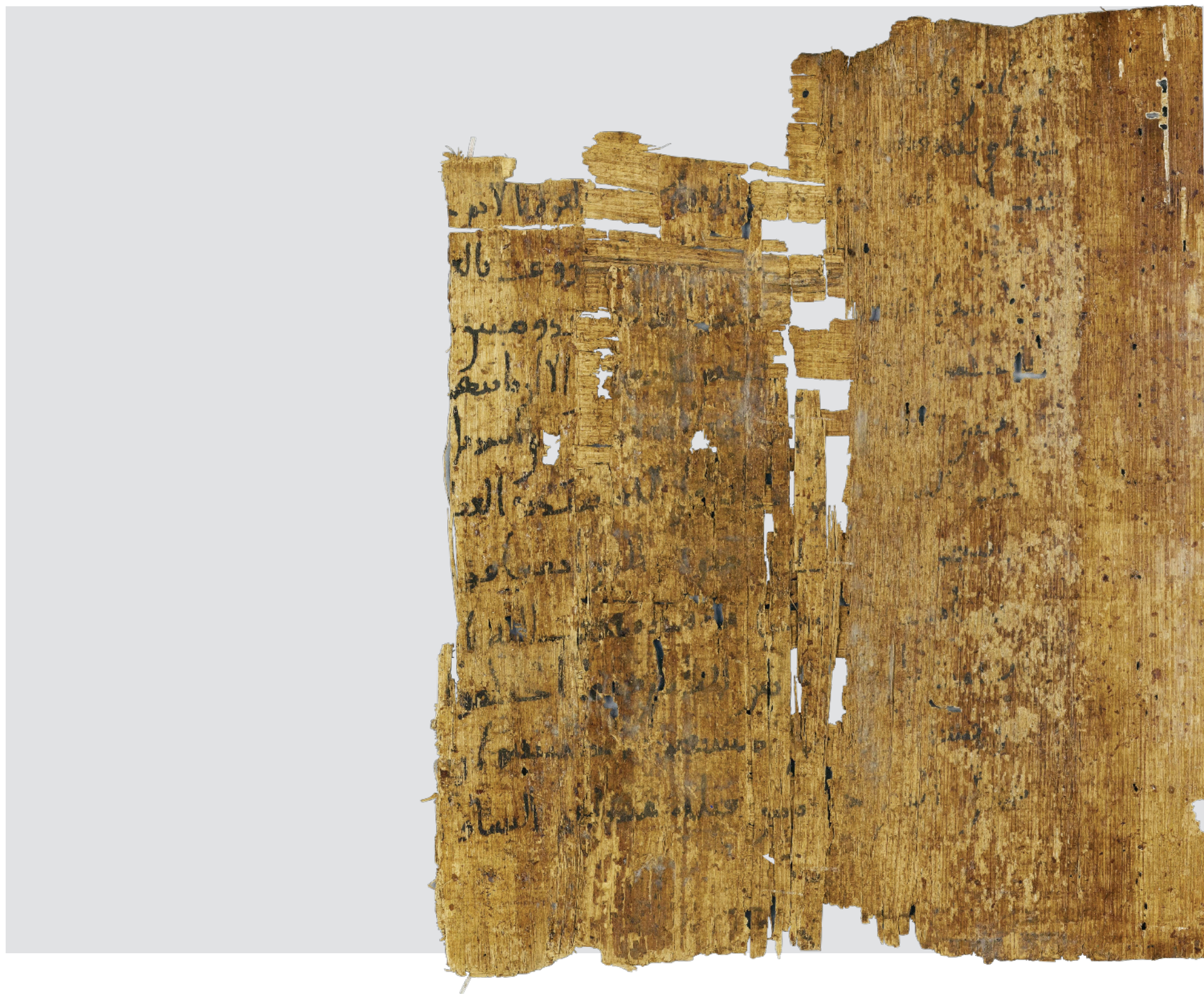




























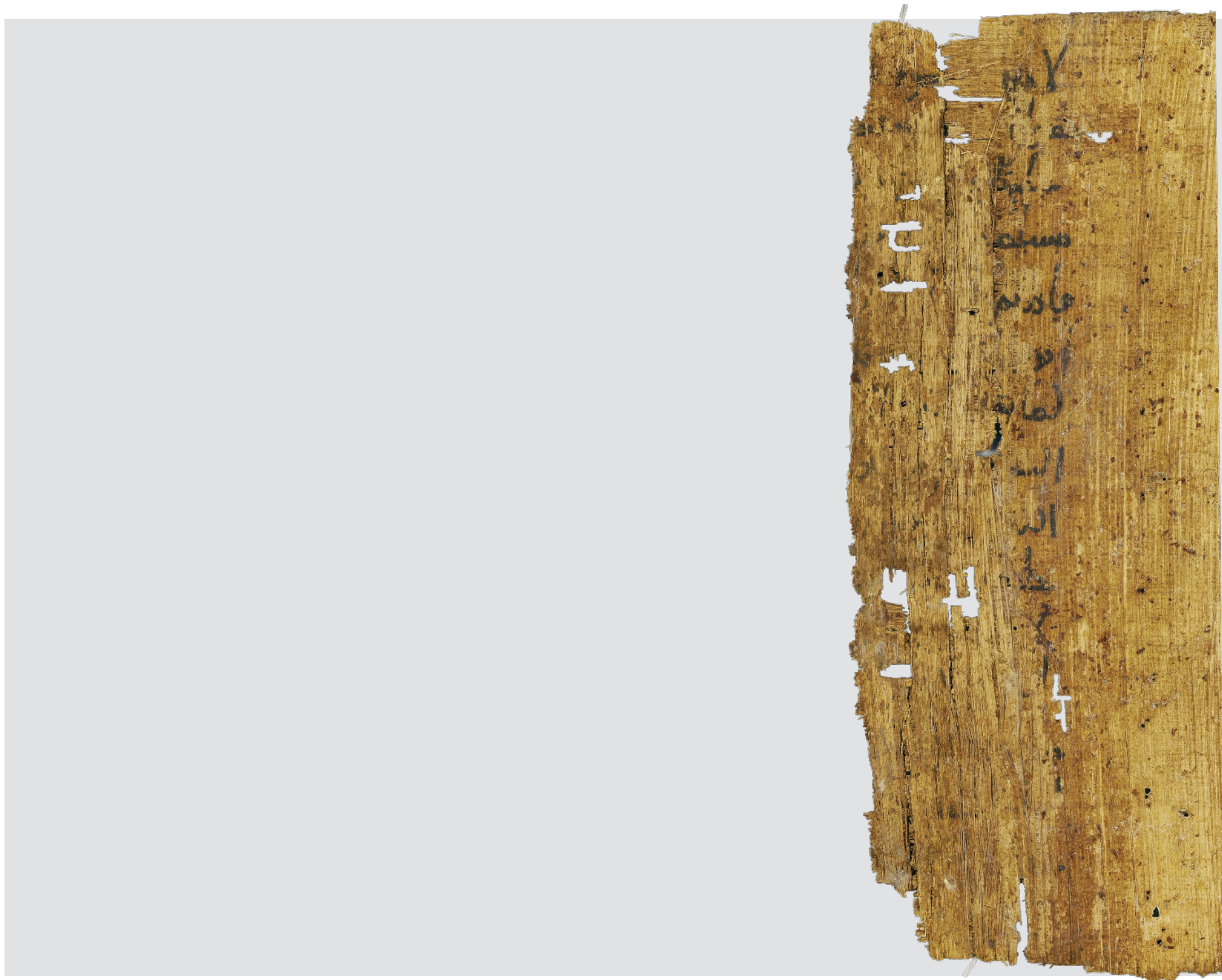




















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**Appendix: P. Wash. Libr. of Congress**

**Inv. Ar. 176 (Qur'an 9:67-71)**



Our colleague Lev Weitz shared with us a fragment written in Ḥiǧāzī script from the collection of Arabic documents held in the Africa and Middle East Department of the Library of Congress just as we were about to complete this book. We immediately identified the copy as one of verses 67-72 of Sūra 9 (*al-Tawba*, Repentance). Although this short fragment does not allow an in-depth analysis on par with that of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, it appears appropriate to attach here an edition of this folio.

## 1. Provenance

This document was purchased in Cairo in the late 1940s, from the famous antiquarian and modern bookshop “Au bouquiniste oriental,” which the Feldman family had owned since 1936 on Suleiman Pasha Square.<sup>218</sup> The provenance of the document is unclear. A significant portion of the fragments held by the Library of Congress originates from the southern part of the Fayyūm, Ṭutūn in particular.<sup>219</sup> However,

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218 See N. Vanthieghem and L. Weitz, “Monks, Monasteries, and Muslim Scribes: Three Parchment House Sales from the 4th/10th-Century Fayyūm,” *Arabica*, 67 (2020), 461-501, esp. 463, n. 5.

219 See for instance the documents published in N. Vanthieghem and L. Weitz, “Monks, Monasteries, and Muslim Scribes” as well as N. Vanthieghem and L. Weitz, “A Companion of Muḥammad in the Oldest Egyptian Bilingual Entagion: Edition of P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 1 + 40,” *Bulletin of the*

this village remained predominantly Christian until the late Fatimid period, which makes the discovery of this Qur’ānic fragment in that region unlikely.<sup>220</sup> Another part of the collection originates from Fustāṭ, where many documents were unearthed in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>221</sup> Therefore, this fragment was more likely discovered in Fustāṭ than in the ruins of Ṭutūn.

## 2. Codicological description

In contrast to P. Hamb. Arab. 68, which offers much codicological data, the present papyrus allows only for brief observations. This folio, written on both the verso (↓) and the recto (←), probably belonged to a larger codicological unit, either a copy of one or more Sūras or a complete *muṣḥaf*. The papyrus surface is badly abraded on both sides. A *kollesis* at 7.7 cm from the left edge of the fragment can be observed. The original margins have disappeared, except for a short 0.9 cm margin

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*American Society of Papyrologists*, 58 (2021), 203-214.

220 On the predominantly Christian population of this village, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, “La rançon du serment. Un accord à l’amiable au tribunal fatimide de Ṭalīt,” *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 140 (2016), 53-72.

221 Among the documents originating from Fustāṭ, P. Wash. Libr. of Congress 58 is a letter addressed by an uncle to his nephew in Fustāṭ. P. Wash. Libr. of Congress 112 is a letter to be delivered in the Egyptian capital.

at the bottom. If one speculates that the original layout was similar to that of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the upper margin should have been roughly similar to the bottom one. The folio may therefore have been approximately 16 cm high, including margins, and about 15 cm wide. The text covers 11 lines on the recto, the only side of the folio where the number of missing lines can be ascertained. The verso bears traces of 11 lines as well, but it might have originally included 13 to 14 lines. The number of characters per line varies between 25 and 34 on the verso and 22 to 38 on the recto, with an average of 29 characters per line.

The size of the papyrus, the number of lines per page and the number of characters per line all suggest that the original manuscript was much smaller than P. Hamb. Arab. 68.

### 3. Paleography

This Qur'ānic folio was copied by a skillful scribe, expert in Ḥiḡāzī style. Its main paleographical features recall those of P. Hamb. Arab. 68. The main difference between the two manuscripts concerns the shape of initial letters *kāf* and *dāl*. In the present manuscript, they appear almost identical, whereas these two letters can clearly be distinguished in P. Hamb. Arab. 68. Furthermore, the thick handwriting is more regular than in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 and it inclines to the right. Its overall more geometric aspect makes it closer to the “Ḥiḡāzī III” style as identified by François Déroche.<sup>222</sup>

## 4. The Qur'ānic ductus

### 4.1. Spelling

#### 4.1.1. The consonantal ductus

The sample provided by the papyrus does not allow as many spelling observations as P. Hamb. Arab. 68. In both cases, the spelling is defective. The *hamza* is absent, and replaced by a *yā'* in one instance (اوليك instead of اولئك). However, some *alifs* absent from the 1924 Cairo edition are present on the papyrus. One of these *alifs* is noted as a *yā'*, which could correspond to an oral pronunciation in which the /ā/ vowel shifted to /ē/ (*imāla*).<sup>223</sup>

Generally speaking, one observes a preference for *scriptio plena*, whereas, as we have seen above, the *scriptio defectiva* seems to have been the norm in the pre-Marwānid Ḥiḡāzī manuscripts.<sup>224</sup>

<sup>222</sup> See *supra* footnote 74.

<sup>223</sup> On *imāla* in early papyri, see S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 8.

<sup>224</sup> See *supra* footnote 87.

Table 15. The use of *alif* as a *mater lectionis*

Verse	P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176	1924 Cairo edition
9:70	بالبينات	بالبينت
9:71	المومنيث	المؤمنت
9:72	جنات	جنت

#### 4.1.2. Diacritical dots

The manuscript features several diacritical dots that were apparently inserted by the same hand as the *rasm*. Consonantal dots appear 30 times (14 times on the recto, 16 on the verso), and fall into three categories. (1) Single dots. (2) Double dots, arranged vertically or in a slightly inclined position, following an archaic practice, or even horizontally (as in جنات), following a habit that developed from the late seventh century onwards. (3) Three dots only appear once (اشد), horizontally arranged. The *qāf* features a dot above the letter, as observed in P. Hamb. Arab. 68. No vowel marks appear on the manuscript. On the whole, diacritical dots are placed at the expected position. One notices only one single phoneticism in verse 68, where *aktar* is diacritized اكثر instead of اكثر.

Table 16. The use of diacritics, grapheme by grapheme

Letter	Number of diacritized instances	Number of total instances	%
<i>bā'</i>	1	9	11 %
<i>tā'</i>	9	16	24 %
<i>ḡīm</i>	2	3	67 %
<i>ḥā'</i>	1	4	25 %
<i>zāy</i>	2	2	100 %
<i>šīn</i>	1	1	100 %
<i>dād</i>	1	3	33 %
<i>qāf</i>	3	7	43 %
<i>nūn</i>	6	25	24 %
<i>yā'</i>	4	14	29 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>34 %</b>

On the average, 34% of the theoretically dotted letters preserved in the manuscript carry diacritical dots, a percentage much higher than P. Hamb. Arab. 68. The letters *zāy*, *šīn*, *ǧīm*, *tāʾ*, and *qāf* are by far the most statistically dotted. The use of consonantal dots does not seem to follow the same rules as in P. Hamb. Arab. 68. The present folio tends to distinguish nominal and verbal roots by adding diacritics (18 times), whereas affixes, prepositions and particles, which often bear diacritics in the Hamburg Sūra, feature dots only a few times (12 times). This difference might, however, be partly due to the disproportional amount of text that has survived for each of the two fragments.

#### 4.2. Variations

Unlike P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the Washington fragment bears no trace of any missing section. However, several variations appear on the papyrus, all unrecorded by the Islamic tradition as far as we know. Three of these variations change the meaning of the text.

Table 17. Variations

Verse	1924 Cairo edition	P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176
9:67	إن المنفقين هم الفسقون	ان المنفقون هم الفسقون
9:68	هي حسبيم ولعنهم الله ولهم عذاب مقيم	هي حسبيم ولعنهم ولهم عذاب مقيم
9:69	كالذين من قبلكم كانوا أشد منكم	كالذين من قبلهم كانوا أشد منكم
9:69	وأكثر أمولا وأولادا	واكثر امولا واولد
9:69	الذين من قبلكم بخلقهم وخضتم	الذين من قبلكم بخلقهم وخوضهم
9:70	الذين من قبلهم قوم	الذين من قلمهم قوم
9:71	ويؤتون الزكوة	ويتون الزكوة

Three variations may be copying mistakes rather than significant variants for the history of the text. Verse 67 features an inflection mistake. Instead of the expected accusative form *al-munāfiqīn* following the particle *inna*, the scribe wrote the nominative form *al-munāfiqūn*. Such an error might have been influenced by Middle Arabic, which makes very little distinction between grammatical flexions. Another explanation would be that the previous word, which is now missing because of the lacuna, was not the particle *inna* as expected, but another word. In Qurʾān 9:69, the copyist apparently omitted the *tanwīn* at the end of *awlād*, although an indefinite accusative is expected after

the superlative *aktar*. He did not forget the *tanwīn*, however, at the end of *amwālan*. The copyist also forgot the *bāʾ* of *min qabli-kum* in verse 70. Finally, in verse 71, *yuʿtūna* does not include a support for the *hamza*.

The omission of the subject, Allāh, in a place where it is traditionally expected, is quite common in early Qurʾānic manuscripts. Daniel Alan Brubaker notes several examples of the addition of God’s name in passages where it was originally absent.<sup>225</sup> In verse 68, however, the omission of Allāh leads to a somewhat different understanding of the verse. The syntactical structure of the sentence allows one to read *l.ʿn.* not as a verb (*laʿana*), as in the 1924 Cairo edition, but rather as a noun, *laʿn*, and to pronounce *hiya ḥasbu-hum wa-laʿnu-hum wa-la-hum ʿadāb muqīm* (“It [scil. the fire of hell] is their due, their curse, and their punishment is unchanging”). Conversely, the 1924 Cairo edition reads *hiya ḥasbu-hum wa-laʿana-hum Allāh wa-la-hum ʿadāb muqīm* (“It is their due. God has cursed them and their punishment is unchanging”). We may also conjecture that the copyist read the consonantal ductus *hiya ḥisābu-hum wa-laʿnu-hum* (“It [scil. the fire of hell] is their reckoning and their curse”).

In verse 69, a variant features *kamā istamtaʿa llaḏīna min qabli-kum bi-ḥalāqi-him wa-ḥawḏi-him ka-llaḏī ḥāḏū* (“as those before you had enjoyed their lot and their gossip just as those who indulged in gossip”), whereas the 1924 Cairo edition prefers *kamā istamtaʿa llaḏīna min qabli-kum bi-ḥalāqi-him wa-ḥuḏtum ka-llaḏī ḥāḏū* (“as those before you had enjoyed their lot. And you too indulge in gossip just as they indulged”). The noun *ḥawḏ* appears elsewhere in the Qurʾān, in 6:91 and 52:12. Here it changes the meaning of this verse. The affixed pronoun *-him* instead of the conjugation ending *-tum* eliminates the appeal to the listeners of the verse, and produces a more obscure (not to say absurd) meaning insofar as the men of the past are compared to other (undefined) men of the past, potentially to themselves.

The same verse 69 features *ka-llaḏīna min qabli-him kānū aša[dd min-kum (?)] quwwatan* (“So too the nations before them: they were greater than you in might”) whereas the 1924 Cairo edition offers *ka-llaḏīna min qabli-kum kānū ašadd min-kum quwwatan* (“So too the nations before you: they were greater than you in might”). “Them” can only refer to the “hypocrites” (*al-munāfiqūn*) and the “unbelievers” (*al-kuffār*) mentioned in the previous verse. This reading of verse 69 thus introduces a more explicit link between the hypocrites of the time of the revelation and the people of the past who “were greater in might.” In doing so, the copyist reinforces the distinction between the Believers (the “you” to whom the Qurʾān is addressed), on the one hand, and the past and present hypocrites and unbelievers, on the other.

225 D. A. Brubaker, *Corrections in Early Qurʾān Manuscripts*, 34-44.

### 4.3. Corrections

Besides these variations, the folio bears only a single correction. In verse 72, the copyist first wrote *wa-masākin ṭiba* before realizing his mistake and changing the text to *wa-masākin ṭayyiba*. This is most likely a trivial copying error that he immediately corrected, rather than a variant in the *rasm*. It should be noted that the copyist did not systematically correct his mistakes. Thus, in verse 70, he wrote *alladīna min qali-him*, without correcting what should have been *qabli-him*.

## 5. Paratextual features

The folio bears no kind of decoration other than a verse divider which appears at the end of verse 67. This marker, as in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, consists of a series of dashes arranged in two columns according to a rectangular pattern.



↓ [وفوم ابرهيم واصحاب] مدن و[الموتفك]  
 [انهم] ارسلهم نارا [لسد] اب و[ما كان الله]  
 [لظلمهم]م ولكاتبين كما [د] و[ا] انفسهم [هم]  
 [بظلمون] ﴿٧٠﴾ و[المؤمنون] و[المؤمنين] [بعضهم]  
 5 [اوليا بعض] يامر و[ان] نارا لمعروف و[ب]هون عن  
 [المكروينصمون ال]صلوه و[و]ون الزكوه و[بظعون]  
 [الله و]سوله اوليك س[رحمهم ال]له ان  
 [الله عر]زحكيم ﴿٧١﴾ وعد الله المو[مس]  
 [والموم]ب جنات تجري من تحتها ال[ابهار]  
 10 [جلدس فيها] ومسكن طيبه في [حب]  
 [عدن و]صون من الله [ا]ك[ردلك هو]



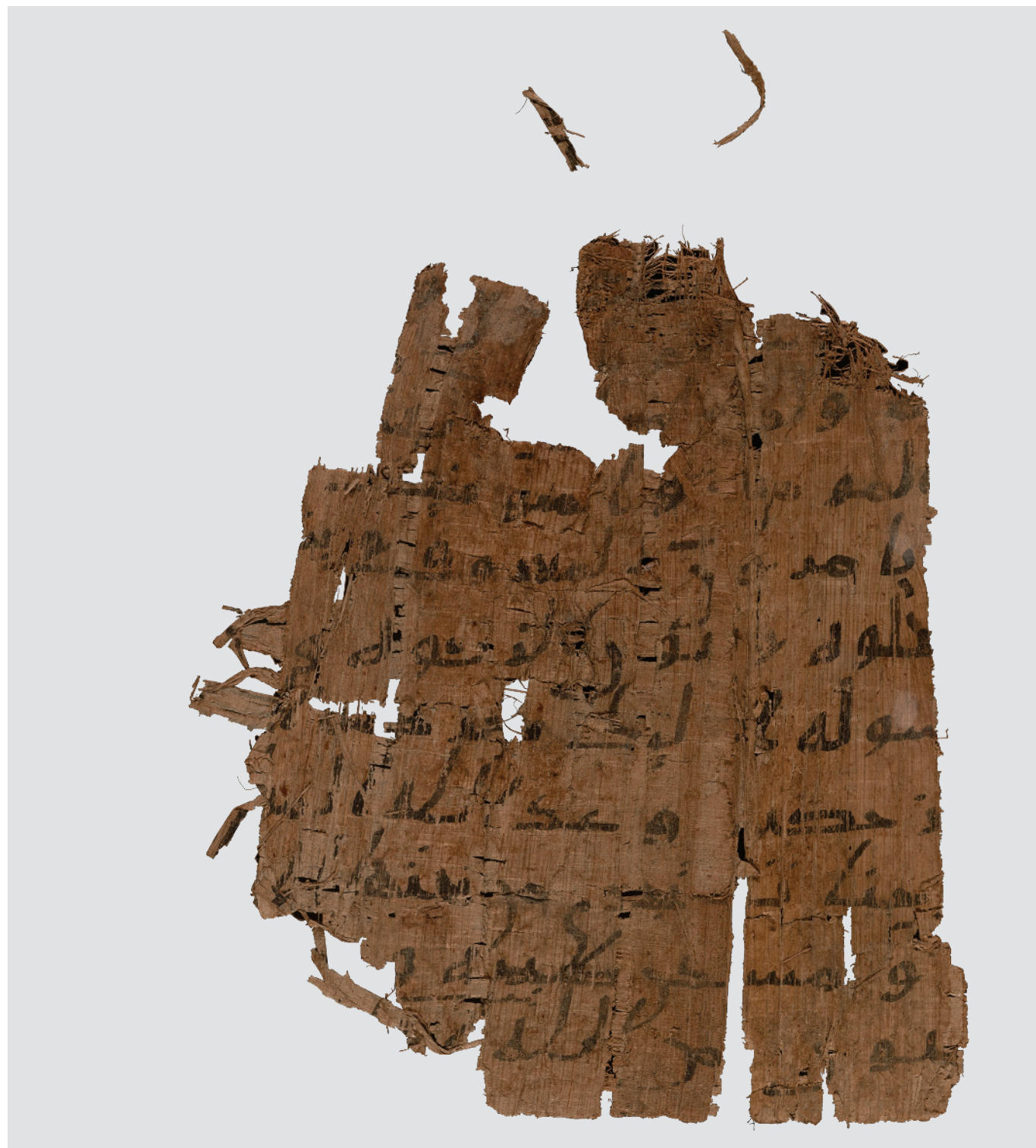


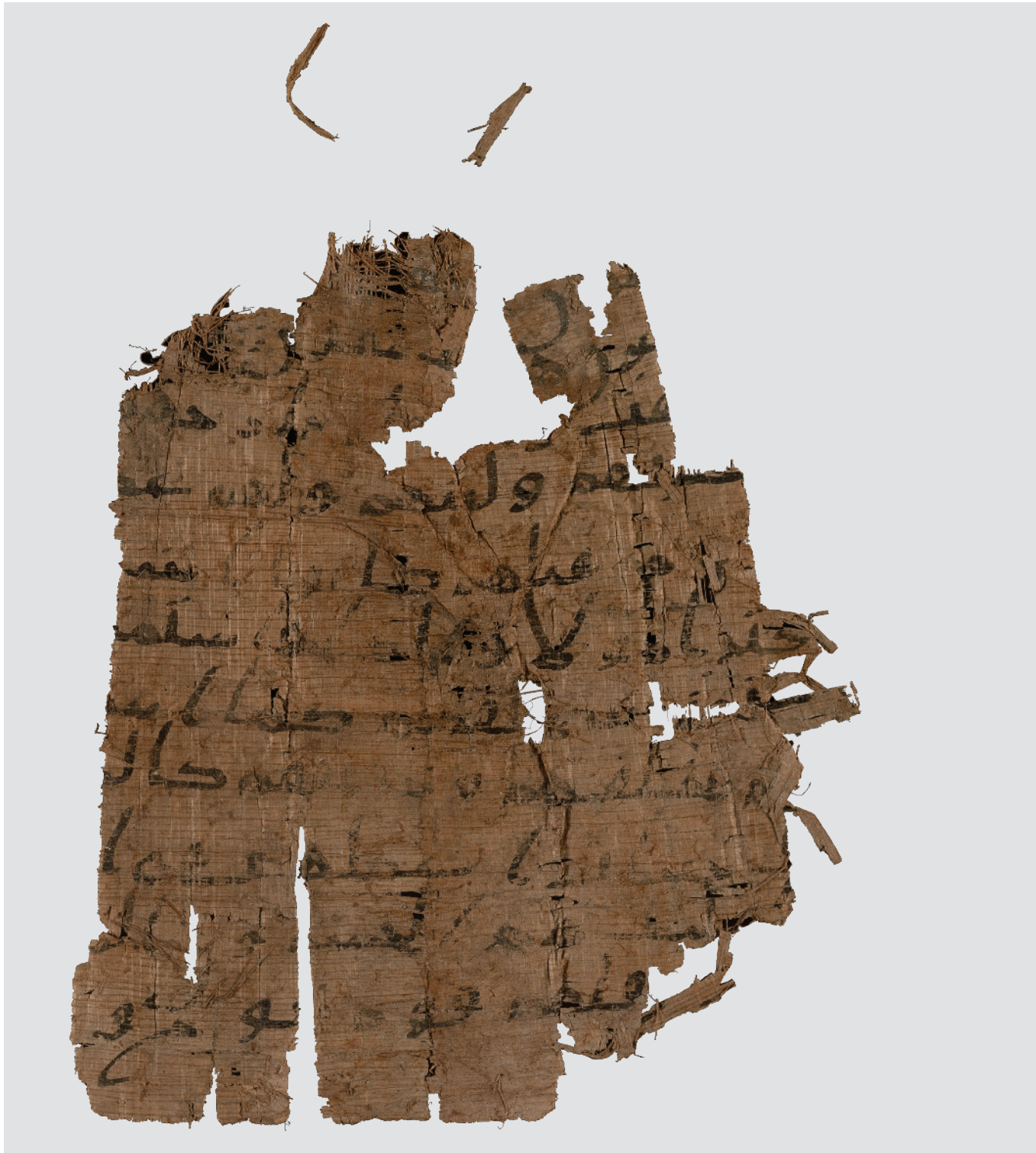
- ← [المعروف ونفس] صون [ند] [بهد] [م نسوا الله فسيهم]
- [ان المسف] [عون هد] [م ال] [عسعون] ﴿٦٧﴾ [و] [عد الله المسفص]
- [والمسف] [عب] [والك] [عار نار حهم] [جلدن فيها]
- [هي] [احسد] [بهم] [ولعنهم] [والهم] [عد] [اب مضم] ﴿٦٨﴾
- 5 [كالد] [دن] [من فلهم] [كانوا] [ش] [د مكم فوه]
- [وا] [كترام] [و] [لا] [وا] [او] [لد] [وا] [ستمت] [عوا] [مخلفهم]
- [فا] [ستمت] [ع] [تم] [د] [اح] [لف] [كم] [كما] [اس] [سمع] [الدين]
- [من فل] [كم] [مخلفهم] [وخوض] [هم] [كالد] [ى] [حاصوا]
- [اولد] [ك] [حطب] [اعمل] [هم] [فى] [الدين] [والاحره]
- 10 [وا] [وليك] [هم] [المحسرون] ﴿٦٩﴾ [الم] [نامهم] [نا]
- [الدين] [من] [فلهم] [قوم] [نوح] [و] [عاد] [ومود]

- 1 وفوم ارهم واصح مدس والموبفك
- 2 اسهم رسلهم بالسناف فما كان الله بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ
- 3 لظلمهم ولكن كانوا انفسهم
- 4 نطمون ﴿٧٠﴾ والمومنون والمومنيب عصهم وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ
- 5 اوليا عص يامرون بالمعروف وينهون عن
- 6 المنكر ويصمون الصلوه ويبون الزكوه ويطعون وَيُؤْتُونَ
- 7 الله ورسوله اوليك سرحمهم الله ان
- 8 الله عزيز حكم ﴿٧١﴾ وعد الله المومس
- 9 والمومس جنات تجرى من حها الانهر جَنَّتِ
- 10 حلدس فيها ومسكن طيبه في حب طَيِّبَةً
- 11 عدن ورضون من الله اكر دلک هو

طبه ← طيبه

1 المعروف ونصصون انددهم نسوا الله فسهم  
 2 الْمُنْفِقِينَ ان المسفون هم المسفون ﴿٦٧﴾ وعد الله المسفون  
 3 والمسفت والكفار نار جهنم حلدس فيها  
 4 وَلَعَنَهُمُ اللَّهُ هى حسبهم ولعنهم ولهم عذاب مصم ﴿٦٨﴾  
 5 قَبْلِكُمْ كالدس من فلهم كانوا اشد منكم فوه  
 6 وَأَوْلَادًا واکتر امولا واولد فاستمتعوا بحلهم  
 7 فاستمتعتم بحلکم كما اسمع الدس  
 8 وَخُضْتُمْ من فلکم بحلهم وخوضهم كالدی حاصوا  
 9 اولک حطب اعلمهم فى الدسا والاحره  
 10 واولک هم الحسرون ﴿٦٩﴾ الم نابهم نا  
 11 قَبْلِهِمُ الدس من فلهم قوم نوح وعاد ومود







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**Index**



## Index of proper names

- Abbasids 18  
 Abbott, Nabia 4  
 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān (governor) 3, 33  
 ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 33  
 ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ 3  
 ‘Abd Allāh b. As‘ad 14  
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd 18, 23, 36  
 ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (caliph) 6, 12, 19, 30, 31  
 ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī 6  
 ‘Ābis b. Sa‘īd (qadi) 37  
 Abū ‘Amr (Qur’ān reader) 23  
 Abū Bakr (caliph) 7  
 Abū Ğandal b. Suhayl b. ‘Amr 33  
 Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Ġarrāḥ 33  
 ‘Alī (caliph) 35  
 ‘Āṣim (Qur’ān reader) 104  
 Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr 3  
 ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ 23  
 Ayyūb b. Šuraḥbīl 33  
 Basileios (headman of Aphrodito) 33  
 Becker, Carl Heinrich 8  
 Bohm, Charlotte 103  
 Bursi, Adam 21  
 Bušayr b. al-Naḍr (qadi) 37  
 Cellard, Éléonore 5, 36  
 Colini, Claudia 35  
 Columella 34  
 Dānī (al-) 16, 36  
 Déroche, François 4, 5, 12, 14, 18, 30, 31, 168  
 Dietrich, Albert 8  
 Ḍirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī 33  
 Dye, Guillaume 38  
 Fedeli, Alba 35  
 Feldman (family) 167  
 Flavius Atias, son of Goedos (duke) 33  
 Ğa‘far b. Aḥmad, Abū Hurayra 31  
 George, Alain 30  
 Goudarzi, Mohsen 5  
 Ḥafṣ (Qur’ān reader) 104  
 Ḥaġġāġ (al-) b. Yūsuf 3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 18, 30, 31, 36, 38  
 Ḥasan (al-) al-Baṣrī 6, 30  
 Ḥayyān b. Surayġ (financial superintendent) 34  
 Hilali, Asma 5, 13, 21, 36  
 Ibn ‘Abbās 23  
 Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 33  
 Ibn Abī Dā’ūd al-Siġistānī 3, 6, 30, 37  
 Ibn Kaṭīr (Qur’ān reader) 23  
 Ibn Wahb 7, 9, 31  
 Ibn Yūnus al-Šadafī al-Miṣrī 3  
 Ibrāhīm (prophet) 16, 20

- Ibrāhīm al-Naḥā'ī 6  
 Ibscher, Hugo 8  
 Isrā'īl 20  
 Jocham, Tobias 18, 103  
 John of Damascus 35, 36  
 Kaplony, Andreas 21  
 Karabacek, Josef von 7  
 Khalidi, Tarif 7, 23, 26, 36  
 Khoury, Raif G. 4  
 Kindī (al-) 33, 37-39  
 Mālik b. Kaṭīr 31  
 Mālik b. Anas (jurist) 38  
 Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam (caliph) 37  
 Marx, Michael 5, 7, 18, 104  
 Maslama b. Muḥallad (governor) 37-38  
 Molière 37  
 Monk of Beth Ḥale 36  
 Moritz, Bernhard 7  
 Mu'āwiya (caliph) 30  
 Muḡāhid b. Ḡabr 23  
 Muḡammad (prophet) 5, 24, 32, 35, 37  
 Muḡammad b. 'Alī b. Aḡmad al-Udfuwī, Abū Bakr 31  
 Muḡammad b. Sīrīn 6  
 Mūsā b. Nuṣayr 33  
 Nāfi' (Qur'ān reader) 31  
 Nāḡid b. Muslim 14  
 Naḥā'ī (al-) 23  
 Nöldeke, Theodor 32  
 Ottomans 4  
 Prémare, Alfred-Louis de 36, 37  
 Puin, Elisabeth 5  
 Puin, Gerd R. 5  
 Qurra b. Šarīk (governor) 14, 21, 33  
 Rāḡib, Yūsuf 31  
 Sadeghi, Behnam 5  
 Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib 23  
 Sa'īd b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥurāsānī 23  
 Samhūdī (al-) 31  
 Satan 27  
 Sebeos (Pseudo-) 35  
 Shoemaker, Steven 6, 13  
 Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine 4  
 Sinai, Nicolai 31, 36  
 Spitaler, Anton 27, 29  
 Sulaym b. 'Itr al-Tuḡībī (qadi) 37  
 Suyūṭī (al-) 7  
 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (governor) 30, 31  
 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr 23  
 Ubayy b. Ka'b 23, 36  
 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (caliph) 33-34, 38-39  
 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (caliph) 23, 32, 33  
 Umayyads 5-6, 16, 29, 34, 37  
 'Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Ḡuhanī (governor) 3, 37  
 Usāma b. Zayd (financial superintendent) 34  
 'Uṭmān (caliph) 3, 6, 37-38  
 Weitz, Lev 7, 167  
 Ya'qūbī (al-) 3  
 Zayd b. Ṭābit 37  
 Ziyād b. Ayyūb al-Ṭūsī al-Baḡdādī 23

## Index of places

- Abba Nefer (monastery) 31  
 Anşinā (Antinooupolis) 31  
 Antinooupolis see Anşinā  
 Aphrodito 33  
 Arabia 5, 7  
 Armant 8-9  
 Aswān 8-9, 31  
 Asyut 31  
 Bahnasā (al-) 8-9, 34  
 Baḥrayn 3  
 Başra 3, 6, 27-30  
 Cairo 13, 16-17, 19, 21-24, 26-28, 31, 43, 103, 105, 167-169  
 Damascus 3, 7, 10, 16, 27, 29, 35  
*dār al-silsila* see Palace of the Chain  
 Egypt 3-5, 7-8, 10, 14, 31, 33-35, 37-38  
   - Upper Egypt 8-9, 31, 38-39  
   - Middle Egypt 33  
 Fayyūm 8-9, 33, 167  
 Fuṣṭāṭ 3-4, 7-8, 31, 33, 37-39, 167  
 Ġābiya (al-) 33  
 Ġazīra 3  
 Geneva 7  
 Hamburg 8-9, 12-13, 19, 24, 27-31, 35, 38, 169  
 Hijaz 3, 28  
 Idfū 8-9, 31  
 Ifrīqiyya 34  
 Indian subcontinent 104  
 Iran 104  
 Iraq 3, 30  
 Işqūh see Aphrodito  
 Kūfa 3, 6, 16, 27-30, 104  
 Madīnat al-Fayyūm 31  
 Manqabad 31  
 Mecca 3, 27, 29  
 Medina 27-30  
 Mosque 7, 9, 25-26, 31, 38-39  
   - Mosque of ‘Amr 3-4  
 Nile 3  
 Oxyrhynchus see al-Bahnasā  
 Palace of the Chain (*dār al-silsila*) 33  
 Şan‘ā’ 5, 7, 36  
 Syria 3, 7, 28, 33  
 Ṭalīt 8  
 Turkey 104  
 Tuṭūn 8, 167  
 Uşmūnayn (al-) 8-9  
 Washington 7, 169  
 Yemen 3, 7



## Index of subjects

- <sup>14</sup>C see carbon-dating  
 affix 19-20, 169  
 amulet 7  
*aruzz* (rice) 34  
*aṣḥāb sūrat al-Baqara* (followers of the Ṣūra of the Cow) 36  
 beer 34  
 breastfeeding 39  
 Cairo edition of the Qurʾān 9, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21-24, 26-28, 31, 103-105, 168, 169  
 caliph 6-7, 12, 30, 33, 34, 37-39  
 carbon-dating 6, 12, 14, 18-19  
 Christians 10, 32-33, 36, 39, 167  
 Church 36  
*codex*, pl. *codices* 3, 5-7, 10-12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 30-32, 35-36, 38, 104  
 colours (mark-up system) 103-105  
 correction 6, 21, 24, 25, 32, 35, 38-39, 43, 100, 105, 170  
 debts 24, 39  
 decoration 6, 9, 11-12, 27-29, 35, 170  
 derivated form 20  
 diacritical dots 6, 19-21, 23, 30, 43, 103, 105, 168-169  
 diplomatic edition 104  
*ductus* 4, 9, 13, 16, 18, 21, 23, 30-31, 168, 169  
*dura* (millet) 34  
*exemplar* (written model) 24, 30, 32  
*farāʿid* (obligations) 37  
 Fātiḥa (al-) 12  
 gambling 27, 32  
 genizah 4, 6-7  
*gini* (wine) 35  
 glass stamp 34  
 governor 3, 30-31, 33, 37  
 graffito 31  
 grammar 24  
*ḥamr* (wine) 27, 32-35  
 headband 11-12, 29-30, 35, 43, 104  
*hepsêma* (cooked wine) 34-35  
 Ḥiḡāzī script 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18-19, 28-30, 35, 167-168  
*homeoteleuton* (saut du même au même) 25-26, 32, 35, 38-39  
 ink 11, 25, 29-31, 35  
 Jews 32, 39  
*kollema*, pl. *kollemata* (leaf of papyrus) 10  
*kollesis*, pl. *kolleseis* (place where two leaves of papyrus are glued together) 10-11, 167  
 Kūfī scripts 12  
 leather 4  
 Leiden editorial system 43  
 Maghribi script 19  
 marriage 8, 39  
*maṭānī* 36

- mistake (copying) 10, 19, 23, 24, 32, 38-39, 100, 169, 170  
 monastery 31  
*mu'awwidatān* (*al-*) (last two Sūras) 35  
*muṣḥaf*, pl. *maṣāḥif* (codex of the Qur'ān) 3, 5-7, 12, 31, 37-39, 167  
 oath 39  
 octonion (quire made up of eight papyrus leaves) 12  
*oinos* (wine) 33, 35  
 ornament see decoration  
 orphan 39  
 orthographic standard 16, 18, 38  
 orthography see spelling  
 pagarch 14  
 palimpsest 5, 25, 30, 33, 35-36  
 paper 4, 8, 9, 12  
 papyrology 4-5, 43  
 parchment 4-5, 7, 9, 12-14, 18, 21, 29-31, 33, 38, 40, 167  
 particle 19-20, 23, 37, 169  
 pilgrimage 39  
 pottery 4  
 pre-canonical version(s) 24, 38-39  
 preposition 18-20, 23, 29, 169  
 pronoun 20, 23-24, 26, 169  
*prōtosymboulos* (caliph) 33  
 qadi 10, 37  
*qibla* 25  
*qirtās*, pl. *qarātīs* (sheet of papyrus) 7  
*qisṭ* 34  
*qurā* (secondary towns) 31  
 radiocarbon see carbon-dating  
 renunciant 37  
 repudiation 39  
 root 19-22, 169  
*rotulus* (roll) 10  
*scriptio defectiva* 16, 18, 23, 168  
*scriptio plena* 16, 18, 30, 168  
 septenion (quire made up of seven papyrus leaves) 11-12  
 Shi'i 32  
 spelling 4, 6, 16, 18-19, 21-23, 30, 37-38, 103-104, 168  
 Sunni 32  
 Syriac 36  
 textile 4  
*talīf* (composition) 35-36  
*ṭilā'* (cooked wine) 33-35, 38  
*usqurqa* (beer made of millet) 34  
 usury 39  
 variant reading 5, 23-25, 27, 35  
 variation 4, 13, 16, 21-24, 28, 31, 39, 169-170  
 verb 4, 16, 19-21, 23-24, 26-27, 34, 37-38, 169  
 verse-ending marker 27-30, 38-39, 43, 100, 103, 104, 170  
*volumen*, pl. *volumina* (roll) 10  
 wine (see also *oinos*) 27, 32-35, 38  
 wood 4



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مَخْطُوطٌ عَلَى وَرَقِ الْبَرْدِيِّ

مَحْفُوظٌ فِي مَكْتَبَةِ جَامِعَةِ هَامْبُورْغ

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