

MAPPING A NEW COUNTRY: TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND
QUR'ĀN MANUSCRIPTS

A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Mapping a New Country: Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts

The aims of this thesis are to apply the two main goals of textual criticism as practiced with the New Testament to the text of the Qur'ān: 1) to discern the earliest possible form of the text, and 2) to illumine the history of the text. A selection was made of small portions of text of similar genre and length in both books (Acts 7:1-8 and Surah 14:35-41). The texts of these portions from twenty manuscripts from each tradition are collated including the very oldest manuscripts available. The variants observed are intensively analysed, categories of type are established and then used as the basis of comparison.

The similarities and differences in kinds of variants are thoroughly explored, taking into account the differences in kinds of script, the effects of oral tradition on written transmission, and the role of centralised ideological control on the texts. These comparisons are then examined in regard to recovering the earliest possible forms of the texts of both traditions and illuminating the histories of the development of these texts into standardised text-forms. Intentional variants in both traditions are given special attention.

The thesis concludes that whereas there is the strong possibility of recovering reliable versions of the earliest autographic forms of the New Testament books, there is not the possibility of recovering the earliest authoritative forms of the Qur'ān. The current version is shown to be the result of a long and complex development to create a precise form of the text supporting Islamic dogma, instead of a version preserving the earliest authoritative forms of the text. Also, it is shown that the oral tradition of the Qur'ān was not strong enough to prevent alternative interpretive text-forms and was often dependent on reforms to the written text.

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Abbreviations and Miscellaneous Conventions

Many of the abbreviations used are according to the SBL Handbook of Style.

Works concerning Islamics studies that are not found in the SBL Handbook are the author's invention.

AD	Anno Domini, 'in the year of our Lord', the year according to the Christian Calendar
AH	Anno Hijri, 'in the year of the Hijra', the year according to the Islamic Calendar
AICS	Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting
AJISS	American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences
AO	Ars Orientalis
BDAG	F.W.Danker, ed., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> .
BDF	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i> .
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CBL	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ireland
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CUP	Cambridge University Press
EI2	Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition
EQ	Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
FilNT	Filologia Neotestamentaria
GDQ	Geschichte des Qurāns
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IVP	InterVarsity Press
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JQS	Journal of Qur'ānic Studies
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
Lane	Lane, E.W. An Arabic-English Lexicon. CD-ROM Version.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	Septuagint Greek Version of the Old Testament
MHT	Moulton, Hope, Turner Greek Grammar
MME	Manuscripts of the Middle East
MO	Manuscripta Orientalia
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
MT	Masoretic Text
MW	Muslim World
NA ²⁷	Nestlé-Aland Critical Greek New Testament, 27 th Edition
NICNT	New International Commentary of the New Testament

NovT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OUP	Oxford University Press
RDSO	Revista Degli Studi Orientalia
S.	Surah
SB	Sahih Bukhari, multi-volume collection of Islamic Traditions
SI	Studia Islamica
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
VT	Vetus Testamentum

Manuscript Designations

New Testament

The established Nestle-Aland designation system is used, as it is found in the most recent edition of the NA²⁷ Greek New Testament.

Qur'ān

Since no unified system of designating Qur'ān manuscripts is in use, abbreviated forms of their respective individual catalogue numbers are used. The full catalogue number for each manuscript is given in the appendix describing the individual manuscripts used (Appendices related to Chapter Three). For example, British Library Qur'ān manuscript Or. 2165 is referred to as Or. 2165. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale manuscripts are referred to as BN 328a and BN 330a. If a number of manuscripts from the Paris collection are mentioned together, BN is prefixed to the first number but not attached to the rest in the list; e.g. BN 328a, 330a, 331, 333c.

Date Conventions

Since manuscripts are being compared from both the Christian and Islamic traditions, dates pertaining to both religious calendars are given. For instance, if a general date according to century is required, it will be given in the form of the Christian century followed by the Islamic century: seventh/first century. If a specific date is given, it will be given as follows: 934/323, meaning AD 934 and AH 323. Occasionally, the context will require just one date to be given and in those cases it will be made clear whether a Christian or Islamic date is being referred to.

Verse Citation Conventions

For the purposes of this study, the individual verses of the New Testament and the Qur'ān are divided into sections of phrases that are smaller than verses. When a verse is cited, it will be referred to by its normal verse number and then a number designating the specific phrase within that verse. For example, a phrase of a New Testament verse will be cited as Acts 7:3:2, meaning the second phrase in Acts 7 verse 3 according to the verse division scheme set out in the relevant appendix for Chapter Two. The same goes for phrases of the Qur'ān that are cited. Q. 14:37:4 refers to the fourth phrase of Surah 14 verse 37 according to the verse division scheme given in the relevant appendix for Chapter three.

Arabic Transliteration System¹

Consonants

ء	'	ص	s
ب	b	ض	ḍ
ت	t	ط	ṭ
ث	th	ظ	ẓ
ج	j	ع	'
ح	ḥ	غ	gh
خ	kh	ف	f
د	d	ق	q
ذ	dh	ك	k
ر	r	ل	l
ز	z	م	m
س	s	ن	n
ش	sh	ه	h

Long Vowels

ا	ā
و	ū
ى	ā
ي	ī

Consonants

w

y

Short vowels

َ	a
ُ	u
ِ	i

Diphthongs

وَ	aw
يَ	ay
يَّ	ī

Word endings

َ	an
ُ	un
ِ	in
ة	ṭ when in construct or after long <i>alif</i>

¹ This is the system used by the Journal of Qur'anic Studies with some minor modifications from the U.S. Library of Congress system.

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by

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

The world is generally governed by words.

Sir Christopher Wren (d. 1723)¹

1.1 INTRODUCTION: A CRITICAL TEXT FOR THE QUR'AN?

In the course of interfaith dialogue between Christians and Muslims about the Bible and the Qur'ān, I have come to see a need for a careful comparison of the history of both texts which uses as its basis the earliest available manuscripts. Such a history is readily available concerning the New Testament. New Testament studies over the last few centuries have produced a wealth of works on actual manuscripts, as well as carefully collated collections of the texts of manuscripts that make up various critical texts. The history of these efforts is recounted in the major introductions to the text of the New Testament.²

However, when I looked for similar works concerning the Qur'ān, I came away disappointed. Though there are informative works in English some of them are coloured with an angry polemical attitude that asserts that Western scholarship as a whole is against Islam, and this attitude discredits their objectivity.³ Others are not angry, but on close examination, they turn out to be discussions of Islamic tradition concerning the Qur'ān, not studies of the text as it is found in early manuscripts.⁴ While they occasionally contain useful information concerning manuscripts, they are not primarily studies of those manuscripts, or collations of the text, or manuals on how to apply principles of textual criticism to early manuscripts.

The only books concerning the Qur'ān that are similar to the New Testament introductions are works by Western scholars which approach the text of

¹ Glorney Bolton, *Sir Christopher Wren*, London: Hutchinson, 1956, 59.

² See for example, B.M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, Fourth edn., New York: OUP, 2005; Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, Second edn., Leiden: Brill, 1989.

³ For an example which contains much good information but is marred by its anger, see M.M. Al-Azami, *The History of the Qur'anic Text*, Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003.

⁴ Ahmad 'Ali al Iman, *Variant Readings of the Qur'an*, Herndon, Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1998; Ahmad Von Denffer, *Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, Revised edn., Leicester: Islamic Foundation, 1994.

the Qur'ān from the same background of critical scholarship.⁵ These describe features of early Qur'ān manuscripts and they critically evaluate the Islamic traditions concerning the history of the text of the Qur'ān. Like the Islamic introductions, they also do not present themselves as manuals presenting methodologies for doing textual criticism on the text of the Qur'ān.

While researching this situation, I came to realise that there has never been a critical text produced for the Qur'ān based on actual manuscripts, as has been done for the New Testament of the Bible. I also discovered that the current printed texts of the Qur'ān are based on medieval Islamic tradition instead of the collation and analysis of extant manuscripts. In Biblical Studies, it is almost taken for granted that any legitimate study of the text of the Bible must start with a text that is based on the collation and analysis of manuscripts. Greenlee noted for the New Testament that,

Textual criticism is the basic study for the accurate knowledge of any text. New Testament textual criticism, therefore, is the basic biblical study, a prerequisite to all other biblical and theological work. Interpretation, systematisation, and application of the teachings of the New Testament cannot be done until textual criticism has done at least some of its work.⁶

Critical texts have been prepared for both the New Testament and Old Testament to provide this basis. This has never been done for the Qur'ān, though Western scholars have known the need for decades and expressed the handicap they feel over the absence of such a text. Arthur Jeffery, an Australian scholar, worked with Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl from the 1920s into the 1950s to amass the necessary source materials to begin the construction of a critical text of the Qur'ān. Rippin noted in 1982 of Jeffery's attempt,

When Jeffery wrote this article ('The Present Status of Qur'ānic Studies', 1957), one of his major interests, and that of a number of other people at the time, was to construct a printed text of the Qur'ān

⁵ Richard Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'an*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1953; Régis Blachère, *Le Coran*, 5th edn., Paris: Universitaires de France, 1977; Theodor Nöldeke, Friedrich Schwally, G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005; W.M. Watt and R. Bell, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970.

⁶ J. Harold Greenlee, *Introduction to New Testament Criticism*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995, 7.

complete with a critical apparatus of textual and orthographic variants and so forth. This project did not come to fruition, nor does it seem today very likely that it will, although the need for and the desirability of such is still there.⁷

This is still an accurate description of the situation twenty-five years later. Attempts were made to begin a critical text of the Qur'ān in the early twentieth century, but they were abandoned for various reasons after World War II.⁸ Recently, interest in such a project has revived because of significant discoveries of early manuscripts in Yemen, the rediscovery of a photo-archive of pictures of ancient Qur'ān s in Middle Eastern collections, and because of the development of computer software which can overcome some of the practical collation problems.⁹

This led me to research what would be necessary to create a critical text of the Qur'ān based on representative manuscripts, similar to what has been done for the New Testament. A chart has been provided in Appendix C which presents the kinds of material that would be necessary for constructing a critical text of the Qur'ān on the same kind of basis as the New Testament.

This thesis will explore what can be done from extant manuscripts and early Islamic literature toward constructing a critical text for the Qur'ān. It will demonstrate the method that has been used in New Testament Studies to establish critical texts. This will be done in Chapter Two by examining the textual variants for a portion of text contained in twenty representative New Testament manuscripts. These variants will then be classified according to type. In Chapter Three, twenty-one representative Qur'ān manuscripts containing a similar sized portion of text will be examined for textual variants. These variants will then be classified according to the categories established in Chapter Two. Adjustments will be made to the categories to reflect the differences between European and Semitic scripts. Chapter Four will compare the categories of variants found in Chapters Two and Three, noting categories that are shared by both manuscript traditions, and noting which categories are

⁷ Andrew Rippin, 'The Present Status of *Tafsīr* Studies', *MW* 72 (1982) 224-238; here 224.

⁸ Alford T. Welch, 'al-Kur'ān' *EI2*, Leiden: Brill, 1960-, V:400-429, contains a brief history of why the project was abandoned.

⁹ The Corpus Coranicum conference in Berlin in November 2005 and the continuing project that has come out of it in Potsdam have revived the project of recording and collating the texts of early Qur'ān manuscripts. The photo-archive mentioned is part of the one amassed by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl in the 1920-30s. It is now held in the collection of the Freie Universität in Berlin and will form part of the basis of the Corpus Coranicum project.

unique to their respective tradition. Chapter Five will examine these comparisons in view of the two main goals of textual criticism of 1) establishing the original text and 2) illuminating the textual history of a manuscript tradition. Chapter Six will then answer the research questions posed in this chapter, discuss some of their implications, and suggest avenues of future study.

In my initial research, I also realised that in addition to there being a need to apply textual criticism to Qur'ān manuscripts to establish the earliest possible form of the text, there were also other important orthographic and historical issues that textual criticism could address.

1.1.1. The Goals of Textual Criticism

The primary goal of textual criticism in all branches of the discipline whether regarding biblical, religious or other ancient literature is to recover the original reading of the texts now extant. Elliott and Moir give this concisely:¹⁰

Textual criticism is, primarily, the study of *any* written work, the original of which no longer survives, with the purpose of recovering that original text from those copies which have chanced to survive...A textual critic works back from extant sources to the supposed original text from which *all* surviving copies ultimately descend.

Recovering the original is the primary goal, but recent scholarship has shown that the concept of the original text can be a complicated one in the context of ancient book production and textual transmission.

There are also additional purposes for textual criticism. With biblical texts, it has proved particularly useful for illuminating the history of the transmission of the text, and for discerning evidence for the influence of historical and theological issues in the Bible's textual transmission.¹¹ This could also prove to be the case for the Qur'ān . Both of these goals, recovering the original text and illuminating the

¹⁰ K. Elliott and I. Moir, *Manuscripts and the Text of the New Testament*, Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1995, 1.

¹¹ See David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*. Cambridge, CUP, 1997, and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, Oxford, OUP, 1993.

history of the text, need to be examined in relation to the New Testament and Qur'ānic manuscript traditions.

1.1.1.1. What is the 'Original Text'?

New Testament scholars have long worked with a view that, though the original autographs of the New Testament books no longer exist, the text of these autographs should be found within the manuscripts of the New Testament manuscript tradition. In their manual for New Testament textual criticism, the Alands provide a definition that is probably the most common conception:¹²

...the competence of New Testament textual criticism is restricted to the state of the New Testament text from the moment it began its literary history through transcription for distribution. All events prior to this are beyond its scope.

This could also be viewed as when the document left the author's desk to be published and circulated.

In 1999 however, Eldon Epp explored how the terms 'original text' have been used in New Testament studies and pointed out that actually they have been used with a variety of meanings and a general lack of precision. He demonstrated that the process of an oral or written text becoming a published book was not necessarily as simple as is envisioned above. He also noted that most scholars will qualify what they mean by original text with phrases like 'earliest attainable text', 'earliest recoverable text', or 'earliest identifiable text.'¹³ He developed a more precise scheme of describing the process of book production that delineates four categories:¹⁴

1. *Predecessor text-form*: the oral or written sources the author used.
2. *Autograph text-form*: the form the author wrote as it left his desk.

¹² Aland and Aland, *Text*, 297.

¹³ Eldon Jay Epp, 'It's All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism', *HTR* 100 (2007), 275-308 here 290, 294.

¹⁴ Eldon Jay Epp, 'The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism', *HTR* 92 (1999), 245-81.

3. *Canonical text-form*: a form of the text that acquired a degree of consensual authority.
4. *Interpretive text-form*: any later intentional reformulation for stylistic, practical or dogmatic reasons.

The Alands' definition is an alternative to number two. Numbers three and four are versions that might be more attainable goals because of the small number of New Testament manuscripts available from the earliest periods. It is useful to keep these distinctions in mind for constructing a working definition for the goal of which form of text can be recovered for the New Testament or the Qur'ān.

1.1.1.2. Original Text Issues for Acts

This study compares a portion from the New Testament book of Acts and a portion from Surah 14 of the Qur'ān. The full reasons for the choice of these portions will be presented later in this chapter. At this point, both the New Testament and the Qur'ān need to be considered in relation to the goal of obtaining the original text.

The book of Acts has the most complicated textual history of any book in the New Testament. Among the extant manuscripts of Acts there is the widest degree of variation of textual variants for its text in comparison with other New Testament books. These variants support two distinctive forms of the text, referred to by the broader New Testament text-type names Western and Alexandrian. The most basic observation to be made about these two texts is that the Western text-type is considerably longer than the Alexandrian one. The Western text of Acts has been estimated to be approximately 8.5% longer than the Alexandrian text.¹⁵

The greater length of text is not due to the interpolation of additional narratives that change the storyline of Acts but is rather due to additional

¹⁵ Peter Head, 'Acts and the Problem of its Texts', Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke, *AICS*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993, 1:415-444, here 416, citing F. Frederic Kenyon, 'The Western Text in the Gospels and Acts', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 24 (1939), 287-315, here 310.

elements affecting the narrative that is already in place. Strange helpfully describes the nature of these longer features:¹⁶

All Western readings in Acts are related to the non-Western text. They clarify and smooth the other text, they recast certain scenes, they add details, they explain, and sometimes they correct. But they do not add wholly new material.

This situation has led to a variety of theories as to which text is earlier and has priority in the history of the text's transmission and also how precisely the two texts are related to each other.

To a large degree, the presuppositions one brings to the study of Acts determine what concept of original text is possible to attain. Western text priority views tend to hypothesise that the book of Acts was originally formulated and transmitted orally for a significant period of time before it was committed to writing. They tend to view the two versions of the text found in the Western and Alexandrian text-types to be two different oral forms committed to writing which then became the exemplars upon which the manuscript tradition is based.¹⁷ With this view, the earliest attainable text would be a form that would fall between Epp's categories two and three, the Autograph text-form and the Canonical text-form. I would suggest adding an additional category to Epp's scheme to account for this, an Authoritative text-form, modifying his scheme as follows:

1. *Predecessor text-form*: the oral or written sources the author used.
2. *Autograph text-form*: the form the author wrote as it left his desk.
3. ***Authoritative text-form***: a form of text that acquired a degree of local consensual authority.
4. *Canonical text-form*: a form of the text that acquired a degree of wide consensual authority.
5. *Interpretive text-form*: any later intentional reformulation for stylistic, practical or dogmatic reasons.

¹⁶ W.A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts*, SNTSMS, Cambridge: CUP, 1992, 52.

¹⁷ Proponents of this view are M. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le Texte Occidental des Actes des Apôtres*, 2nd edn., Paris: J. Gabalda, 2000; Leon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, Second edn., Cambridge: CUP, 1991.

The Authoritative text-form would be a form of the text different from the autograph that was circulated and which had attained a degree of authority in certain geographic areas or scribal circles, but not in as widespread a way as Epp's canonical text-form. For Acts in this view the two written versions would have had some authority in the second century AD with the Canonical form coming in around AD 200.

There are problems with this view, however. First, Acts has very definite characteristics that mark it out as starting its literary life as a written literary product. Genre studies have demonstrated that Acts shares fundamental characteristics of established written genres of Greek literature of that period.¹⁸ Also, the nature of orality in the Greek, Jewish, and Roman cultures of the period was such that written literature was performed orally, and literature was dictated to a secretary. Literature was not widely created and then transmitted in a purely oral fashion. The oral and written were tied inextricably together from the outset.¹⁹ The author's statements in Luke 1:1-4 and Acts 1:1 speak of these related works being composed accounts. The author may have had oral and written sources from which he worked, but Acts was composed as a written account.

If Acts was originally a written account, then the goal of the original text is the author's draft, as in the concept mentioned by the Alands above and Epp's category of Autograph text-form. One would then have either a linear relation between the Western and Alexandrian versions, where an original version was either expanded or contracted depending on the view of priority one takes. Or, one might have both descending from a prior *Urtext*. There could also be later edited or published versions which incorporated scribal changes. But the earliest attainable text that would be the appropriate primary goal of textual criticism would be the author's draft.

At the outset, this study will not take a definite view as to which text, the shorter or the longer version, is considered to be the form closest to the Autographic text-form. Instead, this study will test these views by examining each variant individually to see if a determination can be made based on the immediate context

¹⁸ See for instance, Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, A1CS, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993, here chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12.

¹⁹ Paul J. Achtemeier, 'Omne Verbum Sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity', *JBL* 109 (1990), 3-27 here 12-15.

of the variant. After all of the variants have been examined, then the cumulative evidence will be considered as to which text-form has the best claim to being the earlier text.

1.1.1.3. Original Text Issues for the Qur'ān

My expansion of Epp's categories is also useful in determining which form of text of the Qur'ān is the appropriate goal for text critical study. For thorough reviews of the Islamic traditions concerning the initial collection of the Qur'ān the reader is invited to consult the standard Western academic critiques as well as Islamic treatments.²⁰ For the purposes of this thesis and considering the issue of the original text to be sought through textual criticism, some comments on the traditional view of the Qur'ān's collection are required.

Within Muḥammad's lifetime there are reports that his recitations were recorded in both writing and by memorisation, but not in a complete, organised collection.²¹ These portions of material, either written or oral, are equivalent to Epp's Predecessor text-form. They made up a loose collection of autographic material, though it had not been put in a single autographic text-form.

After Muḥammad's death, there were collections of this material in use among his Companions that became authoritative versions in their own right. This is seen in that they were recited and used in the different geographic locations where these Companions went in the early Islamic conquests. These can be considered Authoritative text-forms, each authoritative in its own right in its own geographical sphere. It was the use of these different versions that allegedly caused conflicts so severe they threatened the unity of the empire and prompted 'Uthmān to

²⁰ The major Western treatments are: Richard Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'an*; Régis Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 2e édition partiellement refondue, Paris: Besson & Chantemerle, 1959; John Burton, 'The Collection of the Qur'ān', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *EQ*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, 1: 351-361; Michael Cook, *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: OUP, 2000; Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*; Watt and Bell, *Introduction*. Some current Islamic treatments that interact with Western scholarship are: Labib as-Said, *The Recited Koran*, Princeton, New Jersey: Darwin Press, 1975, Al-Azami, *History*; Denffer, *'Ulūm*; Farid Esack, *The Qur'an: A Short Introduction*, 2004 Reprint edn., Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2002; Yasir Qadhi, *An Introduction to the Sciences of the Qur'aan*, Birmingham: Al-Hidaayah Publishing and Distribution, 1999.

²¹ For instance, al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, Kitāb 61, Bāb 3.

create a single version.²² The traditions recount that ‘Uthmān did this using for a basis one Companion’s version, ‘Umar’s, but after his death it was in the care of his daughter Ḥafṣa. ‘Uthmān had this version edited, possibly including additional material as well as removing some material. This version of ‘Uthmān’s then became the Canonical text-form. Any later versions that improved the orthography, such as by al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Mujāḥid, and any others that added consonantal pointing or vocalisation notation systems, could be termed Interpretive text-forms.

If this action was truly taken by ‘Uthmān, it prevented the possibility of fully recovering either the authoritative text-forms of the Companions, or the autographic predecessor text-forms of the Qur’ān. The New Testament scholar B.F. Westcott, in a rare venture commenting on the Qur’ān manuscript tradition, made the following insightful remark:²³

When the Caliph Othman fixed a text of the Koran and destroyed all the old copies which differed from his standard, he provided for the uniformity of subsequent manuscripts at the cost of their historical foundation. A classical text which rests finally on a single archetype is that which is open to the most serious suspicions.

Comparatively for the New Testament and the Qur’ān, the kind of earliest attainable text to be sought through textual criticism is not the same. Whereas there is a possibility of recovering a substantial amount the Autographic text-form of Acts, if Islamic tradition is correct, there is not the possibility of recovering the Autographic Predecessor text-forms or any of the Authoritative text-forms of the Qur’ān. Only a later Canonical text-form can be sought if the tradition is correct.

Western Qur’ān scholarship from the last century has confirmed this part of Islamic tradition, in that no manuscripts with forms of the text that could clearly be considered an Authoritative text-form or an Autographic Predecessor text-form have been discovered. Most extant Qur’ān manuscripts contain forms of the Canonical text-form and later Interpretive text-forms, with the possible exception of the few existing Qur’ānic palimpsests. The study of these manuscripts is still in the

²² There are reports that the Qur’ān was collected into a definite form before Muḥammad’s death, but if that were the case, then there would have been no need for ‘Uthmān forming a committee to edit it and then have variant versions destroyed. Von Denffer, *‘Ulūm*, 34-45, presents an example of contemporary Islamic views that assert Muḥammad left a single text of the Qur’ān at the time of his death.

²³ Brooke Foss Westcott, *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament*, Second edn., London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897, 8-9.

beginning stages. The ones studied so far show a text-form related to the Canonical text-form, but with more significant textual variants than any other known Qur'ān manuscripts. Western scholarship has also exposed some difficulties in reconstructing the Authoritative text-forms of the Companions, in that the records for these are inadequate for the scope of the task.²⁴ Such reconstruction is undermined by a lack of consistency in the Islamic records of these variants which has led to doubts in their authenticity.²⁵ Though these records may provide a basis for a partial reconstruction of Qur'ān material that was available after Muḥammad's death, that basis is a very tentative one.

Is the pursuit of a critical text which reconstructs the Autographic text-form of the Qur'ān a fruitless exercise, then? Not entirely. In view of the two main purposes of textual criticism, there is a great need for collating the materials that are available. Though an exhaustive critical text of the Qur'ān documenting the very earliest forms of the text is not possible yet, a start toward one can be made by constructing one from the manuscripts and inscriptions that are extant. Such a record would be invaluable for Islamic studies for a number of reasons. First, it would provide an empirical basis for establishing as accurate a text of the Qur'ān as possible.²⁶ Second, it would provide a basis for evaluating the Islamic records of variants of the early versions of the Qur'ān and also provide a basis for evaluating theories of the Qur'ān's development. Third, it would provide a benchmark for comparing the preservation and transmission of the Qur'ān text to other ancient texts. Fourth, this would provide a needed tool to serve as a basis for studying many other vital areas in Islamic studies. There is also the second goal of text critical studies: illuminating the history of the text.

²⁴ This can be seen in what would need to be documented: the 80 separate known canonical oral recitations of the Qur'ān, the many known and as yet undocumented uncanonical oral recitations, the discrepancies in the Islamic records of the thousands of variant readings among many of these recitations, and the lack of actual manuscript evidence of these textual variants. The 80 recitations are explained in as-Said's book *The Recited Koran*.

²⁵ Welch, in his *EI2* article, 'al-Ḳur'ān' (*EI2*, V:400-429, here 407) observed that even before World War II confidence in the authenticity of the variants declined during the 1930s as they were being collected and analysed from early Islamic literature.

²⁶ The view of many Muslims that the present text is accurate is based on Islamic tradition, not the study of actual manuscripts. This study will provide empirical evidence for evaluating that tradition.

1.1.1.4. Illuminating Textual History Issues

In the last two decades in New Testament scholarship, a greater emphasis has been given to the second main goal of textual criticism, illuminating the transmission history of the text. The contribution of Eldon Epp in expanding the working definitions associated with recovering the original text was one major factor impelling the new emphasis. Since the 'original text' was more multifaceted than usually thought, it gave greater scope for the examination of different stages of the early history of the text.

Another major factor has been a contribution by Bart Ehrman focusing on occasional intentional textual variants that were made to strengthen particular dogmas being debated between factions in the early church.²⁷ These studies and others have demonstrated that textual criticism has a valuable role in exploring Christian history, and the insights gained and methods developed can be fruitfully applied to other textual traditions.

Though the Qur'ān tradition is hampered in regard to the earliest forms of text that can be recovered, there is great scope for studying how the Canonical text-form was edited further and gave rise to various Interpretive text-forms. The history of the development of Arabic orthography in Qur'ān manuscripts is a major area for exploring this. The orthography was developed over Islam's first three centuries in order to be able to represent a precise pronunciation and meaning of the text. The manuscripts chosen for this study amply demonstrate the complexity and inventiveness required to effect this transformation of the orthography.

Also, historical events intersect the textual tradition on at least three occasions in these first three Islamic centuries where strong centralised religious and political authority intervened and authorised specific forms of the text. There are features in the texts of these manuscripts that demonstrate the application of intentional ideological intervention in the text.

Thirdly, with the backdrop of the strong historic orality of the Qur'ān in recitation, memorisation, and preservation, these manuscripts contain information that can be used to chart a significant shift within Islam. This is a shift from a

²⁷ Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, Oxford: OUP, 1993.

culture dependent on norms of oral literature to maintain religion, history and culture to one operating according to norms reflecting a cultural mindset dependent on written literature. The manuscripts chosen provide significant windows into this shift, and to the strengths and weaknesses of oral transmission in its relationship to written transmission of the text.

In order to pursue these two fundamental aims of textual criticism, the following research questions will inform the analysis of comparisons between the two manuscript traditions.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The most pertinent questions concerning pursuing the two goals of textual criticism with respect to the Qur'ān are as follows:

1) Concerning the recovery of the original text, to what extent is the negative opinion of Western scholars confirmed or denied by textual criticism from extant manuscripts? What is the earliest text for the Qur'ān that can be attained through textual criticism?

2) What are the most important textual history issues that can be discerned from Qur'ān manuscripts by comparing them with New Testament manuscripts? Special attention will be given to the following issues:

2.1) What kinds of variants do the New Testament and Qur'ān traditions have in common and what kinds are unique to them respectively? Do these identify any significant comparative issues of textual transmission history?

2.2) Concerning the development of Arabic Orthography: did the semantic ambiguity of early Arabic script impel the development of a precise orthography?

2.3) Can an early, strong standardisation of the Qur'ān text be discerned in the manuscript tradition? Does it agree with, disagree with, or modify the traditional Islamic views concerning such standardisation?

2.4) How do the records of variants in the secondary Islamic literature compare to what is found in manuscripts?

2.5) Can the idea of one precise version of the Qur'ān going back to Muḥammad be supported from the manuscript evidence?

2.6) Can the idea of seven or ten or numerous versions of the Qur'ān going back to Muḥammad be supported from the manuscript evidence?

2.7) Did a parallel oral tradition act as a strong protection to the precise content and pronunciation of the text of the Qur'ān from the time of Muḥammad?

1.3. METHODOLOGY

In order to answer these research questions, I have selectively applied a methodology to the Qur'ān that is well established in New Testament studies. I will give a brief overview of this method and then describe in more detail certain features of the method.

1.3.1 Reasoned Eclecticism

The method of Reasoned Eclecticism is the basic approach that has been used by the majority of New Testament scholars for at least a century. It is used by Westcott and Hort in their critical text of the New Testament which overturned the consensus concerning the priority of traditional forms of the New Testament text.²⁸ It is also the approach behind the main critical New

²⁸ Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, London: Macmillan, 1881.

Testament texts in use among Christian and secular Western scholars.²⁹

Holmes sets out the basic approach of Reasoned Eclecticism.³⁰

By ‘reasoned eclecticism’ I mean an approach that seeks to take into account all available evidence, both external (i.e., that provided by the manuscripts themselves) and internal (considerations having to do with the habits, mistakes, and tendencies of scribes, or the style and thought of an author). Central to this approach is a fundamental guideline: the variant most likely to be original is the one that best accounts for the origin of all competing variants in terms of both external and internal evidence.

Reasoned Eclecticism is the method that is currently assumed to achieve balanced and probable results. This thesis uses this method to demonstrate an established system of textual criticism on a portion of the New Testament and then apply that method to Qur’ān manuscripts.

Using the basic textual critical approach of Reasoned Eclecticism, I chose brief but representative portions of text from both scriptures. I obtained the texts of twenty manuscripts from both traditions which contained all or part of those portions. I then collated the manuscript portions in a manner that highlights the variants in each of these manuscripts. I then categorised the variants found in the New Testament manuscripts and applied these categories to the Qur’ānic variants, making adjustments for unique features in both manuscript traditions. These comparisons were then the basis for analysing the relationship of the texts in the manuscripts to the earliest attainable text in each tradition. They were also the basis for examining the role the text-forms in these manuscripts played in the history of the development of their respective texts.

This method proved useful in two important ways. First, it was grounded in an academic discipline that has existed for more than two centuries. It is a well-tested method for examining textual variants in ancient manuscripts. Second, this method proved flexible enough to take into account the variety of features found in the Greek and Arabic scripts involved. It was

²⁹ Metzger, *Commentary*, Second edn., 11*-14*. Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 300-343, is the chief textbook that outlines this method.

³⁰ Michael W. Holmes, ‘The Case for Reasoned Eclecticism’ in David A. Black, (ed.), *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002, 77-100, here 79.

able to clearly define the areas of similarity and difference that held the potential for the most significant observations and conclusions. Third, it is an objective method not controlled by a particular religious, political, or academic ideology. It is a suitable vehicle for treating ancient manuscripts with the respect that such significant religious artefacts deserve, while yet maintaining a critical and realistic attitude toward the human influences in ancient book production.

1.3.2. How Acts 7:1-8 and Surah 14:35-41 Were Chosen

The passages were chosen first by examining catalogues of Qur'ān manuscripts available in Western European collections. Qur'ān manuscripts from Islam's first three centuries were highlighted in order to obtain the earliest possible texts, as well as to obtain manuscripts with orthographic features that spanned the development of Arabic script from a partially pointed consonantal script to a fully vocalised script able to reproduce in writing the precise phonetic values of each letter. The contents of the assembled manuscript records were then plotted to determine portions of text that were shared by a large sampling of manuscripts. The initial target was portions shared by ten manuscripts from each tradition. A narrative portion was chosen in order to provide a degree of context to work within, and in order to find a suitable comparative portion in New Testament manuscripts.

Surah 14:35-41 was chosen first in that it was a narrative portion which had reference to three Biblical figures, Abraham, and his sons Ishmael and Isaac (Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl, and Ishāq). It is set in the Qur'ānic context of Ibrāhīm's getting his son Ismā'īl settled in Mecca. Acts 7:1-8 was found to be a useful comparative portion in the New Testament in that it was a portion of narrative about the same length,³¹ and it featured the biblical figures of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It recounts Abraham's migration to Palestine and the establishment of the covenant of circumcision with him and his descendants from the book of Genesis. It was also found in a sufficient number of representative New Testament manuscripts. These passages, though relatively brief, also contained representative variants for their respective textual traditions, and their brevity made it possible that when the

³¹ When pre-fixed and suffixed word forms are taken into account with the Arabic, in length these passages are within four words of each other.

sampling could be increased to twenty manuscripts for each tradition the task of collation and analysis was still manageable.

Two added elements contribute to the objectivity of the study. Surah 14:35-41 was chosen for mainly practical reasons, and the researcher came to it with no prior knowledge of it containing material that might prove dogmatically controversial. Acts 7:1-8 was also chosen for mainly practical reasons, and the researcher knew of no dogmatic controversies surrounding it. Also, the book of Acts is known to have the greatest number and variety of textual variants of any New Testament book. Any variants encountered in it are then likely to represent the main kinds of variants one is likely to encounter in the entire New Testament manuscript tradition. And this proves to be the case.

1.3.3.1. New Testament Manuscripts Used

Greek New Testament manuscripts provide the majority of source material. There is a representative sampling of papyri, uncials, and minuscules representing the major text-types from the earliest available period of the transmission of the New Testament text into the medieval period. One Arabic New Testament manuscript was included, Mt. Sinai Arabic Ms. 151 (hereafter called Arab 151). It is a manuscript that is not collated in the apparatus of NA²⁷, and is not mentioned in either Metzger's³² or Aland's³³ New Testament textual criticism manuals. It is the oldest known dated Arabic manuscript of Acts.³⁴ Metzger notes that Arabic translations were made from Greek texts as well as Syriac, Latin, and Coptic New Testament manuscripts.³⁵ The Alands mention that little is being done to trace the development of the New Testament text in Arabic, even though there are versions (like the one in this study) comparable in age to important Greek manuscripts.³⁶ I intend to make a small contribution to this situation by examining what this manuscript can bring to the understanding of the textual development of this passage.

³² B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration.*, Third, enlarged edn., Oxford: OUP, 1992.

³³ Aland and Aland, *Text*,

³⁴ Harvey Staal (ed.), *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151*, Louvain: Institute for Middle Eastern New Testament Studies, 1985, ix.

³⁵ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 122-123.

³⁶ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 214.

The main source for the readings from these manuscripts was R. Swanson's *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: The Acts of the Apostles*.³⁷ His transcriptions of the readings of the manuscripts were checked against the original manuscript, a facsimile edition, or a published collation, wherever possible.³⁸ All of the manuscripts contained all or part of Acts 7:1-8.

In examining the text of Arab 151, Syriac versions of the New Testament were referred to but not consulted in depth. Their contribution was mainly to demonstrate the Syriac text to which Arab 151 is related. Several comparisons were made to the Peshitta through the use of an online interlinear translation.³⁹ Coptic and Latin versions were not consulted because their contributions are peripheral to this particular study.

Here is a chart of the New Testament manuscripts chosen for this study. Appendix D has more detailed descriptions of each manuscript and the collations or facsimiles used to confirm their texts.

MS	Name	Date	Type	Text-type ⁴⁰	Aland Category ⁴¹
p ^v	P. Vindob. G. 17973	VI	Papyri	Alexandrian	II
p ⁷⁴	Bodmer Papyrus XVII	VII	Papyri	Alexandrian	I
ⲛ 01	Codex Sinaiticus	IV	Majuscule	Alexandrian	I
A 02	Codex Alexandrinus	V	Majuscule	Alexandrian	I in Acts
B 03	Codex Vaticanus	IV	Majuscule	Alexandrian	I
C 04	Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus	V	Majuscule	Alexandrian and Byzantine	II
D ^{ea} 05	Codex Bezae	V	Majuscule	Western	IV
E ^a 06	Codex Laudianus	VI	Majuscule	Western and Byzantine	II
P ^{pzc} 025	Codex Petropolitanus	XI	Majuscule	Byzantine in Acts	V in Acts
33	Paris BN Gr. 14	IX/X	Minuscule	Alexandrian and Byzantine	I for Acts

³⁷ Reuben J. Swanson (ed.), *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: The Acts of the Apostles*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

³⁸ Swanson is to be commended for the accuracy of his transcriptions. For the passage in this study, this writer found very few discrepancies in Swanson when checked against the original text, facsimile, or collation.

³⁹ Paul Younan, 'Peshitta Aramaic/English Interlinear New Testament', http://www.aramiacpeshitta.com/AramaicNTtools/Peshittainterlinear/5_Acts.Actsch7.pdf, accessed 8 March 2005.

⁴⁰ These categories are taken from C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994, 1:2-7; David A. Black, *Textual Criticism*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994, 63-65; Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 52-122.

⁴¹ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 83-158. The Alands explain their categories on pp. 335-337. Categories I-III contain varying degrees of the early text, I containing the most. Manuscripts categorised as IV contain forms of the 'Western Text'. Manuscripts in category V contain text that is predominantly of the Byzantine text-type.

MS	Name	Date	Type	Text-type	Aland Category
69	Codex Leicestrensis	XV	Minuscule	Family 13 Caesarean and Byzantine	V
104	Harley 5537	AD 1087	Minuscule	Byzantine	V for Acts
203	Add. 28,816	AD 1111	Minuscule	Byzantine?	
326	Lincoln College Gr. 82	XI	Minuscule	Alexandrian	III
614	Milan B.A. E 97 sup.	XIII	Minuscule	Western and pre- Byzantine	III
1175	Ioannou, 16	XI	Minuscule	Alexandrian	I
1505	Lavra, B' 26	1084?	Minuscule	Byzantine	III
1739	Lavra, B' 64	X	Minuscule	Alexandrian	II in Acts
2495	St. Catherine's Monastery Gr. 1342	XIV/XV	Minuscule	Byzantine	III
Arab 151	Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151	AD 867	Kufic	Related to Syriac and Western	none

1.3.3.2. Qur'ān Manuscripts Used

Three main criteria were used in choosing Qur'ān manuscripts. First, manuscripts were chosen from the era of Islam's first three centuries. This is because, according to Islamic sources, the text as it exists today is directly derived from a form of the text established in approximately 930/ 318 when seven ways of reciting the consonantal text achieved an authoritative status through the efforts of the Qur'ān scholar Ibn Mujāḥid with the governmental sponsorship of the vizier to the Caliph, Ibn Muqla.⁴²

Second, the catalogues of European collections of Qur'ān manuscripts were examined to find at least 10 manuscripts containing the same portion of text that could be used for comparison. Collections in France,⁴³ Britain,⁴⁴ and

⁴² Yasser Tabbaa, 'Canonicity and Control: The Sociopolitical Underpinnings of Ibn Muqla's Reform', *Ars Orientalis* XXIX (1999), 91-100.

⁴³ The Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. François Déroche, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983; W.M. DeSlane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883-95; E. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1925; C. Vajda, *Indes general des manuscrits arabes musulmans*, Paris: 1953.

⁴⁴ W. Cureton and C. Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui Museo Britannico asservantur*, London: British Museum, 1846-71; Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1894; A.G. Ellis and E. Edwards, *Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894*, London: British Museum, 1912; O. Loth, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. 1, London: Secretary of State for India in Council, 1877; C.A. Storey, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, London: Humphrey Milford, OUP, 1930; British Library, *List of Oriental Manuscripts 1948-1964, Or. 11820-12898*, London: British Library, 1964; J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*

Ireland⁴⁵ were used predominantly because of the size of their collections and their geographical proximity to this researcher. Fifteen Qur’ān s were found to contain the portion from Surat Ibrāhīm, 14:35-41, and while studying these fifteen, five more manuscripts became available.

Third, the manuscripts were chosen to be as diverse and representative of the early Islamic era as possible. Features included are the earliest styles of Arabic script,⁴⁶ both vertical and horizontal book formats, and all available stages of the development of orthography, from texts relatively devoid of diacritical and vowelizing marks, to ones with differing systems of notating diacritics and short vowels, and to ones with relatively complete systems of notation.⁴⁷ Here is a table listing the different manuscripts used and some of their features. Appendix E contains additional descriptions of these manuscripts and how they were accessed. The last three manuscripts in the table have been included to give comparisons to more modern Qur’ān texts.

Manuscript ⁴⁸	Date ⁴⁹	Script Style ⁵⁰	Manuscript Orientation ⁵¹	Manuscript Material	Orthographic Features ⁵²	Verse markers ⁵³
Istanbul ⁵⁴ Tiem SE 54	I	H.I (H)	Vertical	Parchment	sd, nsv, cd	1,5,10
01-28.1	I	B.Ia (K)	Vertical	Parchment	sd, nsv	1,5,10
01-29.1	I	H.I (H)	Vertical	Parchment	sd, nsv	1
01-20.x	I	A/B.Ia (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	nd, nsv	10
Or. 2165	I	H II (H)	Vertical	Parchment	sd, nsv	1, 10

catalogus, Part I, Oxford: Oxoniæ Typographeæ Clarendoniano, 1787; A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1934.

⁴⁵ Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated*, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd., 1967.

⁴⁶ Déroche’s categories for Hījāzi and Abbasid scripts have been used from F. François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London: Nour Foundation, 1992. These have been used because the designation ‘Kufic’ is too general and historically has been used in contradictory ways.

⁴⁷ The terminology of ‘diacritical’ marks and ‘vowelizing’ or ‘vocalisation’ marks will be used strictly in this thesis. Diacritical marks are those symbols used to distinguish consonants. Vowelizing and vocalisation marks are those used to denote the short vowels.

⁴⁸ This is the manuscript number used in their respective catalogues.

⁴⁹ These are the hijri (AH) dates given in the respective catalogues for these manuscripts as to the century according to the Islamic calendar. For the Paris manuscripts, since Déroche does not generally give dates, they are from the earlier DeSlane catalogue.

⁵⁰ Generally, these are the categories devised by Déroche in Déroche, *Catalogue*, and Déroche, *Tradition*, unless noted otherwise. The more general categories of Hījāzi and Kufic are noted in parentheses as (H) and (K) respectively.

⁵¹ This refers to the orientation of the page as to a vertical book format or a horizontal one.

⁵² Abbreviations used are: nd- no diacritics, fd- few diacritics; sd- some diacritics; md- many diacritics; nsv- no short vowels; cd- coloured dots for some vowels; fv- fully vocalised with diacritics and short vowels.

⁵³ These are verse separators, usually seen as single verse, 5 verse, and 10 verse separators.

⁵⁴ This manuscript will be referred to as the ‘Istanbul’ manuscript for convenience.

Manuscript	Date	Script Style	Manuscript Orientation	Manuscript Material	Orthographic Features	Verse markers
SamK	II	D I? CI? (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	fd, nsv	1,10
BN 325a	II	B Ib (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	nd, cd	1,5,10
BN 326a	II	H I (H)	Horizontal	Parchment	sd, nsv	1,10
BN 328a	I	H I (H)	Vertical	Parchment	sd, nsv	1,5,10
BN 330a	II	H III (H)	Horizontal	Parchment	sd, nsv	1,10
BN 331	II	B Ia (K)	Vertical	Parchment	sd, nsv	1,10
BN 332	II	C I (K)	Vertical	Parchment	fd, nsv	1,10
BN 333c	III	C III (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	fd, cd	10
BN 334c	III	H IV (H)	Horizontal	Parchment	sd, cd	1,5,10
BN 340c	III	B II (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	fd, cd	1,5,10
BN 343	IV	D c (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	sd, cd	10
BN370a	IV	C (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	fd, cd	10
Meknes	III	B II (K)	Horizontal	Parchment	sd, cd	1,5,10
Or. 12884	IV	NS I ⁵⁵ (K)	Vertical	Paper	fv	1,5,10
Sharif	XI	Naskh	Vertical	Paper	fv	1,10
Warsh	XV	Maghribi	Vertical	Paper	fv	1,10

1.4. ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

This study contains many original contributions to the current state of knowledge. The contributions are of differing levels of significance so they are presented as general contributions and then specific contributions. This thesis will make original contributions to scholarship in the following general ways:

- 1) No prior comparison of the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament and Qur'ānic manuscript traditions has been conducted to this level of detail using the earliest available manuscripts as the basis for reference.
- 2) No one has done intensive text-critical studies of a portion of the Qur'ān's text from such a broad sampling of Qur'ān manuscripts to provide a basis for the beginnings of a critical text of the Qur'ān.⁵⁶
- 3) No precise analysis has been done with regard to analyzing the effect the textual variants in these manuscripts have on established theories of written and oral transmission of the Qur'ān's text.

Within these general contributions are the following specific ones:

⁵⁵ Déroche designates this style 'New Style I' Déroche, *Tradition*, 136-137.

⁵⁶ This writer knows of only two scholars attempting a similar project, and though they are using longer portions of text, they are not using as broad a sampling of manuscripts.

- 1) General comparative observations have been made throughout the scholarly literature concerning the texts of the New Testament and the Qur'ān, but no one has yet done a precise comparison of the kinds of variants that can be observed in both early New Testament and Qur'ān manuscripts, then analyzed them for their similarities and differences and their effect on textual transmission.
- 2) The application of these methods is carried out on a specific portion of the Qur'ān over a representative sampling of at least 18 early Qur'ān manuscripts chosen from the most significant formative period in the history of the development of the Qur'ān's text, the first four centuries of Islam. Three later texts are included for purposes of comparison, one from the eleventh/fourth century, one from the nineteenth/thirteenth century and one from the twentieth/fourteenth century.⁵⁷ Though comparisons have been made between particular manuscripts at specific points,⁵⁸ no one has published an extended, parallel comparison of a specific portion of the Qur'ān from so many representative manuscripts. Also, their texts are displayed in a manner that makes the differences between them readily apparent.
- 3) Though there have been partial, general lists of the kinds of textual variants observable in early Qur'ān manuscripts,⁵⁹ no one has done an exhaustive listing and classification in regard to a specific portion of the Qur'ān from particular manuscripts.
- 4) Five of the Qur'ān s used in the comparison, the Istanbul manuscript, 01-28.1, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, and the Meknes manuscript, have not been published, pictured, or discussed in the scholarly literature. The three with their manuscript numbers starting 01- are from the manuscript finds in

⁵⁷ See the chart for these manuscripts.

⁵⁸ For example, Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*; Blachère, *Introduction*.

⁵⁹ Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*; Blachère, *Introduction*; Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden: Brill, 1920.

Sana^cā', Yemen in the 1970s which have only been described in general terms in the literature.⁶⁰

- 5) Though theories of the written and oral transmission of the Qur'ān's text abound, both from Muslim and non-Muslim writers, none of them is written mainly on the basis of what is observable in actual early Qur'ān manuscripts, nor from such a representative sampling of early Qur'ān manuscripts.
- 6) This is the first comparison of Qur'ān manuscripts to an Arabic New Testament manuscript from the same historical period and geographical region.
- 7) This is the first exhaustive analysis of textual variants for Acts 7:1-8 from such a diverse sampling of manuscripts.
- 8) This is the first comparison of Qur'ānic textual variants from specific manuscripts to the general kinds of variants observed in Qur'ānic palimpsests.
- 9) This is the first study to compare New Testament palimpsests with Qur'ānic palimpsests and to compare the kinds of variants found in them.⁶¹
- 10) This is the first account of the history of the text of the Qur'ān that has been based on an exhaustive analysis of the textual variants found in a representative sampling of Qur'ānic manuscripts from the formative period of Islam's first four centuries.

⁶⁰ A popular report of this find and its significance can be found at: Toby Lester, 'What is the Qur'ān?', *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1999, 43-56.

⁶¹ There is an article in the process of being published that has a brief comparison of New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests: Keith E. Small and Elisabeth Puin, 'UNESCO CD of Sana^cā' MSS: Part III', *Manuscripta Orientalia* (Forthcoming in 2008).

1.5. Conclusions

The methods of textual criticism which have been developed over the last two centuries can substantiate the historical authenticity of ancient texts, as well as document stages and changes in textual transmission. Manuscripts of the Qur'ān have not as a rule been submitted to this kind of study, and therefore, claims made for its authenticity and preservation are open to challenges that call traditional Islamic views into question. The methods Muslims rely on for justifying their views of the emergence and development of their Scripture's text were developed in the early centuries of Islam, and, while providing a degree of evidential value, they cannot take into account current methods of textual criticism or extant ancient Qur'ān texts. Because of this, much of the evidential value provided by these traditional methods is difficult to quantify, in comparison to the more substantial evidence that contemporary methods of textual criticism can provide.

For example, New Testament scholars can point to an exhaustively documented critical Greek New Testament as the basis for their studies on what the earliest Christians wrote about Jesus and early Christian belief. Muslim scholars, however, can only point to a Qur'ān that is supported by written documentation and the consensus of Muslim scholarly opinion dating mainly to the third century of Islam. For documenting the history of the Qur'ān text for the two centuries prior to that, they are dependent on connected lists of names of oral transmitters, presumed to go back to the time of Muḥammad, who in Islam's third century were retrospectively considered trustworthy. There is little written documentation verifying the history, preservation, and transmission of the Qur'ān's text for this crucial early time period. Modern textual criticism of extant manuscripts from this early period would go a long way toward filling this gap. Without textual criticism being done on early manuscripts of the Qur'ān, claims for the preservation of the Qur'ān are difficult to evaluate and in some respects are both unverifiable and unfalsifiable; that is, they can't be proven to be either reliably or unreliably transmitted.

1.5.1. Assumptions Underlying This Method

Comparing the texts of the New Testament and the Qur'ān is a controversial exercise and must be carried out with the highest standards of scholarly integrity as well as sensitivity. The Russian Qur'ān scholar Efim Rezvan, in his article on the history of Qur'ānic scholarship in Russia, mentioned that an attitude that marks Russian scholarship is objectivity with respect.⁶² This is the view that has guided the methodology of this thesis. Objectivity can only be approached if there is a willingness for self-criticism about potential biases and openness to correction. Sympathetic respect can graciously acknowledge areas of commonality and difference, and allow them to stand for careful mutual scrutiny. These qualities are especially important when dealing with books that are sacred to a combined majority of the inhabitants of the world.

Underlying this method are certain assumptions which need to be explained, because they are not necessarily shared by all practitioners of textual criticism. One common assumption in classical Western methods of textual criticism is that, in examining and establishing stemmatic relationships between texts, a later manuscript may contain readings of a much earlier form of the text, since 'identity of the reading implies identity of the origin.'⁶³ If a twelfth century text was copied from a seventh century text, it preserves the earlier readings. This, however, is problematic in studying Qur'ān manuscripts if the Islamic accounts of the Qur'ān's textual history are accurate. It was mentioned previously that it is often asserted that the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, authorized a major project to standardize the consonantal text of the Qur'ān. This action was purportedly taken in 650-656/29-35, just twenty years after the accepted date for the death of Muḥammad in 632/10. Also, this action was followed by 'Uthmān ordering the physical destruction of variant collections of the Qur'ān.⁶⁴ Depending on the efficiency of such an action, the available manuscript testimony will have every probability of preserving the official

⁶² His exact phrase is 'objective information about Islamic beliefs and traditions as well as respect for them' Efim A. Rezvan, 'The Qur'ān and Its World: VIII/2. *West-Östlichen Divans*', *MO* 5 (1999), 32-62, here 32.

⁶³ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 207.

⁶⁴ *Sahih al-Bukhāri*, Kitāb 61, Bāb 28.

version but not the others, and therefore, later texts would only preserve a standardised official text, not an early text that escaped the strong editing and suppression. It is a goal of this study to test the manuscript tradition to see if it bears evidence of this standardisation, either positively or negatively.

A second assumption that needs to be mentioned is whether or not an ideology can unduly influence the choice or application of a method of textual criticism. In a recent lecture Holger Strutwolf⁶⁵ described the way ideology had inadvertently influenced more than two centuries of textual criticism on the New Testament in assuming a geographical source for text-types. The last two centuries of text-critical research has proven that in most respects, this view is inadequate. He asserted this to provide the background for his claim that the new Münster method in use at the Münster Institute is not ideologically determined so it can describe textual transmission issues more objectively.

Strutwolf further asserted that though ideology had played a major part in the choice of method, it had not produced a completely unreliable result. He demonstrated that his newer method⁶⁶ broadly affirms the NA²⁷ text prepared under the older principles, and that challenging the ideological component does not necessarily affect or overturn the end results of the study. Instead, the good initial results have been improved on.

Since the standard Islamic histories of the textual development of the Qur'ān acknowledge an ideologically motivated edition under the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, and that the ideological motivation underlying the choice of this text was upheld in the face of religious and political opposition for three centuries, this ideological component needs to be evaluated for whether or not it exercised an undue influence in the transmission of the text. Note the statement by a modern Qur'ān text historian justifying 'Uthmān's action:⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Director of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, Germany, in the 'Day Conference on Textual Criticism and the Nestle-Aland Text' held at the University of Edinburgh, 27 April 2006. The author of this thesis attended the event and is reproducing his own notes of Dr. Strutwolf's lecture 'Alexandrian, Western, Byzantine? The Theory of Local Text-types – a Plea for a Paradigm Shift in New Testament Textual Research.'

⁶⁶ A description of this method, the 'Coherence-Based Genealogical Method,' can be found at <http://www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/>, accessed 11 December 2007.

⁶⁷ Labib as-Said, *Koran*, 24.

Thus did ʿUthmān, in response to what was clearly a threat to Muslim unity and strength, undertake that which had seemed unnecessary to his predecessors, namely, the standardization of the written text of the Koran through the institution of a sole authorized canon.

The emphasis here seems to be to preserve Islamic unity and power more than to preserve the complete and original corpus given by Muḥammad. Also, ʿUthmān’s standard text, once established, became for the next three centuries the basis for other attempts to refine the Qur’ān’s text, since using this consonantal text was one of the requirements underlying Ibn Mujāhid’s choice of seven ways of precisely reciting the Qur’ān’s text.⁶⁸ The question is: were these in fact attempts to preserve the ‘best’ text, historically speaking, or the most ideologically ‘sound’ text—or perhaps both at the same time? Examining the earliest manuscripts may open a window into these issues.

One noted Qur’ān scholar has concluded after his own comparison of manuscript features with the traditional history of the Qur’ān’s text:⁶⁹

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

This exercise in textual criticism for the New Testament and the Qur’ān will strive for an ideologically free-method, and at the very least, it will acknowledge the assumptions underlying the methodology and conclusions so that they may be tested for bias and undue ideological influence. For instance, a particular view of divine inspiration is not assumed for either book. For this study the New Testament and the Qur’ān are viewed as historical documents of antiquity.

⁶⁸ Aḥmad ʿAlī’ Iman, *Readings*, 133; Frederick Leemhuis, ‘Readings of the Qur’ān’, Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *EQ*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, Four, 353-363, here 357.

⁶⁹ Efim A. Rezvan, ‘The Qur’ān and Its World: VI. Emergence of the Canon: the Struggle for Uniformity’, *MO* 4 (1998), 13-54, here 23.

Chapter 2 New Testament Analysis

Write down my poetry, for the written word is more pleasing to me than memory...A book does not forget, nor does it substitute one word for another.

Dhu'l Rumma, Arabian Poet¹

2.1. Introduction

As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, textual criticism of early New Testament manuscripts is a well-established discipline that has been developed and refined over more than 200 years of intensive scholarly activity. The background for this chapter is the examination of twenty representative early New Testament manuscripts for textual variants in Acts 7:1-8 using these established methods. The texts of these manuscripts are set out in table form in Appendix G. Categories of textual variants have been determined from this study and these categories will also be used for the remaining chapters of this study.

2.2. Categories of Variants Found

What follows is a listing by general category of the variants found in the manuscripts surveyed. The categories have been determined inductively through examining the variants the manuscripts actually contained and are standard categories found in the major guides to New Testament textual criticism. Analysis is given with each variant to determine that variant's relationship to the autographic text-form and its significance in the later transmission of the text. Examples of possible intentional changes will be highlighted, and these will be discussed in further detail in section 2.3. of this chapter.

¹ Alfred Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, Oxford: OUP, 1924, 16. He died c. 736/117.

2.2.1. *Variants Concerning Conventions of Orthography*

These are variants that follow normal scribal conventions for which there is a discernible degree of variety in how words of the text are actually inscribed on the manuscript. The conventions observed in these manuscripts concerned the use of abbreviations for sacred or theologically significant words, called *nomina sacra*, the use of numerals, the spelling of proper names, and variable spelling in other words.

2.2.1.1. *Nomina Sacra*

In the early centuries of Christianity, scribes developed a system of abbreviating certain words that for religious reasons deserved special treatment.² They appear in the earliest available manuscripts and may plausibly be considered the creation of the early church signifying its ‘embryonic creed,’ when one considers the words chosen for special designation.³ These special words were either considered sacred, like the names of God,⁴ or were theologically significant to the early church.⁵ The normal practise was to contract the word using the first and last letters and writing a line over the contraction to alert the reader to the practise.⁶

Eventually fifteen of these words came to be treated consistently as *nomina sacra*.⁷ Acts 7:1-8 has examples of some of the standard types, and also an exceptional usage. First, concerning the common word for God, Θεός, the manuscripts consulted consistently use the contraction ΘΣ. For the theologically significant word Πάτηρ there are a variety of forms used with the changes following the grammatical form of the word. The exceptional use of the convention involved the word πατριάρχας in 7:8, for which there was the form πριάρχας. This word is not one of the fifteen that Christian scribes

² Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, London: OUP, 1979, 27.

³ Roberts, *Manuscript*, 46.

⁴ B.M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Paleography*, Oxford: OUP, 1981, 36.

⁵ Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 37.

⁶ Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 36.

⁷ Metzger, *Manuscripts*, on page 36 has a chart of these fifteen words.

came to treat in a standard fashion.⁸ Here are the occurrences of *nomina sacra* in Acts 7:1-8:

2.2.1.1.1. Θεος

These were all in the nominative case.

7:2:3 ρ⁷⁴, Ⲑ, A, B, C, D, E, P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1175, 1505, 1739, 2495:
θς for θεος

7:4:4 E: θς for θεος

7:6:1 Ⲑ, A, B, C, D, E, P, 33, 69 104, 203, 614, 1175, 1505, 1739,
2495: θς for θεος

7:7:2 ρ⁷⁴, Ⲑ, A, B, C, D, E, P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1175, 1505, 1739, 2495:
θς for θεος

2.2.1.1.2. Πατηρ

The forms of the *nomina sacra* for Πατηρ change according to the grammatical form of the word.

7:2:2 A, C, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1175, 1739, 1505, 2495: πρες for
πατερες (nominative plural form)

7:2:3 ρ⁷⁴, A, C, P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1175, 1739, 1505, 2495: πρι for
πατρι (dative singular form)

7:3:4 E, 2495: πρς for πατρος (genitive singular form)

7:4:3 ρ⁷⁴, A, C?⁹, E, P?¹⁰ 33, 69 104, 203, 614, 1175, 1505, 1739, 2495: προ
for πατερα (accusative singular form)

7:4:6 E: πρες for πατερες (nominative plural form)

⁸ Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 36.

⁹ Reuben J. Swanson (ed.), *Manuscripts*, 98, has C presenting the full form of the word, πατερα. Tischendorf has προ in C. Constantinus Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus sive Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti e Coice Graeco Parisiensi Celeberrimo Quinti ut videtur post Christum Seculi*, Lipsiae: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1845, 154.

¹⁰ Swanson (ed.), *Manuscripts*, 98, has P presenting the form προ. C. Constantinus Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Leipzig: Hinrich, 1869, VI:115 has πατερα.

2.2.1.1.3. πατριάρχας

7:8:5 203, 614, 2495: πατριάρχας for πατριάρχας

2.2.1.2. Numerals

Since at least the third century BC, the letters of the Greek alphabet were sometimes used to denote numerals, usually noted by a tick or horizontal line above the letter to indicate its use as a numeral.¹¹ According to the established pattern,¹² the following alphabetic numerals were used in two of the manuscripts consulted:

7:6:5 ρ³³, D: Υ' for τετρακοσία (four hundred)

7:8:5 D: ΙΒ' for δώδεκα (twelve)

2.2.1.3. Proper Names

Variations in the spellings of proper names were observed in two ways. First, within the Greek manuscripts consulted there were some slight variations of spelling of some names. These variations even occasionally occurred within the same manuscript. Second, as the Greek was translated into Arabic, vowel patterns changed, with them lengthening or shortening in the process of translation. Also, the precise meaning of one name changed in translation.

2.2.1.3.1. Abraham

This name showed the greatest degree of change in its vowel patterns in the process of going from Greek to Arabic.

7:2:3 Αβρααμ for Abraham in all Greek manuscripts

7:2:3 Arab 151: إبراهيم, (*Ibrahīm*) for Abraham, following Qur'ānic usage. *Ibrahīm* is also the spelling in the Arabic Bible (Gen. 17:5). Note that the

¹¹ Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 7-9.

¹² Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 9.

initial short *a* vowel has been changed to *i*, the middle *a* vowel has been shortened, and the last *a* vowel has been changed from a long *a* to a long *i*. Historically, this spelling of the name is first found in the Qur’ān.¹³ The Syriac Peshitta has his name transliterated *Awraham*, with short *a* vowels.¹⁴ No completely satisfactory antecedent or transitional form of this name has been discovered to explain the Qur’ānic form.¹⁵ The Qur’ānic form has also developed further over time to become ابراهيم (*Ibrāhīm*).

2.2.1.3.2. *Mesopotamia*

Note the change here in precise meaning from land between the rivers to land between the *two* rivers. *Rivers* in the Arabic manuscript is in the dual form of the plural which specifies two rivers.

7:2:4 Μεσοποταμια in all Greek manuscripts (‘between the rivers’)
 7:2:4 ‘Between the two rivers’ (بين النهرين) in Arab 151 (agreeing with the Peshitta)¹⁶

2.2.1.3.3. *Haran*

7:2:5 ρ⁷⁴, Ⲑ, A, B, C, P, 326, 614, 1175, 1505, 1739: Χαρραν
 7:2:5 D, 104, 2495: Χαρραν
 7:2:5 69: Χαρρα, corrected to Χαρρα
 7:2:5 E: Χαρρα

7:4:2 E: has Χαρρα rather than Χαρραν
 7:4:2 2495: has Χαρραν rather than Χαρραν

It is interesting to note that three of the manuscripts that had variant spellings of Χαρραν at 7:2:5 have been modified at 7:4:2 to make the spelling closer to Χαρραν.

¹³ Arthur Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938, 45.

¹⁴ Younan, ‘Peshitta Interlinear’, accessed 8 March 2005.

¹⁵ Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, 45.

¹⁶ F.F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of Acts*, NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954, 145, note 25, states “Mesopotamia represents the fuller Gk. expression Συρια Μεσοποταμια (‘Syria between the rivers’), corresponding to the Heb. Aram-Naharaim (‘Aram of the two rivers’), the name of that part of north Syria which lies between Orontes and Euphrates.” The Arabic name “between two rivers” (a dual form) is still the normal name for Mesopotamia in the modern Arabic translation of the Bible. The Arabic apparently follows the Syriac derivation, rather than the Greek.

D:	7:2:5 Χαραν;	7:4:2 Χαρραν
69:	7:2:5 Χαρα/Χαρρα;	7:4:2 Χαρραν
104:	7:2:5 Χαραν;	7:4:2 Χαρραν

Four of them, E, 2495 and Arab 151, were consistent in their respective variant spellings in both locations.

E:	7:2:5 Χαρρα	7:4:2 Χαρρα
2495:	7:2:5 Χαραν	7:4:2 Χαραν
Arab 151	7:2:5 <i>Haran</i>	7:4:2 <i>Haran</i> (حران)

2.2.1.3.4. *Chaldeans*

7:4:1 2495: has Χαλδεων rather than Χαλδαιων, which is in all others.

2.2.1.3.5. *Isaac*

7:8:2 B, D: Ισακ rather than Ισαακ

7:8:4 D: Ισακ rather than Ισαακ

Note that B has Ισαακ at 7:8:4, another instance of inconsistent spelling within a manuscript.

2.2.1.4. **Variable Orthography**

This category includes variations of spelling that are recognized as acceptable. The variations can be due to pronunciation differences in Greek dialects and historical development of pronunciation. They include particular combinations of vowels and some consonants.

2.2.1.4.1 “*Nu Movable*”

This sub-category concerns the convention of dropping the final ν of words for purposes of smoother pronunciation. Metzger notes that in Classical Greek this was confined to ‘words ending in –σι; to the third person singular in –ε; and to ἐστί.’¹⁷ He also notes that this usage was extended greatly by later scribes,

¹⁷ Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 13.

even beyond fulfilling rules for smooth pronunciation. Robertson and Moulton-Howard also note this as a common convention in *Koine* Greek.¹⁸

7:1:1 ρ⁷⁴, Ɑ, A, B, C, D, E, P, 1175, 1739: Εἰπεν
7:1:1 69, 104, 614, 1505, 2495: Εἰπε

7:3:1 ρ⁷⁴, Ɑ, A, B, C, D, E, P, 326, 1175, 1739: Εἰπεν
7:3:1 69, 104, 614, 1505, 2495: Εἰπε

7:6:1 69, 104, 614, 1505, 2495: ἐλάλησε rather than ἐλάλησεν

7:7:1 104, 614, 1505, 1739: δουλευσῶσι rather than
δουλευσῶσιν

7:7:4 69, 614, 1505, 1739, 2495: λατρευσουσὶ rather than
λατρευσουσιν

7:7:4 104: λατρευσῶσι rather than λατρευσῶσιν

7:8:2 69, 104, 614, 1505, 2495: ἐγεννησε rather than ἐγεννησεν

2.2.1.4.2. Other variable spellings

Some of these occur frequently enough that they are recognized differences of spelling. They may also represent instances of simple omission or mistakes of hearing or dictation.

2.2.1.4.2.1. Use of ι for ει, or ει for ι¹⁹

Robertson makes the following two observations,

The interchange between these vowel symbols began very early (certainly by the sixth century BC) and has been very persistent to the present day.²⁰

In many of these examples of changes in ι and ει the testimony is greatly divided and one must not stickle too much for either spelling.²¹

¹⁸ A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research*, Nashville: Broadman, 1934, 72; MHT, II:113.

¹⁹ Robertson, *Grammar*, 195-198.

²⁰ Robertson, *Grammar*, 195.

7:1:2 C: εχι rather than εχει

7:3:3 ρ⁷⁴, Ⲑ, B, C, D, E, P: the second ε is missing from συγγενειας.

7:3:6 ρ⁷⁴, Ⲑ, E: διξω rather than δειξω.

7:4:3 Ⲑ, C, E: αποθανιν rather than the normal αποθανειν.

7:4:3 E: κακιθεν rather than κακειθεν.

7:4:4 ρ⁷⁴: μετωκειχεν²² for μετωκισεν.

7:5:3 Ⲑ, E: επηγγιλατο rather than επηγγειλατο

2.2.1.4.2.2. Use of η for ι

Robertson notes this as a normal occurrence from 150 BC forward, though he states its New Testament occurrences are not common.²³ It could also be a mistake of hearing.

7:2:5 69, 2495: κατοικησαι instead of κατοικισαι

7:4:4 D, E, P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1175, 1505, 1739: μετωκησεν for μετωκισεν.

7:4:5 1175: εισιν for εις ην

2.2.1.4.2.3. Use of αι for ε

Robertson notes that both of these were valid pronunciations from before the New Testament era forward.²⁴ Moulton-Howard note that this was a common occurrence in uncial manuscripts, as is confirmed in the following examples:²⁵

²¹ Robertson, *Grammar*, 198.

²² ρ⁷⁴ is missing the letter σ which is noted by the symbol x.

²³ Robertson, *Grammar*, 191.

²⁴ Robertson, *Grammar*, 186.

²⁵ MHT, II: 69.

7:2:2 C: ακουσαται rather than ακουσατε

7:2:5 ρ⁷⁴: κατοικησε instead of κατοικησαι

7:4:5 C, D, E: κατοικειται rather than κατοικειτε.

2.2.1.4.2.4. Use of ε for ει

Robertson notes that this is a very common interchange in many Greek dialects.²⁶ It could also be a mistake of hearing.

7:5:3 33: επηγγελατο rather than επηγγειλατο

2.2.1.4.2.5. Use of ου for ο

Robertson notes various examples of this interchange.²⁷

7:5:3 69: επηγγειλατου rather than επηγγειλατο

2.2.1.4.2.6. Use of ο for ω

Robertson cites this interchange as being very common.²⁸

7:6:5 69: κακοσουσιν rather than κακωσουσιν

2.2.2. Variants Related to Grammar

This category presents variants that involve a variation in the grammatical function of the word in question. These can be intentional changes to smooth grammar. They can involve unintentional mistakes of hearing. They sometimes involve the replacement of one word with another. They sometimes involve a complete change in the grammatical function of a word.

²⁶ Robertson, *Grammar*, 187.

²⁷ Robertson, *Grammar*, 199.

²⁸ Robertson, *Grammar*, 200.

2.2.2.1. Gender of Words

Gender in Greek can refer to the gender applied to substantives and the gender applied to pronouns to show their agreement with an antecedent. In the manuscripts examined there are examples of variations in gender for both of these situations. Robertson notes that historically in Greek, gender as applied to substantives maintained a remarkable stability of usage.²⁹ This is reflected in the one case of variant gender in regard to a proper noun found in the passage:

7:2:4 1505: τῷ Μεσοποταμῖα, masculine dative singular, whereas all other Greek manuscripts have τῇ Μεσοποταμῖα, feminine dative singular.

Since Mesopotamia is so consistently cited as a feminine noun in Greek literature, and in the manuscripts consulted here, this is probably a copyist error.³⁰

Concerning agreement with antecedents, there were three instances of variation. The first two work together, being phrases modifying the same verb in the same verse.

- A. 7:5:3 B, C, D, P, 69, 104, 203, 326, 1505: δουναι αὐτῷ (to give to Abraham).
- B. 7:5:3 ^p74, ⁸, A, E, 33, 1175, 1739, 2495: δουναι αὐτὴν (to give 'it', referring back to 'the land' τὴν γῆν in 7.4.4).
- A. 7:5:4 B, C, D, P, 69, 104, 203, 326, 1505: κατασχεσιν αὐτὴν ('a possession with respect to him' an accusative of respect).
- B. 7:5:4 ^p74, ⁸, A, E, 33, 1175, 1739, 2495: κατασχεσιν αὐτῷ ('a possession to him'). This agrees with the Peshitta.

The difference can be easily seen in literal translations of these variant phrases:

'and he promised to give *to him* for a possession *it* ...' (the *A.* lines of the manuscripts records listed above for 7:5:3 and 7:5:4)

Or,

²⁹ Robertson, *Grammar*, 252.

³⁰ BDAG, 634.

‘and he promised to give *it* as a possession *to him* ...’ (the *B*. lines of the manuscripts records listed above for 7:5:3 and 7:5:4)

Though there is no appreciable change in the meaning of the verse, the order of the words and the consequent gender agreements between them are different in the manuscripts. There is no intrinsic superiority of one of these grammatical constructions over the other, either. They are both the legitimate uses of an infinitival phrase (7:5:3) and a prepositional phrase (7:5:4) modifying a verb.

The phrases δουναι αυτω and δουναι αυτην are both epexegetical uses of an infinitival phrase modifying the verb επηγγειλατο.³¹ They only differ as to the object of the infinitive, whether Abraham is the recipient of the land of the promised giving or whether the land is the object of the promised giving.

Likewise, εις κατασχεσιν αυτην and εις κατασχεσιν αυτω are both prepositional phrases modifying the verb επηγγειλατο. Εις is here used as a preposition of purpose, giving the purpose for which God gave Abraham the land.³²

With the reading δουναι αυτω (the *A*. line), αυτω functions as a simple dative of possession, that the possession given is Abraham’s.³³ Wallace mentions that this is not a very common construction.³⁴ With the reading containing αυτην, αυτην is an accusative direct object to κατασχεσιν, identifying the land as what was given to Abraham.³⁵

Concerning which is the better reading, επηγγειλατο δουναι αυτω εις κατασχεσιν αυτην (‘and he promised to give *to him* for a possession *it* ...’), or επηγγειλατο δουναι αυτην και κατασχεσιν αυτω (‘and He promised to give *it* for a possession *to him*’), this writer sides with the first choice, which is also the reading favoured in NA²⁷. Metzger does not give the

³¹ D. B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar: Beyond the Basics*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996, 607.

³² Wallace, *Grammar*, 369 and BDAG 290, εις §4.f.

³³ Wallace, *Grammar*, 149.

³⁴ Wallace, *Grammar*, 149.

³⁵ Wallace, *Grammar*, 179.

reasoning for the choice in either of the editions of his *Textual Commentary*,³⁶ but it is a sound choice on the basis of two reasons. First, grammatically, αὐτην, as an accusative direct object is the more common construction in New Testament Greek, considering that the dative of possession is a less common construction.³⁷ The reading with αὐτω is the more difficult reading and the one a scribe would be more likely to correct. Second, textually, the reading in NA²⁷ does have a small advantage in the manuscripts which support its reading. It has B, C, D, P, 69, 104, 326, 614, 1505 for δουναι αὐτω, and B, C, D, P, 69, 104, 326, 1505 for κατασχεσιν αὐτην. The combined testimony of the Alexandrian texts and the Western texts is very strong, especially the combined testimony of B and D, and is to be preferred to the testimony of ρ ⁷⁴, κ , A, E, 33, 1175, 1739, and 2495.

Barratt does not discuss this at any length, except to imply the word order, δουναι ...αὐτην, is awkward by citing Ropes stating it is ‘impossible.’³⁸ Bruce simply states concerning κατασχεσιν that it ‘means not so much “having in possession” as “taking in possession.”’³⁹

The third instance of a variant related to gender is also found in 7:5, though it is found in only one manuscript:

7:5:5 1739: αὐτης rather than αὐτου

This is a copyist mistake, perhaps inadvertently copying the almost immediately prior instance of αὐτην mentioned above. In the phrase, και τω σπερματι αὐτου μετ αὐτον (‘and to his descendants after him’), inserting αὐτην (‘her’) instead of αὐτον makes a nonsense of the phrase, ‘and to his descendants after *her*’. There is not a plausible feminine antecedent to which it can refer. Also, its being in only one later manuscript greatly increases its chances of being a mistaken reading.

³⁶ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary of the Greek New Testament*, Corrected Edition, 1975 edn., New York: United Bible Societies, 1971, 343, and ----, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, Second edn., Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1994, 300.

³⁷ Wallace, *Grammar*, 149.

³⁸ C.K. Barrett, *Acts*, I:344, citing J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts*, The Beginnings of Christianity, London: MacMillan, 1926, 3:71.

³⁹ F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Second edn., Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1976, 163.

2.2.2.2. Changes of Case

These are variants where a change of case of a noun or pronoun is involved. Four instances of this were found in the manuscripts surveyed.

7:5:5 33, 1505: το σπερματι (accusative article with dative noun) rather than τω σπερματι (dative article and dative noun).

This variant occurs in the phrase, και τω σπερματι αυτου μετ αυτον ('and to his seed after him'). This variant is most probably a mistake of hearing. The accusative form of the noun is σπερμα, not σπερματι. Grammatically, the accusative article cannot modify the dative form of the noun. Since this is a violation of one of the most basic rules of agreement in Greek, and since it is found in two later manuscripts it is almost certainly a copyist mistake.

7:5:5 203, 2495: αυτου (genitive) rather than αυτον (accusative).

This variant concerns the last word in the phrase, και τω σπερματι αυτου μετ αυτον ('and to his seed after him'), the pronoun αυτον. This pronoun is used after μετα, which can take either the genitive or accusative.⁴⁰ As a genitive (αυτου), the pronoun would be a genitive of association or accompaniment, meaning 'and to his seed *in company with* him'.⁴¹ As an accusative (αυτον) it would have a temporal significance, 'and to his seed *after* him'.⁴² Αυτον is the better reading for the following reasons:

- a. Even though the genitive use is grammatically possible, in the context, the temporal significance of the accusative form, 'after', is a better fit with the context of the passage. There is no compelling grammatical reason for the genitive form to be a legitimate correction, or to have been the original reading. The genitive would definitely be the harder reading, but the contextual fit of the accusative form is so much more natural it is to be preferred.

⁴⁰ Wallace, *Grammar*, 377.

⁴¹ Wallace, *Grammar*, 377, BDAG, 637, μετα §A.2.b.

⁴² Wallace, *Grammar*, 377.

- b. The variant could easily be an error of sight with the similarity of form between υ and ν in minuscules.
- c. The variant could easily be an error of sight due to the use of αὐτοῦ immediately prior to μετὰ. The scribe's eyes could have easily misread the ending and instead read the ending of the word two words previously.
- d. The variant is found in only these two relatively late minuscules from among the manuscripts surveyed.

7:5:6 D, 326: αὐτοῦ (genitive) rather than αὐτῷ (dative)

This variant is found in the phrase οὐκ οὐτος αὐτῷ τέκνου, literally 'not being to him a child' ('even when he had no child'). D is held to be a representative of the Western text-type and the Alands characterize 326 as having early readings (what others would term Alexandrian) but with a strong Byzantine influence.⁴³ Αὐτῷ would be a dative of possession. Αὐτοῦ would be a genitive of possession. Grammatically they are both possible and reasonable. Blass and Debrunner note that,⁴⁴

The classical distinction, whereby the genitive is used when acquisition is recent or the emphasis is on the possessor...and the dative when the object possessed is to be stressed, is customarily observed.

With this observation in mind, even though the dative of possession is not particularly common,⁴⁵ αὐτῷ, is to be preferred grammatically.

Also, the variant can be explained as an inadvertant copyist mistake of hearing or sight, since τέκνου immediately follows the word. The endings have a similar sound, or, the scribe might easily have made the endings of the two words agree because of their close proximity.

The fourth example of a variant involving a change of case is:

7:6:4 ^p33, 33, 1175, 2495: αὐτῷ (dative) rather than αὐτό (accusative).

⁴³ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 132, 335-336.

⁴⁴ BDF, §189.

⁴⁵ Wallace, *Grammar*, 149.

The phrase in which this variant is found is, *καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτο*, ‘and they will enslave them’ (literally, ‘enslave it’ - speaking collectively of a group of people⁴⁶). The dative form would need to be interpreted as a dative direct object. The sense of *αὐτῶ* as a direct object does not fit the context to have the sense ‘will enslave *to* them’ or ‘enslave *in* them’.⁴⁷ The pronoun is functioning as a normal direct object of the verb. Since this is so, grammatically, the accusative form *αὐτο* is the correct and normal form to be expected in this context. Also, the variant *αὐτῶ* can be explained as an inadvertent mistake of hearing. The vowels *ο* and *ω* were easily confused aurally. For these reasons, *αὐτο* is the most probable original reading.

2.2.2.3. Changes of person

These variants are ones where the person expressed by the verb, noun, or pronoun is different than what is represented in the majority of the manuscripts surveyed. Five instances of this kind of variant were discerned.

7:1:1 326: *εἰπον*, Second person singular imperative of *εἰπον*, rather than *εἰπεν*, third person singular indicative of *εἰπον*.

This first example is a copyist mistake because a second person singular imperative does not make sense in the context. This occurs in the phrase *Εἰπεν δε ο αρχιερευσ*, ‘The High Priest said.’ As *εἰπον*, the second person verb does not agree with its third person subject. This is probably an error of hearing because of the similar sounding endings.

The second variant concerns the change of person between second and third person. It is a significant variant in that it denotes the difference between the text containing a direct command and indirect discourse. The passage involved is 7:3:2, God’s command to Abraham to leave his land: *εξελθε εκ της γης σου*, ‘Go out from your land’. The word involved is the main verb, *εξελθε*. The variants are:

⁴⁶ BDAG, 260, §1.

⁴⁷ Wallace, *Grammar*, 172.

- 7:3:2 B: ἐξελθῃ, third singular second aorist subjunctive, rather than ἐξελθε, second singular second aorist imperative, which is in all other Greek manuscripts (except D).
- 7:3:2 D: ἐξηλθε, third singular second aorist indicative, rather than ἐξελθε, second singular second aorist imperative, which is in all other Greek manuscripts (except B).
- 7:3:2 Arab 151: ‘that *he should* go out from your land’ (ان اخرج من ارضك)

As can be seen from the manuscripts represented, especially B and D, this is an important variant to consider. B is often considered to be the primary witness to the Alexandrian text-type. D is considered to be the main witness to the Western text-type. Arab 151 presents a variant that provides an interesting attempt to resolve the problem between the other two readings.

The reading of B is an awkward one. The variant is preceded by the phrase καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν, ‘and he said to him’. The expectation is for this to be followed by a quotation of God speaking directly to Abraham. Instead, B’s reading then presents a third person subjunctive narrative Εξελθῃ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ‘he should go out from the land.’ To an English ear, this sounds like a transition to indirect discourse, but it is not a normal convention in Greek for it to be expressed this way. It is not a normal or even exceptional use of the subjunctive mood. As a result, it is an abrupt change. One would expect the indirect discourse marker ὅτι with a verb in the indicative,⁴⁸ ‘that he go out...’, or for the verb instead to be an infinitive or infinitival phrase denoting the switch to indirect discourse since it follows the verb of communication εἶπεν, ‘He said to him to go out...’⁴⁹ Also, the abrupt change cannot be an example of anacoluthon because these are usually editorial asides and make sense in the overall context.⁵⁰ The most sensible answer is that B has an inadvertent mistake of hearing or sight. The letters η and ε sound very similar.

The reading of D is also an awkward one for the very same reasons mentioned for B, that it presents an abrupt transition to indirect discourse in an unconventional way. It is an even more abrupt change in that the verb is a third person aorist indicative form. A literal translation would be ‘He said to

⁴⁸ Robertson, *Grammar*, 442; Wallace, *Grammar*, 456.

⁴⁹ Wallace, *Grammar*, 603; Ernest De Witt Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek*, Third edn., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1966, 131.

⁵⁰ Robertson, *Grammar*, 442-447. See Mark 11:32 and Matthew 9:6 for examples of anacoluthon.

him he went out...’ For this reading as well, the most sensible answer is that D also contains an inadvertant mistake of hearing or sight involving the same letters of η and ε, but this time from the middle of the word rather than the end.

To further reinforce these points, the following things can be noted about why it is more probable that the text of Acts is presenting a quotation rather than indirect discourse at this point. Most Greek manuscripts do follow the opening phrase of Acts 7:3 with a direct quotation from the LXX, citing Genesis 12:1. This is also the first quotation from the LXX in Stephen’s speech in Acts 7, which contains more quotations, allusions and references to Israel’s history. Swete notes that all but one of the Old Testament quotations in Acts are in its speeches.⁵¹ Also, Robertson notes that the New Testament writers tend to use indirect discourse infrequently.⁵² He also noted,

Direct quotation is more frequent in primitive language, in the vernacular, and in all vivid picturesque narrative. It is the dramatic method of reporting speech...As a rule the direct discourse is simply introduced with a word of saying or thinking. The ancients had no quotation marks nor our modern colon.⁵³

He also states that direct quotations are usually marked with a preceding recitative οτι, or simply without one, just going right into the quotation,⁵⁴ which is what one finds in this passage in most of the manuscript.

The variant presented in Arab 151 is an interesting one in that it purposely casts the quotation from the Old Testament as indirect discourse, and does it in a conventional way. It adds the connective ‘that’ (أَنْ), thereby avoiding the problems of the readings in B and D. It also retains the subjunctive sense also found in B, reporting that God told Abraham that he *should* go out.⁵⁵ This is also interesting in that it is a departure from the

⁵¹ H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge: CUP, 1900, 398.

⁵² Robertson, *Grammar*, 442.

⁵³ Robertson, *Grammar*, 1027.

⁵⁴ Robertson, *Grammar*, 433.

⁵⁵ Harvey Staal (ed.), *Arabic Ms. 151*, 261, line 3. In the manuscript, the expression in the text is *an akhraj*, (IV form, third singular perfect, *akhraj* اخرج) understood as having a subjunctive meaning, for which see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge: CUP, 1986, 2:24-26. Staal translates this precisely as a subjunctive in Harvey

Peshitta, which has the explicit imperative ‘Depart from your land’.⁵⁶ Arab 151 presents a smooth translation of the text into Arabic. Its text, in purposely presenting indirect discourse at this point, demonstrates a degree of secondary textual development, translating the direct discourse of the Greek or Syriac into narrative Arabic.

The preferred reading at this point is that given by most of the Greek manuscripts and presented in NA²⁷: ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς. The main reasons are that with the variants, the established conventions for reporting indirect discourse are either not followed or are consciously secondary stylistic changes. Also, the variants in the Greek manuscripts B and D can be easily explained as inadvertant mistakes.

The third variant involving a change of person is in the phrase from Acts 7:4, μετῴκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε, ‘He moved him to this land *in which* you now live’.

7:4:5 1175: εἰσιν (third person plural present indicative, ‘they are’) for εἰς ἣν (preposition + relative pronoun, ‘in which’).

This variant would literally render the phrase ‘this land they are you now live’, which is nonsense. A third person plural narrative construction cannot immediately precede ὑμεῖς, a second person plural pronoun. This is most probably an error of hearing.

The fourth variant of this type is also a mistake. It is found in the phrase in 7:6, ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ, ‘that his descendants will be’.

7:6:2 ^p74, 1175: ἐστε (second person plural present indicative) rather than ἔσται (third person singular future indicative).

This change of person and number makes no sense in the context with the possessive pronoun to which it is related, αὐτοῦ, being in the third person singular. It is a mistake of hearing, the interchange of ε for αἰ being an easy mistake.⁵⁷

Staal (ed.), *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151 (English Translation)*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Lovanii: Peeters, 1984, 13.

⁵⁶ Younan, ‘Peschitta Interlinear’, accessed 8 March 2005.

⁵⁷ Robertson, *Grammar*, 186.

The fifth variant of person is in the same phrase as the fourth one, *ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ*, ‘that his descendants will be’.

7:6:2 *κ*: σου (second person singular genitive pronoun, “your”) rather than αὐτοῦ (third singular masculine genitive pronoun, “his”).

This change of person does make sense in the context. It could have been an intentional change to make this direct speech from God rather than narrative. This would have made it more precisely match Genesis 15:13 in the LXX, as well as agree with the earlier Old Testament quotation at 7:3:2. In the context, σου is a smoother reading than αὐτοῦ. However, the strong agreement on αὐτοῦ in all of the other manuscripts, across the spectrum of text-types, provides strong support that in spite of it being the more difficult reading, αὐτοῦ is probably the original reading. The reason for the introduction of the variant would then be a scribe accidentally or intentionally substituting the second singular form from memory from the reference in Genesis 15:13.

2.2.2.4. Changes of number

These are changes in nouns or pronouns from singular to plural or plural to singular. There are three examples of this.

7:2:2 *D*: ἀδελφή, feminine nominative, vocative, or dative singular, rather than ἀδελφοί, masculine vocative pl., which is in all other Greek manuscripts.

This first variant occurs in the phrase of 7:2, *Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί καὶ πατέρας, ἀκουσατε*, ‘Men, brethren, and fathers, listen.’ This variant is actually a change of gender, case and number. The dative is a unique variant as is the singular. Concerning the feminine, dative and singular form, none of these qualities make sense in this phrase. The nouns preceding and following ἀδελφή (sister), Ἄνδρες (Men) and πατέρες (fathers) are both masculine vocative plural nouns, even in manuscript *D*. It is interesting to note that this is corrected by one of the correctors of *D*, *D*^c.⁵⁸ Collective singular subjects can

⁵⁸ Swanson (ed.), *Manuscripts*, 97.

take a plural verb,⁵⁹ but since the other subjects mentioned are plural, this is not an example of a collective singular subject. This is instead a copyist mistake of hearing, the *οι* ending being misheard as *η*, or it could be a simple mistake of sight.

7:6:4 D: *αυτους* (pl) rather than *αυτο* (sg)

The second example involves a variant concerning the use of a collective singular pronoun. It is found in the phrase in 7:6, *και δουλωσουσιν αυτο*, “they will make *them* (‘it’ actually) slaves,” referring back to Abraham’s progeny (*το σπερμα*, ‘seed’ singular) earlier in the verse. This appears to be an intentional stylistic change to make it explicit that Abraham’s descendants were numerous and to make it agree with the plural verbs in verse 7, rather than the collective singular antecedent *το σπερμα αυτου* (‘your seed’) earlier in verse 6. It is normal, however, for the pronoun to agree with its antecedent within the same sentence. This variant, *αυτους*, violates that very basic rule of concord. Also, the singular *αυτο* has the advantage in terms of manuscript support, since this variant is found in just one manuscript. Though probably an intentional change, the scribe was not paying close attention to grammar, or possibly following a reading found in at least one LXX manuscript for Genesis 15:3.⁶⁰

7:7:3 1175: *εξελευσεται* (3 sg fut) rather than *εξελευσονται* (3 pl fut)

The third example is a situation opposite to the one just mentioned. The number has been changed in order to make a verb agree with a singular antecedent in a preceding sentence. The phrase in which it is found is in 7:7, *και μετα ταυτα εξελευσονται*, ‘and after these things *they* will come forth.’ This appears to be an intentional change to make this verb agree with the antecedents in 7:6:2, *το σπερμα*, and 7:6:3, *αυτο*, mentioned in the preceding variant. However, if this were the original reading, then the verb in 7:7:1, *δουλευσουσιν*, ought also to have been in its singular form, *δουλευσει*. 1175

⁵⁹ Wallace, *Grammar*, 400-401.

⁶⁰ Codex A has this reading at Genesis 15:3. Alfred Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, Revised edn., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006, I:20.

and all other Greek manuscripts surveyed have the plural form of this verb. It appears the scribe was paying very close attention at one point and correcting what he thought was an error, but not paying close attention at another.

2.2.2.5. Changes of preposition

These are changes where a synonymous preposition is substituted for another. There were three instances of this kind of variant. The first one is in the phrase in 7:3: ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου, ‘Go out from your land’.

7:3:2 D: ἀπο instead of ἐκ, which is in all other Greek manuscripts surveyed.

Robertson notes that for the meaning ‘out of’, ἀπο and ἐκ were used interchangeably in New Testament Greek.⁶¹ In Acts, they are both used with ἐξέρχομαι.⁶² This could have been a deliberate stylistic change, made to conform the usage of ἀπο in Acts with Luke’s Gospel. Also, Read-Heimerdinger notes that when there is this kind of variant in regard to ἀπο and ἐκ in Acts, Codex D usually diverges from Ɑ and B, the two of which consistently present the same reading.⁶³ Here, though, D is alone in using ἀπο and it was corrected to ἐκ. She suggests that here at 7:3 the use of ἀπο is intentional, to highlight that Abraham was being commanded to leave his own land and people.⁶⁴

It could also be an inadvertant mistake on a scribe’s part writing ἀπο for ἐκ because they were used so interchangeably. Since there is no overriding reason for its inclusion other than possibly to harmonize it with the Gospel of Luke (which would have required a tremendous amount of attention to detail in the copying process), this is probably an inadvertant exchange of synonyms.

The second and third examples occur with the same phrase in 7:4: κατώκησεν ἐν Χαρραν, ‘he settled *in* Haran’. They will be treated together.

⁶¹ Robertson, *Grammar*, 596.

⁶² Απο is used at Acts 16:18, 40; 28:3. Εκ is used at 7:3, 4; 17:33; 22:18. This is different from Luke which only uses ἀπο after ἐξέρχομαι. MHT, III:259, notes this but did not mention the occurrences with ἐκ in Acts.

⁶³ Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts*, JSNTSup, London: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 2002, 188.

⁶⁴ Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 190.

7:4:2 33: has ἐπὶ Χάρραν rather than ἐν Χάρραν

7:4:2 69, 104, 1505: have εἰς Χάρραν rather than ἐν Χάρραν

Επὶ, and ἐν are two of the most common prepositions in the New Testament. They have overlapping meanings, both with the dative case meaning ‘in’ with various nuances. Εἰς is a common synonym to these though it takes the accusative case. Επὶ means ‘in’ with the connotation of ‘across’ or ‘over’ or ‘at’: ‘he settled over in or at Haran’. Εἰς means ‘in’ with the connotation of ‘into’ or ‘toward’: ‘he settled toward Haran’. Εν is the most general of the three and the most common preposition in the New Testament.⁶⁵ It simply means ‘in’ or ‘on’ or ‘near’: ‘he settled in Haran’.

Robertson says of the distinction between ἐπὶ and εἰς, ‘...εἰς and ἐπὶ differ in that ἐπὶ more distinctly marks the terminus. But the line cannot be drawn hard and fast between these prepositions...’⁶⁶ Moulton notes of εἰς and ἐν that they are freely interchanged.⁶⁷ Moule asserts that εἰς and ἐν overlap in their meanings and are etymologically related.⁶⁸ He states that whereas ἐν is ‘punctiliar’ meaning ‘in’, εἰς is more ‘linear’ meaning ‘into’.⁶⁹ He also describes ἐπὶ as having a linear idea of ‘towards’, though it can become ‘punctiliar’ to designate a present position of something or someone so that with the dative case, as here, it can be best translated ‘at’.⁷⁰ Blass and Debrunner note that the greatest number of these kinds of interchanges occurs in Acts.⁷¹ Because of their meanings and their usage, in this context, all three prepositions could be used interchangeably.

Since the propositions involved are so interchangeable, and because the replacements of ἐν with other prepositions occurs only in three later manuscripts (all later than the ninth century), ἐν is very probably the original reading.

⁶⁵ C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*, Second edn., Cambridge: CUP, 1963, 75.

⁶⁶ Robertson, *Grammar*, 561.

⁶⁷ MHT, III:254.

⁶⁸ Moule, *Idiom*, 67, 75.

⁶⁹ Moule, *Idiom*, 67.

⁷⁰ Moule, *Idiom*, 49-50.

⁷¹ BDF, §205.

2.2.2.6. Changes of grammatical form

This category contains variants where a word functioning according to one grammatical category is changed or substituted with a word functioning in a different way. There were eleven instances of this in the manuscripts surveyed.

7:2:4 104, 1175: From participle to subordinating conjunction - οτι for οντι.

This is found in the phrase in 7:2: οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια, ‘while in Mesopotamia’. This is an example of haplography, the accidental omission of a letter, because οτι does not make sense in this context. Οτι is used as⁷² 1) a marker of narrative, 2) a marker of an explanatory clause, 3) a marker introducing direct discourse, 4) a marker of causality, and 5) it has miscellaneous special uses. None of these functions can be in view here because the thought ‘*that* in Mesopotamia’ does not correlate with either the preceding or following phrases. ‘*While* in Mesopotamia’ does fit the context and also expresses the meaning of the Old Testament stories being alluded to.

7:2:5 ρ⁷⁴: From infinitive to verb - κατοικησε for κατοικησαι

The second example is found in the phrase in 7:2: πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον εν Χαρραν, ‘before he was living in Haran’. One of the normal categories for the use of the infinitive is its use with πριν and πριν η to express kind of action rather than time.⁷³ Though infinitives are verbal forms and take articles, finite verbs do not take articles. This is an inadvertant mistake of hearing with the ending vowels getting confused.

7:3:6 ς: From adverbial particle to conjunction - αν to εαν.

This third variant is found in the phrase in 7:3: ην αν σοι δειξω, ‘that I will show you’. With the reading containing the adverbial particle αν, αν after a relative pronoun followed by an aorist subjunctive verb usually expresses

⁷² BDAG, 731-732.

⁷³ MHT, III:79, 140.

action which will happen in the future.⁷⁴ With the reading as the conjunction $\epsilon\alpha\nu$, when $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ is used with a subjunctive verb (and especially aorist ones), it often gives the sense of what is expected to happen if certain circumstances occur.⁷⁵ Either meaning suits this context. Av perhaps has the advantage in that it is recounting a divine promise being made to Abraham, emphasizing the trustworthiness of God.

Also, $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ and $\alpha\nu$ at times were used somewhat interchangeably.⁷⁶ $\text{E}\alpha\nu$ was very frequently used after relative pronouns instead of $\alpha\nu$.⁷⁷ Reinforcing the observation that they are somewhat interchangeable is the variant seen in a manuscript from the same period, B, at 7:7:1, where the opposite exchange is found: $\alpha\nu$ is used instead of $\epsilon\alpha\nu$.

For the purpose of establishing the probable autographic text-form, the difference in meaning between $\alpha\nu$ and $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ is not decisive. This is confirmed by the observation that ‘after relatives $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ is often used for $\alpha\nu$, but the manuscripts vary greatly.’⁷⁸ External evidence is more decisive in that only one manuscript has this reading, and it can be easily explained as an inadvertant mistake of sight or hearing with the ϵ being added to the beginning of the word in question.

7:4:3 69, 203: From conjunction + adverb in crasis to conjunction + adverb
spelt fully: $\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$ to $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$

Crasis is the fusing together of two words into one.⁷⁹ In the New Testament, crasis is a limited phenomenon and occurs only in various combinations concerning $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and a following word.⁸⁰ In this case the earliest manuscripts all exhibit crasis between $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$ to create $\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$. It is only two later minuscules that separate the two words into their full forms $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$. The autographic text-form was very probably the contracted form $\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$.

⁷⁴ BDAG, 56, $\alpha\nu$ §1.b.

⁷⁵ BDAG, 267, $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ §1.a.

⁷⁶ Robertson, *Grammar*, 959.

⁷⁷ BDF, §107.

⁷⁸ BDAG, 56, $\alpha\nu$ §1.

⁷⁹ MHT, II:55.

⁸⁰ Robertson, *Grammar*, 208; MHT, II:63; BDF, §18.

7:4:3 D: From conjunction + adverb to conjunction + adverb + verb: κακει ην (*and there he was*) rather than κακειθεν (*and then*)

This fourth variant is found in the phrase of 7:4: κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν τον πατερα αυτου, ‘and then, after the death of his father’. Κακειθεν is made up of και + εκειθεν, an adverb of place. Κακει is also a combination of a conjunction and an adverb of place, και + εκει. With κακει, the verb ην (3rd sg. imperf, ειμι) is created.

Ruis-Camps and Read Heimerdinger suggest that the reading of D might be a play on words with a figurative meaning which is used in the LXX to hide the unutterable name of God.⁸¹ They assert that the phrase εκει ην is a translation of the Hebrew device which expresses this name, and in this context it would emphasise the presence of God with Abraham in Haran. It seems to this writer that though ingenious, this is probably not the more original reading. First, with the addition of και and its contraction with this form the figurative meaning would have been hidden in the verse even further. Second, this convention does not occur elsewhere in Acts, nor does it seem to be a convention other New Testament writers used when writing the name of God or when quoting from the LXX.⁸² Third, stylistically, it disrupts the flow of thought in the verse as outlined in the last paragraph. In view of these concerns, the reading of D is probably an inadvertant mistake of hearing or sight.

7:4:5 1175: verb instead of preposition + relative pronoun: εισιν, 3 pers. pl. pres. ind., “they are”) for εις ην (prep. + rel. pronoun, “in which”).

This is an inadvertant error of hearing, because of the closeness of sounds of η and ι in ην. This judgement can be confidently made also because the preceding noun to which the plural verb would refer is singular, αυτον. Also, a verb at this position would greatly disrupt the flow of the sentence. Εις ην is very probably the original reading because of these grammatical

⁸¹ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, II:51.

⁸² This was determined through briefly surveying the LXX New Testament quotations listed in Gleason L. Archer and Gregory Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, Chicago: Moody, 1983.

considerations and that this reading occurs in only one of the manuscripts surveyed, a later minuscule.

7:6:1 ρ^{74} , \aleph , 104, 203, 1505: αὐτῷ (dative personal pronoun, “to him”) rather than οὕτως (adverb, “thus”).

This sixth variant in the category is found in the phrase of 7:6: ἐλάλησεν δε οὕτως ὁ θεός, ‘And God spoke in this manner’. Either of these options fits the context and presents acceptable syntax. This seems to have been an intentional variant to make it more explicit to whom God was speaking to. ρ^{74} and \aleph are strong witnesses to αὐτῷ being more original. However, the combined testimony of A, B, and D, together with minuscule testimony which crosses the major text-types grants better support to the reading of οὕτως.

7:6:1 33, 2495: οὗτος (demonstrative pronoun) rather than οὕτως (adverb).

This seventh variant is found in the same phrase as the last one, ἐλάλησεν δε οὕτως ὁ θεός, ‘And God spoke in this manner’. The phrase, ‘And God spoke this’, does make sense. However, it is more likely to be a mistake of hearing because of its weak manuscript support and the closeness of the sounds of the vowels ο and ω.

7:6:5 1175: ἐτι (“yet”) rather than ἐτη (“years”)

This eighth example, is found in the phrase, καὶ κακώσουσιν ἐτη τετρακόσια, ‘and they will oppress them for four hundred years’. This must be a mistake of hearing or sight since the letters ι and η sound and look similar. Also, it makes no sense in the context since it leaves the object unexpressed: ‘and they will oppress them *yet* four hundred’. It is also the only manuscript surveyed to have this variant.

7:7:1 ρ^{33} , 104, 2495: ὁ (definite article) for ᾧ (dat sg relative pronoun)

This ninth variant is found in the opening phrase in 7:7: καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύουσιν, ‘and the nation to which they are enslaved’. Though the article

can be used on its own in a variety of ways (e.g. instead of a personal pronoun, or instead of a relative pronoun⁸³), its place in this variant reading does not fit any of the criteria necessary for the article to function in an acceptable way. The variant can, however, be explained easily as an inadvertant mistake of hearing.

7:7:1 B, D: $\alpha\nu$ (adverbial particle) instead of $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ (conjunction)

This tenth variant is found in the same phrase in 7:7 as the last variant: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\ \epsilon\alpha\nu\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, ‘and the nation to which they are enslaved’. This one is the opposite of the third variant in this section, which saw $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ substituted for $\alpha\nu$. These particles were often interchanged and concerning meaning it is immaterial which is found.⁸⁴ With the variant reading containing the adverbial particle $\alpha\nu$, $\alpha\nu$ after a relative pronoun followed by an aorist subjunctive verb usually expresses action which will happen in the future and which is thought of as already completed.⁸⁵ With the reading as the conjunction $\epsilon\alpha\nu$, when $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ is used with a subjunctive verb (and especially aorist ones), it gives the sense of what is expected to happen if certain circumstances occur.⁸⁶ Both of these choices suit the context. This is confirmed by the observation that ‘after relatives $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ is often used for $\alpha\nu$, but the manuscripts vary greatly.’⁸⁷ Because of their mutual lexical suitability and the fact that they are often interchanged, neither is decisively autographic on internal criteria.

Bruce illustrates the development in the use of these particles in that $\alpha\nu$ with the future indicative form $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, found in D, is a post classical form, whereas $\alpha\nu$ with the aorist subjunctive form $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ is the normal classical Greek indefinite form which also follows the LXX. B has this form.⁸⁸ Though both B and D have $\alpha\nu$, B has the earlier usage compared with D.

The manuscript evidence is very interesting in that the only two manuscripts in which this variant is found are the most important

⁸³ Wallace, *Grammar*, 211-213.

⁸⁴ Robertson, *Grammar*, 959.

⁸⁵ BDAG, 57, $\alpha\nu$ §1.c.

⁸⁶ BDAG, 267, $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ §1.a.

⁸⁷ BDAG, 56, $\alpha\nu$ §1.

⁸⁸ Bruce, *Acts*, 163.

representatives of the Alexandrian and Western text-types (B and D respectively). Since these are the only two, though, this can be explained as an inadvertant mistake of sight, and since the reading of D is a later development in Greek grammar, εαν is probably the autographic text-form.

7:7:4 C, E, 104, 1175, 1505, 2495: λατρευσωσιν (aorist subjunctive) rather than λατρευσουσιν (future indicative)

Robertson is careful to note that while this can be a simple interchange of similar sounding vowels, it can also involve syntactical questions where the mood of the word involved is affected.⁸⁹ Here the difference of mood has the subjunctive expressing a degree of contingency in the fulfilment - that it is possible they will worship at this place. The indicative, however, indicates that it is a promise that it will happen - that they will worship at this place.

On the basis of internal evidence, it seems that a scribe would be more likely to make the possibility of fulfilment a definite fulfilment since it is God speaking in the passage. However, the earlier manuscripts are the ones with the reading in the indicative. Internally, it is just as likely that from the outset the definiteness of fulfilment of this promise would be emphasized, especially since the event being referred to was known to have been fulfilled. It is also possible the change came about through a scribe mishearing the passage read. On the basis of the better external evidence and the possibility of a scribal mistake, the indicative form λατρευσουσιν is probably the form found in the autographic text-form.

7:8:2 203, 1505: ουτος (demonstrative pronoun) rather than ουτως (adverb).

This variant is found in the phrase of 7:8: και ουτως εγεννησεν τον Ισαακ, ‘and so he begat Isaac’. The main problem with this variant is that it is awkward in this context. As a demonstrative pronoun, it has no acceptable antecedent to make sense of ‘and *this* (one, person, Abraham) he begat Isaac.’ This phrase is the beginning of a section of narrative after a section quoting direct speech from God. Ουτος would be more suitable if the quotation were

⁸⁹ Robertson, *Grammar*, 202-203.

continuing. As it is, with the beginning of a narrative portion, οὕτως is more appropriate. Because of this, and since the variant is found only in one later minuscule, it is almost certainly an inadvertant mistake of hearing, ο confused for ω, or a simple mistake of sight.

2.2.2.7. Substitution of one conjunction for another

7:5:3 D, Arab 151: ἀλλ rather than καί (changing “and” to the contrastive “but” or “even though” or “yet”; غير).

This variant occurs in the phrase in 7:5: καὶ ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι αὐτῷ, ‘and he promised to give it to him’. This reading of the verse is a different understanding of the verse from the one found in most manuscripts. As the phrase stands in most manuscripts where καὶ is used, καὶ has a mild adversative force contrasting God’s promise to Abraham concerning the land and that he did not receive the promised land before his death.⁹⁰ With the conjunction ἀλλ, this variant strengthens the existing adversative force of this clause in relation to the preceding one and emphasizes more strongly that the promise was not fulfilled: ‘And he gave him no inheritance in it, nor even a foot of ground, *even though* he promised to give it to him...’

If ἀλλ was the original reading, the change to καὶ would have been an intentional one, perhaps to soften the impact of this statement that God did not fulfil this promise to Abraham in his lifetime. However, if καὶ was the original reading, the change to ἀλλα would have been intentional to heighten the drama in the passage, and to make the contrast that was there more explicit than this less common use of καὶ. Ruis-Camps and Heimerdinger capture the force of the difference by stating:⁹¹

ἀλλα of D05 expresses more forcefully than connective καὶ the fact that instead of Abraham himself receiving any part in Israel, God made a promise to give it to his descendants.

Καὶ is the more difficult reading, and the change from καὶ to ἀλλ is easier to explain than the reverse if ἀλλ were original. This, together with the

⁹⁰ Robertson, *Grammar*, 426.

⁹¹ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, II:52.

fact that only one Greek manuscript and a translation contain αλλ, supports καὶ being the form most likely to have been in the autographic text-form. For contextual and stylistic reasons, the variant in D was an attempt to add emotion to the narrative. It is more likely a scribe would strengthen the adversative force in a narrative than to lessen it. The variant in Arab 151 could also be such an attempt, or it could be a translation from a manuscript with this kind of reading. This reading is also shared by the Syriac Peshitta which might be an antecedent to Arab 151's translation.

7:7:1 C: το δε εθνος instead of καὶ το εθνος

This variant is similar to the one just discussed. The effect of the variant in C is to strengthen the sense of the story developing by marking a new element to be emphasised.⁹² With καὶ, the next phrase is considered to be part of the same overall unit sharing the same general topic.⁹³ With δε, the added force is explicit and heightens the justice of God in his bringing judgment on the enslavers. Καὶ is probably the original reading for the same reasons mentioned in the previous example. It would have been a more likely scribal change to strengthen the adversative force to reinforce God's justice than to lessen it. This is also supported by the external evidence in that this variant is found in only one of the manuscripts surveyed.

We shall now turn to list some more easily evaluated variants. These are ones that are clearly inadvertant, both because of the nature of the variant and that they are each confined to one manuscript.

2.2.3. Variants apparently due to negligence

These are variants that have not been referred to previously. They are ones that are so clearly mistakes that they need very little comment.

2.2.3.1. Non-uniform spelling within a manuscript

7:2:5 D: χαραν

⁹² Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 204-205.

⁹³ Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 205.

7:4:2 D: χαρραν

7:2:5 69: Χαρα, Χαρρα^c

7:4:2 69: χαρραν

7:8:2 B: Ισακ

7:8:4 B: Ισαακ

2.2.3.2. Copyist Mistakes

7:2:5 326: πρινι, a nonsense form, rather than πριν. This is an example of the error of sight, the inadvertant replication of the letter ι.

7:3:5 1175: δευρω, a nonsense form, instead of δευρο. A mistake of hearing.

7:3:5 D: ει εις, instead of εις, needlessly repeating ει. This is a mistake of dittography.

7:3:6 203: η αν instead of ην αν, the letter ν was inadvertantly left off.

7:5:6 104: ουτω, a nonsense form, rather than αυτω

7:6:3 69: παροικονκον: dittography of κον

7:6:5 203: ε.τη τετρακοσια: misplacement of punctuation creating a nonsense phrase: ‘five, the four hundred years.’

2.2.4. Corrections

Seventeen corrections to the text were observed in the surveyed manuscripts. By their nature, corrections are intentional variants. They are done for a variety of reasons ranging from correcting spelling and grammar, improving style, or conforming a reading to one thought to be better. Corrections in New Testament manuscripts are treated as additional forms of the text requiring the same care in examination as the original line of text itself. Hurtado gives three helpful categories and discussion concerning the various kinds of corrections one may observe:⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006, 186.

- 1) corrections made by the original scribe,
- 2) corrections made by another scribe but in a contemporary hand, and
- 3) corrections that appear to be from a later hand.

Using similar criteria, Parker identifies ten specific correctors to Codex D, and notes many more that could not be identified as belonging to a specific corrector.⁹⁵ He also notes that in this particular manuscript, there is a significantly higher proportion of corrections in the book of Acts than the other New Testament books contained in this manuscript.⁹⁶ In the corrections noted below, this particular manuscript has more corrections in this section of text than any of the other manuscripts found to contain corrections, five of the seventeen. Parker makes the point that corrections to manuscripts can provide significant insights into the history of the tradition of transmission lying behind the manuscripts, and he goes on to present a thorough examination of the corrections in D and their significance for the history of this text.⁹⁷ Similar studies have been done on other major New Testament manuscripts.⁹⁸

Instead of looking in depth at the corrections in one manuscript, we shall examine the corrections observed in the manuscripts surveyed for information they provide concerning their respective manuscripts and how these corrections appear to affect the overall text. Since the records of these corrections were obtained from Swanson's collation of manuscripts for Acts and not from the actual manuscripts, they cannot be categorised according to the categories mentioned above. Instead, they are grouped in the order they were found in the passage, and each will be discussed as to the apparent reason for the correction. The manuscript number with the asterisk is the reading of the original script on the manuscript, e.g. 1175*, and with a superscript 'c' is the correction, e.g. 1175^c.

⁹⁵ D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text*, Cambridge: CUP, 1992, 123-165.

⁹⁶ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 123-124.

⁹⁷ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 123.

⁹⁸ John J. Brogan, 'Another Look At Codex Sinaiticus', Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan, *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, London: British Library, 2003, 17-32; Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, Text and Studies, Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2007; H.J.M. Milne and T.C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, London: British Museum, 1938; James R. Royse, 'The Corrections in the Freer Gospels Codex', Larry W. Hurtado, ed., *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts*, Atlanta: SBL, 2006, 185-226.

7:1:2 1175* omission
1175^c ἀρᾶ is added

This is a variant which conforms the text to a reading common in the Western text-type, whereas without ἀρᾶ it is the reading of the Alexandrian and Byzantine text-types. Among the manuscripts surveyed, this word is found only in D, E, and 33. It could have been added as a stylistic improvement in its own right, to conform the text to another manuscript that the scribe thought was of a better quality, or by a scribe who thought it was the more correct reading of the verse.

7:2:2 D* ἀδελφῇ
D^c ἀδελφοί

This is a grammatical correction. Ἀδελφῇ is feminine, and the context requires ἀδελφοί, a masculine form. It was a simple spelling mistake that obviously needed correcting. All of the other manuscripts surveyed have ἀδελφοί at this point.

7:2:2 1175* omission
1175^c ἀκουσάται

This was a correction of a copyist mistake to insert a word that had been mistakenly omitted. The form ἀκουσάτε is found in most of the other manuscripts surveyed. Ἀκουσάται is only found in one of the other manuscripts surveyed, Codex C. The letters αἰ were sometimes substituted for ε because their pronunciations were similar.⁹⁹ Milne and Skeat, in reference to variable orthography in Codex Sinaiticus Ⲭ, refer to this as a spelling mistake in that it was considered a representation of common pronunciation rather than proper spelling. They helpfully set out some of the spelling variations they encountered in the codex:¹⁰⁰

Errors of notation can again be separated into reputable, such as frequent interchange of ι and ει, and less reputable, including confusion between ε

⁹⁹ MHT, II:69.

¹⁰⁰ Milne and Skeat, *Scribes*, 52.

and αι, and between various members of the group ει, η, ι, οι, and υ, pronunciation of which had by this time become practically identical.

7:2:5 69* Χαρα
69^c Χαρρα

This was a correction of the spelling of this proper noun. The dominant form of this word in the manuscripts surveyed was Χαρραν. It was noted in the section on orthographic variants that final *nun* was sometimes omitted. Though 69 was the only manuscript surveyed that had this variant at this point, D and 2495 had Χαραν. At 7.4.2, all of these manuscripts except 2495 have the spelling of Χαρρα or Χαρραν.

7:3:2 D* απο
D^c εκ

This correction exchanges one preposition απο ‘out of’ for another, εκ, ‘from’. Among the manuscripts surveyed, D was the only one that used απο at this place. This correction is to bring the text into line with what has become the more prevalent form, εκ. This was possibly a stylistic improvement, or a conscious decision to bring D closer into line with other texts.

7:3:3 B* συγγενιας
B^c συγγενειας

This correction is to correct spelling. The interchange between the similar sounding letters ι and ει is common in manuscripts.¹⁰¹ In the quotation given above, Milne and Skeat recognise that this interchange is legitimate to the degree that neither was considered improper scribal practise.¹⁰² Συγγενιας was found in seven of the manuscripts surveyed (ρ⁷⁴, ϑ, B, C, D, E, P) and appears to be the more archaic

¹⁰¹ Robertson, *Grammar*, 195-198.

¹⁰² Milne and Skeat, *Scribes*, 52.

spelling.¹⁰³ This correction was to correct the spelling of the word to a form that in later times was considered the more correct spelling.

7:3:5 D* εΙΕΙϚ

D^c ΕΙϚ

This is a correction of an obvious scribal mistake of dittography.

7:3:6 Ⲭ* εαυ

Ⲭ^c αυ

This is a grammatical correction involving the substitution of an adverbial particle for a conjunction. This variant was discussed in detail in 2.2.2.6., page 50, Changes of Grammatical Form, because the original reading of Ⲭ disagrees with the rest of the manuscripts surveyed. Both readings fit the immediate context. There is no stylistic advantage to either reading. Probably, a corrector realized that the original reading was at odds with other manuscripts at this point and corrected the reading so as to bring it in line with what he thought was the better common reading. Also, the correction conforms the reading with what is found in the LXX, which is being quoted at this point, so it could also be a correction to conform the reading to a particular form of the text.¹⁰⁴

7:4:1 69* inclusion of τηϚ, omission of γηϚ

69^c γηϚ added above the line

This correction creates a conflation of two readings. Manuscripts Ψ and 2492 share this reading having the singular genitive definite article τηϚ before the plural form Χαλδαιων omitting γηϚ. Neither of these manuscripts was used in this study but they are included here because of this rare reading. This reading is perhaps an attempt to make the phrase mean that Abraham ‘went out from the Chaldaens’

¹⁰³ This is an anomaly in NA²⁷ because the editors of the NA²⁷ chose συγγενειαϚ, going against the testimony of the papyri and earliest Majuscules of the Western and Alexandrian text-types.

¹⁰⁴ Alfred Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, Revised edn., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006, I:16, Genesis 12:1.

instead of ‘went out from the land of the Chaldaens,’ though it incorrectly violates the rules of concord of number between articles and the nouns they modify. It could also be an error of sight because of the similarity of της and γης. The addition of γης corrects this situation. All of the manuscripts surveyed for this thesis had γης before Χαλδαιων, making the phrase read that Abraham ‘went out of the land of the Chaldaens’, but without the article της preceding γης Χαλδαιων. 69^c combines these two readings into της γης Χαλδαιων. This is evidence that the corrector did not know which reading was the better one and so presented both.

7:4:1 2495* Χαλδεων
2495^c Χαλδαιων

This correction brought the spelling of 2495 in line with the normal spelling of Χαλδαιων at this point in the text.

7:4:2 D* addition of και at the beginning of the phrase
D^c και removed

By removing this word, the corrector brought this reading in line with what is now found in the mainstream of the manuscript tradition. The και being present is a unique variant among the manuscripts surveyed and appears to have been added for stylistic reasons.

7:4:3 Σ* αποθανιν
Σ^c αποθανειν

According to Milne and Skeat, this is a spelling correction involving two legitimate alternative spellings.¹⁰⁵ Only Σ*, C and E share this spelling of αποθανιν. The rest of the manuscripts surveyed have αποθανειν.

7:4:4 D* μετωκησεν
D^c μετωκεισεν

¹⁰⁵ Milne and Skeat, *Scribes*, 52.

This is an example of the substitution of similar sounding vowels within legitimate spelling variation. Milne and Skeat regard this interchange as a common spelling mistake,¹⁰⁶ and both forms are considered secondary to the more standard spelling, μετωκισεν. The form in D^c was also found in the later seventh century papyri ρ⁷⁴, possibly showing it was a more common reading than extant manuscripts delineate.

7:6:4 2495* αυτω
2495^c αυτο

This is a grammatical correction, changing a dative form to an accusative one. This variant was discussed in 2.2.2.2. Changes of Case, page 42. It was a relatively common form found in four of the manuscripts surveyed (ρ³³, 33, 1175, and 2495). This is an interesting correction because, although direct objects are normally signified by accusative forms, δουλευω is one of a group of verbs that take a dative direct object.¹⁰⁷ The majority of the manuscripts surveyed had the accusative form αυτο (ρ⁷⁴, ρ, A, B, C, E, P, 69, 104, 326, 330, 614, 1505, 1739). The correction to αυτο makes the sentence conform to normal syntax. The vowels involved would also have sounded very similar.

7:7:4 C* λατρευσωσιν
C^c λατρευσουσιν

This is a spelling correction. It was a common misspelling in that five of the surveyed manuscripts had the form with ω (C, E, 104, 330, and 1175). The sounds of the letters were easily confused and this has been observed to be a common interchange of vowels.¹⁰⁸ In Chapter Four mention will be made of comparisons between New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests. In preparation for that section, it should be noted that C is a palimpsest, and this correction is found in its inferior script. It is a correction that presents a reading that is also found in non-palimpsest New Testament manuscripts.

¹⁰⁶ Milne and Skeat, *Scribes*, 52.

¹⁰⁷ BDAG, 259, δουλευω §2.

¹⁰⁸ Robertson, *Grammar*, 202.

7:8:2 B* Ισακ
 B^c Ισαακ

This is a spelling correction. It was examined in detail in section 2.2.1.3. Proper Names. Ισακ was seen to be a legitimate variation of the spelling of this name in one other manuscript, D, where it was the normal spelling of the name in that manuscript. But in B, in all of its other occurrences Ισαακ is consistently spelled Ισαακ. The spelling Ισαακ is also the normal spelling in the mainstream of the New Testament manuscript tradition. Codex D and this one instance in B are exceptions to that rule.

7:8:3 N* εβδομη
 N^c ογδοη

This is a correction of a wrong word. This is discussed in more detail below in Section 2.2.8. Different Words. Here it should be noticed that the word εβδομη (seventh) does not fit the context, which requires ογδοη (eighth). It was an obvious error and the correction brings this odd reading into conformity with the rest of the manuscripts surveyed.

A variety of reasons for corrections are evident in these examples. Seven out of the seventeen were corrections to fix perceived spelling mistakes. Three were to correct obvious errors of grammar. Four were to correct obvious errors: two omissions of necessary words, one nonsense form, and one obviously wrong word. Five could have been classified as stylistic changes, or changes to bring the text into line with another reading thought to be more authoritative. One of these five was also a grammatical correction. Another was to correct an omission. None of these corrections appear to have been done for a dogmatic reason, to change the text to support or strengthen a doctrine being debated in the church. Instead, they all appear to have been sincere efforts to safeguard what was thought to be an authoritative text.

2.2.5. *Haplography*

Haplography is the omission of textual material and can constitute anything from a missing letter in a word, to a missing word, a missing line of text, and even missing portions. Though usually considered accidental, the omission of letters can occasionally change the grammatical form of a word or even the word itself. The omission of a word can change the emphasis of a passage. In the manuscripts surveyed, omissions were observed of occasional letters and of words.

2.2.5.1. Letters missing from words

7:3:6 203: η instead of ην

The omission of the ν makes this a feminine article instead of an accusative feminine relative pronoun. A feminine article does not make sense in the context which requires a relative pronoun. This is an accidental omission.

7:4:5 2495: ΟΙΚΕΙΤΕ rather than ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙΤΕ

This is from the phrase, ΕΙΣ ΤΗ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙΤΕ, ‘in which you now live’. ΟΙΚΕΙΤΕ and ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΤΕ are synonyms both meaning ‘to inhabit’ or ‘to dwell’ in a place.¹⁰⁹ Since all of the other manuscripts surveyed were unanimous in reading ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙΤΕ, this is probably an inadvertant error of sight where the first three letters were left off. Also, the next word starts with the letters κα so that the scribe’s eyes might have transposed these. One more factor that confirms this was probably a mistake and not of the autographic text-form is that the manuscript in which the variant is found is a very late one (fourteenth/fifteenth century).

2.2.5.2. Missing words

7:2:4 1505: οντι is missing (dat. sg. masc. pres. ptc., εἰμι)

¹⁰⁹ BDAG, 694, §2 for ΟΙΚΕΩ and 534, §2 for ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΩ.

This occurred in the phrase, *οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια*, ‘while he was in Mesopotamia’. The omission of this participle leaves a slightly more concise phrase, ‘the God of glory appeared to our father Abraham in Mesopotamia’. While grammatically possible, since this is in just one later manuscript, the original reading probably contained *οντι*. The scribe probably inadvertently left out the word.

7:2:5 614: *αυτον* is missing (3 pers. sg. masc. acc. pronoun)

This variant occurred in the phrase, *πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον εν Χαρραν*, ‘before he was living in Haran’. Since *κατοικησαι* is an infinitive,¹¹⁰ it does not express the facet that other verbs have of person.¹¹¹ This must then be supplied, and is supplied in most manuscripts with the pronoun *αυτον*. If this pronoun is left out, it does still make sense, though the style of the prose is irregular and awkward. This is a mistake of sight or hearing, the scribe probably confusing the infinitive for the third singular aorist verb, *κατωκησει*. This is also confirmed by the fact that this variant is confined to one later manuscript (thirteenth century).

7:3:3 B, D: *εκ* is omitted from the text

This variant is in the phrase, *και εκ της συγγενειας σου*, ‘and from your relatives’. This phrase follows one in which *εκ* is also used, *εξελθε εκ της γης σου*, ‘Go out from your land’. In phrases connected by *και*, as these two are, the preposition can be repeated or omitted.¹¹² Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger note that this omission is contrary to the LXX text being quoted.¹¹³ It is perhaps more normal in New Testament Greek for them to not be repeated.¹¹⁴ It is important to note that the two most important witnesses of the Western and Alexandrian text-types share this variant. NA²⁷ notes this, but keeps the *εκ* in the main text.

¹¹⁰ It is an adverbial infinitive of subsequent time, Wallace, *Grammar*, 596.

¹¹¹ Wallace, *Grammar*, 588.

¹¹² Robertson, *Grammar*, 566.

¹¹³ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, 51.

¹¹⁴ MHT, III:275. Moulton observes that out of 56 places where there is an opportunity for repetition, it is actually found in only 16, or 29% of the occasions.

On the weight of this testimony and the more normal convention of not repeating prepositions, *ἐκ* was probably not in the original text, though absolute certainty on this cannot be achieved. To retain it in the text one would be following the dictum to go with the harder reading when the testimony of witnesses is balanced. But since the two earliest manuscript witnesses of this portion of Acts omit it, this writer believes the witnesses are not balanced and that preference should be given to the omission of *ἐκ*.

7:3:5 P, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1505, 1739, 2495: *την* (accusative article) is omitted

This variant occurs in the phrase, *καὶ δευρο εἰς την γην*, ‘and come to the land’. It is a recognized convention that nouns that are the object of a proposition do not need to take an article in order to be considered definite nouns.¹¹⁵ Though this is allowable grammar, seeing that the omission is not a reading from the earliest witnesses,¹¹⁶ it is more probable that in the original text the article was retained. The scribe probably inadvertently omitted the article as an error of sight. This becomes even more probable when it is viewed in majuscule script: *ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΡΟ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ*. The initial letters of *την* and *γην* are very similar. One can also see here the way an early mistake can affect a textual tradition.

7:3:5 C: *ην* (relative pronoun) is missing

This omission occurs in the phrase, *ην αν σοι δειχω*, ‘which I will show you.’ The clause does not make sense without the relative pronoun which makes it a relative clause. It also does not make any sense if the *ην* is taken as a verb (third person singular imperfect of *ειμι*, ‘to be’), ‘and come to the land *he/it is* I will show you.’ Both of these options are not normal syntactical constructions. The *ην* would have also been simple to omit as an error of sight because of its similarity to the immediately preceding words *την γην*, or the

¹¹⁵ Wallace, *Grammar*, 247.

¹¹⁶ 1739 is the earliest of these witnesses, dating to the tenth century.

following word *αν*, especially in majuscule script: ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΗΝ ΑΝ ΣΟΙ ΔΕΙΧΩ.

7:4:3 A: *το* is missing

This variant is from the phrase *κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν τον πατερα αυτου*, ‘From there, after his father died.’ *Το* serves as the article for the infinitive in this sentence. With the infinitive, the article serves to reinforce the definiteness of the death being spoken of. The infinitive is taking on more of the nature of a noun.¹¹⁷ With the article missing, the infinitive acts more like a verb. Either construction is acceptable in this sentence. However, the article being omitted accidentally is easier to explain as an inadvertant omission than it being added to the text intentionally. Also, since this omission occurs in only one of the manuscripts surveyed, the autographic text-form probably contained the article.

7:4:5 1505: *νυν* is missing

This variant is from the phrase, *εις ην υμεις νυν κατοικειτε*, ‘in which you *now* live’. Though the adverb is redundant to the meaning, since it is retained in all of the other manuscripts surveyed, and since 1505 is rather late (fifteenth century), it is most probable that the autographic text-form contained the *νυν*.

7:5:4 614: *αυτω/αυτην* is omitted

This variant is from the phrase, *εις καρτασχεσιν αυτην* (or *αυτω*), ‘and he promised to give it (or to him)’. The choice of pronoun is discussed above in section 2.2.2.1. Grammatical Changes of Gender. Only the issue of omission or retention is considered here. Since *αυτω/ην* is preceded by an infinitive, the infinitive needs the pronoun in order to express either to or what the act of giving refers. Omitting the pronoun serves no purpose, and so this is most likely an inadvertant error of sight.

¹¹⁷ MHT, III:140.

7:5:5 Arab 151: μετ αυτον is omitted. This agrees with the Peshitta.

This refers to the phrase, και τω σπερματι αυτον μετ αυτου, ‘and for his descendants after him’. The Arabic text omits the prepositional phrase, ‘after him’. This agrees with the Peshitta, and so could be an indication of the translation being made from a Syriac text with this omission. Also, it could be considered an omission for reasons of style in the Arabic in omitting a redundancy. Seeing that the omission is in a translation and that the Greek witnesses are unanimous in retaining it, the autographic text-form most likely contained the phrase μετ αυτον.

7:8:3 1505: αυτον is missing.

This variant occurs in the phrase, και περιετεμεν αυτον τη ημερα τη ογδοη, ‘and he circumcised *him* on the eighth day’. Omitting this pronoun leaves an awkward gap in that it is not made clear who was circumcised. This is almost certainly an inadvertant mistake of sight. This is also confirmed by the slim manuscript support for the variant.

2.2.6. Transposition of words

This category is for those instances where the order of words or of phrases within a sentence is interchanged. The change of meaning involved in these involves slight changes of emphasis. The words are all represented in the text fulfilling their respective grammatical functions but they are not in the same order between manuscripts.

7:4:5 1739: νυν υμεις rather than υμεις νυν

This variant is in the phrase εις ην υμεις νυν κατοικειτε, ‘in which you *now* live’. By separating the adverb from the verb greater emphasis is placed on it.¹¹⁸ This variant appears to be an intentional change to place greater emphasis on ‘now’. Since it is represented in only this later manuscript, the autographic

¹¹⁸ MHT, III:228.

text-form would probably have read νυν immediately prior to the verb
ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙΤΕ.

7:5:1-2 E: εν αυτη Κληρονομιαν rather than Κληρονομιαν εν αυτη
This variant occurs in the phrase και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω κληρονομιαν εν
αυτη, ‘and he did not give him an inheritance in it’. The normal convention is
for prepositional phrases to follow the noun to which they are related.¹¹⁹ This
is probably an inadvertant error of sight, by accident transposing the
prepositional phrase to before the noun.

7:6:4-5 E: και κακωσουσιν αυτο και δουλωσουσιν rather than και
δουλωσουσιν αυτο και κακωσουσιν

This variant is in the phrases, και δουλωσουσιν αυτο και κακωσουσιν ετη
τετρακοσια, ‘and they will enslave them and oppress them for four hundred
years’. The issue is whether enslave or oppress should be the first verb in these
parallel clauses. Grammatically either is correct. Manuscript evidence is more
decisive in that the later uncial E (eighth century) provides the only
manuscript support for this variant.

7:7:2 D, E, P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 326, 614, 1505, 1739, 2495: ειπεν ο θεος
7:7:2 ρ³³, ρ⁷⁴, Ⲛ, A, B, C, 1175: ο θεος ειπεν

This variant occurs in the phrase, κρινω εγω, ο θεος ειπεν, ‘I will judge said
God’. It is interesting to note that the manuscripts for the first reading are
generally known as Western and Byzantine influenced text-types and those for
the second are in manuscripts with a pronounced Alexandrian character.
Normal New Testament Greek conventions of word order favour the verb
coming before the subject,¹²⁰ unless extra emphasis is meant for the subject.¹²¹
Either of these readings is grammatically correct. The manuscript evidence
favours the second reading ο θεος ειπεν with its strong representation in the
earliest available manuscripts. Also, stylistically, it places extra emphasis on
θεος by placing the subject first, which suits the context. One more thing

¹¹⁹ MHT, III:349-350.

¹²⁰ MHT, III:347.

¹²¹ BDF, §472.

worth noting is how this variant affected a wide range of manuscripts in later textual transmission.

7:8:3 104: τη ογδοη ημερα rather than τη ημερα τη ογδοη

This variant is from the phrase, και περιετεμεν αυτον τη ημερα τη ογδοη, literally ‘and he circumcised him the day the eighth’. With this variant, the adjective ογδοη is moved to the first attributive position from the second.¹²² It is normal for the article to be shared by the adjective and the noun in the first attributive position. The difference in meaning between the two positions is one of emphasis. In the first attributive position, the adjective receives the emphasis. In the second, where the noun and adjective each have an article and the adjective follows the noun both are emphasised, but with the adjective having an added sense of climax in apposition.¹²³ The difference in meaning is slight. This appears to be an intentional variant to place more emphasis on the fact that the circumcision took place on the eighth day. 1505 probably does not contain the autographic reading for three reasons. First, it is a relatively late manuscript. Second, its text does not provide a compelling reading which explains the origin of the other variants. Third, the earlier manuscript testimony is overwhelmingly in favour of retaining both articles and having the adjective follow the noun, the autographic text-form almost certainly had the adjective in the second attributive position and the phrase had two articles.

2.2.7. Conflation of words

7:5:3 Arab 151: ‘to him’ (إيها) is added

This occurs in the phrase which in the Greek manuscripts have the variant, και επιγγειλατο δουναι αυτω or αυτην, ‘and he promised to give to him’ or ‘to give it’. The Arabic translation appears to combine these options by adding the Arabic ‘to him’.¹²⁴ This appears to be a stylistic addition to clarify what was promised to Abraham. (‘to give it to him’, rather than ‘to give it’, or ‘to

¹²² Wallace, *Grammar*, 306.

¹²³ Wallace, *Grammar*, 306.

¹²⁴ The Arabic here has the preposition *إِ* pre-fixed to the third singular suffix *ه* to form *إيها*.

give him') This is what the Peshitta has as well.¹²⁵ Since this is not represented in the Greek manuscripts and is found in translations, it is unlikely to be the reading of the autographic text-form.

2.2.8. Different words

7:5:6 Arab 151: 'he did not have a *son*' (ابن) rather than a child.

This concerns the phrase, οὐκ οὗτος αὐτῷ τέκνου, 'while he had no child'. The Arabic uses the word ابن, (*ibn*) 'son' instead of the more general word for child, ولد, (*walad*) 'child'.¹²⁶ *Walad* is used in the modern Arabic translation, and in Modern Standard Arabic it can refer to either 'son' or 'child'.¹²⁷ However, in Qur'ānic Arabic, Classical Arabic and Middle Arabic it was not gender specific and referred to 'child'.¹²⁸ The Peshitta uses 'son' instead of 'child'.¹²⁹ Arab 151, in its use of 'son,' demonstrates either dependence on the Syriac, or a translation choice since the child being spoken of was Abraham's son. Since the Greek texts are unanimous concerning τέκνου, τέκνου is almost certainly the autographic reading.

7:7:2 Arab 151: 'I will punish them' (سوف اعاقبه) rather than judge them.

This translates the phrase, κρίνω ἐγώ, ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν, 'I will judge, God said'. In New Testament Greek, the primary emphasis of the word κρίνω is making a legal judgement at God's divine tribunal.¹³⁰ The word also, by extension, meant to give the punishment resulting from a divine judgment and this emphasis is often in view so much that it could almost be used as a synonym

¹²⁵ Younan, 'Peshitta Interlinear', accessed 5 March 2005.

¹²⁶ John Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Kor-ān*, New edn., London: Curzon Press, 1975, *ibn* from بنى, 20; *walad*, ولد, 162.

¹²⁷ Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 1980 Reprint edn., Beirut: Librairie Du Liban, 1974, 1097.

¹²⁸ Qur'ānic Arabic: Penrice, *Dictionary*, 162; Classical Arabic: E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Cairo: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2003, ولد; Middle Arabic: Joshua Blau, *A Handbook of Middle Arabic*, Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002, 261.

¹²⁹ Younan, 'Peshitta Interlinear', accessed 5 March 2005.

¹³⁰ BDAG, 568, §5.b.

for the verb ‘to judge’.¹³¹ The Greek manuscripts are unanimous in using this word following the LXX for Genesis 15:14.¹³² The Arabic, however, uses the words, سوف اعاقبه (*sawfa ʿāqibuhu*), ‘I shall punish him’.¹³³ This does not agree with the Peshitta, which follows the Greek in using the Syriac word for judge.¹³⁴ The choice to use ‘punish’ was a choice of the Arabic translator and, though it does accurately translate the result of God’s judgement, it is not representative of the precise meaning of the autographic text-form.

One of the reasons for using this manuscript was to see if its text provided any insights into textual transmission under the circumstances of its unique provenance of being written in Damascus under Islamic rule during the height of the Abbasid period. This was a period that saw a high degree of interaction between theologians, philosophers and other scholars from a variety of faith traditions. This translation choice to use ‘punish’ instead of ‘judge’ may provide such a window. The Qur’ān has a recurring phrase that emphasises God’s divine judicial punishment against sinners and those who oppose him. Translated it is ‘Allah is severe in punishment,’ and this phrase is found repeated as a refrain in these exact words ten times in the Qur’ān and six more times with slight variations.¹³⁵ If this translation was done as part of a broader effort of Christians to engage the surrounding Arabic culture in its own terms, perhaps the translator chose this word specifically because of its resonance with a potential Muslim audience.

Griffith has argued persuasively that Orthodox Christians in Palestine were doing this very thing at this time through a programme of Bible translation into Arabic and the writing of theological and apologetic works in Arabic.¹³⁶ This will be discussed in more detail in the section 2.10. Variants involving Arab 151. Concerning this particular variant, though this manuscript was produced by a Nestorian in Damascus, it could have been produced with

¹³¹ BDAG, 568, §5.b.

¹³² Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:20.

¹³³ سوف, (*sawfa*) is a particle that marks the future tense. Penrice, *Dictionary*, 74. It precedes the Form III indicative verb عاقب (*ʿāqaba*), ‘to punish.’ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 99.

¹³⁴ Younan, ‘Peshitta Interlinear’, accessed 5 March 2005.

¹³⁵ The exact phrase is الله شديد العقاب, and is found at S. 2:196, 211; 3:11; 5:2, 98; 8:13, 25, 48; 59:4, 7. The locations with the variations are 6:165; 7:167; 8:52; 13:6; 40:3, 22.

¹³⁶ Sidney H. Griffith, ‘The Gospel in Arabic: An Enquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century’, *Oriens Christiannus* 69 (1985), 126-167 135, 155.

the same convictions in mind to meet similar needs in a different part of the Islamic empire.

There is also another possible explanation for this choice of vocabulary. It could merely reflect that by the time this translation had been made, Qur'ānic vocabulary was basic to the Arabic spoken by even the Christian community. Madany mentions that the vocabulary used in this manuscript would have been easily understood by Muslims, and that it also reflects a period before Christian Arabic had developed as a distinct dialect.¹³⁷ Whichever view one takes, the Arabic used accurately translates the New Testament text into literary Middle Arabic to reinforce the point that God is the one who punishes nations that oppose him and his plans—a theme which the Qur'ān also emphasises.

7:7:3 Arab 151: 'in this country' (في هذا البلد) rather than 'place'.

This is in the phrase, και λατρεουσιν μοι εν τω τοπω τουτω, 'and they will worship me in this place'. This is a reference to Exodus 3:12 in the LXX which has και λατρεσετε τω Θεω εν τω ορει τουτω, 'then you shall worship God in this mountain'.¹³⁸ Commentators have remarked on Stephen's paraphrasing the quotation to say 'place' rather than 'mountain'.¹³⁹ The Arabic accurately follows Stephen's word choice and uses a word that in this situation may have had Qur'ānic overtones by using the general word for 'country' or 'place,' بلد (*baladun*).¹⁴⁰ In Surah 14:35 of the Qur'ān, Abraham is recorded praying to God to make the place where he was settling Ishmael a place of security and a place for worship at the Sacred House—a place that Muslim interpreters have consistently taken as referring to Mecca. *Baladun* is used in S. 14:35 as well. The 1865 Smith-Van Dyke Arabic translation of Acts has

¹³⁷ Shirley W. Madany, 'Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151', http://www.arabicbible.com/bible/codex151_article.htm, accessed 8 March 2005.

¹³⁸ Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, I:89.

¹³⁹ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Anchor Bible, London: Doubleday, 1998, 372, and Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, 279.

¹⁴⁰ Arne Ambros, A. and Stephan Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004, 43; Blau, *Handbook*, 184; Penrice, *Dictionary*, 19; Lane, *Lexicon*, بلد .

مكان , (*makān*) ‘place, location’ instead of بلد (*baladun*).¹⁴¹ *Makān* is not used for a general location in the Qur’ān, though it is used this way in more modern Arabic. Perhaps the translator of Arab 151 was obliquely reinforcing the point that Abraham’s descendants were led to Palestine rather than Mecca. He also might have been unconsciously influenced by his familiarity with Qur’ānic vocabulary.

7:8:2 203: ουτοϛ instead of ουτωϛ

This variant has a demonstrative pronoun, ‘this, this one,’ being read instead of an adverb, ‘then, in this way.’ Since the use of a demonstrative pronoun does not fit the context at this point, this variant is probably a mistake of hearing, a confusion of the sound of ω with ο, a very common occurrence in manuscripts.¹⁴² Also, since this variant is isolated to a later manuscript, the autographic reading was probably ουτωϛ.

7:8:3 8: εβδομη (seventh) rather than ογδοη (eighth)

This is an interesting mistake to have occurred in such an important manuscript. It seems an odd substitution to have been made by accident, the background of the custom of circumcision of infants on the eighth day being so well established in Jewish custom and biblical usage.¹⁴³ Also, this cannot be explained as a simple error of hearing or sight due to a confusion of letters or lines of text. Also, the word ‘seventh’ does not even occur in the rest of Acts.

The only references to circumcision on the seventh day are in John 7:22-23, where Jesus is confronting the Jews about the inconsistency of saying that he worked on the Sabbath doing miracles of healing when they would circumcise infants on the Sabbath. Perhaps the scribe was seeking to conform the Acts reference to this account. If he did, he was missing the point of John’s account that they circumcised infants on the Sabbath only when the eighth day

¹⁴¹ Wehr, *Dictionary*, 848; C. Van Dyke and E. Smith, trans., *Al-Kitab al-Muqaddas*, Dar ul-Kitāb al-Muqaddis fi-ul Sharq al-Awsat, 1989, 200.

¹⁴² Robertson, *Grammar*, 200.

¹⁴³ Genesis 21:4 states that Isaac was circumcised on the eighth day. This was later enshrined in the Mosaic Law in Leviticus 12:3. Two New Testament examples where this practise is referred to are Luke 1:59 concerning Jesus, and Philippians. 3:5, concerning Paul.

after the child's birth coincided with a Sabbath, so as to keep the Law.¹⁴⁴ The Jewish leaders had not changed the day when circumcision should take place. The scribe would also have been missing the point that in Genesis 21:4 it is written that Abraham circumcised Isaac on the eighth day: 'περιετέμεν δε Αβρααμ τον Ισαακ τη ογδοη ημερα'.¹⁴⁵ As it stands, this was an intentional variant, but the reason for it cannot be discerned.

2.2.9. Addition and Omission of Words and Phrases

These variants involve the addition of words or phrases to the basic Greek text as found in NA²⁷ which some would consider to be omissions from a more original longer text. Since the Western texts of Acts are known to have additional material to that which is found in the Alexandrian text-forms, a special category is devoted to the Western additions. Also, a category is used for additions found in manuscripts not characterized as of the Western text-type. A third category of additions found in Arab 151 is found in the next section, which discusses the variants of this manuscript.

2.2.9.1. Additions and Omissions Involving Manuscripts with Western Readings

These additions are especially significant for determining the original text of Acts. They can be approached in two ways, on a macro scale and a micro scale. On a macro scale, they can be viewed against the backdrop of the entire character of the book of Acts, not divorced from the greater context, and then making the decision as to their contribution to the question of the nature of the original text.¹⁴⁶ The micro scale is looking at variants in their immediate context first determining their character from asking the question as to which

¹⁴⁴ Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971, 408, makes the point that the Jews of that time saw Leviticus 12:3 as overriding the commandment concerning keeping the Sabbath, and that this is recorded in the Mishnah, *Shab.* 18:3; 19:1, 2; *Ned.* 3:11.

¹⁴⁵ Rahlfs, (ed.), LXX, I:28.

¹⁴⁶ Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, and Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, are two representatives of this approach.

reading gave rise to the others in that limited context. This is the starting point in the method of Reasoned Eclecticism.¹⁴⁷

Barrett summarizes the alternatives concerning the Western text:¹⁴⁸

...the primary question with which the textual critic, especially in Acts, is faced, is, What is the Western text and where did it arise? This question may not have a simple answer, for behind it lays another. Is the Western text the product of a definite recension or redaction of the text, so that, notwithstanding the diversity of the witnesses, it may be attached to a specific time and place, or is it a tendency, shared by many, to expand, to paraphrase, to modify—chiefly by brightening descriptions and heightening interest? If the latter alternative is chosen, texts of a Western type may have arisen independently in many places and developed over many years. If the former we have to ask whether the editor corrupted the original text, or rediscovered it, restoring it from the tamer, milder form that his predecessors had produced.

Both views will be kept in mind as these variant portions of text are examined and a conclusion will be drawn on which is the better view on the basis of this portion of text. There are fourteen examples of this kind of variant in the manuscripts surveyed. The first is:

7:1:1 D, E: τῷ Στεφάνῳ after ἀρχιερεὺς.

This variant is in the opening phrase of the passage, Εἶπον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῷ Στεφάνῳ, ‘And the High Priest said *to Stephen*’. This variant has the effect of making it explicit to whom the high priest was speaking. Parker claims this is a kind of expansion of the text in an attempt to cast the story in more homespun vernacular Greek.¹⁴⁹ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger argue that this is a convention, at least in Codex D, which makes the opening of Stephen’s trial proceedings more formal.¹⁵⁰ In either situation, it seems to be an intentional addition to the text. If it were originally present, there seems to be no good contextual reason for its removal.

¹⁴⁷ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 300.

¹⁴⁸ Barrett, *Acts*, I:22.

¹⁴⁹ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 256.

¹⁵⁰ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, II:50.

7:1:2 D, E, P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1505, 2495: ἀρα.

This second variant is in the phrase, εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει, ‘Are *then* these things so’. This has the effect of adding immediacy to the dialogue. As such, it could be an example of the kind of additions that Parker notes in D that seem to be there to cast the narrative into more vernacular Greek.¹⁵¹ This is also another variant that, if this were originally present, there seems no apparent contextual reason why a scribe should omit it, except perhaps to consciously streamline the text. It is present in a broad variety of manuscripts, though it is not represented in the earliest ones. On balance, there seems to be more likelihood that a scribe might add it to heighten the drama and style of the passage than to omit it for an economy of words.

7:3:4 E, 1505, 2495: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου. ‘and from the house of your fathers’.

This third variant is an additional phrase after the phrase, καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου, ‘and from your relatives’. If this phrase is an addition, it has the effect of conforming the reference to the full wording of the LXX text of Genesis 12:1: καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου.¹⁵² If it was not originally in the text, it could be considered as either an intentional or unintentional addition.

If intentional, it could be counted as an intentional stylistic change to conform the quotation to the text of the LXX. Since the rest of the section is already a close quotation of the LXX text, then the omission of this phrase would have been noticeable. It is possible that a scribe thought that the words had been unintentionally omitted and so sought to rectify a mistake. Jervell also suggests that the inclusion of this phrase was intentional to strengthen the idea that Abraham left from Haran since Terah, his father, died there after migrating with him out of Ur as far as Haran.¹⁵³

An possibility involving a mistake on the part of the scribe is that the scribe knew the text of Gen. 12:1 in the LXX so well that he unconsciously

¹⁵¹ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 256.

¹⁵² Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:16.

¹⁵³ Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, 233.

added in this phrase. Concerning the shorter reading, Fitzmyer helpfully notes a more plausible reason for why the phrase was originally omitted in the text of Acts, because Abraham departs from Haran in the form of the story that the author of Acts uses.¹⁵⁴ Since the departure is not depicted as from Ur, Abraham was not departing from the home of his ancestors but from the city that he and his father had been sojourners in.

If the phrase was originally in the text, it is difficult to conceive why it would have been omitted. With the phrase omitted, the text fits its immediate context. With the phrase added, there is a sense of disjuncture created in that Ur was the land of Abraham's fathers yet he is in this passage depicted as leaving from Haran. It seems more likely that the phrase was added to make the quotation from the LXX more complete.

7:4:1 D, Arab 151: Αβρααμ (ابراهيم) is added between τότε and ἐχελθων

This fourth variant is in the phrase, τότε Αβρααμ ἐχελθων εκ γης Χαλδαιων, 'Then *Abraham*, going out from the land of Chaldea'. This is probably a deliberate stylistic change to make the phrase more explicit and to keep the focus on Abraham.¹⁵⁵ If Abraham's name was in the autographic text-form at this point, it is difficult to conceive why it would be removed. Also, this inclusion agrees with the Peshitta, and it is also found in Arab 151. This is another example that can be characterized as an intentional addition to cast the narrative in a more vernacular style.¹⁵⁶

7:4:1 1175, Arab 151: και (ف) is added before τότε ἐξελθων

Arab 151 has the connective ف (fa) at this point, which can be translated 'then, and then, and so, thus, hence, therefore.'¹⁵⁷ It is a coordinating conjunction which is used to express sequence, contrast, or development.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 370.

¹⁵⁵ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, II:51.

¹⁵⁶ Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 256.

¹⁵⁷ Wehr, *Dictionary*, 691; Penrice, *Dictionary*, 106.

¹⁵⁸ Woldietrich Fischer, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*, Third edn., London: Yale University Press, 2002, §329, 176; Penrice, *Dictionary*, 106; Wright, *Grammar*, I:290-291.

The Arabic conjunction **و** (*wa*) is a simple coordinating conjunction,¹⁵⁹ closer in meaning to **καί**, in that its primary significance is ‘and’, joining equivalent sentences and clauses.¹⁶⁰ *Fa*, though, is an appropriate translation of **καί** because **καί** is flexible and can also have a sequential significance.¹⁶¹ In these two manuscripts, *fa* and **καί** seem to have been added to enhance the narrative to show that Abraham went out in direct obedience to God’s command. It is difficult to conceive of a reason of sufficient force for removing **καί** if it was originally present. This is probably an intentional stylistic addition to the text and because of these reasons, the autographic text-form probably did not have **καί**.

7:4:2 D: **καί** is added before **κατωκησεν**.

This sixth variant is in the phrase, *καί κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν*, ‘and he settled in Haran’. Of the Greek manuscripts surveyed, D is unique in containing this variant. Parker suggests a plausible reason for this addition in D:¹⁶²

Serious consideration should be given to the possibility that this construction (participle followed by **καί** and a finite verb) represents part of the style in which the texts contained in D have been recast. The stylistic peculiarities we have observed all point to an attempt to rewrite the material in a more vernacular style. Far from being Semitisms, many of the features of the language of Codex Bezae are homespun Greek. As against the Atticizing process, it seems that we have to reckon with the opposite: an attempt to explain obscurities—and what are perceived as such—by using a vernacular style. The many tiny expansions of the text, except for harmonizations, will be part of the same attempt.

Read-Heimerdinger gives a different explanation, that it is an emphatic stylistic construction to draw attention to the main verb of the sentence. She notices concerning Acts in D that when **καί** comes after a participle and before a main verb it always occurs in a dramatic or significant encounter in the narrative.¹⁶³ If it was part of the autographic text-form it is difficult to imagine

¹⁵⁹ Wright, *Grammar*, I:290-291.

¹⁶⁰ Fischer, *Grammar*, §328, 175.

¹⁶¹ BDF, §442; MHT, III:335; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1182.

¹⁶² Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 255-256.

¹⁶³ Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 208-209.

why it would have been omitted. It is also found in only this manuscript. With either explanation, it is an intentional variant, and as such probably does not represent the autographic text-form.

7:4:4 D: και is added before μετωκησεν.

The seventh variant is similar to the last one and is in the same manuscript. It occurs in the phrase, και μετωκησεν αυτον εις την γην ταυτην, ‘and he moved him to this land’. This also appears to be an intentional addition to cast the phrase in a more vernacular style.

7:4:4 E, Arab 151: ο Θεος (الله) is added after αυτον.

This eighth variant is in the same phrase as the last one, giving the reading, μετωκισεν αυτον ο θες εις την γην ταυτην, ‘God moved him to this land’, This is an intentional stylistic addition to make the implied subject, God, more explicit. Arab 151 and the Peshitta both also have this reading. In both of these, it is also possibly a stylistic addition to make the translations more explicit, or its reading is dependent on a manuscript which had this addition.

7:4:5 104: και is added after εις ην.

The ninth variant occurs in the phrase, εις ην και υμεις νυν κατοικειτε, ‘in which *then* you now live’. This appears to be an intentional addition to emphasize the connection between Stephen’s audience and the land promised to Abraham. This is an adverbial or exegetical use of και, which can be translated ‘then’, ‘that is’, or ‘even’.¹⁶⁴

7:4:6 D: και οι πατερες ημων οι προ ημων, ‘and our fathers who were before us’.

The tenth variant is a complete phrase, occurring after the phrase, εις ην υμεις νυν κατοικειτε, ‘in which you now live’. Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger assert that in this phrase Stephen acknowledges his common

¹⁶⁴ MHT, III:335.

ancestry with the Sanhedrin, but as a Hellenist denies he is a permanent resident of Israel.¹⁶⁵ If this phrase were part of the autographic text-form it seems a scribe would have made this claim of common heritage more clear through an addition, rather than omit the claim to simplify the narrative. This full form of the phrase occurs only in this manuscript. A shorter form is discussed in the next variant. On balance, this appears to be an intentional stylistic addition that could have been motivated by a variety of factors. First, it strengthens the force of the preceding phrase in emphasizing the connection between Stephen's audience and the land promised to Abraham. Second, in strengthening the connection it adds extra drama and colour to the story. In this way, it is similar to the next variant but was probably an independent addition made for a similar reason. Metzger notes that these kinds of additions are characteristic of Western texts.¹⁶⁶

7:4:6 E: και οι παρες υμων, 'and our fathers'.

This eleventh variant is a complete phrase with the same situation as the last one. It expresses the same sentiment, though in fewer words. The reasons for viewing this as an intentional stylistic addition are exactly the same as for the last variant mentioned, for connection and drama. If it was in the autographic text-form it is difficult to conceive of it being omitted intentionally.

7:6:1 D: προς αυτον is added.

The twelfth variant is found in the phrase, ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θεος προς αυτον, 'And God spoke in this manner *to him*'. This has the effect of clarifying to whom God was speaking. Read-Heimerdinger notes that this exact construction, προς + an accusative pronoun or noun occurs fifteen times in D to 'make the reference to the addressee more direct and more deliberate'.¹⁶⁷ It can also be considered as a stylistic enhancement to clarify the text. Since it is only found in this manuscript, and since it is plausible as a stylistic addition, it probably does not represent the autographic text-form.

¹⁶⁵ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, II:52, 74.

¹⁶⁶ Metzger, *Commentary*, Second edn., 300.

¹⁶⁷ Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 182.

7:7:3 E: ἐκίθεν (ἐκειθεν, the adverb “from there”) is added after ἐξελευσονται

The thirteenth variant is in the phrase, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελευσονται ἐκίθεν, ‘and after this they will come out *from there*’. If this were part of the autographic text-form there is not a good reason for it being omitted. However, as an addition it does enhance the drama and clarity of the narrative. For these reasons and since it is found in only this manuscript, this is probably an intentional stylistic addition.

7:8:4 D, P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1739, 2495: ὁ Ἰσαὰκ, rather than Ἰσαὰκ

The fourteenth variant is in the phrase, καὶ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἰακώβ, ‘and Isaac (begat) Jacob’. It is difficult to discern what purpose this addition or omission serves, since proper names are considered definite with or without the article. Wallace notes that there is not enough known yet to clarify why the article is used sometimes with a proper noun and other times it is not.¹⁶⁸ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger argue that in Codex D, its inclusion is to note his importance in being circumcised.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps it was added or retained in the other manuscripts that contain it to keep this point of emphasis. It could have been intentionally omitted in other manuscripts since it was found in the first mention of his name, or because the reading being copied did not contain it. In view of these uncertainties, the decision needs to be determined by manuscript evidence. The earlier manuscripts favour the article being left out and so it probably was not found in the autographic text-form, but this is a tentative conclusion. It is also worth noting how this variant affected a wide range of manuscripts in the later transmission of the text.

7:8:4 E: ἐγεννησεν is added after Ἰσαὰκ

This fifteenth variant is in the same phrase as the last variant and makes it explicit that Jacob was born to Isaac. It is probably an intentional stylistic variant to increase clarity. If it were originally present, there is not a good reason as to why it would have been omitted.

¹⁶⁸ Wallace, *Grammar*, 246.

¹⁶⁹ Ruis-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, II:53.

2.2.9.2. Additions and Omissions Involving Typically Non-Western Manuscripts

These additions are like the ones in the Western manuscripts in that they are mainly stylistic additions to clarify or heighten the drama of the narrative.

There were eight of these variants.

7:2:2 1739: μου is added after ακουσατε

This variant occurs in the opening phrase of Stephen's defence, Ανδρες αδελθοι και πατερες, ακουσατε μου, 'Men, brothers, and fathers, listen *to me*'. It is easily seen to be an intentional addition to Stephen's speech to increase the sense of drama in the narrative. Since it is found in only this one later manuscript (tenth century) among the manuscripts surveyed, it was almost certainly not in the original text.

7:4:1 69^c: της is added before γης Χαλδαιων

This variant is the addition of the definite article, making more explicit was already clear that Abraham went out to '*the land* of the Chaldeans.' Proper names are understood to be definite without the article.¹⁷⁰ This could have been a simple error of sight, intentionally or unintentionally conforming γης to της γης and την γην in 7:3, and την γην in 7:4.

7:4:1 1175: και is added before τοτε

This third variant is found in the phrase, και τοτε εξελθων εκγης Χαλδαιων, '*and* then going out from the land of Chaldea'. This appears to be the addition of a connecting και, connecting Abraham's action of leaving Chaldea to God's command in 7:3 to leave. It could be intentional, or unintentional, such use of και being so frequent in the New Testament that a scribe might easily insert one without thinking.

¹⁷⁰ Wallace, *Grammar*, 245.

7:6:5 C: αυτο added after κακωσουσιν

This fourth variant is found in the phrase, και κακωσουσιν αυτο ετη τετρακοσια, ‘and they will oppress *them* for four hundred years’. The accusative form of the pronoun αυτος is used making it the direct object of the verb κακωσουσιν. This was probably an intentional addition to make the object of the mistreatment more explicit and to parallel the use of the pronoun αυτο in the immediately preceding phrase. It is also worth mentioning that C is a palimpsest, and this addition of a word is found in its *scripto inferior*.

7:6:5 33: αυτω added after κακωσουσιν

This fifth variant is found in the same phrase as the last one but instead of the accusative form of the pronoun, the dative form is used. The dative form would make the pronoun a dative of reference.¹⁷¹ This was probably an intentional addition to make the object of the mistreatment more explicit and to parallel the use of the pronoun αυτω in the phrase immediately prior to this one.

7:7:1 69: εκεινο added after εθνος

Εκεινος is a demonstrative pronoun that refers to the more remote person or thing.¹⁷² Here it is added in the phrase και το εθνος εκεινο ω εαν δουλευσουσιν, ‘and the people, *those* whom they will serve in slavery, I will judge....’ This was probably an intentional stylistic variant to add emphasis that God would judge the people who enslaved Abraham’s descendants. The autographic text-form probably did not have εκεινο because if it was originally there it is difficult to imagine why it would have been removed. However, it is conceivable that it would be added in later for emphasis. Also, 69 is a very late manuscript and none of the other manuscripts surveyed had this variant.

7:8:4 P, 33, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1739, 2495: ο ισαακ instead of ισαακ

7:8:5 P, 69, 104, 203, 614, 1739, 2495: ο ιακωβ rather than ιακωβ

¹⁷¹ Wallace, *Grammar*, 144-145.

¹⁷² MHT, III:45.

These last two variants involve the same issue: the use of the definite article with proper names. It is difficult to discern what purpose these additions serve, since proper names are considered definite with or without the article. Wallace notes that there is not enough known yet to clarify why the article is used sometimes with a proper noun and other times it is not.¹⁷³ In view of this, the decision for this addition probably not being in the autographic text-form is determined by manuscript evidence. The earlier manuscripts favour the article being left out. It is also worth mentioning that here is an earlier variant that affected the later transmission of the text in a wide range of manuscripts..

2.2.10. Variants involving Arab 151

Arab 151 is a ninth century/third century Arabic manuscript that contains Acts. Since it is an Arabic translation of the Greek text possibly made through a Syriac intermediary manuscript, its testimony to the autographic text-form is severely limited and it is best considered an Interpretive text-form. Its usefulness in this study is that it opens a window into the development of later text-forms of Acts, particularly of Christians living under Islamic rule at the height of the Abbasid Empire. This manuscript contains features that demonstrate relationships to earlier text-forms and features that illumine the historical context of its inscription. It is included in this study to act as a bridge between the Christian and Islamic textual traditions, and also to demonstrate some of the benefits of pursuing the second goal of textual criticism, of illumining textual history.

The majority of the variants found in this manuscript appear to be those due to style considerations for making a smooth Arabic translation. Griffith makes the observation that the dated Arabic Gospel manuscripts show an improved text that is a development from the earlier undated ones.¹⁷⁴ He observed in a group of Arabic Gospel manuscripts that originated in Palestine in the ninth century/third century that there is evidence between them of a programme of improvement in terms of Arabic expression. The earliest texts

¹⁷³ Wallace, *Grammar*, 246.

¹⁷⁴ Griffith, 'Gospel', 132, 135, 155.

present translations that adhere so closely to the Greek text that the resulting Arabic is at times confusing.¹⁷⁵ In later texts the Greek text is not followed as slavishly, and there is improvement in the style and corrections in the margins to make it an acceptable literary standard of Arabic. Griffith holds that Sinai Arab MS 72, a Gospel manuscript dated to AD 897, is the last in this series and has the smoothest Arabic text.

Griffith places these manuscripts in a broader literary setting where the Christian community was seeking to engage the larger Muslim community through Bible translation and apologetic works. He argues that in these Gospel manuscripts the translators were attempting to render the Gospels in an Arabic version which could pass for literary Arabic of that time.¹⁷⁶ The literary *lingua franca* of this time and region was what has come to be called Middle Arabic,¹⁷⁷ and Arab 151, though translated in AD 867 by a Nestorian Christian in Damascus rather than an Orthodox Christian from Palestine, is in this same dialect of Arabic. Also, this dated Acts manuscript shows deliberate effort to make it a smooth Arabic translation. These factors will be noted as the variants are discussed.

Griffith makes a significant textual assertion concerning early Arabic Gospel texts. He asserts that the texts of the earliest extant Arabic Gospel manuscripts reflect the Greek of the Caesarean text-type.¹⁷⁸ Concerning the nature of the Caesarean text-type, Bruce notes that, instead of it being an independent text-type, the Caesarean text could very well be ‘a correction of the Western text by the Alexandrian.’¹⁷⁹ Metzger describes its distinct character as being its distinguishable mixture of Western and Alexandrian readings. He also notes that it is the least homogenous of any of the text-types while retaining enough observable characteristics to be classified as a text-type.¹⁸⁰ Hurtado even suggested that the later Caesarean texts were actually a ‘form of the Western text as it was shaped in the East.’¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ Griffith, ‘Gospel’, 155.

¹⁷⁶ Griffith, ‘Gospel’, 132, 155.

¹⁷⁷ Griffith, ‘Gospel’, 156.

¹⁷⁸ Griffith, ‘Gospel’, 155.

¹⁷⁹ F.F. Bruce, *The Books and the Parchments*, London: Fleming Revell Company, 1953, 179, citing Kirsopp Lake, *The Text of the New Testament*, 6th edition by Silva New, London: Rivingtons, 1933, 84.

¹⁸⁰ Metzger, *Text*, 215.

¹⁸¹ Hurtado, *Text-Critical*, 89.

Though there are no manuscripts of the text of Acts that have been classified as Caesarean, these observations concerning Gospel manuscripts provide a framework for understanding the observations that Arab 151, on the one hand agrees with many readings from the Syriac Peshitta, yet agrees in other readings with the Greek texts; and on the other hand that it agrees on minor readings with many of the Western texts, notably Codex Bezae, yet has none of the major Western phrase-length additions. Madany makes the general statement without explanation that this translation was made from the Aramaic.¹⁸² This seems likely in that in ninth century/third century Damascus, the main languages in use would have been Arabic and Syriac for the Christian community. It seems likely that this portion of Acts was translated from either an earlier Arabic version or a Syriac version that had affinities with a Greek text with both Alexandrian and Western features, as well as affinities with the Peshitta.

Metzger comments that the variety of textual affinities shown in Arabic versions of the New Testament is bewildering, with recognisable influences coming from Syriac, Greek, and Coptic sources.¹⁸³ This variety of influences confirms Bailey's and Metzger's observation on the problems of deciphering the textual relationships in Arabic New Testament manuscripts.¹⁸⁴ Arab 151 does demonstrate some of these complexities in its relationships to Syriac and Greek text-forms, but it also demonstrates interesting facets in the Arabic used in the translation. It is not just a basic translation of Acts in Arabic but is a more polished literary version. It shows a concern for fidelity to textual antecedents but also for communicating in clear Arabic. In Syria in the ninth/third century Arabic had become the common language of communication between most communities under Islamic rule, and a polished translation suggests a serious attitude for engaging the dominant culture with the claims of the Christian religion and scriptures. These features will be highlighted as the variants are examined.

¹⁸² Madany, 'Arabic Codex 151', accessed 8 March 2005.

¹⁸³ B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1977, 260.

¹⁸⁴ Kenneth E. Bailey, 'Early Arabic New Testaments of Mt. Sinai and the Task of Exegesis', *Theological Review* XII (1991), 45-62, citing 48. B.M. Metzger, 'Early Arabic Versions of the New Testament', Matthew Black and William A. Smalley, *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida*, The Hague: Mouton, 1974, 157-168, citing 159.

Three categories of variants will be considered in respect to Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151: additions and modifications to the text, Arabisms, and affinities with Codex Bezae.

2.2.10.1. Additions and modifications to the text

These are additions and modifications to the basic text that are discerned when comparing it to the Greek text of NA²⁷. Eleven of these were observed.

7:1:1 Arab 151: ‘And the high priest *asked him*’ (ساله)

This first variant is in the opening phrase of the passage, Εἰπεν δε ο αρχιερευσ, ‘and the high priest said’. Arab 151 uses the verb سال (*sa’ala*, ‘to ask’)¹⁸⁵ with the third singular suffix (ه, ‘him’) instead of an equivalent for ειπεν. This agrees with the Peshitta but has no known Greek antecedent. It could be a deliberate change and addition to make the Arabic version clearer by making it explicit who the high priest was addressing, and that he was asking Stephen a question.

7:1:2 Arab 151: ‘Are these *sayings* like this?’ (هل هذا الاقاويل)

This second variant is instead of the phrase, ει ταυτα ουτως εχει, ‘Are these things so?’ The word ‘sayings’ (الاقاويل, *al-aqāwīlu*, ‘sayings’)¹⁸⁶ is different from the Greek ταυτα, ‘these things’. It is also different from the Peshitta which follows the Greek at this point. It appears to be an intentional change to make the Arabic version more idiomatic.

7:2:1 Arab 151: ‘*Then however* he *then* said’ (فاما هو فقال)

This third reading is instead of the phrase, ο δε εφη, ‘and he said’, referring to Stephen’s reply. The Arabic adds two prefixed فَ (fa) connectives and the adversative أَمَّا (‘*ammā*, ‘as for, however’), strengthening the adversarial

¹⁸⁵ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 74.

¹⁸⁶ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 121.

nature of the narrative. This does not agree with the Peshitta which has the simple statement ‘and he said’. These are distinctive Arabic style conventions possibly intentionally added to make the narrative more dramatic.

7:3:2 Arab 151: ‘*that he should go out...*’ (ان اخرج)

This fourth reading occurs with the phrase that in Greek is, ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου, ‘Go out from your land’. This involves two changes. First, the particle ان, (‘*an* ‘that’), is added transforming the direct discourse to indirect discourse. Second, the verb is changed from an imperative to a third singular perfect subjunctive form, اخرج (*akhrāja*, ‘he should go’) which reflects the change to narrative.¹⁸⁷ These are probably changes to cast the conversation between God and Abraham as narrative. This does not agree with the Peshitta, which, like the Greek text, keeps this phrase as direct discourse.

7:4:1 Arab 151: ‘*And then Abraham went out*’. (وحينئذ خرج ابراهيم)

This fifth variant involves three changes to the basic reading, τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων, ‘then going out from the land of Chaldea’. The first change is the addition of the simple connective و (*wa*, ‘and’).¹⁸⁸ Use of connectives is a normal feature of Arabic narrative as in Semitic literature in general. This is probably an intentional addition for the sake of Arabic style.

The second change is the addition of the name Ibrāhīm, the Arabic form for Abraham. This is possibly an intentional addition perhaps to clarify the narrative making the subject more explicit.

The third change is that the phrase is cast as a simple sentence, rather than being a clause subordinate to the following phrase. Instead of a participle (nominative singular masculine, ἐξελθὼν), the Arabic uses a simple third person singular past tense verb, خرج (*kharaja*, ‘to go out’). This is possibly an intentional change to cast the phrase into a simple narrative form. This entire reading with its three changes agrees with the Peshitta, which also adds

¹⁸⁷ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 41.

¹⁸⁸ Wright, *Grammar*, 1:290.

Abraham's name and casts this phrase as a simple sentence instead of a subordinate clause.

7:4:3 Arab 151: 'Then he came' (فجا) is added before 'to dwell in Haran'.

This sixth variant adds three things to the basic phrase, κατακησεν εν Χαρραν, 'he settled in Haran'. The first is connective فَ (fa, 'then'), in narrative. Its main use is to connect two clauses and show that the latter is subsequent to the former in time.¹⁸⁹ The second addition is the verb, جاءَ (jā'a, 'to come'). The third addition is another connective فَ (fa, 'then') which is prefixed to the verb سكنَ (sakana, 'to dwell'). These additions are all ones that make the Arabic narrative more lively and idiomatic.

7:4:3 Arab 151: 'and' (و) is added before 'from there...'

This seventh variant is an addition in the same phrase as the last variant. It is another intentional addition of the connective وَ (wa, 'and') to bring it more into line with norms of Arabic narrative.

7:4:4 Arab 151: 'God' (الله) is added before 'moved him'.

This eighth variant is added to the phrase, μετωκισεν αυτον εις την γην τουτην, 'he moved him to this land. It makes addition of 'God' (الله, Lillāh is spelt where apparently Allāh is intended) before the verb 'to move'. It is an intentional addition to make explicit the implied subject. This agrees with the Peshitta against the Greek text.

7:5:6 Arab 151: 'although he did not have a son' (اذ لم يكن)

This ninth variant is added to the phrase, ουκ οντος αυτω τεκνου, 'while he had no child'. It makes the addition of the conjunction اذ (id, 'when, since') which in this situation has been translated 'although' to fit the context. This

¹⁸⁹ Wright, *Grammar*, 1:291.

addition is an interpretive addition to make this a more complete Arabic narrative. It is also an addition that agrees with the Peshitta.

7:6:1 Arab 151: ‘while saying to him’ (اذ يقول له)

The tenth variant in this category has the addition of the phrase يقول له (*yaqūlu lahu*, ‘while saying to him’) which is added after ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θεος, ‘And God spoke thus’, making it literally, ‘God spoke, saying to him’. It is probably an intentional addition to enhance the style of the Arabic translation. This variant also agrees with the Peshitta against the Greek text.

7:6:5 Arab 151: ‘do evil *to them*’ is added (ويسبون اليه)

This eleventh variant is an addition to the phrase, και κακωσουσιν ετη τετρακοσια, ‘and they will mistreat *them* (إليه, *ilayhi*, ‘to it’)¹⁹⁰ for four hundred years.’ This is the Arabic equivalent of the variant mentioned above in section 2.2.9.2 Additions Involving Typically Non-Western Manuscripts as found in manuscript 33, αυτω being added after κακωσουσιν. This was probably an intentional variant to provide an explicit object to the mistreatment, or it was translated from a manuscript with this reading.

2.2.10.2. Arabisms

These consist of words and turns of phrase common in Arabic but that are not represented in the Peshitta. They demonstrate that Arab 151 was translated in accordance with conventions of Middle Arabic, the dominant literary Arabic of the late ninth/early third century.

7:2:1 Arab 151: ‘Then however he *then* said’ (قال فاما هو ف), *fa ammā huwa fa_ qāla*; ‘then as for him, he said...’). This contains the addition of the connective *fas* in narrative.

7:2:2 Arab 151: ‘O! men, brothers and fathers...’ (يا, *yā*)

¹⁹⁰ The form consists of the separable preposition إلى joined to the third singular suffix • ‘it’ is being used collectively for Abraham’s descendants; Wright, *Grammar*, I:281.

- 7:3:1 Arab 151: ‘and *verily* he said to him’. (هَانُو , *wa innahu*)
- 7:4:2 Arab 151: ‘*Then*’ is added before ‘he came’. (جَاف , *fa jā’a*) This has the addition of the connective *fa* in narrative.
- 7:4:3 Arab 151: ‘*and*’ is added before ‘from there...’ (مَنْو , *waman*) This has the addition of the connective *wa* in narrative.
- 7:8:2 Arab 151: “and Isaac was born to him”. (وَلِدْ لَهُ اسْحَق , *wulida lahu ‘ishaq*). This word order complies with Arabic grammar and is a different order from the Peshitta.

2.2.10.3. Affinities Between Arab 151 and Codex Bezae

It is interesting to note that Arab 151 had more affinities with Codex Bezae in terms of its variants than any other particular Greek manuscript. Bailey notes that one of the early Arabic Gospel manuscripts, Mt. Sinai Arabic 72, also has affinities to Codex Bezae.¹⁹¹ A regional affinity borne through textual transmission gains further plausibility in that Parker constructs a strong argument that Codex Bezae was originally written in Beirut at about AD 400.¹⁹² Arabic Codex 151 then can be taken as confirmation that texts with these readings were circulating in the sphere of the Nestorian churches in the Syrian part of the Abbasid Empire.

- 7:3:2 D: Εξηλθε (third singular second aorist indicative), rather than Εξελθε (second singular second aorist imperative), which is in all other Greek manuscripts (except B).
- 7:3:2 Arab 151: ‘that *he should* go out from your land’ (اخرج) . Follows the readings of B and D with its shift to third person.
- 7:5:3 D, Arab 151: αλλα (غير) rather than και (changing ‘and’ to the contrastive ‘but’ or ‘even though’ or ‘yet’). This follows the Peshitta.
- 7:6:4 D, Arab 151: αυτους (plural) rather than αυτο (singular) ‘they will make *them* slaves.’ Stylistic change. Note the Peshitta has the singular.
- 7:8:2 D: Ισακ rather than Ισαακ
- 7:8:4 D: Ισακ rather than Ισαακ

¹⁹¹ Bailey, ‘Early’, 60.

¹⁹² Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 277.

7:8:2,4 Arab 151: the Arabic spelling for Isaac is ‘*Isḥaq* (اسحق)

2.3. Variants and Intentionality

Throughout the discussion of the textual variants of these manuscripts, comments have been made as to the varying degrees of intentionality or accident which can be discerned. Some general conclusions can be drawn on the basis of this sampling.

2.3.1. Unintentional variants

A sizeable minority of the variants are highly likely to be unintentional. There are many different kinds of inadvertent errors of sight and hearing. There is an apparent concern for accuracy in scribal habits in that many of these were corrected. Also, these were usually easily detected and evaluated because they often resulted in a word form that was nonsensical or had clearly repeated letters or misplaced punctuation.

2.3.2. *Intentional Variants: Stylistic*

Various kinds of intentional changes to the text were observed. Most of these appear to be ones related to improving style or making the narrative more complete and dramatic, as was seen with many of the Western text-type variants.

These kinds of variants were especially evident in the Arabic translation, as one would expect in expressing the meaning of the language of one text in the idiom of the text of another. However, these variants are faithful to the basic meaning of the text in that their enhancements emphasize facets of meaning that are already implicit or explicit in the grammar and syntax of the text, or that can be fairly inferred from the context. The concern is to present the story to the reader accurately and relevantly, not to change the story away from its basic meaning.

2.3.3. *Intentional variants: dogmatic*

One kind of intentional variant has been receiving increased attention in New Testament studies in the last fifteen years is that of ones made to bolster specific doctrines. Ehrman has demonstrated this phenomenon to a limited degree in his book, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*.¹⁹³ A more recent treatment is that of Brogan who argues concerning how Athanasius' citations were introduced into the readings of the correctors of Sinaiticus, and in later Greek manuscripts.¹⁹⁴ Ehrman's work demonstrates changes made to strengthen orthodox interpretations of certain minor verses involved in Christological disputes of the second and third centuries. Brogan's work is broader, comparing Athanasius' readings for the entire Gospels to those of the correctors of Sinaiticus. Both pioneer important textual work.

In considering the possibility of intentional dogmatic changes in the manuscripts surveyed for this portion of Acts, certain limitations need to be understood. First, because of the nature of the passage, there are no verses of Christological import that might be the object of well-intentioned strengthening. It is a rehearsal of Israel's early history in Abraham rather than a section presenting dogmatic views of Christ. Also, this chapter is intended as an introductory survey of variants among manuscripts for the purpose of gaining a sound overview of the kinds of variants present in New Testament texts. This puts an advanced, in-depth study of one manuscript like Codices Sinaiticus or Bezae out of the picture. With these limitations, what kind of potential dogmatic variants can be investigated? One potential area comes to mind.

Since Acts 7:1-8 has so many references to the Old Testament, it would be reasonable to entertain the possibility of a zealous scribe attempting to correct any apparent discrepancies. One possible example of this is seen in 7:3:4, the additional phrase, 'and from your father's house', found in E, 1505, and 2495, the slightly varying forms of 'and from your father's house', which is found in Genesis 12:1. Perhaps the inclusion of this phrase was to correct a perceived failing to quote from Genesis with enough precision.

¹⁹³ Ehrman, *Corruption*.

¹⁹⁴ Brogan, 'Sinaiticus'.

With this possibility in mind, it is interesting to note that there are no signs of attempted correction with the two potential discrepancies mentioned concerning Acts 7:2 with God appearing to Abraham in Haran, and in 7:4 concerning Terah's age when he died. Instead, even these problem texts have been transmitted faithfully, even across languages into Syriac and Arabic. Also, none of the seventeen physical corrections appear to have been made for an intentional dogmatic purpose. Instead, they were to correct obvious mistakes, to correct spelling and grammar, and to make the text conform to another manuscript that a scribe thought was more accurate. None of them were to change the basic facts of the story or to smooth out possible discrepancies. This demonstrates a high concern for accurate transmission.

These observations support what was noted concerning the intentional stylistic changes that the normal scribal practise was to guard the meaning of the text by guarding its words. Metzger's observation, after surveying the spectrum of intentional changes he had encountered, is a legitimate conclusion from what has been observed in these texts,¹⁹⁵

Lest the foregoing examples of alterations should give the impression that scribes were altogether wilful and capricious in transmitting ancient copies of the New Testament, it ought to be noted that other evidence points to the careful and painstaking work on the part of many faithful copyists....Even in incidental details one observes the faithfulness of scribes.

Even with the number and variety of variants seen in this study, the overriding testimony of the manuscripts is to fidelity and care in transmitting the text.

2.4. Variants and Establishing the Autographic Text-form

In examining the textual variants encountered in these manuscripts, analysis was undertaken to understand what bearing they might have on discerning the autographic text-form of Acts. As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, the basic working principle used was which reading best explains the others. If the choice came out evenly balanced, the age and quality of the manuscripts

¹⁹⁵ Metzger, *Text*, Third edn., 206.

involved was considered. This combination of internal and external evidence was applied from a methodological perspective that the basic method of Reasoned Eclecticism is the one that is most likely to achieve balanced and probable results.

After applying these criteria, this writer's conclusion is that the text of NA²⁷ presented the most likely autographic text-form of this passage, except in one place:

7:3:3 B, D: $\epsilon\kappa$ is omitted from the text

NA²⁷ keeps $\epsilon\kappa$ in the text though it notes this omission in the apparatus. On the weight of this manuscript testimony and the more normal convention of not repeating prepositions, this writer considers that $\epsilon\kappa$ was probably not in the autographic text-form. To keep it in, one would be following the dictum to go with the harder reading when the testimony of witnesses is balanced. But since the two earliest manuscript witnesses of this portion of Acts omit it, this writer believes the witnesses are not balanced and that preference should be given to the omission of $\epsilon\kappa$.

Since this is the most questionable variant discerned in this study, and that the others are explainable with appeals to the known conventions of accidental transcription errors, we can see the high degree of uniformity of the text, and the fidelity with which it has been transmitted. Even taking the widest sampling of variants into consideration, the most serious variants did not affect the basic meaning of the text. They did not change it away from the basic storyline or introduce doctrines, ideas, or emphases that were foreign to the sense of the text. Rather, the largest effect of any of the variants was to heighten or increase an emphasis that was already in the text.

It is true that this was a very limited sampling, in regards to the length of text involved, and the number of manuscripts consulted. Also, it was a narrative portion where variants might not have as great an effect. But even with that said, the manuscripts presented a full spectrum of types of variants and also demonstrated a very high degree of agreement and continuity.

2.5. Variants and the Development of Manuscript Traditions

The second major task of textual criticism, after establishing the earliest attainable text-form, is to illustrate the lines of development for a text in its transmission through manuscripts. This is a very difficult task using the manuscripts surveyed. This is because their original provenances are not known, nor any intermediary resting places that they may have occupied where they could have influenced a local textual tradition. This kind of study is still beset by these insurmountable difficulties, though progress is being gradually made. Parker's book on Codex Bezae¹⁹⁶ is an important and standard-setting achievement toward reconstructing the history of a manuscript. But more information is available to draw from for this manuscript than for most others. Other exercises in reconstructing later textual development have been those done concerning New Testament versions in Syriac, Coptic, and other languages. There is still a great amount of work that can be done to examine the development of the New Testament text, especially in Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic, where there is the opportunity for discerning their relationship and influence on the transmission of the Greek text. This chapter has attempted a brief examination of the inter-relationship and chronological development of the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic texts of the New Testament in its examination of variants in Arab 151.

The Arabic text examined in this study was found to demonstrate discernible issues of textual development. First, as a translation, it showed stylistic features that suggested improvements in its Arabic, possibly the sign of it being a revision of an earlier Arabic translation. Second, it showed some affinities to the Syriac Peshitta in word choice and order, but not enough to demonstrate a direct dependence. Third, there were variants in Arab 151 that were in common with Codex Bezae. These were not strong enough to suggest any direct relationship, but they do lend support to the suggestion that the Arabic New Testament manuscripts may have an affinity to the Caesarean text-type, which has features common to both the Western and Alexandrian text-types. Also, Arab 151 provides a witness to the development of

¹⁹⁶ Parker, *Codex Bezae*.

vocabulary across linguistic and religious boundaries. This is seen in the Arabic spelling of the word Ibrahīm for Abraham, a form not attested in writing until the Qur’ān and here being used by a Christian in a Christian manuscript being produced under Islamic rule. Also, the words used for judge/punish, son/child, and lord all could provide evidence of Islamic influence.

2.6. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated the basic methodology of analyzing New Testament textual variants as practised with the methodology of Reasoned Eclecticism. It has exhaustively categorized and analyzed the variants found for Acts 7:1-8 in twenty New Testament manuscripts. It has applied the results of this study to the question of discerning the most probable autographic text-form of Acts 7:1-8. It has also considered these results as they apply to questions of the later development and transmission of the New Testament text, especially as it came to be translated and disseminated into the Arabic speaking world of the ninth century. This study has concluded that the reading set forth in NA²⁷ is, except for one small variant, the most probable reading of the autographic text-form. It has also demonstrated that, even with the large number and kinds of variants encountered, New Testament manuscripts maintain a very high standard of fidelity and continuity in transmitting the text of the New Testament, even across linguistic barriers into translations.

Chapter 3 Qur'ān Analysis

Writing remains but stories disappear.

-Abdulrahman Ben Essayouti, Imam of Timbuktu's Great Mosque¹

3.1. Introduction

As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, whereas textual criticism of early New Testament manuscripts is a well-established discipline, it is still an under-developed one in Qur'ānic studies. This chapter will examine the selected early Qur'ān manuscripts for textual variants, and then analyse the variants using the categories established in the analysis of the New Testament variants in Chapter Two. This is done knowing that there is every possibility that the material available for examination is the product of a long and sustained campaign of suppression of variant material in Islamic history. Jeffery commented about this after recounting many of the incidents in this history:²

In other words, when we have assembled all the variants from these earlier Codices that can be gleaned from the works of the exegetes and philologists, we have only such readings as were useful for purposes of *Tafsīr* and were considered to be sufficiently near orthodoxy to be allowed to survive.

While Jeffery collected variants from Islamic literature and Bergsträsser and Pretzl collected photographs of actual manuscripts, a survey of which variants exist in extant manuscripts was not made. In fact, the only manuscript for which such a survey was made is the Samarkand Kufic manuscript housed in Tashkent. Jeffery and Mendelsohn made a thorough examination of this manuscript from a photographic facsimile and listed its major textual variants.³

¹ 'Libraries in the Desert', *The Economist*, June 2nd 2007, 63.

² Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, Leiden: Brill, 1937, 10.

³ Arthur Jeffery and Isaac Mendelsohn, 'The Orthography of the Samarqand Qur'ān Codex', *JAOS* 62 (1942), 175-195. Informative tables of corrections in the manuscript E20 can be found in the facsimile by Efim A. Rezvan, *The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān*, St. Petersburg: St.

This situation of unexplored Qur'ān manuscripts leaves some questions unanswered. For instance, if this destruction and suppression did take place, what kinds of variants remain? Did any significant variants escape detection and correction? How do the variants compare that can be found in manuscripts to those asserted to have existed in manuscripts and oral transmissions described in Islamic literature? These are questions this analysis will explore.

In addition to the lack of surveys of variants in particular manuscripts, what has been written about Qur'ānic textual variants usually concerns the variants in Islamic literature and the reading systems that contain them, or variants that demonstrate the development of Qur'ānic orthography in Islam's early centuries. This lack was mentioned in Chapter One in regard to the nature of Western language introductions to the Qur'ān. There are very few discussions focused on exploring and classifying the variants that are actually found in manuscripts.⁴ Doubt has been openly expressed by Western scholars as to the usefulness of such an exercise in view of the history within Islam of the early destruction of variant texts, and that extant Qur'ān manuscripts and the Islamic literature concerning textual variants seem to have been similarly purged of controversial variants.⁵ A survey of the major Western introductions to the Qur'ān and specialist books concerning Qur'ān manuscripts confirms this general attitude of doubt.⁶ Some scholars have gone so far as to believe the textual variants described in Islamic literature were all invented to solve exegetical and philological problems with the text of the Qur'ān.⁷ Welch

Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies, 2004, 142-145. A few textual variants are mentioned in the text (pp. 67-68).

⁴ The main sources which discuss variants in manuscripts are Alba Fedeli, 'Early Evidences of Variant Readings in Qur'ānic Manuscripts', Karl-Heinz Ohlig and Gerd-R. Puin, *Die dunklen Anfänge*, Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2005, 293-316; ----, 'A.Perg.2: A Non-Palimpsest and the Corrections in Qur'ānic Manuscripts', *MO* 11 (2005), 20-27; Jeffery and Mendelsohn, 'Orthography'; Alphonse Mingana and Agnes Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves From Three Ancient Qur'āns, Possibly Pre-'Uthmānic*, Cambridge: CUP, 1914; Gerd-R. Puin, 'Observations on Early Qur'an Manuscripts in San'ā', Stefan Wild, *The Qur'an as Text*, Leiden: Brill, 1996, 107-111; Efim A. Rezvan, 'Oriental Manuscripts of Karl Fabergé. I: The Qur'ān', *MO* 7 (2001), 40-61 and Rezvan, *Qur'ān*.

⁵ A. Fischer, 'Grammatisch schweirige Schwur- und Beschwörungsformeln des Klassischen Arabisch', *Der Islam* 28 (1948), 1-105, citing 5-6, note 4.

⁶ Colin F. Baker, *Qur'an Manuscripts*, London: British Library, 2007; Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'an*; Blachère, *Introduction*; Cook, *Koran*; Déroche, *Tradition*; ----, 'Manuscripts of the Qur'ān', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *EQ*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, 3:254-275; Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*; Neal Robinson, *Discovering the Qur'an*, London: SCM Press, 1996; Watt and Bell, *Introduction*.

⁷ Fischer, 'Grammatisch', 5-6.

probably speaks for most where he says that though this may be part of the problem with the Islamic records, the variants reported should not be rejected altogether.⁸

Modern Muslim writers in English do not mention variants in manuscripts except either to acknowledge in a general way that unintentional copyist errors did sometimes occur,⁹ or to assert vigorously and polemically that they are without significance and there is no need to examine early Qur'ān manuscripts.¹⁰ This is ironic when some early Qur'ān scholars openly acknowledged that certain readings in the 'Uthmānic text were the result of scribal errors.¹¹ Also, the medieval Islamic historian Ibn Khaldūn openly attributed problems in the text of the Qur'ān to the lack of writing skills among the Companions who recorded it.¹² But even with these acknowledgements, the official codices prepared at 'Uthmān's command, play no part at all in the Qur'ānic sciences literature, except for frequent and often contradictory mention of the Medina Codex referred to as *al-imām Muṣḥaf 'Uthmān*.¹³ The modern Islamic scholars are apparently following the example of their earlier brethren who did not examine Qur'ān manuscripts. Bergsträsser noted that Qur'ān manuscripts seem to have played no part in Islamic Qur'ān studies since the eleventh/fourth century.¹⁴

The result is that neither Western nor Muslim scholars have done an extensive comparison of variants from a representative sampling of extant Qur'ān manuscripts. This chapter will seek to contribute to this situation by analysing the variants found in 19 early Qur'ān manuscripts and two later texts using a representative portion of text, S. 14:35-41. After the analysis, some

⁸ Welch, 'Kur'ān', 408.

⁹ Al-Azami, *History*, 151, 158. The following introductions do not mention even copyist errors: Denffer, *Ulūm*; Iman, *Readings*; Qadhi, *Introduction*; None of these analyse the texts of actual manuscripts.

¹⁰ Muḥammad Mohar Ali, *The Qur'an and the Latest Orientalist Assumptions*, Suffolk: Jam'iat Ihya' Minhaaj Al-Sunnah, 1999, 8-12; ----, *The Qur'an and the Orientalists*, Suffolk: Jam'iat Ihya' Minhaaj Al-Sunnah, 2004, 267-271.

¹¹ Al-Azami, *History*, 97-99. He states that there were not more than forty characters different between six of the eight copies of 'Uthmān's version that were sent out to major Islamic centres. He lists twelve variants that were differences between 'Uthmān's personal copy and the copy kept at Medinah (p. 98). He is citing Al-Dānī, *al-Muqni' fī ma'rifat marsūm maṣāḥif ahl al amṣār*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulīāt al-'Azhariya, 1978, 112-114.

¹² Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967 2:382.

¹³ Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*, 3:6.

¹⁴ Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*, 3:249.

summary remarks and preliminary conclusions will be presented from the findings.

3.2. Types of Variants in the Qur'ān Manuscripts

The manuscripts surveyed present a range of textual variants covering a spectrum of types. Represented are variants in orthography and spelling, variants that demonstrate the development of a precise Arabic orthography in the early centuries of Islam, and variants that affect the grammar of the passage examined.

3.2.1. Orthographic Variants

Orthographic variants concerning early Qur'ān manuscripts concern the normal conventions of writing the Arabic script. In this thesis, they will be distinguished from variants involving different words or phrases and limited to issues of spelling and letter usage. The former kinds of orthographic variants can be categorised under two headings: those that involve the basic consonantal line of Arabic text (the *rasm*), and the diacritical marks, added to this line of text. Since the majority of the manuscripts examined do not contain the vowelizing marks for the short vowels, comments will be restricted to the diacritical marks used to distinguish similar consonants.

3.2.1.1. Orthographic Variants for *Alif*, *Yā'*, and *Hamza*

It has long been recognised that *alif* and *yā'* were used in ways in the early manuscripts that are no longer practised in Qur'ānic orthography.¹⁵ The usage of these letters is much more variable than any of the other letters of the *rasm*. They are omitted, added, and at times interchanged. The standardisation

¹⁵ A. Mingana describes variants involving these letters in , 'Syriac Influence on the Style of the Koran' reprinted in Ibn Warraq (ed.), *What the Koran Really Says*, Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2002, 183-184. Wright, *Grammar*, 1:11, note †, also notes these conventions concerning *alif* and *yā'*.

of the usage of these letters is one phenomenon that can be observed in manuscripts spanning the first three centuries of Islam.

Also in this early period, various means for notating *hamza* were used culminating in the invention and inclusion of a consonantal form for the letter. At first it was omitted completely; later *alif*, *yā'*, or *wāw* were sometimes used to designate it. Also, dots, often green, were used in some manuscripts to note its pronunciation. Finally, purpose-specific signs were used to designate its position and use. This development can also be observed in the manuscripts under examination. Some of these orthographic variants can affect the meaning of the text. Where this is an issue, it will be discussed in view of the specific variant being considered.

3.2.1.1.1 *Alif*

Variants involving *alif* are the most common variants encountered in the early manuscripts surveyed.¹⁶ The range of variants associated with *alif* is also indicative of the flexibility with which it was used in the earlier stages of Arabic script.

3.2.1.1.1.1. Medial *alif* missing

Beeston, Blau, and Thackston separately note that in early Qur'ānic orthography, *alif* as a rule is not used in the middle of a word.¹⁷ Noja-Nosedá observed this for the manuscript, BL Or. 2165 and lists many of the words for which this is the case.¹⁸ In the passage examined for this study, the following words appear in the manuscripts surveyed without medial *alif*:

¹⁶ Puin, 'Observations', 108. Puin observed this in the Ṣan'ā' manuscripts and it also holds true for the earliest Qur'ān manuscripts in Western collections.

¹⁷ A.F.L. Beeston, T.M. Johnstone, R.B. Serjeant and G.R. Smith (eds.), *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, Cambridge: CUP, 1983, 13; Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of JUDAEO-ARABIC*, Third edn., Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1999, 266, note to p. 124. 9f.b. ff. See also Wheeler M. Thackston, *An Introduction to Koranic and Classical Arabic*, Bethesda: IBEX, 2000, 274.

¹⁸ François Déroche and Sergio Noja-Nosedá, *Sources de la Transmission Manuscrite du Texte Coranique*, Projet Amari, Lesa, Italy: Fondazione Ferni Noja Nosedá Studi Arabo Islamici, 2001, 2.1:XXIV, XXVIII-XXX.

14:35:1 قال (قل) Istanbul, 01-28.1, Or. 2165, BN 326a, BN 328a.

14:35:3 الاصنام (الاصنم) Istanbul, 01-28.1, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332, 333c, 334c, 370a.

14:36:3 عصاني (عصني) Istanbul, 01-28.1, 01-29.1, Or. 2165, BN 326a, 328a, 331, 334c.

However, contrary to Beeston, Blau, and Thackston, the omissions are mostly variable across these manuscripts, and there are words where *alif* is never omitted. For the words cited above, the exceptions are the five earliest Hījāzi manuscripts: Istanbul, 01-28.1, Or. 2165, BN 326a and 328a. These agree in their omission of the *alif*. Also, the Hījāzi manuscript 01-29.1 agrees in two out of three of these. Déroche uses this phenomenon as an indication of the early date of Hījāzi manuscripts.¹⁹ He is also more accurate than Beeston, Blau, or Thackston in describing the omission as a frequent occurrence rather than a normative one.²⁰ A confirmation of this is seen in that all manuscripts surveyed kept the medial *alif* in these words: 14:36:1, الناس ; 14:36:2, فانه ; 14:36:3, فانك ; 14:37:2, بواد ; 14:37:5, الناس ; 14:41:2, الحساب . Déroche also notes that a systematic manner of notating these *alifs* was not established until the late eighth/second century.²¹

3.2.1.1.1.1. In regard to the word قال (قل)

14:35:1 قال (قل) (*Alif* missing in Istanbul, 01-28.1, Or. 2165, BN 326a, 328a. *Alif* present in 01-29.1, 01-20.x, BN 325a, 330a, 331, 332, 333c, 334c, 340c, 343, 370a, Meknes, Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh.)

The first of the three observed instances of the omission of medial *alif* is the one of which the most has been written. Puin called attention to this common phenomenon asserting that an example such as 14:35:1 قال (قل)

¹⁹ Déroche, 'Manuscripts', 3: 257.

²⁰ Déroche, *Tradition*, 29.

²¹ François Déroche, *Le Coran*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005, 39.

presupposes an established oral tradition of correct reading.²² The implication is that in this written form, there could be confusion as to whether or not it was perfect tense or an imperative: ‘He said’ or ‘Say’. In Surah 14:35, however, the context makes it clear that it is perfect in that it is a narrative portion concerning Ibrāhīm. Noja-Nosedá offered this explanation for how the two forms could be distinguished:²³

We may hazard a guess that Arab-speaking peoples in the first age of Islamic preaching distinguished the two forms through the presence of the *wāw* for the perfect tense, while the conjunction was absent in the imperative. A graphical distinction would not therefore have had any distinguishing function—discharged indeed by the *wāw*—within the autochthonous linguistic system.

Al-Azami asserts that this convention is one of shorthand abbreviation, believing there to have been an accompanying oral tradition to clarify the correct pronunciation and grammar. He states that the *alifs* were originally present, then dropped for abbreviation, and then reinstated in the reforms of Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād in the time of al-Ḥajjāj, *circa* the eighth/late first century.²⁴ Noja-Nosedá also suggests omitting alifs may represent an example of abbreviation to save space on an expensive piece of parchment.²⁵ Intentional abbreviation of an understood pronunciation is a valid hypothesis for the omission, but there are some issues that need to be explored. First, there is no written evidence of a more fully written prior text that was then abbreviated. Instead, the earliest available manuscripts have the *alifs* missing. It seems a simpler explanation that omitting the *alif* was a normal convention within a flexible orthography that was later standardised, than that there was a fixed longer text that was abbreviated for economic or practical reasons. Fleisch goes further than regarding it as an existing convention to assert that the notation of the long vowel *ā* by *alif* was an Arab invention and that it was carried out irregularly in the early stages of the development of Arabic script.²⁶

²² Puin, ‘Observations’, 108.

²³ Sergio Noja-Nosedá, ‘Book Review of Makram, Abd al-‘Āl Sālim and ‘Umar, Ahmad Muktār, *Mu‘jam al-Qirā’āt al-Qurānīyah, Ma’a Maqaddimah fī Qirā’āt wa Ashhar al-Qurrā’*,’ *Annali* 58 (1998), 289-291, citing 290.

²⁴ Al-Azami, *History*, 133-134.

²⁵ Déroche and Noja-Nosedá, *BL Or. 2165 facsimile*, 2.1:XXVIII.

²⁶ H. Fleisch, ‘Ḥamza’, *EI2*, III:150-152, citing 150.

That there was some kind of oral tradition accompanying the text is probable, and many scholars assert that the phonetically incomplete text was more an aid to memory than a means to preserve a precise pronunciation in script.²⁷ However, it is impossible to determine if there was one authoritative oral version supporting this written text, for at least the reason that Ibn Mujāhid, in the tenth/third century, was only able to limit the plethora of oral and written recitations of the Qur’ān to seven versions. If one authoritative pronunciation was not known at that time, there is little hope of someone today recovering one from an even earlier time. Also, there is every probability that once a written text was standardised, any existing oral traditions would be conformed to it.²⁸ And in spite of Ibn Mujāhid’s attempt at standardisation of oral and written recitations, because of the deficient nature of the script being used, many competing reading systems did in fact arise.²⁹

Whether it was a convention reflecting a flexible orthography, or a deliberate abbreviation of an already standardised spelling, the net effect remains that in certain places, the omission of the alif allowed for later ambiguity of meaning and precise pronunciation.³⁰ Rippin explores the significance of this simple omission of *alif* in relation to the historical development of the text of the Qur’ān, Islamic dogma concerning the understanding of the Qur’ān as a strictly divine revelation as opposed to a

²⁷ A. Jones expresses the opinion of many in asserting, ‘The defects of the script were of a nature that would be intolerable for a people relying strongly on the written word and placing little importance on oral tradition.’ A. Jones, ‘The Qur’ān - II’, A.F. Beeston, T.M. Johnstone, R.B. Serjeant and G.R. Smith *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge: CUP, 1983, 242.

²⁸ ‘Nevertheless the acceptance of an agreed written version greatly limited the range of accepted alternatives in the oral tradition. Variants had to fall within the possibilities allowed by the textual outline, otherwise they were *shādhah*, “peculiar”. Oral tradition thus became subordinate to the written text, despite the latter’s imperfections.’ Jones, ‘Qur’ān’, 242.

²⁹ Welch, ‘Kur’ān’, 408: ‘During the Umayyad period (661-750/41-132) the ‘Uthmānic text tradition became more and more diverse, and new readings arose combining elements of the ‘Uthmānic and Companion oral and text traditions, especially those of Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ubayy. By early ‘Abbasid times there was such a confusion of readings that it became impossible to distinguish ‘Uthmānic from non-‘Uthmānic ones, or to recover with confidence the “original” ‘Uthmānic text.’

³⁰ An example of this using the word *قل* occurs at S. 21:4 where contextually it could be read either as an imperative or a perfect tense verb. Ibn Mas‘ūd viewed it as an imperative, whereas the Cairo text has it as a perfect. This example was obtained personally from Dr. Gerd R. Puin.

more human production, and implications for the notion of a parallel oral transmission of the text.³¹

Another different type of example may help to indicate what is at stake here. The very last verse (112) of sūra 21 starts “He said [qāla], ‘My Lord, judge according to the truth. Our Lord is the All-Merciful.’” The reference to “My Lord” and “Our Lord” in the text indicates that the subject of “He said” cannot be God but is the reciter of the Qur’ān, in the first place understood to be Muḥammad. Such a passage, in fact, falls into a common form of Quranic speech found in passages normally prefaced by the imperative “Say!” (qul). The significant point here is that in the text of the Qur’ān, the word here translated as “He said” is, in fact, more easily read as “Say!” due to the absence of the long “a” marker (something which commonly happens in the Qur’ān, to be sure, but the word qāla is spelled this way only twice – the other occasion being in Qur’ān 21/4 and that only occurs in some of the traditions of the writing of the text). In the early Sana’a manuscripts, the absence of the long “a” in the word qāla is a marker of an entire set of early texts. But why should it be that this particular passage should be read in the way that it is? It really should read “Say!” to be parallel to the rest of the text. This opens the possibility that there was a time when the Qur’ān was understood not as the word of God (as with “Say!”) but the word of Muḥammad as the speaking prophet. It would appear that in the process of editing of the text, most passages were transformed from “He said” to “Say!” in both interpretation and writing with the exception of these two passages in sūra 21 which were not changed. This could have occurred only because somebody was working on the basis of the written text in the absence of a parallel oral tradition.

The omission of the *alif* in the word قال (قل) most likely demonstrates that the orthography was sufficiently undefined so that the omission of *alif* was not regarded as an error. The omission could also reflect a dialectical difference of pronunciation that was permitted by the flexible orthography. The other two examples of the omission of *alif* can also be explained this way. They can also be indicative of a layer of editing.

³¹ Andrew Rippin, *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practises*, Second edn., London: Routledge, 2001, 30-31.

3.2.1.1.1.2. In regard to the words **الاصنام** (الاصنم) and **عصانى** (عصنى)

14:35:3 **الاصنام** (الاصنم) ‘the idols’ (*Alif* missing in Istanbul, 01-28.1, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332, 333c, 334c, 370a. *Alif* present in 340c, Meknes, Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh.)

The singular form of this noun is **صنم**. The plural form³² is marked by the addition of an initial *alif* and a medial *alif* preceding the last radical.³³ Since the variant form retains the initial *alif* and is clearly a noun form because of the prefixed definite article, and since no other contextual or grammatical explanation offers an alternative explanation for the omission, the omission of the second *alif* probably reflects the transcription of a normal variant of the pronunciation of this plural form, or represents a valid alternative spelling of this word within the allowances of dialectical differences and orthographic flexibility.

14:36:3 **عصانى** (عصنى) ‘And whoso *disobeys me*, still You are indeed oft-forgiving...’ (*Alif* missing in Istanbul, 01-28.1, 01-29.1, Or. 2165, BN 326a, 328a, 331, 334c, 340c. *Alif* present in 01-20.x, BN 325a, 330a, 332, 333c, Meknes, 343, 370a, Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh.)

This word is a verb with a pronominal suffix denoting the object of the verb. The verb is **عصى**, to disobey³⁴ with the first-person suffix **نى**.³⁵ Wright notes that it is an old custom in Arabic to change the final *yā*’ of a word to *alif* when a pronominal suffix is added.³⁶ Since there is no verb with the root **عصن**, and roots with alternative diacritics do not make sense in the context,³⁷ and since the *nūn* serves to join the first person pronominal suffix to the verbal root, the best explanation for the omission of the *alif* is that it represents a valid alternative spelling of this word from the time before such spelling was formally standardised. This could also reflect the transcription of a dialectical or regional pronunciation.

³² It is a ‘broken’ internal plural form of a very common pattern. Peter F. Abboud and Ernest N. McCarus (eds.), *Elementary Modern Standard Arabic*, New York: CUP, 1983, 1:267-270.

³³ Ambros and Procházka, *Dictionary*, 164; Wehr, *Dictionary*, 527.

³⁴ Ambros and Procházka, *Dictionary*, 190; Wehr, *Dictionary*, 618.

³⁵ Abboud and McCarus (eds.), *Arabic*, 1:219.

³⁶ Wright, *Grammar*, 1:11C.

³⁷ **غصن**, ‘to put forth branches’ Wehr, *Dictionary*, 675; and **غضن**, ‘to fold, crease’ Wehr, *Dictionary*, 676; neither of which is attested in the Qur’an.

Jeffery states what is perhaps the majority view concerning the effect on meaning of this kind of variant where he says, ‘Other peculiarities... seem to be nothing more than the natural peculiarities of a scribe working at a time when the minutiae of orthography were not so firmly fixed as they later became.’³⁸ It was mentioned earlier that the Muslim historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406/809) recognized the existence of such orthographic inconsistencies, though he attributed them to the ignorance of the companions of Muḥammad who wrote down the Qur’ān and were not versed in the craft of proper Arabic orthography.³⁹ Though this is anachronistic in assuming a level of orthographic precision greater than is demonstrable for the seventh century, it is an acknowledgement of variable scribal practises in Islam’s first century.

The Iranian scholar Ahmad Pakatchi surveyed various explanations in early grammars to the orthographic differences and stated,

We can conclude apart from differences in the way of justification (symbolism, mystical causes), the (*sic*) most of classical Muslim scholars suggested that the writing of Qur’ānic codices could not be considered as a regular system and supposed to be [the] result of a kind of chaoticity, either referring to transcendent meanings or referring it to illiteracy of the writers. Among the classical scholars, we rarely come across with [an] awareness about the pre-Islamic writing traditions [that] influenced the first writers of [the] Qur’ān.⁴⁰

He goes on to mention how these systems can account for many of the early orthographical irregularities. Here are other variants related to *alif* that can be regarded as examples of a flexible orthography.

3.2.1.1.2. The Dagger Alif

In printed Qur’ān s and manuscript copies, the dagger *alif* is used to represent a received pronunciation that does not precisely match the *rasm*.⁴¹ The stated reason for this alteration was that the editors of the 1924 edition

³⁸ Jeffery and Mendelsohn, ‘Orthography’, 195.

³⁹ Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 2:382.

⁴⁰ Ahmad Pakatchi, ‘The Orthographic Traditions in Early Arabic Writing as Reflected in Quranic Codices’, paper given at the Corpus Coranicum Conference, Berlin, 7-9 November 2005, 2. The words in brackets were added to improve readability.

⁴¹ Adrian Alan Brockett, ‘Studies in Two Transmissions of the Qur’ān’, PhD thesis, University of St. Andrew’s, 1984, 10. Also, Fleisch, ‘Ḥamza’, 150.

wanted to represent more accurately what they thought was the canonical text-form of ‘Uthmān as preserved in Islamic Qur’ān literature from the 3rd to 5th Islamic centuries.⁴² There are other contemporary examples of this in that between the Ḥafs and the Warsh texts in print, there are instances of difference where one will have an *alif* as a full letter on the main line of text, whereas the other will have it represented as a dagger *alif*.⁴³

An early manuscript that contains *alifs* which were added in later in red is manuscript E 20 from St. Petersburg which has recently been reproduced in facsimile form.⁴⁴ Since the 1924 Cairo edition attempts to reproduce the original orthography of ‘Uthmān’s version, it is a valid exercise to compare the *alifs* found in early manuscripts with those of the 1924 edition, to see which are in the *rasm* and which are found as dagger *alifs* in the same edition. When this is done, one finds that there are many places in the 1924 Cairo text where, as one would expect, there is a dagger or small *alif* that is not represented in the early manuscripts as an *alif* on the line of text. However, occasionally, these dagger *alifs* are represented on the line of text in the early manuscripts. This exercise demonstrates two facts: that what is believed to be in the 1924 text as the ‘Uthmānic text-form does not precisely match the earliest available manuscripts, and they and later manuscripts demonstrate a greater flexibility of usage than one might expect.

3.2.1.1.2.1. Dagger *alif* in the 1924 Text Where No Full *alif* is in the Manuscripts⁴⁵

14:35:1 1924: ابراهيم Manuscripts: ابرهيم (all manuscripts)

14:35:2 1924: هذا Manuscripts: هدا (all manuscripts)

⁴² Brockett, ‘Studies’, thesis, 9-10.

⁴³ Brockett refers to these dagger *alifs* as ‘vocal *alifs*’ and gives examples of their use in Ḥafs and Warsh texts as well as between Egyptian, Indian, and Persian Qur’ān manuscript traditions in Brockett, ‘Studies’, thesis, 131-133, 206.

⁴⁴ Rezvan, *Qur’ān*, See p. 66 for the description of these *alifs* and p. 142 line 1 in Table 11 for an example.

⁴⁵ Note that the introduction of the dagger *alif* for all of these words starts in BL Or. 12884. The Warsh text and the Sharīf text both have the dagger *alif* on all of these words, with two exceptions: 1) at 14:37:6, النمر, Or. 12884 has both the dagger *alif* and a full *alif*, الثمرات and the Sharīf text has a full *alif*, and 2) that for the last word in 14:41:1, ولولدى, Or. 12884 has both the dagger *alif* and the full *alif*, and the Sharīf text adds a full *alif*: ولوالدى.

This omission is a common one in the papyri.⁴⁶

14:37:4 1924: الصلوة Manuscripts: الصلوة (all manuscripts)

This is also a common spelling in the papyri.⁴⁷

14:37:6 1924: الثمرات Manuscripts: المرب (all manuscripts except BN 340c, Meknes, Or. 12884, Sharīf)

14:38:2 1924: يخفى Manuscripts: يحفى (all manuscripts)

14:38:2 1924: الله⁴⁸ Manuscripts: الل (all manuscripts)

14:39:1 1924: الله⁴⁹ Manuscripts: الل (all manuscripts)

14:39:2 1924: اسمعيل Manuscripts: اسمعيل (all manuscripts)

14:39:2 1924: اسحق Manuscripts: اسحق (all manuscripts except BN 333c)

14:40:1 1924: الصلوة Manuscripts: الصلوة (all manuscripts)⁵⁰

14:41:1 1924: ولولدى⁵¹ Manuscripts: ولولدى (all manuscripts except 343, Or. 12884, Sharīf)

The issue of the dagger *alif* in Ibrāhīm, Ishāq, and Ismā‘īl will be considered in more detail below in section 3.2.1.2., Orthographic Variants Involving Proper Names.

3.2.1.1.2.2. Full *alif* Present in Manuscripts Where Dagger *alif* is Used in the 1924 Text

14:37:6 1924: الثمرات Manuscripts: الثمرات BN 340c, Meknes, Or. 12884, Sharīf

⁴⁶ Simon Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, Oxford: OUP, 1984, 14.

⁴⁷ Hopkins, *Studies*, 16.

⁴⁸ Note that the introduction of the *shadda* with the dagger *alif* in the orthography for Allah first appears in these manuscripts with BL Or. 12884. The Warsh text has a horizontal *alif* over the *shadda*. The Sharīf text has the *shadda* with the dagger *alif*.

⁴⁹ Note that the introduction of the *shadda* with the dagger *alif* in the orthography for Allah first appears in these manuscripts with BL Or. 12884. The Warsh text has no dagger *alif*, horizontal *fetha*, or *shadda* over this occurrence of Allah. The Sharīf text does have the *shadda* with the dagger *alif*.

⁵⁰ Hopkins, *Studies*, 16 mentions that with this word the *wāw* is pronounced as *alif*.

⁵¹ At this word, BL Or. 12884 has both the dagger *alif* and the full *alif*.

14:39:2 1924 اسحق BN 333c
 14:41:1 1924 ولوالدى Istanbul, 01-29.1, BN 343, Or. 12884,
 Sharīf

3.2.1.1.2.3. Full *alif* Present in Manuscripts Where No *alif* is Present in the 1924 Text

14:38:3 1924 شيء ساءى Istanbul, 01-29.1, Or. 2165, BN 326a, 328a

This is also a frequent spelling variant in the early Arabic papyri.⁵²

3.2.1.1.2.4. Full *alif* and Dagger *alif* Where Only Dagger *alif* is Present in 1924 Text

14:37:6 Or. 12884 الثمرات
 14:41:1 Or. 12884 ولوالدي

3.2.1.1.2.5. Dagger *alifs* that are Present in the Manuscripts, but are not Present as Full *alifs* or Dagger *alifs* in the 1924 Text

In addition to those noted above, Or. 12884 and Sharīf have additional dagger *alifs* both above the consonantal line before full *alifs* and below the line before some *yā*'s used as long vowels. Or. 12884 has more of these than the Sharīf text. It has a dagger *alif* before almost every full *alif* and vowel *yā*'. The Sharīf text has far fewer of both, but there are some of each present.

The point of mentioning these in such detail is to point out 1) that the first fully vocalised texts were at least sometimes vocalised with *more* symbols than the present text, and 2) that the use of the dagger *alif* was a sudden

⁵² Hopkins, *Studies*, 17-18.

innovation in the manuscript tradition.⁵³ Here are examples showing more dagger *alifs* than the present text contains:

14:35:1 1924 قال	Or. 12884 قال
14:35:1 1924 ابراهيم	Or. 12884, Sharīf ابراهيم
14:35:3 1924 واجنبني	Or. 12884, Sharīf واجنبني
14:35:3 1924 الاصنام	Or. 12884 ⁵⁴ الاصنام
14:36:1 1924 كثيرا	Or. 12884, Sharīf كثيرا
14:36:1 1924 الناس	Or. 12884 الناس
14:36:2 1924 تبعني	Or. 12884, Sharīf تبعني
14:36:2 1924 مني	Or. 12884, Sharīf مني
14:36:3 1924 عصاني	Or. 12884, Sharīf عصاني
14:36:3 1924 رحيم	Or. 12884, Sharīf رحيم
14:37:1 1924 اني	Or. 12884, Sharīf اني
14:37:1 1924 ذريتي	Or. 12884, Sharīf ذريتي
14:37:2 1924 بواد	Or. 12884 بواد
14:37:2 1924 ذي	Or. 12884 ذي
14:37:4 1924 ربنا	Or. 12884 ربنا
14:37:5 1924 الناس	Or. 12884 الناس
14:37:5 1924 تهوى	Or. 12884 تهوى
14:38:1 1924 ربنى	Or. 12884 ربننا
14:38:1 1924 نخفى	Or. 12884, Sharīf نخفى
14:38:2 1924 وما	Or. 12884 وما (occurs 2x in this section)
14:38:3 1924 ولا	Or. 12884 ⁵⁵ ولا
14:38:3 1924 السما	Or. 12884 السما

⁵³ Since the Unicode fonts do not support a dagger *alif* below the line of text, a Hebrew symbol *metheg* will be used though it disrupts the connection of the Arabic letters.

⁵⁴ Or. 12884 places the dagger *alif* in this position instead of the normal orthography for *lam-alif*: لا.

⁵⁵ Or. 12884 places the dagger *alif* in this position instead of the normal orthography for *lam-alif*: لا.

14:39:1 1924 الذی	Or. 12884, Sharīf الذی
14:39:1 1924 لی	Or. 12884, Sharīf لی
14:39:3 1924 الدعا	Or. 12884, Sharīf الدعا
14:40:1 1924 اجعلنی	Sharīf اجعلنی
14:40:1 1924 مقيم	Or. 12884, Sharīf مقیم
14:40:2 1924 ذریتی	Or. 12884, Sharīf ذریت
14:40:2 1924 دعا	Or. 12884 دعا
14:41:1 1924 لی	Or. 12884, Sharīf لی

3.2.1.1.3. *Alif where one expects a yā'*

Another example of a variant concerning *alif* and *yā'* is where an *alif* is substituted for a *yā'*. Two instances of this were observed:

14:38:2 1924 علی	01-20.x, BN 332, 333c علا
14:39:2 1924 علی	BN 332, 333c علا

This is a phenomenon that has been noted to occur in early manuscripts for this very word with its final consonant, *alif maqṣūra*, or as Arab grammarians call it “*alif in the form of yā'*” (*alif bi-ṣūratī l-yā'*).⁵⁶ Wright comments concerning the flexibility of usage of these two letters:⁵⁷

It would seem that the early scribes who fixed the orthographical usage made a distinction of sound between *اَ* and *یَ*, pronouncing the former nearly as *ē*; ... On the other hand many manuscripts, even very ancient ones, write *اَ* where the received rules require *یَ*. According to the grammarians *alif maqṣūra* is always written *یَ* in words of more than three letters unless the penultimate letter is *Yā*. In words of three letters, the origin of the final *ā* must be considered; a “converted *Yā*” gives *یَ*, a “converted *Wāw*” gives *اَ*.

⁵⁶ Thackston, *Introduction*, xxii.

⁵⁷ Wright, *Grammar*, I:11, note †.

Wright also notes that the Aramaic form for this article is graphically closer to علا than على.⁵⁸ The presence of the form علا could then be the preservation of an earlier graphical form of the word. Rather than presenting this as an archaic form, al-Azami attributes this to a regional difference of spelling. He also cites the existence of manuscripts where the two different forms are written on the same page of text, showing that they were used interchangeably by the same scribe.⁵⁹ This would indicate that there was a period where both forms were used concurrently and both were viewed as legitimate spellings of this preposition. This view is further supported by the fact that the manuscripts that contain this variant are in the Abbasid style script and date to the seventh-eighth/second-third century. They are not found in the earliest manuscripts available in this particular section of text. It would be worthwhile to check early manuscripts for the occurrences of these forms. For instance, Gibson notes the use of perpendicular *alif* for all occurrences of *alif maqṣūra* in certain ninth and tenth century Arabic New Testament manuscripts.⁶⁰ Hopkins notes that in the papyri, both forms are common, sometimes within the same document.⁶¹

Another support to the idea that they are examples of flexible orthography is that in the context studied, because of their placement in relation to the other words in the sentence, they would be clearly understood as prepositions and could not be confused for verb forms constructed from these same letters, nor for noun or adjectival forms that denote height or a high station.⁶²

In conclusion, this variant is an example of flexible orthography before the precise consonantal line was standardised. There is also the possibility that this is a holdover from the transition from Aramaic characters to Arabic letter forms. It possibly reflects differences of regional pronunciation but in view of

⁵⁸ Wright, *Grammar*, I:280, section 358 (c).

⁵⁹ Al-Azami, *History*, 131-132.

⁶⁰ Margaret Dunlop Gibson (ed.), *An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians with part of the Epistle to the Ephesians from a Ninth Century MS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Studia Sinaitica, London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1894, 6.

⁶¹ Hopkins, *Studies*, 14.

⁶² For instance, the verb علا, 'to be high, lofty, exalted' Penrice, *Dictionary*, 100, or علاء, 'high rank', or علا, 'anvils' (plural form), these last two in Wehr, *Dictionary*, 640.

the lack of solid evidence as to precise regional pronunciations from written sources of this period this can be no more than a possibility to be kept for consideration as and when such evidence becomes available.

3.2.1.1.2. *Yā'*

Another category of orthographic variant observed is concerned with the use of the letter *yā'*. Though the variations concerning its use are not as numerous as with the *alif*, they are more varied than any of the remaining Arabic letters. Hopkins notes concerning the papyri that 'the shortening of long vowels other than *ā* is very rare.'⁶³ Three types of variant were observed. Some of these are also interesting because of their relationship to *alif*.

3.2.1.1.2.1. Omission of *yā'*

14:35:1 إبراهيم (Ibrahim) for إِبْرَاهِيم (Ibrāhīm)

This variant will be considered in detail in section 3.2.1.2.1., Orthographic Variants Involving Proper Names.

14:37:4 لَقِمُوا BN 326a (لِيقِيمُوا) 'in order that they may perform'

In addition to Ibrahim, there is one other occurrence of an omitted *yā'* in the manuscripts surveyed, and it has two of them omitted (the second one is possibly there but is indistinct). This is most likely a copyist mistake since the form without the *yā'*'s would be a verb which does not make sense in the immediate context (لَقِم , *laqama*, 'to gobble or eat quickly'),⁶⁴ for at least two reasons. First, it is not a normal practise to attach prepositions to imperative forms. Second, the particle لِ (*li*) when followed by a subjunctive verb expresses purpose, 'in order that',⁶⁵ and is what is required by the narrative

⁶³ Hopkins, *Studies*, 16.

⁶⁴ Lane, *Lexicon*, لَقِم . Penrice has 'to obstruct', 132.

⁶⁵ Abboud and McCarus, *Standard*, 1:384.

Ibrāhīm is relating to Allah. He had settled some of his offspring by the sacred house so that they could perform the ritual prayer.

3.2.1.1.2.2. *Yā'* inserted for *alif*

As mentioned earlier by Rippin, some scholars view the *yā'* in Ibrāhīm in 14:35:1 as being originally interchangeable with *alif*. Puin views this as a holdover from Aramaic for which the original pronunciation was lost.⁶⁶ Mingana asserted a general rule for this:⁶⁷

The *yā'* [y] as a substitute for the *aliph* is written in all the ancient manuscripts of the Qur'ān in the cases under consideration (proper names and religious vocabulary), and is undoubtedly under Syriac influence.

Puin goes on to assert that if this is so, then in addition to the spelling Ibrāhīm, other anomalies of Qur'anic Arabic are solved concerning the forms of the words for Satan (شيطان, Shaīṭān) and Torah (توراة, Tawraīt),⁶⁸ originally pronounced Sātān and Torāh, which was more in line with Hebrew pronunciation. Fischer also sees an archaic holdover from Aramaic in this phenomenon.⁶⁹ This loss of knowledge of the original pronunciation would then explain the distinctive Islamic pronunciations which are read according to the rules of Classical Arabic that developed later. Fedeli observes this phenomenon of the *ā* being written with *yā'* as a normal orthographic convention in some early Qur'ān manuscripts,⁷⁰ as also does Blachère.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, Karl-Heinz Ohlig and Gerd-R. Puin, 'Neue Wege der Koranforschung', http://www.uni-saarland.de/mediadb/profil/veroeffentlichungen/ffmagazin/1-1999/Neue_Wege.pdf, accessed 31 October 2005, 40.

⁶⁷ Alphonse Mingana, 'Syriac Influence on the Style of the Koran', in Ibn Warraq, *What the Koran Really Says*, Amherst, New York: Prometheus, 2002, 171-192, citing 184.

⁶⁸ Graf von Bothmer, Ohlig and Puin, 'Neue Wege', 40.

⁶⁹ Fischer, *Grammar*, 7.

⁷⁰ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 12.

⁷¹ Blachère, *Introduction*, 91.

3.2.1.1.2.3. *Alif maqṣūra* dotted as *yā'*

In section A.1.a.3 above *alif maqṣūra* was discussed where its pronunciation as *ā* in manuscripts is represented by an *alif*. This section discusses the opposite tendency, when its pronunciation is closer to *ī* and is then represented by a fully dotted *yā'*. This phenomenon occurs in only one of the manuscripts surveyed, Paris BN 325a. In this portion of text it occurs four times, or at every instance of an *alif maqṣūra*. Here are the occurrences in BN 325a:

14:38:2 يخفي ^ا على	BN 325a يخفي علي
14:38:3 شيء	BN 325a شي
14:39:2 على	BN 325a علي

No explicit comments could be found in the grammars consulted concerning this phenomenon. Perhaps this was an early way of denoting the diphthong *ai*, often marked later in later manuscripts by a *sukūn* (°) and inserted over letters of prolongation and *alif maqṣūra*.⁷² Or, since it is found mainly in an eighth/second century manuscript, perhaps it reflects an early regional pronunciation that the scribe wanted to make explicit. A third possible explanation is that it represents a temporary orthographic convention that sought to attach dots to all *yā'*'s in the text. A fourth hypothesis is that perhaps it is characteristic of a now lost form of recitation of the text. A fifth hypothesis is that a later scribe added the dots with more zeal than knowledge, but the dots seem to have been written at the same time as the main line of text using the same colour ink and the same width of reed pen.

In view of the lack of conclusive evidence, perhaps the best hypothesis is that it represents a regional pronunciation at an early time when pronunciation, orthography, and grammar had not yet been standardised to a degree to prevent this. It cannot easily be regarded as a scribal error because of its consistent usage in the passage. The consistency of the occurrence of the dots argues for it to be an intentional and understood convention for the scribe

⁷² Wright, *Grammar*, 13, section 10.

who wrote the manuscript and possibly for his geographic location, wherever that may have been. Overall, it would seem to be another example of a higher level of flexibility in the orthography of the Qur'ān in this early period than came to be the case later.

3.2.1.1.3. *Ḥamza*

All of the early manuscripts featured in this study are notable for the complete absence of the letter *ḥamza*.⁷³ This is a distinctive feature of early Qur'ān s in general,⁷⁴ and it is widely acknowledged that the letter *ḥamza* was an innovation to Arabic orthography well after the time of the earliest Muslims.⁷⁵ In the manuscripts surveyed for this study *ḥamza* makes its first appearance as a distinct letter in BL Or. 12884, which dates at the earliest to the late tenth/third century. It is often asserted that the omission is due to the early orthography being based on the Arabic dialect used in Mecca at the time of Muḥammad which had no glottal stops.⁷⁶ Fischer states that as a rule, *ḥamza* was not pronounced either within a word or in final position, but only at the beginning of a word.⁷⁷ When it occurred at the beginning of a word it was written with an *alif*.⁷⁸

Fischer and others recognize, though, that occasionally it was represented by *waw* and *ya'* in the medial and final positions.⁷⁹ Puin observes that medial and final *alif* sometimes represented the glottal stop,⁸⁰ and Wright also asserts that occasionally medial *yā'* acted as a *kursī*, or 'chair' for *ḥamza*.⁸¹ However, when compared with the modern text, not all places that currently have *ḥamza* are represented in the early texts as having it, even accounting for the places where it is represented by *alif* or *yā'* or *waw*.⁸² Only two early

⁷³ All manuscripts prior in date to Or. 12884.

⁷⁴ Blachère, *Introduction*, 152; Qadhi, *Introduction*, 141.

⁷⁵ Jones, 'Qur'ān', 243.

⁷⁶ Chaim Rabin, 'The Beginnings of Classical Arabic', Ibn Warraq, *What the Koran Really Says*, Amherst, New York: Prometheus, 2002, 211-227, citing 217; Thackston, *Introduction*, 275; Welch, 'Kur'ān', 400; Wright, *Grammar*, I:72, note.

⁷⁷ Fischer, *Grammar*, 6, 9.

⁷⁸ Fischer, *Grammar*, 9.

⁷⁹ Fischer, *Grammar*, 6.

⁸⁰ Puin, 'Observations', 109.

⁸¹ Wright, *Grammar*, I:72, note.

⁸² Blachère, *Coran*, 151.

manuscripts possibly represented it with an *alif* and one with a *yā'*.

Most of the occurrences of the glottal stop in the passage surveyed involved initial *alif*.⁸³ A few that do not, however, are worth mention.

37:5	دءءاف	Sharīf, Warsh, Cairo
	افده	Istanbul, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332, 333, 334c, 340c, 343, 370a, Meknes
	افاده	01-28.1, 01-29.1
	افيده	Or. 12884

In the modern text, a *ḥamza* is inserted between the *fā* and the *dāl* without there being a support, or *kursi*, for it. Or. 12884 is the earliest manuscript surveyed which includes a *ḥamza* at this point in the text. To do so, it has an inserted *yā'* (dotted as a *yā'*) as a *kursi*, and it has its symbol for *ḥamza* positioned over the *yā'* (افدة). The modern text uses the earlier orthography in omitting the *yā'-kursi* but it adds the *ḥamza* over a *tatwīl* (an elongation of the connecting line between the *fā'* and the *dāl*), which is in the place where the *kursi* would have been placed (دءءاف). The Sharīf text uses the same convention as the modern text in omitting the *yā'-kursi*, and the Warsh does as well, though it marks the *ḥamza* under the *tatwīl* rather than over it. Or. 12884 has another peculiarity in that each occurrence of *yā'-kursi* is consistently pointed with two dots as a normal *yā'*, a phenomenon which is not normative in classical Arabic orthography,⁸⁴ nor does it occur in the modern text. This phenomenon does however appear in the ninth century papyri, which precede this particular Qur'ān text by a century.⁸⁵ Two very early texts (01.28-1 and 01.29-1) possibly mark *ḥamza* with an *alif*. I say 'possibly' because one cannot be certain these were pronounced as *ḥamza* or *alif*.

The next five usages occur as clarifications of pronunciation. Since the original pronunciation in the Meccan dialect did not have internal and final

⁸³ 18 occurrences in Surah 14:35-41. An additional 18 are assimilated into *wasla* or *madda*.

⁸⁴ Fischer, *Grammar*, 10.

⁸⁵ Hopkins, *Studies*, 26.

glottal stops, the later ‘philologists, based on their analysis of other dialects, “restored” the glottal stop where they determined it should have been.’⁸⁶

38:3	شئىء	Sharīf, Warsh, Cairo
	شأى	Istanbul, 01-29.1
	السماء	Sharīf, Warsh, Cairo
	السما	01-20.x
39:3	الدعاء	Sharīf, Warsh, Cairo
40:2	دعاء	Sharīf, Warsh, Cairo
41:2	وللمؤمنين	Cairo

For شئىء and السماء in 14:38:3, Istanbul and 01-20.x apparently used a final *alif* to represent *ḥamza*. 01-20.x also apparently uses a *yā'* for an *alif*. The more modern manuscripts all used the conventional symbol for *ḥamza*. In addition to the letters *alif* and *yā'* on the consonantal line sometimes being used in lieu of *ḥamza* before they were used for supports in classical Arabic orthography,⁸⁷ a convention was adopted in the late 700s/100s and early 800s/200s in some manuscripts of using various systems of red, yellow, orange, blue, gold and green dots to mark particular vowel patterns, variant readings and the placement of *ḥamza s*.⁸⁸ Dutton has observed that *ḥamza s* are notated with a variety of coloured dots- red, green, yellow, blue, and with other added marks as well.⁸⁹ Wright also notes the conventions of using coloured dots and other marks to denote *ḥamza* in early Qur’ān manuscripts.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Thackston, *Introduction*, 275.

⁸⁷ Wright, *Grammar*, 1:72-73, note.

⁸⁸ Yasin Dutton, ‘Red Dots, Green Dots, Yellow Dots, Blue’, *JQS* II (2000), 1-24 here 11-14.

⁸⁹ Dutton, ‘Dots II’, 11-14.

⁹⁰ Wright, *Grammar*, 17. Note however, that the convention Wright describes of *ḥamza* being represented by the doubling of vowel points was not observed in any of the manuscripts surveyed for this study.

Dutton has made the most thorough study of these systems of dots to date, seeking to decipher the systems in use during this early period. Though he has demonstrated that these dots were used in systematic and ingenious ways to communicate a wide variety of information, he recognizes that there is still much study to be done to isolate and clarify the different systems of the usage of these dots.⁹¹ The various systems of dots used in some of the manuscripts in this study have not been interpreted since they mainly use red dots used to mark short vowels.⁹² Also, since the systems of the use of these dots are so varied, and because this study is mostly concerned with textual variants to the consonantal line of text, it is enough at this point to lay out the overall picture of the conventions for *ḥamza* in this period. This is, however, an important area for future study in Qur'ān manuscripts.

Hopkins helpfully summarizes the conventions surrounding the use and non-use of *ḥamza* in the earliest dated papyri, and on the basis of observations made in this study in especially the Hījāzi Qur'ān manuscripts they can be said to work within the same conventions. He states (CA standing for Classical Arabic):⁹³

For all practical purposes it can be stated quite plainly that in the language of the early papyri *ḥamza*, the glottal stop, barely exists, being weakened to such an extent as to be either disregarded completely (usually in those cases where in CA *ḥamza* has no *kursī*), or absorbed into the categories of words containing w or y. This is a phenomenon common to all non-Classical varieties of Arabic. Exceptions to this state of affairs are rare indeed; the sign for *ḥamza* is extremely uncommon in these texts, and as it occurs (so far as I have noticed) almost exclusively in the late or literary papyri, it seems not unreasonable to regard it mainly as an intrusion from the CA tradition. Accordingly, I tend to believe that the absence of *ḥamza* in these documents is better interpreted not as an innovation, but rather as an inherited feature, continuing the situation prevailing in those dialects of Old Arabic which formed the basis of the CA orthography. The latter, as is well known, reflects a variety of the language which had already lost the glottal stop. The few attempts to indicate the glottal stop by

⁹¹ See Yasin Dutton, 'Red Dots, Green Dots, Yellow Dots & Blue: Some Reflections on the Vocalisation of Early Qur'anic Manuscripts - Part I', *JQS* I (1999), 115-140, and Dutton, 'Dots II', 15.

⁹² These manuscripts contained systems of red coloured dots of varying complexity: Istanbul, BN 325a, 333c, 334, 340c, 343, and 370a. The Meknes manuscript also has coloured dots but the colours can not be distinguished in the black and white photos obtained for this study.

⁹³ Hopkins, *Studies*, 19-20.

means other than the *ḥamza* sign are also either quite late, or confined to literary texts, again suggesting the influence of CA.

Concerning the different consonantal letters used to designate *ḥamza*, their use as a *ḥamza* can usually be easily discerned and so they do not affect the meaning of the text to a significant degree. They do, however, demonstrate an important issue in the historical development of the orthography of the text concerning the representation of the glottal stop. The use of various systems of dots or other marks, together with the invention and inclusion of *ḥamza* as a distinct letter achieved two things: 1) it made the text more precise phonetically so that a possibly understood pronunciation was made explicit, and 2) it institutionalized a particular dialect's pronunciation as the standard Qur'ānic pronunciation. The institutionalized pronunciation was the Eastern Arabian pronunciation, rather than the Western one.⁹⁴

3.2.1.2.1. Orthographic Variants Involving Proper Names

Textual variants concerning the spelling of proper names are a recognised phenomenon in textual studies. In this survey, three names were found to have spelling variants, Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl and Ishāq. It is interesting to note that even the modern text contains the two consonantal spellings for Ibrāhīm that are found in the earliest manuscripts though the situation in the earliest texts is much more variable than the current text.⁹⁵ The variability of the spelling of Qur'ānic proper names is a relatively unexplored area of study.

Here are the variants observed for the three names from the sample passage:

14:35:1	إبراهيم	Ibrahim	Istanbul, Or. 2165, BN 326a, BN 328a,
14:35:1	إبرهيم	Ibrahīm	01-28.1, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, BN 325a, 332, 333c, 334c, 340c, 343, BN 370a, Meknes
14:35:1	إبراهيم	Ibāhīm- dagger <i>alif</i>	Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh

⁹⁴ Wright, *Grammar*, 72-73. Hopkins, *Studies*, 20, note 5, lists sources discussing the Eastern and Western dialectal differences. This correction of dialect is also the conclusion expressed in the article 'Ḥamza', by H. Fleisch in *EI2*, III:152.

⁹⁵ Surah 2 in the standard text has إبراهيم. All other parts of the current text have إبرهيم.

14:39:2 اسمعل Ismā‘īl 01-28.1, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332c, 333c, 334c, 340c, 370a, Meknes

14:39:2 اسمعل Isma‘īl- no yā’ Istanbul

14:39:2 اسمعل Ismā‘īl- dagger *alif* Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh

14:39:2 اسحق Ishāq Istanbul, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332, 332c, 334c, 340c, 370a, SamK, Meknes

14:39:2 اسحاق Ishāq- full *alif* BN 333c

14:39:2 اسحق Ishāq- dagger *alif* Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh

3.2.1.2.1.1. 14:35:1 ابرهم (Ibrahim) and ابرهم (Ibrahīm) for ابراهيم (Ibrāhīm)

14:35:1 Or. 2165, BN 328a, BN 326a, Ibrahim (ابرهم)

14:35:1 BN 325a, 332, 333c, 334c, 340c, Meknes, 343, BN 370a, Ibrahīm (ابرهم)

14:35:1 Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh, Ibāhīm- dagger *alif* (ابراهيم)

These spellings raise two issues: the omission of the *alif* represented in the standard text by a dagger *alif*, and the omission of the *yā’*. Concerning the omission of *alif*, a question arises: was the pronunciation of *alif* as long *ā* understood but not written as the dagger *alif* implies, or was the original pronunciation a short ‘a’ sound? Wright’s view is that the long *ā* was understood but not written, and was later represented with a *fetha*, but with the *fetha* representing the long *ā* sound, not the short ‘a’ as it normally does.⁹⁶

This, however, seems to be anachronistically assuming that the later pronunciation of Ibrāhīm must have been used during the period of these early manuscripts. Hopkins’ work in examining the grammar observed in the early

⁹⁶ Wright, *Grammar*, 9.

Arabic papyri and the Greek transliterations of Arabic words demonstrates that in the papyri at least, such an assumption cannot be made.⁹⁷ He makes the observation repeatedly that the Arabic in the papyri seems to have resembled the pronunciation of dialects rather than Classical Arabic.⁹⁸ Since the script of the Hījāzi manuscripts most closely resembles the script of the early papyri, it is reasonable to suggest that the same conventions of pronunciation reflected in the papyri applied to the early Qur’ān manuscripts as well.

Hopkins makes the observation that the omission of the medial *alif* in the names of Ibrāhīm, Ishāq, and Ismā‘īl occurs commonly in the early Arabic papyri.⁹⁹ This writer has observed that the medial *alif* was always omitted in these names in the early Hījāzi manuscripts used for this study. It is also noticeably added in later in some Hījāzi manuscripts and many of the early Abbasid manuscripts.¹⁰⁰ What does their addition signify? Are they corrections of copyists’ mistakes? Are they representative of a regional pronunciation? Do they represent the act of making the script explicitly inscribe a pronunciation that was understood, perhaps for the convenience and instruction of non-native Arabic speakers? Or do they represent efforts to impose one pronunciation whereas before there might have been flexibility for accommodating more than one pronunciation?

A theological/ideological reason has also been suggested that this represents the implementation of a distinctly ‘Islamic’ pronunciation of these names in order to move their pronunciation away from Christian or Jewish precedents.¹⁰¹ They are almost certainly not corrections of copyist mistakes because of the regularity of their occurrence. A final answer probably lies among the remaining options and possibly is a combination of them.

The second variant, the presence or omission of the *yā’*, also raises questions. Does the omission of *yā’* in Ibrāhīm’s name represent a normal

⁹⁷ Hopkins, *Studies*, 1-2.

⁹⁸ For example, see Hopkins, *Studies*, 4-5, how the pronunciation of *imāla* and *taltala* were more similar to modern dialects than to the formal rules of Classical Arabic.

⁹⁹ Hopkins, *Studies*, 11-13.

¹⁰⁰ The full *alif* can be found in the Surah 2 portion of BN 343, at 26:69 in San‘ā’ manuscript: 01-18-10, 115.3, line 14; at 53:37 in San‘ā’ manuscript: 17-21-1, 93.2 line 4; and at 87:19 in San‘ā’ manuscript: 16-20-2, 96.4 line 10, and 87:19 in San‘ā’ manuscript: 12-16-1, 111.4, line 4, where both look as if the *alif* were added in black at a later time; and added in red at 3:33 in San‘ā’ manuscript: Showcase 32, 87, line 4-5. All of these occurrences of *alif* occur in either tenth/third century manuscripts or as later scribal additions to early manuscripts.

¹⁰¹ Graf von Bothmer, Ohlig and Puin, ‘Neue Wege’, 39.

orthographic convention in early Arabic? Or is its inclusion or exclusion in the early manuscripts indicative of a flexible orthography? When it is present, is it also a possible marker of the transition from an Aramaic predecessor to an established Arabic spelling and pronunciation of this patriarch's name in that it was once considered an *alif*?

Haleem asserts that in Surah 2, where this omission occurs in every occurrence of Ibrāhīm's name in the currently accepted text,¹⁰² it suggests a special reading that is an allowable convention when a noun has a weak third radical and is in the nominative or genitive case.¹⁰³ This however seems inadequate to explain why in the current text it occurs in every occurrence of the name in Surah 2 but in none of the other occurrences of Ibrāhīm in the Qur'ān. Also contrary to Haleem's reasoning, Von Denffer, referring to both as-Suyūfī and Ibn Abī Dāwūd, mentions that in the *mushaf* of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in Surah 2, Ibrahim was read rather than Ibrāhīm.¹⁰⁴ Also, it is insufficient since the omission occurs in early Qur'ān manuscripts in many locations outside of Surah 2. Haleem's argument is also insufficient in that in many of the early manuscripts, in Surah 2 the *yā'* is present. Some of the early manuscripts use both versions of Ibrāhīm's name, even within the same surah and even on the same line of text.¹⁰⁵

If this convention of omitting the *yā'* in Ibrāhīm in Surah 2, while preserving it in the rest of the Qur'ān in the 1924 Cairo text, is thought to present the archaic spelling conventions of the 'Uthmānic *rasm*, it fails in that the earliest available manuscripts present a more variable situation than what is presented in the current text. There are not two standard archaic spellings observable only in certain surahs. Rather, there are two spellings which seem

¹⁰² Surah 2: 124, 125 (2x), 126, 127, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 140, 258 (3x), 260. All other instances of this name in the 1924 Cairo text contain the *yā'*.

¹⁰³ M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, 'Qur'ānic Orthography the Written Representation of the Recited Text of the Qur'ān', *The Islamic Quarterly* XXXVIII (1994), 171-192. citing p. 4 of the online version at <http://www.islamic-awareness.org/Qur'an/Text/Scribal/haleem.html>, accessed 7 June 2006.

¹⁰⁴ Denffer, *Ulūm*, 50. However, Jeffery, *Materials*, 211, cites Ibn Abī Dāwūd as listing Ibrāhīm for this variant.

¹⁰⁵ The Samarkand Kufic Qur'ān has both spellings in the same manuscript, and has both spellings within Surah 2. BL Or. 2165 has both spellings within the same manuscript, though within surahs spellings are kept consistent. BN 328a contains both spellings and has both within S. 6. BN 331 has both spellings and has both within S. 2. UNESCO CD, manuscript 85, dated to the seventh-eighth/first-second century, has both spellings even on the same line of text: S. 11:69 and 74- *yā'* is omitted, 11:75, 11:76 *yā'* is present. See the table in Appendix L to observe the exact readings in these surahs.

to have been used interchangeably. This is perhaps different from what was found in the papyri. Hopkins cites only one example of medial *yā'* being omitted and it is not in the name Ibrāhīm.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps the occurrences he observed of this particular name all included the medial *yā'*.

There is also evidence that in the earliest available manuscripts, the copyists were faithfully copying a variable spelling convention that at their time was not yet standardized to one spelling; that is, they were not using their own conventions of spelling but were preserving an existing variable situation from an earlier period of transcription. This is seen in that two of the very earliest manuscripts available, BL Or. 2165 and Paris BN 328a, agree in their patterns of the variant spellings of Ibrāhīm across portions of the Qur'ān that they have in common.¹⁰⁷ This is significant in view of Dutton's assertions that these two manuscripts are of the same provenance: Umayyad Syria from the late seventh or early eighth century/late first or early second,¹⁰⁸ and representative of the same Qur'ān recitation of Ibn 'Āmr.¹⁰⁹ Both of these manuscripts, in presenting duplicate transcriptions of the variable spellings, present evidence that at least some of the texts at this early time were presenting an already fixed *rasm* which incorporated even these spelling peculiarities. Also, both spellings must have been considered acceptable since they were so carefully preserved. This is evidence at the very least for an acknowledged degree of flexibility of spelling of the name of Ibrāhīm in this early period. Since these two spellings also involve a change to the *rasm*, the possibility that they present evidence for flexibility of pronunciation cannot be discounted. Perhaps this variation represents a regional spelling and/or pronunciation issue since other early manuscripts do not agree at these points.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Hopkins, *Studies*, 16-17.

¹⁰⁷ These are at S. 9:70 where *yā'* is present, 14:35 where *yā'* is omitted, and 15:51 where *yā'* is present.

¹⁰⁸ Yasin Dutton, 'Some Notes on the British Library's 'Oldest Qur'an Manuscript' (Or. 2165)', *JQS* VI (2004), 43-71 citing 66;----, 'An Early *Mushaf* According to the Reading of Ibn 'Āmir', *JQS* III (2001), 71-90 citing 84.

¹⁰⁹ Dutton, 'Notes', 43.

¹¹⁰ At 9:70, the Samarkand Hijāzi manuscript has *yā'*. At 14:35 BN 325a, and 332, both dated to the second century AH contain the *yā'*. BN 326a, an eighth/second century manuscript omits it. See the chart of the usage of medial *yā'* in Appendix L for more examples.

Haleem's explanation also seems insufficient when one observes that a noun with a similar ending, الرحيم (14:36:3), appears in all the manuscripts surveyed as containing the *yā'*. Scholars in other disciplines have noticed that the spelling of proper names can be quite variable.¹¹¹ It is reasonable to speculate that in the transition from Syriac to Arabic, or across the various geographical and ethnic groupings within the early Islamic empire, there could have been a period of time when the pronunciation and spelling of this name was flexible to a small degree, and that this variability came to be represented in the earliest manuscripts.

Taking both variants together, Jeffery suggests an etymological development behind the Arabic form that recognized problems with the final Arabic form.¹¹² He cites Abraham's name and mentions that the medieval Arabic hadith and fiqh expert, an-Nawawī (d.1278/676), as listing five variant spellings for the name: ابرهَام (Ibrahām), ابراهيم (Ibrāhīm), ابرهم (Ibrahim), ابراهم (Ibrahim), and ابرهُم (Ibrahum). In the manuscripts surveyed for this thesis and the extra manuscripts consulted for this word study, none contained the first variation.¹¹³ Only a very few of the extra manuscripts consulted contained the second example and many of them have the *alif* added later in red or black, and then later manuscripts by adding a dagger *alif* (Or. 12884, Sharīf and Warsh).¹¹⁴ The last three variant spellings in an-Nawawī's list all share the same consonantal form as found in Istanbul, Or. 2165, BN 328a, and BN 326a. These three, depending on the respective grammatical contexts, could be equally legitimate ways of pronouncing the basic line of text.

¹¹¹For a thorough investigation of this in the Hebrew Bible manuscript tradition, see James Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1986, Oxford: OUP, 1989.

¹¹² Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, 45.

¹¹³ It was also not observed in any additional manuscripts consulted for their conventions for spelling Ibrāhīm.

¹¹⁴ The full *alif* can be found in the Surah 2 portion of BN 343, at 26:69 in San'ā' manuscript: 01-18-10, 115.3, line 14; at 53:37 in San'ā' manuscript: 17-21-1, 93.2 line 4; and at 87:19 in San'ā' manuscript: 16-20-2, 96.4 line 10, and 87:19 in San'ā' manuscript: 12-16-1, 111.4, line 4, where both look as if the *alif* were added in black at a later time; and added in red at 3:33 in San'ā' manuscript: Showcase 32, 87, line 4-5. All of these occurrences of *alif* occur in either tenth/third century manuscripts or as later scribal additions to early manuscripts.

The other available collection of textual variants for the Qur'ān taken from the secondary Islamic Qur'ān literature, the *Mu'jam*,¹¹⁵ asserts some other early variant spellings and/or pronunciations of Ibrāhīm.

In effect, only two spellings of Ibrāhīm are present in the earliest available manuscripts, ابرهم (Ibrahim) and ابرهيم (Ibrahīm), and this second one does not seem to have been recognized by the early Islamic philologists cited by Jeffery. Perhaps this is an indication that their discussions were conducted with the oral transmissions of the text in view rather than by comparing the readings from multiple manuscripts.

In view of these disparities in the early manuscript tradition, Jeffery's assertion seems overly confident that, 'The form (Ibrāhīm) would thus seem to be due to Muḥammad himself, but the immediate source is not easy to determine.'¹¹⁶ Perhaps an oral pronunciation of this form can be attributed to Muḥammad,¹¹⁷ but the full written form which includes both the *alif* and the *yā'* does not appear in the manuscript tradition until at least the early tenth/third century and it does not become a regular feature of the manuscript tradition until the reforms of Ibn Mujāhid in the mid-tenth/third century. Without this full form, various pronunciations are possible, and were evidently used.

Some scholars assert that the occurrence in the early manuscripts of variant forms of Ibrāhīm are scribal errors. Puin states that since the Islamic 'readings' literature acknowledges these kinds of variants, the ones that appear in manuscripts are usually explained as scribal errors.¹¹⁸ Al-Azami, a contemporary Muslim scholar and polemicist, dismisses such variants by stating,

But if any scrap of parchment falls into our inquisitive hands and, despite our best allowance for orthographic differences, fails to slip

¹¹⁵ Abd al-ʿĀl Sālim Makram and Ahmad Mukhtār ʿUmar, *Mu'jam al-Qirā'āt al-Qurānīyah, Ma'a Maqaddimah fī Qirā'āt wa Ashhar al-Qurrā'*, Third edn., Cairo: ʿĀlam al-Kitāb, 1997.

¹¹⁶ Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, 45.

¹¹⁷ Margoliouth makes the assertion that the rhyme in S. 21:20, 22 (S. 21:21, 23 Fluegel's numbering) requires Ibrahīm, rather than Ibrahim. David S. Margoliouth, 'Textual Variations in the Koran', *MW* 15 (1925), 334-344 citing 342, reprinted in Ibn Warraq (ed.), *The Origins of the Koran*, Amherst: Prometheus, 1998, 160.

¹¹⁸ Graf von Bothmer, Ohlig and Puin, 'Neue Wege', 38.

comfortably into the ‘Uthmāni skeleton, then we must cast it out as distorted and void.¹¹⁹

Rippin cites another current example of this kind of thinking. It attributes such textual variants in the San‘ā’ manuscripts to be copyist errors which precipitated the manuscripts being discarded in the first place.¹²⁰ Though this is an explanation that cannot be dismissed out of hand, Rippin remarks that ‘the existence of a consistent pattern of the writing of Arabic as in this case of using the internal *yā*’ to represent a long “a” seems to suggest otherwise because of the very consistency of the usage in the manuscripts.’¹²¹ This is confirmed by the manuscripts which present multiple examples of the two different spellings. There are too many examples for them to be attributed to scribal mistakes when the surrounding portions of text in these manuscripts demonstrate such care in copying. This is also true for the consistency of the omissions of *alif*, and the few places where *alif* is added by a later scribal hand. Also, even though there are two main spellings of *Ibrāhīm*, and that both spellings occur sometimes in the same manuscripts, the frequency and patterns of their occurrences argue against scribal error and actually argue for scribal care in reproducing the early flexibility of orthography as regards the spelling of *Ibrāhīm*.

This writer found that the two spellings for *Ibrāhīm* encountered in these manuscripts are also found at various places in all of the *Ḥijāzi* manuscripts surveyed as well as some early Kufic manuscripts.¹²² There are two explanations for this phenomenon. The first is that they point to a flexibility of pronunciation of the long vowels in early Arabic and an equally flexible orthography to represent them. The second is that, at least with some proper names, these variants are indicative of archaisms that survived from the transition from Syriac spelling and pronunciation to a distinctive Arabic representation and pronunciation of these names. Mingana asserted that many Qur’ānic names are traceable to Syriac rather than Hebrew or Greek

¹¹⁹ Al-Azami, *History*, 205.

¹²⁰ Andrew Rippin, *The Qur'an and its Interpretative Tradition*, Variorum Collected Studies, Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2001 xvi.

¹²¹ Rippin, *Qur'an*, xvi.

¹²² See Appendices K and L for charts listing the various spellings encountered in the manuscripts surveyed.

precedents, especially mentioning Ishāq and Ismā‘īl.¹²³ Rippin includes Ibrāhīm where he notes that,

Examples can be provided, on the evidence of the early manuscripts, of instances in which words, because of the way they were written in the primitive script of the time, were likely mispronounced as a result of a misunderstanding of the script and in the absence of a firm oral tradition. Examples include the name Ibrāhīm, more easily and better understood in a version closer to the Hebrew, Abrāhām, and Shayṭān, once again closer to the Hebrew if read Ṣāṭān. Both of these developed readings depend upon the misunderstanding of the early writing of the long “a” sound in the middle of the word.¹²⁴

Over time, that tradition of writing was forgotten and its remnants are seen in the developed text of the Qur’ān only at the end of words with the writing of a long “a” as an *alif maqṣūra*. At some point, this *yā’* was read according to the rules of classical Arabic orthography and pronounced as a long “ī” or the diphthong “ay” rather than the long “a” which it represented originally. One response to these observations has arisen which suggests that the manuscripts with such readings are, in fact, flawed and this is why they were discarded in the trash pile of Sana’a....Of course, the claim cannot be denied outright, but the existence of a consistent pattern of the writing of Arabic as in this case of using the internal *yā’* to represent long “a” seems to suggest otherwise because of the very consistency of the usage in the manuscripts.¹²⁵

3.1.2.1.2. ‘Ismā‘īl (اسمعل) and ‘Isma’il (اسمعل) for ‘Ismā‘īl (اسمعليل)

14:39:2 اسمعل Ismā‘īl 01-28.1, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332c, 333c, 334c, 340c, 370a, Meknes

14:39:2 اسمعل Isma‘īl- no *yā’* Istanbul

14:39:2 اسمعليل Ismā‘īl- dagger *alif* Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh

This was the most stable name observed in the manuscripts. Only one variant version of this name was found in the manuscripts surveyed. The Istanbul manuscript has Isma‘īl, without the *yā’* (اسمعل). This variant raises

¹²³ Mingana, ‘Influence’, 175-178.

¹²⁴ Rippin, *Muslims*, 30.

¹²⁵ Rippin, *Qur’an*, xv-xvi.

some interesting questions. Is it a copyist mistake? Supporting this idea is the fact that neither Jeffery nor the *Mu'jam* record such a variant from the later Islamic Qur'ān literature. Also, it seems to go against the idea of there being a Syriac derivation behind the word. Mingana observed that the normal Qur'ānic form of this name which includes the *yā'* is an exact equivalent of the Syriac form.¹²⁶ It is also a very rare variant, unique to the manuscripts and records used for this thesis.

Or perhaps it is a variant like the shorter version of Ibrāhīm where the internal *yā'* at one point represented long “a”? If so, this version without the *yā'* might represent a pronunciation that did not have the long “a” or long “i” sound, hence Ismaʿīl. A firm conclusion cannot be drawn. Explaining it as a copyist mistake is perhaps the best option at this time while keeping the others under consideration.

3.1.2.1.3. 14:39:2 Iṣḥaq (اسحق) Iṣḥāq (اسحاق)

14:39:2 اسحق Iṣḥaq Istanbul, 01-29.1, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332, 332c, 334c, 340c, 370a, SamK, Meknes

14:39:2 اسحاق Iṣḥāq- full *alif* BN 333c

14:39:2 اسحق Iṣḥāq- dagger *alif* Or. 12884, Sharīf, Warsh

Only one variant spelling of Iṣḥaq (اسحق) was observed in the manuscripts surveyed, and in the wider usage represented in available extant early manuscripts. This variant form is اسحاق , which includes a full *alif*. In the current text, this full *alif* is represented by a dagger *alif* which is thought to present the earliest pronunciation of this word. The manuscript in which this variant is found presents a pronunciation which in retrospect enshrines the proper Islamic pronunciation of the name. This raises a question: if the original pronunciation of Iṣḥaq contained the *alif*, then why was it not represented with the letter being written as part of the *rasm*? Mingana asserts

¹²⁶ Mingana, ‘Influence’, 176.

that the form of this name was derived from the Syriac rather than the Hebrew.¹²⁷ In his transliteration of these forms, neither of them has an *alif* or its equivalent in the second syllable.

Also, none of the manuscripts surveyed used a *yā'* in this syllable to represent an *alif*, as was suggested concerning Ibrāhām. The normal spelling of the name carries this on, though the Islamic pronunciation asserts the presence of an implicit *alif*. All of the earliest occurrences in the Ḥijāzi manuscripts are spelled without the *alif*. This one occurrence is in a later manuscript, but one from before the reforms of the tenth century. It makes explicit what later became the standard Islamic pronunciation of the name.

3.2.1.2.4. *Spelling Variations in Other Proper Names*

These spelling variations for proper names also take place against a wider background of spelling variation in proper names in the Qur'ān. In early manuscripts, consonantal spelling variants can be observed for at least the following names: Ibrāhīm, Ishāq, Tawraīt, Shaītān, Isrā'īl, and Dāūd. As mentioned earlier, Ibrāhīm and Ishāq are found in two basic forms. Tawraīt can be found in two forms.¹²⁸ Shaītān can be found in three forms.¹²⁹ Isrā'īl can be found in two forms.¹³⁰ And Dāūd can be found in four forms.¹³¹ Other names appear to be more stable, like Mūsā, Yūnus, Nūh, ʿĪsā, and Iblīs.¹³² No variant spellings were observed for these names.

Barr coined the phrase 'zone of variable spelling' for the situation where there are multiple apparently accepted variant spellings for the same

¹²⁷ Mingana, 'Influence', 175.

¹²⁸ These forms are: *توره* and *توريه*.

¹²⁹ These forms are: *شيطن* (normal form), *شيطن* (San'ā' 01-32.1, line 13 at S. 2:36); and *شيطان* (CBL 1401, S. 16:63 at f. 5v, line 8, and S. 17:53 at f. 10r, line 5). Note that in CBL 1401 at 17:53, where Shaītān occurs twice, the first occurrence on line 4 has no *alif* but the second one on line 5 of the same page does have the *alif*. The other two occurrences in CBL 1401 at 17:64 (f. 12v, line 8) and 18:63 (f. 18r, lines 2-3) do not have the *alif*.

¹³⁰ These forms are: *اسرايل* and *اسريل*.

¹³¹ These forms are: *داود* (D.ā.ū.d), *دواد* (D.ū.ā.d), *دود* (D.ū.d), and *داد* (D.ā.d). They occurred in the following manuscripts: Dāūd (Or. 2165, CBL 1401, Sana 01-15.9), Dūād (SamH, Or. 2165, Sana 01-32.1) Dūd (SamH), and Dād (SamH). Wright, *Grammar*, 18, mentions three spellings of Dāūd, but none of them are Dūād.

¹³² These were observed in SamH, SamK, Or. 2165, BN 328a, CBL 1401 and the UNESCO CD-ROM.

word in a Hebrew Old Testament manuscript.¹³³ It would seem that these Qur'ānic names also represent some restricted, but accepted zones of variable spelling in scribal practise in the earliest Qur'ān manuscripts at the times they were copied. The variations are found too frequently and consistently to be simple copyist mistakes, occurring often on the same page and sometimes even on the same line. They also sometimes make explicit what later came to be the accepted pronunciation of a name.¹³⁴ Whereas most of the consonantal text had been standardized by the time of the writing of the manuscripts surveyed, with these names some small zones of variability remained. And it was from among these variable forms that there emerged later precise and inflexible forms of orthography for all of these names. It has been observed that there are even later corrections made in some manuscripts where *alifs* are inserted in red by a later scribe.

3.2.1.3.1. Variable Diacritical Marks on Consonants

There are three phenomena to be explored here: 1) the variable use of diacritics from what have come to be considered their proper places, 2) the use of different systems of diacritics, and 3) when diacritics are used that make the letter a consonantal variant. These will be examined in turn.

First is the variable use of diacritics in what have come to be considered their proper places. Gruendler and Grohmann have noted that in the earliest available manuscripts, there appears to be an established and full system of diacritics in use, though it is used selectively.¹³⁵ Gruendler also made the observation that there was a certain degree of fluidity in the application of this system.¹³⁶

This phenomenon was confirmed in the manuscripts examined. There are different patterns of which letters are dotted and which are not in the manuscripts which have partial systems of diacritics. For instance, Or. 2165 and Paris BN 328a consistently dot the same kinds of letters above the letter,

¹³³ Barr, *Spellings*, 204.

¹³⁴ This is true for Ishāq with a full *alif* and Shaīṭān with a full *alif*.

¹³⁵ Beatrice Gruendler, 'Arabic Script', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *EQ*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, One, 135-142, citing 139. Grohmann also observed this in the earliest Arabic papyri: Adolf Grohmann, 'The Problem of Dating Early Qur'āns', *Der Islam* 33 (1958), 213-231 citing 226.

¹³⁶ Gruendler, 'Script', *EQ*, 1:140.

but not in the same words of the text. In Or. 2165, in S. 14:35-41, 18 of 27 initial *nūns* are dotted. In BN 328a only 8 of the 27 are dotted. Or. 2165 has 5 of 9 of the initial *tā's* dotted, but BN 328a does not have any of them dotted.

The second phenomenon is the use of differing systems of diacritics. Variable systems of the use of these diacritics developed.¹³⁷ Leemhuis also observed that added diacritical dots or strokes can be observed both above and below a letter.¹³⁸ As an example he cites three systems used in manuscripts to distinguish *fā'* and *qāf*.¹³⁹ He summarises them as follows:

- 1) One dash above for the *fā'* and two above for the *qāf*.
- 2) One dash underneath for the *fā'* and one above for the *qāf*.
- 3) One dash above for the *fā'* and one below for the *qāf* (just the opposite of number 2).

With this summary, Leemhuis states that the first became the standard in the Arab East and in printed forms of the Qur'ān. The second became the standard in the Arab West and is still found in lithographed Qur'āns from the Maghreb.¹⁴⁰ The third was in use for a short period in the Ḥijāz and Yemen. This third one is used in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and in one of the manuscripts surveyed, the Ṣan'ā' manuscript 01-29.1. This is a new manuscript to add to Leemhuis' list of four other manuscripts known to have this system.¹⁴¹

In addition to the systems for *fā'* and *qāf* which Leemhuis observed, two other systems were observed. First, a variant to system 1) was observed in manuscripts BN 330a, BN 331, and BN 334c that only *fā's* were dotted with a single dot but no *qāfs* were dotted. Second, in manuscripts Or. 2165, BN 328a, no *fā's* or *qāfs* were dotted at all. This could be regarded as a fourth system. Adjusting Leemhuis' system for these additional categories the manuscripts used in this study can be grouped as follows:

¹³⁷ Beeston, Johnstone, Serjeant and Smith (eds.), *Umayyad Period*, 13.

¹³⁸ Frederick Leehmuis, 'From Palm Leaves to the Internet', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 145-162, citing 147.

¹³⁹ Leehmuis, 'Palm Leaves', 147.

¹⁴⁰ The Warsh text used in this study displays this system.

¹⁴¹ Leehmuis, 'Palm Leaves', 148.

- 1) BN 325a, BN 326a, 01-28.1, Ḥafṣ, and Sharīf
 1a) (only *fā*'s dotted) BN 330a, BN 331, and BN 334c
- 2) Istanbul, Warsh
- 3) 01-29.1
- 4) (neither dotted) Or. 2165, 01-20.x, SamK, BN 328a, BN 332, BN 333c, BN 340c, BN 343, BN 370a, Meknes.

It is interesting that manuscripts discovered in Yemen (01-28.1, 01.29.1, and 01-20.x) were found using three of the four systems. Also, the Istanbul manuscript which is in an early Ḥijāzi script has system 2). This confirms Leemhuis' conclusion that all systems seem to have been in use at as early a time as can be documented in extant Qur'ān manuscripts.

Manuscript 01-20.x is interesting in its complete lack of diacritics. Though this is an early Kufic-style text, it is similar in this regard to later Kufic texts (eighth-ninth/second-third century) that are more sparingly pointed than the earliest Ḥijāzi texts. But 01-20.x is even more sparingly pointed than any of the other manuscripts surveyed. Perhaps it bears testimony to those efforts of some scholars who resisted the introduction and development of such reading aids. The Caliph Ma'mūn (reigned 813-833/198-218) is said to have forbidden such aids,¹⁴² though he reigned almost a century later than this particular manuscript was produced. Concerning the earlier period, Jeffery makes the important observation,¹⁴³

Again we have an imposing array of traditions against the putting of any points for distinguishing the letters, or for the marking of vowels or other reading signs in the Codices. In fact, it is recorded of Khalīl b. Aḥmad († 170 or 175) that it was one of his claims to fame that he successfully fought against this prohibition of putting in the diacritical points. This again agrees with the observed fact, for texts which on other grounds seem to be among the oldest are generally without these points. This criterion, however, cannot always be applied, and that for two reasons. In the first place it was not uncommon for later scribes to add the points to Codices which came into their hands, and it is frequently very difficult to decide whether the diacritical points are the work of the original scribe or have been added later. Secondly, it was

¹⁴² Margoliouth, 'Variations', 339.

¹⁴³ Arthur Jeffery, 'Review of "The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Kur'ānic Development" by Nabia Abbott', *MW* 30 (1940), 191-198 citing 195.

somewhat of a fad in certain circles, as we learn from Ibn al-Mudabbbar's *Risālat al-‘Adhrā’*, to omit all diacritical points, and so in some Codices of relatively late date they are omitted.

This kind of resistance is perhaps part of a larger resistance to the general reduction of the role of oral transmission of knowledge in general in these early Islamic centuries. Cook documents a similar resistance to putting *hadīth* into writing.¹⁴⁴

Also, one manuscript presented a different convention for dotting most of the consonants that are currently distinguished through the placement of one dot over the consonant. Categories 1), 2), and 4) for the dotting of *fā'* and *qāf* occurred within the general convention of dots for the rest of the consonantal letters being placed above the letters, as is found in the current systems both East and West. In these systems, though, where there was variation with *fā'* and *qāf*, all of the other consonants that needed distinguishing followed the current system. One manuscript, 01-29.1, did not.

First it should be noted that this manuscript has more consonants pointed than any other manuscripts surveyed of similar age and script style. Since only a black and white photograph of the manuscript was available, it was impossible to determine if these dots were written at the time of the rest of the manuscript or if they were added later. With that in mind, for this study they are treated as if they are an original feature of the manuscript. Second, the system used for these dots places single dots above and below many letters, not just *fā'* and *qāf*. The single dots above match the letters that in the current system are dotted above: ف, ض, ذ, ز, خ. Letters with a single dot below match letters that have no dot: ص, د, ر. Exceptions are *qāf*, distinguished from *fā'* with one dot below; ح, with one dot to the right side; ط and ظ, which are not dotted or distinguished from each other; and ع and غ, which are not dotted or distinguished. In most of the other manuscripts, when a consonant other than *fā'* and *qāf* was dotted, it was done according to the current system using the bare consonant with a single dot above.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Cook, 'The Opponents of the Writing Tradition in Early Islam', *Arabica* 44 (1997), 457-530.

The third phenomenon is when diacritics are used that make the letter a consonantal variant of the standard line of text. These include both copyist mistakes and diacritics which change the grammatical function of the word because of the letter change involved. Sections 3.2.1.3.2.2. through 3.2.1.4.1. will examine these kinds of variants.

3.2.1.3.2. *Variants Apparently Due to Negligence*

In the manuscripts surveyed, there were instances of non-uniform spelling within the same manuscript as well as some copyist mistakes. These involved additional or misplaced letters.

- 14:35:3 BN 328a - one finds a *nūn* instead of a *yā'*: وبن instead of وبنى
- 14:35:3 Meknes - there is an additional letter: وبنى instead of وبنى
- 14:38:3 01-20.x - there is an additional letter: السمما instead of السمما
- 14:40:2 BN 370a - letters are added: الادعا instead of دعا
- 14:40:2 Istanbul - added letter: درسى instead of درسى

This last variant could conceivably contain a doubled *yā'*, as it is in the word when it is written in a fully pointed script. However, since this does not seem to be a normal feature in this manuscript, it is likely that this is a copyist mistake.

3.2.1.3.2.1. Haplography

Hopkins comments that collections of early Arabic material of all types display scribal lapses resulting in the omission of letters and even words.¹⁴⁵ This has proven true for the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. There were some letters missing from words that can safely be regarded as copyist mistakes.

- 14:36:2 Or. 2165- *bā'*: تبعنى instead of تبعنى
- 14:37:4 BN 326a- *yā'*: لقيموا instead of لقيموا
- 14:39:2 Istanbul- *yā'*: اسمعا instead of اسمعيا¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Hopkins, *Studies*, 60-61.

¹⁴⁶ This variant is discussed in more detail in the names section, 3.2.1.2.2., under *Ismā'īl*.

14:39:3 Istanbul- *yā'*: اسمع instead of اسميع

3.2.1.3.2.2. Misplaced Diacritics and Other Similar Letters

After describing the phonetic deficiencies of the early Arabic script because of the partial use of consonantal diacritical marks and the absence of short vowel marks, Guillot remarks helpfully.¹⁴⁷

Although the reader who was familiar with the language would, in most cases, have no difficulty ascertaining which pronunciation was intended, there were so many words which permitted quite different vocalisations that instances of dubious pronunciation were not infrequent.

This appears to be confirmed in the following instances of odd variable placement of diacritical marks. All of them can be taken as copyist mistakes.

Some of these are because of the addition of a diacritical dot.

Zā' for *rā'*

14:37:2 BN 334c- رزع instead of زرع

Jīm for *ḥā'*

14:37:3 BN 330a- المجرم instead of المحرم

Fā' for *qāf*

14:37:6 01-28.1- وارزفهم instead of وارزقهم

On two occasions a similarly shaped consonant is substituted for another:

¹⁴⁷ Claude Guillot, 'Creation of a fixed text', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 41-58, citing 47.

Final *nūn* for *yā'*

14:35:3 BN 328a- وبنى instead of وبنى

14:37:5 BN 334c- تهوى instead of تهوى

An unpointed short stem for *lām*

14:40:1 01-20.x- احصى instead of احصى¹⁴⁸

3.2.1.4. Variants Affecting Grammar

Many of kinds of grammatical variants would be designated by short vowel patterns which are only recorded on three of the manuscripts examined, Or. 12884, the Muṣḥaf Sharīf, and the modern Warsh text. Since the short vowels do not occur in the earlier manuscripts, grammatical variants related to them are not an object of study in this thesis.¹⁴⁹ However, some grammatical variants do involve the consonantal line, either through the variable placement of diacritical points on consonants or the addition of letters. Where these have occurred in the early manuscripts they have been noted and will be discussed.

3.2.1.4.1. Variants Affecting Grammar Due to Diacritical Marks

A few were observed related to the placement of diacritical dots which changed the basic grammatical function of word.

Nūn for *tā* suffix

14:37:1 BN 331, BN 334c- ذرى instead of ذرى

This changes the word from being a noun (ذرى , 'children') with an attached first person singular pronoun (-ي) to a verb with an attached pronoun

¹⁴⁸ The height of the letter which should be *lam* is higher than the letter to its left, but noticeably shorter than a normal *lam*.

¹⁴⁹ Many of the variants listed in Makram and 'Umar, *Mu'jam*, 2:514-517 are differences in short vowels. This is also true of Jeffery, *Materials*.

¹⁵⁰ (ـني). This would mean changing ذرية, the feminine substantive ‘my offspring’, to an early form of the verb ذرى ‘to create’ (instead of the normal ذرا).¹⁵¹ This would change the translation from ‘I have made some of my offspring to dwell’ to ‘I have made some created by me to dwell.’ Though grammatically correct this sounds awkward, and one would be inclined quickly to regard it as a copyist mistake if it had not occurred in three separate manuscripts from two different centuries and of three different script styles.¹⁵²

If it were a copyist mistake, or just a defectively written form, it would support Hopkins’ observation that ‘In Qur’ānic orthography ī in the final position is often, especially in the case of pronominal suffixes of the first person singular, written defectively.’¹⁵³ Also, it could represent a simple scribal lapse in using the pronominal suffix used for verbs and accidentally applying it to a noun. This lapse is simple enough that it could explain the coincidence of three apparently unrelated manuscripts having the same variant.

One can also note that in all three of these manuscripts, where this exact word and phrase occurs again at 14:40:1, none of them has the variant form with ـني (‘created by me’) that is found at 14:37:1. ذرية (‘offspring’) is the more common word in the Qur’ān occurring thirty-two times, four of them with the first singular pronoun suffix.¹⁵⁴ Three of these four are prayers of Ibrāhīm praying for his offspring.¹⁵⁵ The verb form using ذرا is found only six times, and none of them has the first person singular direct object form with ـني.¹⁵⁶

If the variant text were the autographic text-form, the only apparent reason to change it to the now accepted reading would be to bring it in line stylistically with the other three usages of this form. However, it is unlikely that this is the case for at least four reasons. First, the conservative nature of

¹⁵⁰ Fischer, *Grammar*, 142, §268.

¹⁵¹ Lane, *Lexicon*, ذرر.

¹⁵² See Appendix J with the collations for this comparison.

¹⁵³ Hopkins, *Studies*, 17, §14b.

¹⁵⁴ Hanna E. Kassis, *A Concordance of the Qur’ān*, Los Angeles: University of California, 1983, 397-398. The four occurrences are: 2:124; 14:37, 40; 46:15.

¹⁵⁵ Surahs 2:124; 14:37, and 14:40.

¹⁵⁶ Kassis, *Concordance*, 397.

Qur'ānic textual transmission preserves many archaic forms that do not match later more standardised forms of Classical Arabic. Second, the variant is found in second and third century manuscripts, not the earliest and most archaic manuscripts. Third, there is no discernible dogmatic reason for changing ذرينى ('created by me') to the form ذريتى ('my offspring'). Fourth, ذرية ('offspring') is the more common word in the Qur'ān for referring to progeny. Taking these reasons into consideration, these three instances of the stem pointed as a *nūn* are probably copyist mistakes.

Tā' for *yā'*

يقوم instead of تقوم 14:41:2 01-29.1-

This variant is a change of person from third to second person: 'And the believers in the day when you reckon the account' instead of 'when the account is reckoned.' This makes the invocation more consistent and personal between Ibrāhīm and Allah. An intentional change from the third person to the second person is also conceivable to heighten the drama of the narrative and to emphasise Allah as the final judge. This is probably more likely than a change from the second person to the third. However, these are both legitimate interpretations of the unpointed consonantal text and either could conceivably have been the autographic text-form.

3.2.1.4.2. Variants Affecting Grammar Due to an Added Letter

An added *yā'* which strengthens the meaning of an adjective

الكسر instead of الكر 14:39:2 01-29.1-

There is an added letter in this word. If it is not a copyist error, it is most probably a *yā'* since the word does not make sense with any of the other possible letters of *nūn*, *tā'*, *thā'*, or *bā'*. There are only two possible options for alternative words that incorporate an extra letter at this point and only one

of them makes sense in the context. الكثير , ‘the many’, does not make sense in the context. However, الكبير does. This word can be translated ‘very old age’ as a plural form of كبر ‘old age’.¹⁵⁷ Wright describes how verbal adjectives can be in the genitive plural form to convey a superlative idea.¹⁵⁸ This is possibly an intentional variant which draws attention to Ibrāhīm’s extreme old age and indirectly to the miraculous nature of Ishāq’s birth. It could also be a simple copyist error because this kind of duplication is a common mistake in manuscript traditions.

However, in this manuscript, the added letter is carefully written with a different height than the first one, which is a common way that these letters with the same basic form are written when immediately beside one another. The height of one of the two is made different to distinguish the letters.¹⁵⁹ This letter was probably not, then, a slip of the pen but was instead an intentional addition or a careful transcription of what was in a prior text. It also could possibly be a feature of a prior text-form, considering the antiquity of this particular manuscript. It is also a form found in other parts of the Qur’ān for extreme old age concerning biblical figures at S. 12:78 (Jacob) and 28:23 (Moses).

A *nūn* added as a suffix

14:40:2 01-29.1- دعا instead of دعان

The *nūn* here was added after the initial text and is squeezed in at the top of the line of text just before the verse separator. It is not a sign for *ḥamza* because this is not done elsewhere in the manuscript and using *nūn* is not a method for marking *ḥamza* in manuscripts without it. Also, it is not a symbol

¹⁵⁷ Ambros and Procházka, *Dictionary*, 234; Lane, *Lexicon*, under كبر ; Penrice, *Dictionary*, 123.

¹⁵⁸ Wright, *Grammar*, 2:218.

¹⁵⁹ For example, manuscript 01-29.1 and Or. 2165, manuscripts with very different Ḥijāzī scripts, both do this with ربنا at 14:37:1 and 14:38:1.

written by a later scribe designating an indistinct word because the word is distinct, and there is no accompanying word in the margin.¹⁶⁰

Perhaps it is an intentional addition to make the form دعان which Penrice states is a form of دعانى, which occurs at S. 2:186 and is translated there, 'He prays to me.'¹⁶¹ But, instead of the form being used as the noun with an attached pronoun acting as the indirect object as in 2:186, this would use the same form as a first person common plural possessive pronoun. This would make it an intentional variant to improve the text grammatically by making the normal interpretive translation 'my prayer' to 'our prayer', making it more explicit and in agreement with 14:40:1 where Ibrāhīm includes his offspring in his invocation. Whatever it is, it cannot be viewed as a copyist mistake because the way it is written in where there was insufficient space demonstrates it must have been an intentional addition.

The following types of variants, which were all observed in New Testament manuscripts examined for Chapter Two, were rarely observed in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed if at all. For many of them, testimony of the kind of variant is reported for places elsewhere in the Qur'ān and in secondary literature, like the Hadith, or in variants lists in various Qur'ān sciences books. The reason they are included is that they demonstrate some essential contrasts between the New Testament and Qur'ānic textual traditions. The kinds of variants that *are* found and the kinds that *are not* found in the respective traditions provide essential insights into the dynamics of textual transmission. The full significance of the variants *not* found in actual Qur'ān manuscripts will be evaluated after each category is examined individually.

3.2.2. Transposition of Words

Transpositions are where words or phrases are juxtaposed in a line or among lines of text. No transpositions were observed in the manuscripts surveyed. There are records that at one time they did exist in the Qur'ān. Jeffery records that a transposition of text was asserted to have existed in Ibn

¹⁶⁰ Wright, *Grammar*, 1:26.

¹⁶¹ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 48.

Mas‘ūd’s codex at 14:24.¹⁶² Two of the manuscripts in this survey did, however, have sizable portions of a line that had been erased and rewritten.¹⁶³ These will be discussed in detail below in the section 3.2.4., Different Words.

3.2.3. *Conflation of Phrases*

Conflation is the combining of parts of two different phrases into a new phrase. No examples of this kind of variant were observed in the manuscripts surveyed. However, one writer has observed an alleged example of this in an early Islamic theological treatise quoting a verse of the Qur’ān attributed (perhaps inauthentically) to the early Qur’ān scholar, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.¹⁶⁴ At one point the author of this treatise mentions a verse that cannot be found in the current text of the Qur’ān as if it was part of the text of the Qur’ān. The supposed verse is:

Thus the word of thy Lord is realized against the *ungodly* that *they are the inhabitants of the Fire*.

This appears to be a conflation of two other verses, S. 10:33 and S. 40:6.

S. 10:33: Thus the word of thy Lord is realized against *the ungodly* that they believe not.

S. 40:6: Thus the word of thy Lord is realized against the unbelievers that *they are the inhabitants of the Fire*.

Brockett mentions two conflatory passages in Qur’ān manuscripts in the collections of St. Andrews and Edinburgh New College.¹⁶⁵ Fedeli documents a section of S. 5:44 in the Bonham’s palimpsest that has different words and phrases from the standard text. This cannot be considered conflation strictly in that the different individual phrases cannot be clearly

¹⁶² Jeffery, *Materials*, 51.

¹⁶³ These are at 14:38:2 in manuscript BN330a and at 14:39:2-3 in manuscript BN 370a.

¹⁶⁴ Cook, *Koran*, 118-119.

¹⁶⁵ Brockett, ‘Studies’, 150.

identified with other Qur'ānic phrases.¹⁶⁶ They do, however, demonstrate a more fluid text that retains phrases and wording that can be identified with portions of the standard text which is combined with other material.

3.2.4. Different Words

This category includes synonyms, non-synonymous words, corrections, and overwriting of previous text. This category is restricted to single words. Groups of words and phrases will be discussed in a later category. There were three instances of synonyms found in the manuscripts surveyed. Two were synonyms due to the variant placement of diacritical marks. The third is a synonymous conjunction. There were perhaps two examples of different non-synonymous words, one that was created by a scribe adding three letters to an existing word and one that is clearly a different word.

3.2.4.1. Synonyms From Variant Diacritics:

Tā' for thā'?

14:37:6 BN 334c- الثمرت instead of التمرت

The reason for the question mark in the section title is the orthographic peculiarity of this letter in 14:37:6. The two dots used to designate the letter as a *tā'* which is written differently from the normal convention in this manuscript. Usually two slashes or strokes are used and they are written vertically, one on top of the other, either straight above the letter or diagonally up off and to the left. The marks over this letter, however, are two dots written side by side immediately over the letter. In this manuscript, only one *thā'* is marked with three dots, the word يثبت at 14:27. At that location it is marked with three dots in a triangle that points down to the left.

Gruendler notes that the early forms of these diacritics had distinctive forms and orientations.¹⁶⁷ The *tā'*'s in epigraphic texts use two short strokes

¹⁶⁶ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 301.

aligned vertically or diagonally above or next to the letter. BN 334c follows this convention. The *thā*'s are distinguished by three points in a triangle that is oriented pointing to the lower left. BN 334c at 14:27 uses this precise convention, but at 14:37:6 the two points are aligned horizontally and there is no sign of a third point. It seems to be a *tā*' not a *thā*', and the *tā*' of a type of diacritic not used elsewhere in this text but known to have been used later. As such, the points could have been added by a later scribe.

Taken as a *tā*', it could be an intentional addition to change the meaning of the word from the general 'fruit' to the more specific 'dates,' *تمر*.¹⁶⁸ This probably would have been a later addition because the word, *تمر*, is not attested in the Qur'ān.

3.2.4.2. Synonym from a Different Conjunction: *wa-* instead of *fa-*

14:37:5 BN 328a- *واحل* instead of *فاحل*

These two conjunctions have similar but distinguishable meanings. *Wa-* (و) 'joins equivalent sentences and clauses,' whereas *fa-* (ف) indicates sequential thought, 'and then, and so, consequently, for.'¹⁶⁹ At this point in the text it has a significant effect on meaning. As *fa-*, the standard reading, it states the answer to prayer Ibrāhīm explicitly desired from Allah in reward for settling his offspring near the sanctuary: 'So fill some hearts among men with love towards them.' It is an explicit prayer request. As *wa-*, the variant, it gives another reason for settling his offspring near the sanctuary, so that he can perform the *sālāt* prayers 'and fill some hearts among men with love towards them', that the people will automatically be more inclined to them if they pray at the sanctuary. It is a difference of emphasis and the direct action of Allah. The standard reading fits the context better, and this kind of variant is observed so infrequently that it is almost certainly a copyist mistake. The infrequency of this kind of variant can be seen in the fact that out of 76

¹⁶⁷ Beatrice Gruendler, *The Development of the Arabic Scripts*, Harvard Semitic Studies, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993, 42.

¹⁶⁸ Lane, *Lexicon*, *تمر*.

¹⁶⁹ Fischer, *Grammar*, 175-176.

occurrences of *fa*- and 228 occurrences of *wa*- in the selected verses of these combined manuscripts, only one occurrence of this variant was observed.¹⁷⁰

3.2.4.3. Different Word through the Addition of Letters?

14:40:2 BN 370a- الادعا instead of دعا

The three letters لا were squeezed into and above the space between the two words دعا and تقبل. It is difficult to imagine why these letters were inserted. Did the scribe think دعا, ‘invocation’ needed to be made more definite by adding the article? Then why add the extra *alif*? Was it an attempt to change the word to الادعاء, ‘the adopted son’¹⁷¹ to make it a possible Jewish or Christian gloss to Ismā‘īl’s being Ibrāhīm’s ‘half-son’? A form of the negative لا does not fit the context.¹⁷² Hopkins documents a rare use of لا in the Arabic papyri of ‘only’ which would make some sense, but it is hard to grasp how it would affect the meaning enough to add it intentionally.¹⁷³ These options all seem very unlikely. The addition of the three letters creates no new word form, so it is very difficult to decipher why it was intentionally added to the text, except to say that it was a symbol which had meaning for the copyist but not for later generations of readers.

3.2.5. Corrections and Overwriting

While occurrences of different words in extant manuscripts are extremely rare, corrections and overwriting of erased words and sections of text are very common.¹⁷⁴ Fedeli presents three types of correction.¹⁷⁵ First, there are corrections ‘due to different variants with textual significance.’ These

¹⁷⁰ Another confirmation is that only one occurrence of it is recorded in all of Surah 2 in Jeffery’s materials concerning Ibn Mas‘ūd’s text at S. 2:283. Jeffery, *Materials*, 32.

¹⁷¹ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 48.

¹⁷² Penrice, *Dictionary*, 7.

¹⁷³ Hopkins, *Studies*, 259, §324.

¹⁷⁴ Fedeli, ‘Non-Palimpsest’, 22.

¹⁷⁵ Fedeli, ‘Non-Palimpsest’, 22. I have divided her second category into two distinct categories.

are changes to the text to make it conform to a standard or ‘canonical’ reading. Second, there are corrections made to update the orthography of an old manuscript after a reform in orthography. This would include the later addition of diacritical marks on consonants, the later addition of vowel indicators like coloured dots, and the later addition of letters like *alif*. Third are changes to correct simple copyist mistakes. Corrections of all three types were observed in the manuscripts surveyed.

3.2.5.1. Corrections to Conform the Text to a Standard Reading

There were three instances of this first category, a change to conform the text to a standard reading:

- 1) At 14:35:3 in the Meknes manuscript the space of three letters of text was erased and ﻻ was inserted in a different hand causing the reading to conform to the present text.
- 2) At 14:39:1 in manuscript 01-20.x the space of three letters of text was erased and new text in a slightly different hand was written making it conform to the standard text.
- 3) At 14:39:1-2 in manuscript BN 370a a phrase of text was erased and rewritten with the standard text. The standard text is actually too long to fit in the space of the defaced text but the rewritten text was done in a slightly smaller hand to make it fit. This rewritten text has also not adhered well to the surface of the manuscript and has mostly come off. There are two other places on this manuscript page outside of the portion used for this study where this kind of correction has also been made.

All of these corrections deserve to be examined in their original manuscripts in order to see if the underlying text can be read. They are all examples of intentional dogmatic variants because they are conforming the text to a set standard.

There was one instance where the correction was away from the standard reading to what has become a non-standard reading. A prefixed *wa* was erased and in its place was written a *fa*.

14:37:5 BN 328a- فاحعل instead of واحعل

Under magnification, this proves to be a correction, but one to a non-standard reading. Originally, the manuscript had the prefixed conjunction *fa*- which is the standard reading. Either the original scribe, or one using a similar kind of ink and script style, changed the reading to *wa*.

3.2.5.2. Corrections to Update the Orthography

There were four instances observed of the second kind of correction where the orthography was updated.

1) At 14:38:1 in BN 330a, four diacritical marks are added to the word نخفى to make each of its letters clearly understood, where the average use of diacritics in the part of the manuscript is only one or two per word. Also, the fourth diacritic is a dot after the *fā*’ over the first part of the *yā*’, as if there were a *nūn* between the two, like a 1st person singular pronoun suffix. The stem for the *nūn* is not there, though, so it is probably an extra dot that was accidentally placed there.

2) At 14:38:2 in the Meknes manuscript one diacritical mark appears to have been added later to make a letter clearly a *nūn* removing the possibility of it being read as a different letter, such as a *tā*’.

3) At 14:40:1 in the Istanbul manuscript, an *alif* is added in the small space between two letters and it partially obscures the final letter of الصلواه . This is perhaps to make an understood pronunciation of the long ‘a’ explicit, or it could be to make this part of the text conform to a new orthographical practise that required the addition of *alifs*. Such a practise is said to have been ordered

by the Umayyad governor Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 684) when he ordered two thousand *alifs* to be added to the text of the Qur’ān.¹⁷⁶

4) At 14:41:1 in the Istanbul manuscript, an *alif* is added in the small space between two letters. This is perhaps to make an understood pronunciation of the long ‘a’ sound explicit, or it could be to make this part of the text conform to the new orthographical practise mentioned in 3). This added *alif* is notable for another reason. It makes the reading of this particular word match what is attributed to have been the reading of Ibn Mas‘ūd at this point in the text.¹⁷⁷

3.2.5.3. Correcting a Copyist Mistake

There was only one instance of this last category. This was at 14:37:4 in manuscript BN 333c where a *lām* was partially erased to make it a medial *yā’* in the word *ليعلموا*. Originally, *للعلموا* was written. Rezvan notes that this kind of correction can be found in the later Qur’ānic manuscript tradition as well. He documents many, including ones involving words and phrases, in Qur’ān manuscripts from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries AD.¹⁷⁸ However, his conclusion concerning them is that they were copyist errors transcribing the standard consonantal text, rather than legitimate alternative variant readings. It appeared to Rezvan that Arabic was not the native language of either the copyist or their proof readers who were correcting their work

It is interesting to note the number and kinds of corrections made. Nine corrections were observed over seven verses of text in 19 manuscripts. If this proportion were extended to the rest of the Qur’ān it would confirm Fedeli’s assertion that corrections in early Qur’ān s are very common.¹⁷⁹

Also, the clear majority (5 of 8) of the kind of correction are to change the text toward what is traditionally considered to be the standard reading. This confirms what Fedeli observed in her study of palimpsests.¹⁸⁰ The

¹⁷⁶ Rezvan, *Qur’ān*, 68.

¹⁷⁷ Jeffery, *Materials*, 52.

¹⁷⁸ M.E. Rezvan, ‘Qur’ānic Fragments From the A.A. Polotsov Collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies’, *MO* 7 (2001), 20-35, citing 23-29.

¹⁷⁹ Fedeli, ‘Non-Palimpsest’, 22.

¹⁸⁰ Fedeli, ‘Evidences’, 313.

original texts of the palimpsests were evidently too different to be corrected, so that they had to be completely erased and rewritten with the ‘standard’ text. The manuscripts surveyed for this study conformed to that standard enough that evidently only small erasures and rewrites were necessary.

The manuscripts that contain more examples of different words are mainly palimpsests. The Mingana palimpsest has at least three occurrences of different words.¹⁸¹ Fedeli observed at least seven in the Bonham palimpsest, two in the Fogg palimpsest, and one in a non-palimpsest manuscript in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.¹⁸² The significance of the rarity of this phenomenon in manuscripts is also highlighted by the large number of reports of different words asserted to have been in the Companions’ collections of the Qur’ān . With just a cursory glance through Jeffery’s list of variants in the collection of Ibn Mas‘ūd one will find scores of examples, starting with a synonym in the very first surah, 1:6, with ارشدنا instead of اهدنا for ‘path’ in ‘Guide us in the straight path.’¹⁸³ For S. 14, Jeffery records that Ibn Mas‘ūd’s codex reputedly had six different word variants.¹⁸⁴

3.2.6. Addition and Omission of Words and Phrases

As well as the addition and omission of letters, one can occasionally find additions and omissions of entire words and phrases in Qur’ān manuscripts. These are words that are found in the normal line of text that are not part of a correction but were written as a normal part of the text when it was originally inscribed. In the manuscripts surveyed, there was found only one omission, and no added words. There were the manuscripts mentioned in the previous section that have portions that were defaced and re-written with the standard consonantal text.¹⁸⁵ There was also the different word at 14:40:2

¹⁸¹ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, xxxviii-xxxix, numbers 15, 17, and 20, as verified in Alba Fedeli, ‘Mingana and the Manuscript of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, One Century Later’, *MO* 11 (2005), 3-7 citing 7.

¹⁸² Fedeli, ‘Evidences’, 300, 302, 305-6, 312, note 70, respectively.

¹⁸³ Jeffery, *Materials*, 25.

¹⁸⁴ Jeffery, *Materials*, 51-52 records Ibn Mas‘ūd as having different words in the text of Surah 14 in verses 6, 7, 8, 24, 32, and 46.

¹⁸⁵ These were the Meknes manuscript at 14:35:3, manuscript 01-20.x at 14:39.1, BN 330a at 14:38:2-3, and BN 370a at 14:39:1-2.

in BN 370a- الادعا that had the three letters لا squeezed into the text by a later hand. But these were corrections or additions by a later hand, not features of the manuscript as it was originally inscribed. Here is the one example of an omitted word as originally inscribed in a manuscript.

3.2.6.1. Missing Word

14:37:2 BN 340c- عير ذى ررع instead of ررع ذى

The word ذى is missing and the following word ررع has an added ى to make it ررعى. Concerning the missing word ذى, this word is the genitive form of the nominal demonstrative ذو, with the meaning of ‘the possessor of’ or ‘endowed with,’¹⁸⁶ in this case specifying that the valley did not possess sown grain; i.e. a barren valley. It is a particle that is always used in construct with a complement,¹⁸⁷ in this case, the word ررع. With it missing, the meaning of the sentence is not affected. Hopkins notes that by the time Classical Arabic was formalized, this word had already passed out of living speech, being used only in a small number of set expressions.¹⁸⁸ Perhaps in the region where BN 340c was originally copied it had passed out of living speech even in the stock expressions. Its omission would affect the oral recitation of this passage, and it is not listed as a variant in any of the Companions’ versions. It is interesting that there is not a correction written in the margin beside the omission.

Concerning the attached *yā* on ررعى, it could be a first person singular attached pronoun and would give the meaning, ‘in a valley without *my* sown corn,’ or, ‘in a valley without *my* offspring.’ The first option does not make sense in the context. The second option is intriguing but awkward. It would make the verse mean, ‘I have made some of my offspring to dwell in a valley without my offspring,’ which is redundant. Perhaps this could serve to emphasize that Ibrāhīm was settling his offspring away from their tribal

¹⁸⁶ Fischer, *Grammar*, 148-9; Penrice, *Dictionary*, 53.

¹⁸⁷ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 53.

¹⁸⁸ Hopkins, *Studies*, 160, note 1 for §164.

kinship relationships, or settling one son away from the other son. Though possible, these explanations seem unlikely. Also, it should be noted that ‘offspring’ is not a normal meaning of ذُرْع . Lane mentions it as one meaning of the noun form of this word with all of the others having reference to crops.¹⁸⁹ Penrice, Ambros, and Wehr do not even mention it as an option for the word.¹⁹⁰ If this was meant as ‘offspring’, it is an intentional variant, but it is more likely some kind of copyist error.

It is notable that this is the most significant occurrence of a missing word in all of the manuscripts surveyed. The Mingana palimpsest contains examples of added and omitted words.¹⁹¹ The palimpsest pages that Fedeli examined had added and omitted words and different phrases as well.¹⁹² The additional significance of the palimpsests can be seen in that these were not accidental omissions that were corrected but were texts with variants of much greater substance than can be observed elsewhere. The existence of different words, including added and omitted words, can be found in the lists of what the Companions’ collections reputedly contained. Some of these records also include different phrases, as for example Jeffery reports regarding Ibn Mas‘ūd’s version at S. 2:198, 213, 214, 229, 233, and 240.¹⁹³ Larger units of phrases and portions are also asserted to have existed for the Qur’ān prior to its reported standardisation under the Caliph ‘Uthmān.¹⁹⁴ The significant lack of omissions and additions of any size can be taken as another confirmation of an early and concerted program to establish a precise consonantal text for the Qur’ān , or at the least, a later historical impetus to preserve only manuscripts with a particular consonantal text.

¹⁸⁹ Lane, *Lexicon*, ذُرْع .

¹⁹⁰ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 62; Ambros and Procházka, *Dictionary*, 121; Wehr, *Dictionary*, 375.

¹⁹¹ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, xxxix, no. 30, xl, as verified by Fedeli, ‘Mingana’, 7.

¹⁹² Fedeli, ‘Evidences’, 300-305.

¹⁹³ Jeffery, *Materials*, 29-30. This writer did a brief survey through Surah 2 and found 55 word variants, 6 of them involving phrases.

¹⁹⁴ The best single collection of the reports of these portions is in Hossein Modarressi, ‘Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur’an’, *Studia Islamica* 77 (1993), 5-39.

3.3. Conclusions Concerning Variants in Qur'ān Manuscripts

This survey of variants has attempted to present a comprehensive overview of the kinds of variants that can be observed in a defined portion of text across a representative sampling of Qur'ān manuscripts from the most formative years of the Qur'ānic textual tradition. Many kinds of variant have been discussed and this concluding section will seek to bring together the significant observations derived from these variants.

3.3.1. *A High Degree of Standardization for the Consonantal Text in Qur'ān Manuscripts*

The Qur'ān manuscripts show a precise standardization of the text within the somewhat flexible conventions of orthography used in the early period. A very high standard of concern for precise verbal accuracy is demonstrated in the manuscripts examined, even without the texts possessing extensive consonantal diacritical marks and short vowel marks. The complete lack of word, phrase, and transposition variants also provides evidence of a strong measure of intentional textual stabilization. The variants that can be observed in extant manuscripts are relatively minor revolving around a consonantal text that even at the time of the earliest manuscripts, including the palimpsests, shows a remarkable degree of fixation. The palimpsests demonstrate this fixation to a high but lesser degree in that the material they contain is recognisably Qur'ānic, but they do also contain variants involving different words and phrases. A level of standardisation is evident in their *scriptio inferior*s that was then even more carefully brought into line with what is found in the rest of the early manuscript tradition.

A degree of textual variation similar to that in the palimpsests is also found in non-Qur'ānic Arabic papyri from this early period. Hopkins presents a sampling that he asserts could be easily amplified.¹⁹⁵ These include dittography of words, haplography of words and phrases, lapsus, or words that are simple errors, words added in later, and abbreviations. With Qur'ān manuscripts from the same era and

¹⁹⁵ Hopkins, *Studies*, §58, 60-61.

in the same script style, instead of such a list being easily amplified, one is hard put to find even single examples.

Also, concerning corrections to the text, Fedeli presents a short list of variants which are found in some of the very earliest available Qur'ān fragments and palimpsests.¹⁹⁶ The corrections she observed, and that are presented in the manuscripts surveyed in this study, reinforce this point concerning the quantity of erased and re-written sections which show the manuscripts were conformed to a standard form of the consonantal text. It is also interesting to see that Islamic books devoted to upholding the traditional views of the transmission of the text of the Qur'ān, like Azami, omit all mention of such corrections except for the one sub-category of copyist mistakes.¹⁹⁷ Azami even wrongly denies that such corrections occurred in the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition.¹⁹⁸ This appears to be a popular misconception. A writer of a book introducing Islam to non-Muslims similarly writes,¹⁹⁹

Uthman sent copies of the text of the recension to the centres of the Islamic Empire and that is why, according to Professor Hamidullah, copies attributed to Uthman exist in Tashkent and Istanbul. Apart from one or two possible mistakes in copying, the oldest documents known to the present day, that are to be found throughout the Islamic world, are identical; the same is true for documents preserved in Europe (there are fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which, according to the experts, date from the Eighth and Ninth centuries A.D., i.e. the Second and Third Hegirian centuries).

The Tashkent manuscript and the Paris manuscripts mentioned here were used in this thesis.

In large measure the strong standardisation of the text was to be expected, but what this study brings out is the precision and scope of the stabilisation of the text. The small size of the zones of variable spelling is striking, being limited to names and orthographic conventions concerning the long vowels and *ḥamza*. The almost complete absence of word and phrase variants is also striking. Also, the variants of extra words, alternative words, and phrases recorded in the Islamic

¹⁹⁶ Fedeli, 'Non-Palimpsest'; ----, 'Evidences'.

¹⁹⁷ Al-Azami, *History*, 51; Denffer, *Ulūm*.

¹⁹⁸ Al-Azami, *History*, 182.

¹⁹⁹ Mona Abul-Fadl, *Introducing Islam From Within*, Leicester: Islamic Foundation, 1991, 92.

literature do not appear in these manuscripts for this portion of text.²⁰⁰ The contrast provided by the few palimpsests that are known is also striking, since word, phrase, and transposition variants do occur in them. In other words, the most significant variants, the ones that had the most bearing on the meaning of the text, were the ones found the least in the manuscripts. The kinds of variant that affected only pronunciation and recitation of the text were found in greater numbers and apparently with a greater tolerance of variability.

The precise, uniform state of the text is testimony to an extensive, detailed, and prolonged effort to impose unity on the manuscript tradition. It is noteworthy that in spite of this, variants that affected the meaning of the text were still found, as well as minor variants that match what was reported for existing in the Codices of the Companions. Substantial portions of text that have been erased and rewritten were also observed. Jeffery's contention that what has survived is what was considered 'not too unorthodox' is strongly confirmed.²⁰¹

3.3.2. The Qur'ān's Consonantal Text was Standardised Early in its Textual History

Related to the degree of textual stabilisation is the issue of when the stabilisation process took place. If the generally accepted dates to the early seventh/late first century for the earliest Qur'ān manuscripts are accurate, then these observations support the view that the major standardization of the basic consonantal text took place between AD 650 and 700/AH 30 and 80. Also, while there may have been a longer period of flexibility of the order of surahs in collected Qur'ān s, it appears that the basic content of the surahs that are represented in early manuscripts is the same as what is observed today. The question remaining concerns those portions of the Qur'ān that do not survive in the earliest manuscripts.

Noja states that Surahs 77-114 are not represented in the earliest Ḥijāzī Qur'ān manuscripts, ones thought to be from the Umayyad period or just after.²⁰² This does not include the San'ā' finds, which have not been generally

²⁰⁰ For example, Makram and 'Umar, *Mu'jam*, 2:514-517, and Jeffery, *Materials*, 51-52.

²⁰¹ Jeffery, *Materials*, 16-17.

²⁰² Déroche and Noja-Nosedá, *BL Or. 2165 facsimile*, 2.1:XX.

released to the scholarly community. A cursory glance through what has been released, the Hījāzi manuscripts cited on the UNESCO CD-ROM, confirms Noja with portions only up to S. 43 represented. It must be recognised, though, that this CD presents a very small sampling of the San‘ā’ manuscripts. This CD-ROM does claim to have first-century manuscripts in a Kufic script style for which the claim is made that above S. 77, portions from Surahs 87 and 88 are represented, though the manuscript containing these portions requires closer examination to confirm this early date.²⁰³

Also, this is not asserting that the Qur’ān material was yet in a fixed order, even if the contents of individual surahs were decided. Puin observed that one manuscript from San‘ā’ demonstrates that the ordering of two surahs matched the order asserted for one of the codices belonging to a companion of Muḥammad, Ibn Mas‘ūd.²⁰⁴ This order, using the numbers of the surahs in the currently accepted order, is S. 26 followed immediately by S. 37.²⁰⁵ This manuscript is also pictured on the UNESCO CD.²⁰⁶ There are also hints from Christian literature of the time that the surah order and contents were not fixed. These hints will be discussed in Chapter Five where textual variants consisting of large portions of text that are reported in Islamic literature will be discussed. Overall, there is evidence that though the consonantal text was fixed within surahs, the exact number and order of surahs may have still been flexible well into Umayyad times.

The palaeographical evidence that the consonantal text within surahs was fixed at an early date also corresponds to this conclusion reached from a linguistic approach. Blau states his view in response to those who would argue a very late date for the fixation of the consonantal text of the Qur’ān:²⁰⁷

In my opinion, indeed, a *ne varietur* text of the Islamic revelation existed in the middle of the seventh century. I consent to the general opinion that the consonantal text of the Qur’ān became sacred very quickly. If, in fact, the

²⁰³ Portions of these surahs are found on one page of manuscript 16-20.2, photo number 122132C, page 96.4 on the UNESCO CD-ROM. The dating of this manuscript is debateable and resembles manuscripts with dates into the second Islamic century.

²⁰⁴ Puin, ‘Observations’, 110-111.

²⁰⁵ Bayard Dodge (ed.), *The Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm*, Great Books of the Islamic World, Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1970, 54.

²⁰⁶ Showcase 12, page 35, picture file number 060042B.

²⁰⁷ Blau, *JUDAEO-ARABIC*, 222.

text of the Qur'ān had been revised according to the rules of Classical Arabic at the end of the eighth century, one would expect it fully to conform to them. Yet, as is well known, this is not the case...Indeed, the deviations of Qur'ānic orthography from Classical spelling...are sufficient proof for the traditional view that the consonantal text of the Qur'ān in its present form became sacred quite early.

If the dates assigned to the manuscripts surveyed are correct, then they could confirm this, but they could also confirm a slightly later date of the late seventh/early eighth century, especially for the entire content of the Qur'ān as it now stands. Blau's position and the one he is addressing are not the only two alternatives. The palimpsests also provide evidence that details in the text itself were still being worked out in the late seventh/mid-late first century though the general material was in place.

3.3.3. The Autographic Text-form of the Qur'ān Cannot be Determined

The text-forms of what was considered to be Qur'ānic material from the period between Muḥammad's death and the initial standardisation of the consonantal text cannot be recovered because of the destruction and suppression of variant material and the loss of whatever oral tradition was used at this time to supplement these texts and the one that was eventually standardised. The best that can be done to recover material from this period is to evaluate the variants that exist in the literature as best as one can, and to examine the *scriptio inferiors* of any palimpsests that come to light. This, however, leaves one with the situation that the earliest recoverable text is a revised version of the initial standardisation of the consonantal text. If one relies on the Islamic tradition and identifies the initial edited version with the one produced by the editorial commission set up by 'Uthmān, then this text cannot be considered the Autographic text-form since the versions used by Muḥammad's Companions in the years immediately after his death were used as Authoritative text-forms in the regions where they lived and taught. At best, 'Uthmān's final version is the first Canonical text-form following after authoritative Companions text-forms (including his own), and the Autographic text forms from within Muḥammad's lifetime.

The story citing the motive for ‘Uthmān’s action makes this clear in that groups within the Islamic armies were reciting different versions and violently disagreeing with each other.²⁰⁸ Also, the action of destroying these versions, prohibiting their further use, and promulgating one unified text-form implies that these other versions that needed to be destroyed were of sufficient authority to command the allegiance of significant groups of people. The resistance given to this order by Ibn Mas‘ūd, Companion, keeper and reciter of one of the rival versions is also evidence that he and his circle believed his was of greater authority than ‘Uthmān’s. At best, ‘Uthmān’s version is the first Canonical text-form, and it was very possibly replaced by an Interpretive text-form (al-Ḥajjāj’s) which itself became a new Canonical text-form of the consonantal text still in use today. The efficiency of Islamic efforts to suppress the other text-forms has left this as the earliest recoverable text-form with the current state of manuscript evidence.

This Canonical text-form in its earliest extant representatives is also already in a strongly edited form designed for liturgical use. It contains rhyme schemes, verse markers, and is found in surah form which is a form more suited for recitation than for reading as literature or consulting as an organized collection of sayings or stories. Getting back to their autographic, less organised liturgical forms is impossible because of the destruction of the earliest recorded forms of Qur’ānic material.

3.3.4. The Qur’ān’s Basic Orthography was Still Flexible

When the initial standardisations of the consonantal text of the Qur’ān were made, certain features of Arabic script were undeveloped and unsystematic. Two types of textual variant demonstrate this from within the general category for orthographic variants mentioned earlier:

- 1). Diacritical mark variants, both for distinguishing consonants and for representing short vowels, and
- 2) Orthographic variants for the long vowels *alif*, *waw*, and *yā’*, and *ḥamza* .

²⁰⁸ Watt, *Introduction*, 42.

When one takes a broad chronological look over the manuscripts surveyed one finds that for both of these features there was intentional development and experimentation to make Arabic script a more precise and consistent vehicle for reproducing all the phonetic features of Arabic. Within three centuries, an initially variable use of long vowels was standardised. The letter for the glottal stop *ḥamza* was invented and introduced. Also, a consistent and unified system for designating consonantal diacritical marks and then the short vowels were developed, introduced, and became standard features of the manuscript tradition.

3.3.5. Intentionality and Non-Intentionality with Variants

Both intentional and unintentional variants were observed in the manuscripts surveyed. The unintentional variants were the many copyist errors observed. The intentional variants related to the flexible orthography and development of more precise orthographic conventions, corrections to the text, grammatical variants, and the word variants. Rippin examined variants discussed in the early exegetical tradition of Islam and found that many of them were tendentious, the variant word forms having been created from the ambiguous orthography to support a clear lexical or dogmatic argument.²⁰⁹ None of these were observed in manuscripts for the portion examined, except for perhaps the introduction of *alif* in *ولو الدى* (S. 14:41:1) to make it mean explicitly ‘parents’. This variant is examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

Intentional variants were observed in the application of consonantal diacritical marks. The application of diacritical marks in BN 334c at 14:37:6 could have been intentional to make the general word ‘fruit’ the more specific word ‘dates.’ At 14:41:2 in 01-29.1 diacritical marks changing the person increased the intimacy of the invocation of Ibrāhīm to Allah.

There were two intentional additions to the text that have an unclear purpose. At 14:35:3 in the Meknes manuscript, the letters *لا* were added for no easily discernible purpose. Also, at 14:40:2 in 01-29.1 a *nūn* was added to the end of a word for no clear purpose.

²⁰⁹ Rippin, *Qur'an*, xiv.

Five occurrences were observed where the orthography has been intentionally updated, at 14:38:1 in BN 330a; 14:38:2 on the Meknes manuscript; 14:40:1 and 14:41:1 in the Istanbul manuscript. The first two involved the intentional addition of diacritical marks to make an ambiguous word especially clear. There may have been many more of these with the potential of many of the diacritical marks in the manuscripts being added later in their history. The two involving the Istanbul manuscript were the additions of full *alifs* to the text. This could have been to make an understood pronunciation explicit, or they could have been added in response to an edict to add *alifs* into the text, as has been suggested for another manuscript, St. Petersburg E20 where this kind of addition can be found.²¹⁰ One could also include the introduction of *ḥamza* seen in Or. 12884.

Perhaps the greatest underlying issue related to intentionality is that a unified Canonical text-form was maintained in these manuscripts. The corrections of the text demonstrate this kind of intentional action. Out of four instances of such corrections observed, two of them involved three letters of text (14:35:3 in the Meknes manuscript and 14:39:1 in 01-20.x). The other two involved replacing words (14:38:2-3 in BN 330a) and a phrase (14:39:1-2 in BN 370a). This last instance is especially interesting in that the standard text is too long to fit in the erased portion, so the scribe squeezed it into the existing space, content that the wrong text had been defaced.

Another large example of this is found in the placement of all the consonantal diacritical marks in all of the manuscripts that predate the tenth century. Since there was not a uniform system of placement in use, and since there was opposition in some places to the addition of diacritical marks at all, the diacritical marks that are found were probably intentionally placed to make the ambiguous features of the text less ambiguous. That no precise system of their placement was in place can be seen in the different ways the same letters are pointed in Or. 2165 and BN 328a.²¹¹ Since the vast majority of the diacritical marks that are found in these manuscripts match what later came to be the fully pointed standard text, even though they are partially

²¹⁰ Rezvan, *Qur'ān*, 66.

²¹¹ For the chosen Qur'ān passage, Or. 2165 had dots on 18 of 27 *nūns*, or 67%. BN 328a had only 8 of the 27 *nūns* dotted, or 30%.

applied, they demonstrate intentionality of placement to make the text conform to a standard reading.

3.3.6. Summary

Altogether, the transmission of the text of the Qur'ān in early manuscripts shows evidence of editing, control, correction, and preservation. The textual tradition shows fidelity to a standard form of the text that within the flexible conventions of orthography for the time represents a very high degree of precision. Though they are few in number, textual variants that show intentionality and that affect the meaning of the text can be found. Evidence of readings attributed to the Companions of Muḥammad can also be found. However, what cannot be determined are the Autographic text-forms of what the earliest Muslims considered to be the full corpus of revelations given through Muḥammad and left at his death or the Authoritative text-forms of his Companions. Instead, a strongly edited version of this corpus has been preserved and transmitted, one made between 20 and 100 years after his death. It is impossible to know how much material was left out or changed in order to make this edited version, though from all indications it was material of a similar nature to what was preserved.

CHAPTER FOUR COMPARISONS OF VARIANTS

It must follow that any history of the book- subject as books are to typographic and material change- must be a history of misreadings.¹

4.1. Introduction

The surveys of variants in the last two chapters present both a large number and a wide variety of textual variants in the brief portions sampled in the New Testament and Qur'ān manuscripts. Both similarities and differences in the categories of variants were observed. Also, two major issues were seen to influence the kinds of variants that were observed. These issues were 1) the way the kind of script affected the kinds of variants observed; that is, the inherent differences in European and Semitic scripts in regard to their capacities to record the phonetic and syntactic values of their respective languages, and 2) the contrast of the kinds of variants that were observed in Qur'ānic palimpsests compared with the rest of the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition. Two appendices have been added which provide background information concerning these two issues: Appendix M: New Testament vs. Qur'ānic Scripts, and Appendix N: New Testament and Qur'ānic Palimpsests.

This chapter will present direct comparisons of the categories of variants observed in the manuscripts. The types of variants which are similar or parallel between the traditions will be considered first. The types of variants for which there is no direct parallel in the other tradition will be considered second. This will be followed by examining the degree of intentionality or non-intentionality that is discernible as a factor in the creation of the variants observed. These results will then be summarised as a conclusion to this chapter, before they are taken up again in Chapter Five, which will examine the place of these textual variants in the respective textual histories of the New Testament and the Qur'ān.

¹ D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, The Panizzi Lectures, London: British Library, 1986, 16.

4.2. Parallel Categories of Variants

These are categories of variants that were found in both manuscript traditions. They are similar phenomena and take into account the respective features of European and Semitic scripts. These include orthographic variants, variants affecting grammar, variants from negligence, and corrections made to the text.

4.2.1. *Orthographic Variants*

4.2.1.1 Proper Names

Proper names include the names of individual people and places. The New Testament and Qur'ān manuscripts both contained the names of people recorded with variant spellings. The New Testament manuscripts also contained a place name with a variant spelling.

Two proper names in the New Testament passage were found to have spelling variants: Haran and Isaac.

Three personal names in the Qur'ān passage were found to have spelling variants: Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl and Ishāq. Ibrāhīm was found in three forms. Ismā'īl was found in three forms, and Ishāq was also found in three forms. It is interesting to note that the most basic form of this name parallels the short version of ΙΩΑΚ found in two New Testament manuscripts with the shortened second syllable.²

All of these names needed additional orthographical symbols (dagger *alifs*) in order for their pronunciations to be noted in an unambiguous way. Ibrāhīm also needed the consonantal addition of the *yā'* in the final syllable in order for its full form to be read unambiguously. The variations in Ibrāhīm and Ishāq both demonstrate that in the early period the precise spelling of these names was not standardised and that a limited range of variant spelling was considered acceptable. This was confirmed by variants observed in other names as well from the wider corpus of the Qur'ān, such as Dāūd, Shaītān, and Taurāīt.

² These were D and Arab 151.

While these variants do not change the meaning of the names or make their identification difficult, they do have an effect on pronunciation. Also, with Ibrāhīm, the effect on pronunciation is such that it might open a window into the development of a clearly Islamic form of Abraham's name.³ The variants at least show that there was a degree of accepted flexibility in the orthography of these names.

The reasons behind the variant spellings in both traditions seem to be for one of three reasons:

- 1) They were a copyist's mistake needing correction: Ismā'īl in the Istanbul manuscript, Haran in the New Testament manuscripts with two different spellings, ῥαακ in Codex B;
- 2) They represented a legitimate variant spelling that was used consistently: Ibrāhīm in its two basic forms—Ibrahīm and Ibrahim, Χαρρα and Χαρραν, and ῥαακ in Codex D;
- 3) They were a written representation of an understood pronunciation, an attempt to improve the orthography: Ishāq in BN 333c.

These variants demonstrate that for both manuscript traditions, proper names represent a restricted zone of variable spelling where there was an accepted degree of permitted spelling variation.

4.2.1.2. Variable orthography

This category consists of words other than proper names that were used with accepted variations in spelling. For the New Testament variants, these represent variations in the use or non-use of final *nu*—the phenomenon known as *nu*-movable—and various alternative uses of individual vowels and vowel combinations. Vowels were fully represented in the Greek alphabet through its history, and there was development and interchange in their sound and

³ Graf von Bothmer, Ohlig and Puin, 'Neue Wege', 40.

pronunciation during the course of the history of the New Testament manuscript tradition. Also, copyist mistakes arose from the incorrect inscription of similar sounding vowels.

4.2.1.2.1. “*Nu Movable*”

This sub-category concerns the convention of dropping the final *v* of words for purposes of smoother pronunciation. The forms without the *nu*’s were all in later manuscripts. This phenomenon has no effect on the meaning of the text.

4.2.1.2.2. *Other Variable Spellings*

These were all variants with slight differences of the spelling of vowels. Some of these occurred frequently enough that they can be regarded as recognized differences of spelling. They can also represent instances of simple omission or mistakes of hearing. These are spelling differences that did not affect the grammatical function of the word involved and only marginally affected the pronunciation of the word. Some of them reflect different dialects of Greek recorded in manuscripts.

There were many orthographic variants in the Qur’ān manuscripts examined. These variations in spelling in the Qur’ānic tradition arose during the development of the orthography from a defective, ambiguous script to a fully standardised and developed phonetic script. The variable orthography observed arose from three sources:

- 1) Variable conventions in the use of two of the long vowels that were represented: *alif*, and *yā*’;
- 2) The introduction of the letter *ḥamza* into the Arabic script; and
- 3) The variable use of dots to distinguish consonants.

Concerning the variants involving the long vowels, the greatest number involved the presence or omission of medial *alif*, and the introduction into the

manuscripts tradition of the letter *dagger alif* to note places in the text where it was to be pronounced but where the earliest texts omitted it. Occasionally this omission can affect the meaning of the text. By the fourth Islamic century the spellings of these words had been standardized into a fully phonetic form.⁴

Concerning the variants involving dagger *alifs*, their introduction was to make explicit an understood or received pronunciation, an innovation introduced to make the Qur'ān's text more fully phonetic while retaining an early consonantal orthography.⁵ Forty-seven examples of this were observed, thirty-two of these occurring in the manuscript Or. 12884, which was the earliest completely vocalised text included in this study.

Concerning *yā'*, there was flexibility of its use in being omitted, replacing *alif*, or being replaced by *alif*. These occasionally affected the meaning of a word and often affected its pronunciation.

Concerning *ḥamza*, since it was a letter introduced relatively late into the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition, it was represented as a distinct letter in the latest of the early manuscripts surveyed: Or. 12884. None of the instances of the introduction of this letter affected the meaning of the text. They did however, affect pronunciation.

Concerning the variable placement of consonantal dots, it was demonstrated that in manuscripts from the first three Islamic centuries there was not a standard way used for distinguishing all of the consonants. A basic system seems to have been in place from the outset, but it was applied inconsistently and with various alternative sub-systems in regard to some particular letters. The application of these sub-systems affected the meaning of the text in that in their own ways they enhanced the precision of the text. They clarified both meaning and pronunciation. However, since they were not standardised or universally applied, they also allowed a significant degree of variable meaning. This will be considered in the next major section concerning grammatical variants. Also, copyist errors were observed concerning the misplacement of these dots. These will be examined in the later section concerning variants due to negligence.

⁴ Déroche, 'Manuscripts', citing 263.

⁵ Fleisch, 'Ḥamza', citing 150.

4.2.1.3. Conclusions Regarding Variable Orthography Variants

For both of the situations for the New Testament and the Qur'ān, consonants were very stable throughout the extent of spelling variations. The consonants of the words, except for final *nu* in some New Testament words, did not change. Spelling conventions were stable except for some movement with vowels. Due to the variable placement of diacritical dots, the consonants of the Qur'ān demonstrated more variability than the New Testament's consonants.

The New Testament orthography also contained developments in the writing of vowels. Occasionally these kinds of changes could lead to grammatical variants and changes in meaning of the word, but this was not the case in the great majority of the occurrences. For the Qur'ān manuscripts, since the majority of the manuscripts surveyed did not contain the short vowels, only changes in regard to the long vowels could be observed. These occasionally led to grammatical variants. But if the numbers of variants due to short vowels observed in the Islamic exegetical and grammatical literature are included as representative of the potential variation from short vowel variants, then the significance of this kind of Qur'ānic variant would be seen to be much greater than for vowels in the New Testament tradition.

Also, for both of these manuscripts traditions, these phenomena represent accepted zones of variable spelling for the historical eras in which the respective manuscripts were originally inscribed. Concerning the New Testament tradition, these zones included proper names, the omission/inclusion of final *nu*, and the use of vowels. Concerning the Qur'ān tradition, the zones included proper names, the variable placement of diacritical consonantal dots, and the variable placement of coloured dots to mark short vowels. These zones also involve a very restricted range of change, usually involving just one or two letters of a given word.

4.2.2. Grammatical Variants

This category presents variants that involved a variation in the grammatical function of the word in question. Both the New Testament and

Qur'ānic manuscript traditions contain grammatical variants. They also have many of the same kinds of grammatical variants though the mechanics of the production of the variants differed. The way that they differ concerns what was mentioned earlier concerning the differences between European and Semitic scripts. The New Testament grammatical variants involve different letters and words. For the Qur'ān, they are mainly represented by the variant placement of consonantal dots, though there is observed one instance of a different word.

There are seven categories of grammatical variant observed in the New Testament manuscripts, and only three of these seven are observed in variants from the Qur'ānic manuscripts. Here is a summary of the comparison of these categories. Note that both the number of examples and the kinds of variants are more numerous in the New Testament manuscripts than in the Qur'ānic manuscripts. The figures in the table do not include examples that upon examination were clearly copyist mistakes.

New Testament Grammatical Variant Categories Applied to Both Traditions:

	Grammatical category	NT MSS	Q MSS
1.	Changes of Gender	4	0
2.	Changes of Case	4	0
3.	Changes of Person	4	1
4.	Changes of Number	2	1
5.	Changes of Preposition	3	0
6.	Changes of Grammatical Form	12	2
7.	Substitution of Conjunctions	2	1

For the Qur'ān, variants concerning case could not be determined with precision since most of the case relationships were represented by vowels not written in the earliest texts. Some case relationships can be inferred from the juxtaposition of words and general word order.⁶ Discerning variants in person and gender is also hindered by this situation. Person and gender can often be

⁶ As with the *Idāfa* construction between juxtaposed nouns.

discerned because of the consonants involved, but there can also be ambiguity with these if the consonantal diacritical marks designating a particular prefixed consonantal letter are missing. Even with this limitation, it is interesting to note that there was one grammatical variant in the Qur'ānic manuscripts involving person. It was due to the variable placement of consonantal points when these points were present. It should be noted that variants of this sort achieved a special level of attention in the wider tradition as is recorded in works like the *Mu'jām*, and Jeffery's *Materials*, where many of the variants consist of alternative ways of pointing the basic consonantal text.⁷ With these limitations noted, examining the variants that are recorded in the manuscripts raises significant issues that will be developed in the course of this chapter and the next.

4.2.2.1. Variants of Person

Four New Testament variants involve a change in the style of the phrase from direct speech to reported speech or the reverse. These involve intentional variants that did alter the meaning only insofar as the style of the text was changed.

One of the Qur'ān variants, the one at 14:41:2 in 01-29.1, تقوم instead of يقوم, involves a change like that mentioned for the New Testament ones; a change in the style from third to second person which changes the passage from narrative to direct discourse. This was an intentional variant which only alters the meaning insofar as the style of the passage is changed. Two examples of this kind of variant are also present in the palimpsests.⁸

4.2.2.2. Variants of Number

Two New Testament variants involve a change in number. One involves the change of making the referent of a singular collective noun a

⁷ Twenty-one out of one hundred and fifty nine variants were strictly diacritical and vowel mark variants from the records of Ibn Mas'ūd's codex for S. 2 in Jeffery, *Materials*, 25-32.

⁸ Examples can be found in Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, no. 26, xxxix; and Fedeli, 'Evidences', 11.

plural form at 7.6.4: D, αὐτοῦς (plural) for αὐτο (singular). This was an intentional variant to make the referent explicitly rather than implicitly plural but in the process strict concord was violated between the referent and its antecedent. The other example at 7.7.3: 1175, ἐχέλευσεται (singular) for ἐχέλευσονται (plural), is an example the reverse of the situation just mentioned. Here the scribe intentionally changed a plural verb to singular to make it agree with what the scribe perceived was its antecedent. Both of these were made with the intention of clarifying the existing meaning of the text, not changing it away from the basic meaning into a new story.

The Qur'ān manuscripts have one example of a change of number. This is a similar change to the New Testament ones, in that it involved the change of a third singular noun to a first common plural noun through the intentional addition of a letter. This is a change of number at 14:40:2 in 01-29.1, دعان instead of دعا, which changes Ibrāhīm's prayer from 'my prayer' to 'our prayer'. This includes his offspring in his invocation and creates a closer agreement with the immediate context. This kind of variant with the interchange of singular and plural forms is also found in the Qur'ānic palimpsests. Fedeli records two instances at S. 5:54 in the Bonhams palimpsest.⁹

4.2.2.3. Substitution of Variant Conjunctions

There are two instances of this kind of variant in the New Testament manuscripts. One is the substitution of the strongly adversative ἀλλὰ for the more simple connective καὶ in D and Arab 151 at 7.5.3. The other is a substitution of δὲ with a mildly adversative sense for the simple connective καὶ in C at 7.7.1. These are intentional substitutions to heighten the drama of the narrative.

There is one example in the Qur'ān manuscripts of a substitution of the conjunction normally used for demonstrating sequence, *fa*, for the simple connective and narrative marker, *wa*. This is at 14:37:5 in BN 328a and is an intentional consonantal variant which modifies the content of Ibrāhīm's prayer. The palimpsests also present four of this particular substitution of

⁹ Fedeli, 'Evidences', S. 5:54; 301.

conjunctions as well as recording the substitution of an additional conjunction.¹⁰

4.2.2.4. Conclusions

The presence of these kinds of variants indicates that scribes in both traditions sometimes took it upon themselves to correct grammar that they thought was in some way deficient. The changes were small but important in their immediate context. Though the New Testament examples are more numerous, the Qur'ānic ones have a similar impact on the meaning of the text in its immediate context. It is also fair to say that none of the variants violates the greater context of their respective passages and, though they were intentional, their relative infrequency in relation to the incontestable portions of the text testifies to a strong desire of scribes in both traditions to remain faithful to the perceived meaning of the text.

It is also significant that these kinds of variants are also observed in the Qur'ānic palimpsests. There were examples of all of them and usually in greater number than is found in the non-palimpsest manuscripts. This disparity points to the probability that these kinds of variants were much more common during the earliest period of the transmission of the text of the Qur'ān. Their absence from the non-palimpsest Qur'ān manuscripts is evidence that they represent a stage after the text was carefully edited. This observation is strengthened when the consideration is added that these variants were not entirely due to the absence of consonantal diacritical marks, but that many of them were consonantal changes in their own right. One more observation that strengthens this is that while three of the seven New Testament grammatical variant categories were observed in the surveyed Qur'ān manuscripts, one of the four categories absent from these manuscripts was found with multiple variants in Qur'ānic palimpsests, 'Changes of Grammatical Form.' This last issue will be revisited and developed in the section later in this chapter in section 4.3. Non-Parallel Categories of Variants, p. 187.

¹⁰ Fedeli, 'Evidences', S. 5:43; 301; Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, no. 2, xxxvii; no. 9, xxxviii; and no. 18, xxxix. Fedeli also records another interchange: *wa* for *'innā*: Fedeli, 'Evidences', S. 5:44; 301.

4.2.3. Variants Arising from Negligence

Both manuscript traditions have variants that are clearly the result of scribal carelessness and inattention. In the main, scribal habits were very careful and precise, but, occasionally there were lapses which resulted in mistakes. For this brief section, instances of negligence have been gathered from examples where letters were added, changed, or omitted. As such, some of the examples of haplography and diacritical mark variants are included here. Larger scribal mistakes dealing with complete words will be discussed separately.

Altogether, there are eleven minor copyist mistakes in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed. They were minor in that they were confined to letters instead of words or phrases. Also, they were easily identified and corrected. Here are the sub-categories of the New Testament examples:

- 1) Two are examples where a proper name was spelled two different ways within the same manuscript.
- 2) Two are from transcribing a vowel sound incorrectly.
- 3) Six involve either the accidental duplication or omission of a letter or letters.
- 4) One is a misplaced punctuation mark which creates a nonsense form.

Concerning the Qur'ān manuscripts, there are nineteen instances of minor copyist errors. Here they are grouped by sub-category:

- 1) Six have added or misplaced consonantal letters.
- 2) Seven are instances of missing consonantal letters.
- 3) Five are instances of misplaced consonantal diacritical marks.

4) One is a corrected consonant.

These small numbers of variants across so many manuscripts demonstrate the level of care which scribes used in both traditions. Copyist mistakes were found in the earliest manuscripts from both traditions as well as later ones. Since these were clearly mistakes, their effect on meaning would be quickly discerned by the reader and corrected. It is significant that almost half of the Qur'ānic variants in this category involve the misplacement of diacritical marks. This is an additional area with potential for error when compared with the New Testament tradition. The only New Testament negligence variant that is somewhat similar graphically to this is the misplacement of a punctuation mark. The mark in question is a point on the line of text normally used to mark a pause or the separation of clauses, as commas are used in English. The diacritical points in Arabic, however, if they were being read with a memorized text in mind, might have been easier to pass over since they occur much more frequently, and so remained in these texts without detection or correction.

4.2.4. Haplography of Words

These are instances of omission that are of a larger size that included entire words. They seem to have been both intentional and unintentional. Among the New Testament manuscripts surveyed there are ten instances of the omission of a word or words. Nine are omissions of one word. One is an omission of two words. Seven of the omissions are probably copyist mistakes. One is an omission due to a translation choice. Two are omissions that were probably made for stylistic reasons. None of these affected the meaning of the text to a substantial degree in that their effects were confined to their immediate context.

There is only one instance of this kind of variant among the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. This is the omission of the small particle ۛ from BN 340c. Its omission does not change the meaning of the text. It was noted in Chapter Three that there are omissions of this sort in the extant palimpsests.

Mingana notes one instance of an omitted word.¹¹ Fedeli notes three omissions in palimpsests, two of which are phrases, and an omission of a word in a normal manuscript.¹²

Comparatively, in both the New Testament and the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed, the omissions are mostly restricted to small individual words. The longest New Testament omission is only two words, μετ αυτον, which is a translation variant at 7.5.5 in manuscript Arab 151. One of the phrases Fedeli notes as omitted in the Bonhams palimpsest was three short words from S. 5:42, *fā'in jā'ūka* (فان جاءوك), 'And if they come to you'.¹³ The other is in the Fogg palimpsest from S. 2:217, 'an *dīnikum*, (عن دينكم) 'from your faith'.¹⁴ The omission of these phrases does affect the meaning of the text. Fedeli argues that this last one is possibly an indication of the construction of the Qur'ānic text confirming the justification that fighting in the holy month of *Rajab* was then permitted to Muslims.¹⁵ As such, this particular omission could have been intentional for political and religious reasons. Further discussion of intentional variants will be reserved for that section later in this chapter.

4.2.5. Different Words

There are occurrences in both traditions of different words being substituted in the same location in the text. There are five instances of different words in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed. Three are translation choices in Arab 151. The remaining two are isolated to two manuscripts and are probably copyist mistakes, one unintentional and one intentional, though for an unidentifiable reason. The text throughout this section of Acts is remarkably stable in this regard.

¹¹ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, xl, item C.

¹² Fedeli, 'Evidences', 300, 309-310, 312-313.

¹³ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 300.

¹⁴ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 314.

¹⁵ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 314; Alba Fedeli, 'The Interdiction of Fighting in the Holy Month: the Struggle for the Abolition of an Early Tradition in the Scriptio Inferior of a Qur'ānic Palimpsest', in *Actes des congrès: Le Judaïsme en Arabie, des origines à l'aube de l'Islam*, (Jerusalem, 5-6 February 2006), under press.

There are a total of five instances of different words in the Qur'ān manuscripts. Two of these are due to the alternative placement of diacritical dots on the same consonantal basis.¹⁶ There was one different word form created by the addition of three letters which, though the addition of the letters was clearly intentional, the meaning of the new form defies analysis.¹⁷ There are two instances where the word involves different consonants. One of these is the substitution of one one-letter conjunction for another.¹⁸ These all appear to be intentional variants mainly for various stylistic reasons.

Only the last of these variants significantly alters the consonantal text and it was found in only one manuscript. This situation differs markedly from what can be observed in the few extant palimpsests. In the Mingana, Bonhams, and Fogg palimpsests twelve examples of different words can be observed, and three of those twelve in the Bonhams manuscript involve two phrases and an added sentence.¹⁹

4.2.6. Corrections

Corrections were physically made to the texts of both the New Testament and the Qur'ānic manuscripts surveyed. Historically, conventions developed in both of these manuscript traditions to note corrections to the text. For the Qur'ān tradition, Wright notes the use of particular words and letters written either in the text or margins for noting variants, indistinct words, and emendations.²⁰ Gacek has made a survey of the kinds of corrections made in the general Arabic manuscript tradition.²¹ Separate studies of the corrections

¹⁶ These are 14:36:,1 BN 343: **كبرا** instead of **كثيرا** and 14:37:6 BN334c: **النمرت** instead of **الثمرت**.

¹⁷ This is 14:40:2, BN 370a: **الادعا**.

¹⁸ This was the substitution of **و** (wa) for **ف** (fa) at 14:37:5 in BN 328a.

¹⁹ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, no. 3, xxxvii; no. 15, xxxviii; no. 17, xxxviii; no. 18, xxxix; no. 30, xxxix. Fedeli, 'Evidences', 4x in S. 5:44; 1x in S. 5:46; 301-302; S. 2:222, 305.

²⁰ Wright, *Grammar*, 26.

²¹ Adam Gacek, 'Taxonomy of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts', Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp, *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts*, Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2007, 217-235.

made specifically in Qur'ān manuscripts, though, are rare.²² In New Testament studies, the corrections in manuscripts have been carefully collected and examined along with the primary script of the manuscripts and have been made the focus of many studies. Corrections are noted in the apparatus of modern critical editions of the New Testament, and if possible, the various correctors in a manuscript are isolated and given their own number as a separate witness to the text.²³ Analysis of these corrections can provide significant insight into the transmission of the text.²⁴

Here are two tables presenting the kinds of corrections observed in the New Testament and Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed.

Table 1: New Testament Corrections

Location	Manuscript	Change Made	Reason(s) for Change
7.1.2	1175	αρα added	Stylistic or to conform the text to another MS
7.2.2	D	Αδελφοι: ending changed	Grammatical correction
7.2.2	1175	ακουσανται added	Correct a copyist mistake or to conform the text to another manuscript
7.2.5	69	Χαρρα: ρ added	Spelling correction
7.3.2	D	εκ inserted for απο	Stylistic or to conform the text to another manuscript
7.3.3	B	Συγγενειας: ε added	Spelling correction
7.3.5	D	ει removed	Correct a copyist mistake
7.3.6	κ	αν inserted for εαν	Grammatical correction or spelling correction
7.4.1	69	γης added	Correct a copyist mistake
7.4.1	2495	Χαλδαιων: αι inserted for ε	Spelling correction

²² Gacek, 'Taxonomy', 217. Fedeli has done two pioneering studies: Fedeli, 'Evidences', and Fedeli, 'Non-Palimpsest', Gacek provides an overview of practises in the wider Islamic manuscript tradition: Adam Gacek, 'Technical Practises and Recommendations Recorded by Classical and Post-Classical Arabic Scholars Concerning the Copying and Correction of Manuscripts', in François Déroche, ed., *Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul, Istanbul, Turkey: L'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1986, 51-59.

²³ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 241.

²⁴ See, for example, the careful analysis of the scribal habits in Codex Sinaiticus in Jongkind, *Habits*.

Location	Manuscript	Change Made	Reason(s) for Change
7.4.2	D	καὶ removed	Conform the text to another manuscript
7.4.3	ⲭ	Ἀποθανεῖν: ε added	Spelling correction
7.4.4	D	Μετωκεισεν: εἰ inserted for η	Spelling correction
7.6.4	2495	Αὐτο: ο inserted for ω	Grammatical correction
7.7.4	C	Λατρευσουσιν: ου inserted for ω	Spelling correction
7.8.2	B	Ἰσαακ: α inserted	Spelling correction
7.8.3	ⲭ	ογδοη inserted for εβδομη	Word correction

Table 2: Qur'ān Corrections

Location	Manuscript	Change Made	Reason(s)	Later Scribe ²⁵
14:35:3	Meknes	ﻻ added	Conform text to standard reading	yes
14:37:4	BN 333c	<i>lam</i> corrected to <i>yā'</i>	Correct copyist mistake	no
14:37:5	BN 328a	<i>Fa</i> corrected to <i>wa</i>	Designate a non-standard reading	No
14:38:1	BN 330a	Diacritics added	Conform text to standard reading	yes
14:38:2	Meknes	Diacritics added	Conform text to standard reading	yes
14:39:1	01-20.x	الح added	Conform text to standard reading	yes
14:39:1-2	BN 370a	Major erasure	Conform text to standard reading	yes
14:40:1	Istanbul	<i>alif</i> added	Update orthography/ Conform text to standard reading	yes
14:41:1	Istanbul	<i>alif</i> added	Update orthography/ Conform text to standard reading	yes

There are seventeen corrections in the New Testament manuscripts. Nine corrections were observed in the Qur'ān manuscripts. If this proportion

²⁵ This category designates whether or not the correction was made by a later scribe or not.

were extended to the rest of the Qur'ān it would confirm Fedeli's assertion that corrections in early Qur'ān s are very common,²⁶ as they are in New Testament manuscripts.

The most significant comparison to emerge from analysing these two tables is that while the New Testament and Qur'ān manuscripts share similar types of corrections, each manuscript tradition is dominated by a different kind of correction. The New Testament manuscripts are dominated by corrections to correct unintentional mistakes, either spelling mistakes, grammatical mistakes, or copyist mistakes. These account for 12 of the 17 corrections, or 71%. The remaining five corrections (29%) are to either make a stylistic correction or bring the reading into conformity with another manuscript's reading. For the Qur'ān, only one of the eight corrections observed (13%) is to correct a copyist mistake. The other seven (87%) intentionally conform the text in the manuscript to the consonantal form of the standard text. Two of these seven are also efforts to update the orthography to a new system.

This comparison also demonstrates that in the portions of the manuscripts surveyed, there are fewer unintentional copyist mistakes corrected in the Qur'ān manuscripts. One is corrected and eighteen are not corrected (5%). For the New Testament, three out eleven are corrected (27%). Though the sampling for these mistakes and corrections is too small to make any definite conclusions, this would be an interesting study to pursue with a larger sampling to obtain a more conclusive comparison.

Also, the disparity in the overall number of corrections makes it so that the great majority of the corrections in the Qur'ān s were made with a dogmatic purpose in mind: to establish the standardised form of the consonantal text. That this was a process to reinforce a dogmatic position can be seen in the contrast between the ways the variants for conforming the text to another text were made. With the five instances of this in the New Testament manuscripts, the text was possibly conformed to the reading of another manuscript thought by the scribe to be more correct. This was not done to reinforce the precise reading of a text that had been standardised by a religious and political authority. The standardisation of the precise text of the

²⁶ Fedeli, 'Non-Palimpsest', 307.

Qur'ān in the seventh/first century, though, had been a political as well as religious action. It was also a political and religious action in the tenth/fourth century with Ibn Mujāhid only approving readings that would support particular Sunni orthodox political and theological positions.²⁷ In between these two dates, when alternative versions were still in use in competition with the 'Uthmānic version, it is known that pressure from the religious and legal establishment was applied to conform the text against competing text-forms. For instance, there was a decree by the prominent Medinese jurist Mālik ibn Anas (d. 795/179) that a ruler had the duty to prevent both the sale and recitation of the version attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd.²⁸ A scribe making such changes in Qur'ān s was not acting in isolation to only clarify and correct a text with unintentional errors. He was also not just reinforcing what he as an individual scribe thought was a more correct reading. These were what New Testament scribes were doing. Instead, if Islamic tradition is given its full weight, the Qur'ān scribe was consciously participating in a broader ideological project to make the text conform to one precise standard consonantal reading.

The scope of this project becomes even more apparent when the Qur'ānic palimpsests are brought into the picture. It may be legitimately suggested that the original texts of the palimpsests were too different from the standard to be corrected, so that they had to be completely erased and rewritten with the 'standard' text. The manuscripts surveyed for this study conformed to that standard well enough that only small erasures and rewrites were necessary. The most severe example in these manuscripts was BN 370a which had half of a line of text defaced. It was defaced so effectively that the original reading cannot be determined with certainty. Examining the space allotted to the original reading, however, demonstrates that its original reading was different from the standard text.

Comparatively, this brings out that on the basis of this sampling, it can be asserted that the corrections in the New Testament manuscript tradition were not done to support or strengthen a particular dogmatic theological or political position. Rather, they were mainly to correct errors that had entered

²⁷ Tabbaa, 'Canonicity'.

²⁸ Cook, *Koran*, 119.

the text through the normal transcription process. The same cannot be said for the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition. That so many dogmatic corrections were observed in a limited sampling is a significant testimony to the strength of the efforts made to standardise its text. These comparisons cannot be regarded as finally or conclusively proved because of the limited nature of the textual samples. But they do give a significant representative indication of the directions in which corrections were made in the two traditions, and they highlight a significant area needing further research.

4.2.7. Updating the Orthography

These are variants that represent efforts to update the text to a newer way of spelling the words. These are intentional variants, and they were made for mainly two reasons. The first was to conform the spelling to a convention that was perceived as newer or better. The major innovations for this in the Qur'ān tradition were the insertion of medial *alifs* and *ḥamza s* as well as standardising their use. The main effect of these changes was to ensure a more precise pronunciation of the words involved. The second was actually to fix a particular interpretation of the text by making the orthography more precise. Inserting the medial *alifs* occasionally did this, and the addition of a standard pattern of consonantal diacritical dots defined word choices. The introduction of a complete vocalisation as represented by Or. 12884 is the most extensive example of this.

The closest parallel in the New Testament tradition to this is vowel changes that reflect changes in dialects or long-term chronological change. Some of the vowel changes show a concern for adjusting the Koiné Greek to represent the Attic dialect.²⁹ But these were not efforts to make the orthography more precise so as to remove ambiguity in interpretation. This however, was the case with the improvements made to the orthography of the Qur'ān- the need for improving the orthography of the Qur'ān was driven by

²⁹ J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism*, Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria, Córdoba: Ediciones El Almendro, 1992, 67-77; BDF, §2.

the need to interpret the texts more precisely.³⁰ The New Testament changes were driven by a desire to conform the sound of the Greek to a favoured dialect. For the Qur'ān, there were four instances observed of this second kind of correction where the orthography was updated to limit interpretive choice.

1) At 14:38:1 in BN 330a, four diacritical marks are added to the word **نخفى** to make each of its letters clearly understood, where the average use of diacritics in the part of the manuscript is only one or two per word. Also, the fourth diacritic is a dot after the *fā* over the first part of the *yā*, as if there were a *nūn* between the two, like a first person singular pronoun suffix. The stem for the *nūn* is not there, though, so it is probably an extra dot that was accidentally placed there.

2) At 14:38:2 in the Meknes manuscript one diacritical mark appears to have been added later to make the initial letter clearly a *nūn*, **نعلى**. This made it explicit the word should be read as a first common plural form instead of second singular form (**تعلى**), or as a third singular form as the undotted form could also be read (**يعلى**).

3) At 14:40:1 in the Istanbul manuscript, an *alif* is added in the small space between two letters and it partially obscures the final letter of **الصلواه** (*al-ṣalawāt*). This is perhaps to make an understood pronunciation of the long 'a' sound explicit, or it could be to make this part of the text conform to a new orthographical practise that required the addition of *alifs*. Such a practise is said to have been ordered by the Umayyad governor Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 684/65) when he ordered two thousand *alifs* to be added to the text of the Qur'ān.³¹

4) At 14:41:1 in the Istanbul manuscript, an *alif* is added in the small space between two letters in **ولوالدى**. This is perhaps to make an understood

³⁰ E. Rezvan, 'The First Qur'ans', in (no ed.), *Pages of Perfection*, St. Petersburg: ARCH Foundation, 1995, 108-117, citing 108-109.

³¹ Rezvan, *Qur'ān*, 68.

pronunciation of the long ‘a’ sound explicit, or it could be to make this part of the text conform to the new orthographical practise mentioned in 3). This added *alif* is notable for another reason. It makes the reading of this particular word match what is said to have been the reading of Ibn Mas‘ūd at this point in the text.³²

4.3. Non-parallel Categories of Variants

These are categories of variants that were found in either the New Testament manuscripts or the Qur’ān manuscripts surveyed, but not both. There are more of these than the parallel categories, and as one goes through them a cumulative picture emerges of significant contrasts between the New Testament and Qur’ān manuscript traditions.

4.3.1. New Testament Variants

The New Testament manuscripts have a wider range of variants than those found in Qur’ān manuscripts. However, when Qur’ānic palimpsests are brought into the picture, they have more of the same range of variants as the New Testament ones. Here are the categories of variant that were observed in the New Testament manuscripts but not observed in the Qur’ānic manuscripts surveyed. If the category is found in New Testament and /or Qur’ānic palimpsests, this will be noted.

4.3.1.1. Orthographical Variants

4.3.1.1.1. Nomina Sacra

This convention of abbreviating certain words is not a general convention of abbreviation, it is instead restricted to a very small selection of words with sacred connotations, Three words are designated using contracted forms in Acts 7:1-8: $\theta\varsigma$ for $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\iota$, $\pi\rho\varsigma$ and $\pi\rho\alpha$ for $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$, and

³² Jeffery, *Materials*, 52.

πριαρχας for πατριαρχας. The words θεος and πατηρ are frequently written in New Testament manuscripts using these *nomina sacra*. Πατριαρχας, however, is not a word that is normally found contracted this way. It is only so designated in three minuscules, whereas the others are found in the earliest available papyri and majuscule manuscripts of the New Testament tradition. Also, *nomina sacra* forms of θεος and πατηρ are found in the palimpsests C and P.

Nomina sacra are found throughout the New Testament manuscript tradition in every era and every type of manuscript. This kind of convention did not occur within the text of the Qur'ān in the manuscript tradition, but it is perhaps similar to the 'mysterious letters' found at the beginning of many surahs in the Qur'ān. Bellamy argues that they are abbreviations of the Arabic phrase, the *Basmalah*, which is now found in full form at the beginning of every surah except surah nine. Bellamy argues that these letters were originally written in early scripts that were misinterpreted by later scribes and put into the groupings of letters as they now appear.³³ *Nomina sacra* do share one feature with unvocalised Qur'ānic text: one must know the full form of the word being contracted in order to properly interpret the contraction.

These are intentional variants denoting an explicit sacred significance to these words. This was a peculiarly Christian convention and it appears in the earliest available New Testament manuscripts.³⁴ They affect the meaning of the text in that they give an added indication of the sacred associations of these words. They are a convention inspired by dogmatic beliefs in the sonship and deity of Christ, the sacred nature of his ministry, and divine associations with Spirit and Father. They do not change the meaning of the text in terms of changing the identification of any of the people, places, or events involved with Jesus' ministry. They do, however, give an indication of early dogmatic beliefs concerning Jesus Christ, the Spirit, the Father, and key words and places associated with Jesus' ministry and crucifixion.

³³ Bellamy, 'Mysterious'; Madigan, *Self-Image*, 40-41.

³⁴ Helpful discussions of *nomina sacra* are found in: Aland and Aland, *Text*, 76, 102, 283; Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 36-37; Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 23-24; Larry W. Hurtado, 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra: A Proposal', *JBL* 117 (1998), 655-673; Hurtado, *Artifacts*, 95-134; Alan Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, 70-72; Roberts, *Manuscript*, 26-48.

4.3.1.1.2. Numerals

Two manuscripts, ρ ³³ and D, have abbreviations of numerals which use letters of the Greek alphabet. This convention was not observed through the entire New Testament manuscript tradition like the *nomina sacra*, nor was it observed in the Qur'ānic tradition. Weil notes that 'the use of Arabic characters as numerals has always been limited and exceptional.'³⁵ It is another example of the use of more flexible word forms in the New Testament tradition than in the Qur'ānic one. These variants were intentional in that an abbreviation was substituted for the full form of the word, but they had no effect on the meaning of the text.

4.3.1.1.3. Copyist Errors

The New Testament manuscripts have one form of copyist error that the Qur'ān manuscripts do not have: the variant spelling of a proper name within the same manuscript. Though non-uniform spelling within manuscripts was observed, this was shown to be a zone of variable spelling rather than a copyist mistake because the phenomenon happened too frequently in particular names across many manuscripts. With the New Testament manuscripts, though there are examples of zones of variable spelling with proper names, there are also a few occurrences that are clearly copyist mistakes. Three manuscripts each have one proper name misspelled within Acts 7:1-8, D and 69 with variants of Χάρριον in 7.2.5 and 7.4.2, and B with two spellings of Ισάακ in 7.8.2 and 7.8.4.

4.3.1.2. Grammatical Variants

It was noted earlier in this chapter that of the seven types of grammatical variants observed in the New Testament manuscripts, three can be observed in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. The four categories that are in the New Testament manuscripts but not the Qur'ānic ones are changes of gender, changes of case, changes of preposition, and changes of grammatical

³⁵ G. Weil and G.S. Colin, 'Abdjad', EI2, I:97-98, citing 97.

form. It was noted that two of these four categories, gender and case, involve the placement of diacritical marks and vowel signs that are not found in the earliest Qur'ān manuscripts. With this situation, more grammatical mistakes can actually be observed with New Testament manuscripts, since many parallel grammatical mistakes in the Qur'ān tradition would only be heard during recitation and would not be transcribed on the manuscript.

4.3.1.2.1. Gender of Words

There are three examples of this in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed. Two of them are copyist mistakes. The third consists of coordinated grammatical constructions reflecting two different ways of expressing Abraham's possession of the land promised to him by God, (Acts 7:5:4) either: 'and he promised to give *to him* for a possession *it* ...' or, 'and he promised to give *it* as a possession *to him* ...' Though these make no appreciable change in the meaning of the verse, the order of the words and the consequent gender agreements between them are different in the manuscripts. There is a change of meaning in regard to the immediate context, but this change does not involve any change to the characters, the storyline, or the broader context.

No similar variants were observed in the surveyed Qur'ān manuscripts or palimpsests. In the Arabic non-Qur'ānic papyri, however, many examples have been observed.³⁶ The absence of such variants in the main Qur'ān textual tradition is another indication of careful editing and standardisation of the consonantal outline.

4.3.1.2.2. Changes of Case

These are variants where a change of case of a noun or pronoun is involved. Four instances of this were found in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed. All four of them can be regarded as unintentional copyist mistakes having only a small appreciable effect on the meaning of the text.

There are no variants of this type observed in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed or the palimpsests. It is also not likely that they would appear since

³⁶ Hopkins, *Studies*, §83; 87-93.

they are mainly designated by vowel marks that are not present in the earliest texts or the grammatical relationships expressed in Greek through cases are expressed in Arabic by the placement of the word in relation to other words in the sentence. This kind of variant would then have been expressed by significant re-ordering of the words in the consonantal text.

4.5.1.2.3. Changes of Preposition

These are changes in the New Testament text where a synonymous preposition is substituted for another. There are three instances of this kind of variant. None of them affects the meaning of the text to any appreciable degree. At most they are stylistic improvements to the text. No examples of this kind of variant are observable in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed, nor in the palimpsests.

4.3.1.2.4. Changes of Grammatical Form

There are twelve examples of this kind of variant in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed, where a word functioning according to one grammatical category was changed to make it function according to another. These are found in manuscripts from all periods of the manuscript tradition. Almost all of them involve a difference of only one or two letters, and change the form into another word. These are best understood as copyist mistakes. Only one is possibly intentional and was found in a significant selection of manuscripts:

- 7.6.1 *p*74, 8, 104, 203, 1505: αὐτῷ (dative personal pronoun, “to him”) rather than οὕτως (adverb, “thus”).

The difference in meaning is very small. Both of them introduce a quotation. In their context they mean, ‘And God spoke to him...’ or ‘And God spoke thus...’ Either of these fits the context and presents acceptable syntax. Also, the forms are close enough that the substitution of one by the other could have been a copyist mistake.

No examples of this kind of variant are observable in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. However, a significant number of them occur in the few Qur'ānic palimpsests that have been studied. The Mingana palimpsest has two occurrences and the Bonhams palimpsest has three. These five examples involve small consonantal changes, four of one letter each and one of three letters:

- 1) **يَنْفَعُهُمْ** instead of **نَفَعَهُمْ** in S. 40:85, use of the infinitive form instead of the third person plural imperfect, 'it was of no profit to them' instead of 'it did not profit them.'³⁷
- 2) **فَقِيلَ** instead of **فَقَالَ** in S. 41:10, use of the third singular passive instead of the third singular perfect, 'it has been said' instead of 'he said.'³⁸
- 3) twice the conjunction **وَ** is used instead of the prefixed preposition **لِ** in S. 5:44.³⁹
- 4) the conjunction **وَ** instead of the conjunction **إِنَّ** (*'inna*) in S. 5:44.⁴⁰
- 5) the simple future tense indicator **سَ** is used instead of the conjunction plus the longer future tense indicator **فَسَوْفَ** in S. 5:54.⁴¹

The first two could have been copyist errors, but it is less likely that the last three are errors of sight or hearing. The letter forms are too different, and the differences of meaning involved in 3) and 4) are clearly evident though not great in their extent. These seem to be intentional stylistic differences from what has come to be the standard text. In this regard, they are more significant than the New Testament examples of changes of grammatical form. Also, since there are five examples of this type of variant in the palimpsests and there is an absence of such variants in the main Qur'ān textual tradition, this category of variant is another indication of careful editing and standardisation of the *rasm*.

³⁷ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, no. 20; xxxix.

³⁸ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, no. 21; xxxix.

³⁹ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 301.

⁴⁰ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 301.

⁴¹ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 301.

The chart produced earlier concerning this kind of variant can be expanded to demonstrate the way Qur'ānic palimpsests demonstrate a standardisation of the text occurred. Here is a summary table concerning the kinds of grammatical variants observed in the New Testament and Qur'ānic traditions:

	Grammatical category	NT MSS	NT Palimpsests	Q MSS	Q Palimpsests
1.	Changes of Gender	4	2	0	0
2.	Changes of Case	4	0	0	0
3.	Changes of Person	4	0	1	2
4.	Changes of Number	2	0	1	2
5.	Changes of Preposition	3	0	0	0
6.	Changes of Grammatical Form	12	0	2	5
7.	Substitution of Conjunctions	2	1	1	4

4.3.1.3. Transposition Variants

Transpositions are where the order of words or phrases is juxtaposed between manuscripts. There were six instances of this kind of variant in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed. They are found in manuscripts from all eras of the New Testament manuscript tradition and of all types including the palimpsests.

No transpositions were observed in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. They are asserted to have existed elsewhere in the Qur'ān. Jeffery records that a transposition of text was recorded to have existed in Ibn Mas'ūd's codex at 14:24.⁴² Three examples of transposition can be observed in the Bonhams palimpsest at 5:41, 5:48, and 5:50.⁴³ This disparity between the palimpsests and the wider manuscript tradition again provides evidence for an early standard edition of the text.

⁴² Jeffery, *Materials*, 51.

⁴³ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 300.

4.3.1.4. Conflation

Conflation occurs when two sentences are combined to make one while retaining the essential elements of both. Two examples of conflation can be observed among the New Testament manuscripts surveyed, in 69^c and Arab 151.

There were no examples of this kind of variant in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. They have been observed in secondary literature, like the one attributed to the Qur'ān version of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,⁴⁴ and some are reported for the Qur'ān in the works of the early grammarian Sībawayhi.⁴⁵ There are examples to be found in Jeffery's collection attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b.⁴⁶ The only ones observed in extant manuscripts known to this writer are those documented by Brockett in two Qur'ān s in Scottish collections.⁴⁷ Brockett also mentioned that he had seen others in extant manuscripts, though he gave no details.⁴⁸ There were no conflatory readings observed in the extant palimpsests, though there was one example of very different wording at S. 5:44.⁴⁹

Comparatively, this kind of variant is known to exist in the Qur'ān manuscript tradition, though on a much smaller scale than the relative frequency of its occurrence in the New Testament tradition as seen in the surveyed manuscripts. This again supports an early standardisation of the text of the Qur'ān as compared with the New Testament text. In the wider New Testament textual tradition, conflations are particularly a mark of the later Byzantine text-type which came into being over centuries as generations of Byzantine editors chose from available variant readings to form a smooth and more complete text.⁵⁰ This was a more informal editing process that occurred especially in the ninth centuries and eleventh centuries AD from the practical requirements of the liturgical use of older New Testament manuscripts as they

⁴⁴ Cook, *Koran*, 118-119.

⁴⁵ Andrew Rippin, *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1988, 32, note 5.

⁴⁶ Jeffery, *Materials*, 97 for S. 56:10-12.

⁴⁷ Brockett, 'Studies', thesis, 150.

⁴⁸ Rippin, *Approaches*, 32, note 5.

⁴⁹ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 301.

⁵⁰ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 279.

were adapted for use as lectionaries.⁵¹ In stark contrast, the Qur'ān's text seems to have had an early point of intentional fixation which prevented the formation of conflatory readings arising in the course of later textual transmission.

4.3.1.5. Additional Words and Phrases

Among New Testament variants, this category has the potential for providing the greatest changes to the text and the greatest changes of meaning in the text. There is also wide scope for both intentional and unintentional variants. Through inattention, scribes have been known to omit entire lines and portions of text because of similar endings of words and lines. Also, there was the temptation to improve style and grammar, and perhaps even to strengthen a dogmatic belief by making the text say more clearly what it was understood to mean. Examples of all of these phenomena were observed in the New Testament manuscripts. There were a few examples of additional words and one example of an additional phrase. The question behind the analysis of these words and phrases was: were they additional to an earlier basic text, or was the shorter text represented in the majority of the manuscripts an edited version of a once longer text?

It was noted that the palimpsests C and P have the same kinds of variants as the other manuscripts in the tradition. Also, it was noted that none of the twenty-one additions affects the meaning of their immediate context to any great degree, nor do they affect the meaning of the wider context in that no major narrative features are affected. For instance, the characterizations of the main figures in the storyline are not changed nor the plot of the storyline. All that is changed are small details and style which enhance the story. The longest additions at most make the quotations from Genesis more precise and full, enhancing the accuracy of already accurate and identifiable scriptural referents.

⁵¹ Timothy J. Ralston, 'The Majority Text and Byzantine Texttype Development: the Significance of a Non-Parametric Method of Data Analysis for the Exploration of Manuscript Traditions', PhD thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1994, 289.

It is significant to note that no variants of this type were observed in the Qur'ānic manuscripts surveyed. The longest variant of this type known to exist in an extant manuscript is in the *scriptio inferior* of the Bonhams palimpsest, and it is a complete sentence found in a verse that also has an additional phrase.⁵²

The Mingana palimpsest contains examples of added and omitted words.⁵³ The Bonhams and Fogg palimpsest pages that Fedeli examined had added and omitted words and different phrases as well.⁵⁴ The additional significance of the palimpsests can be seen in that these were not accidental omissions that were corrected but were texts with variants of major substance that were part of the text. The significant lack of omissions and additions of any size can be taken as another confirmation of an early and concerted programme to establish a precise consonantal text for the Qur'ān, or at the least, a later historical impetus to preserve only manuscripts with a particular consonantal text. These provide further evidence that an early and extensive editorial project was made on the text of the Qur'ān, or at least major portions of what was early regarded as sacred material.

It is significant that these larger variant portions found only in the palimpsests match the kinds of variants that are reported in some of the literature and traditions concerning the collection of the Qur'ān. It is also significant that the exact variants the palimpsests contain are not recorded in that literature. The suggestion was made by Fischer in the 1940s that the variants in the Islamic records were pious fictions.⁵⁵ Though there is a degree of invention in the accounts of variants (as has been ably demonstrated by Rippin⁵⁶), the testimony of the palimpsests, and especially the Fogg palimpsest that contains a variant that is also attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd, should instead be viewed as containing authentic memory of such variants, and also that the phenomenon was likely much more extensive and diverse than what has been

⁵² Fedeli, 'Evidences', S. 5:44; 301.

⁵³ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, xxxix, no. 30, xl, as verified by Fedeli, 'Mingana', 7.

⁵⁴ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 300-305.

⁵⁵ Fischer, 'Grammatisch', 5-6, note 4.

⁵⁶ See for instance Andrew Rippin, 'Qur'an 21:95: "A ban is upon any town"', *JSS*, XXIV (1979), 43-53; -----, 'Qur'ān 7.40: "Until the camel passes through the eye of the needle"', *Arabica*, XXVII (1980), 107-113.

preserved in the secondary records or extant manuscripts. This is also confirmed by Islamic tradition in that the other variants in collections that are known to have existed are said to have contained many more variants than are found in Ibn Abī Dāwūd's collection that Jeffery published.⁵⁷ This is an indication that the literature as it stands is not a complete record of the variants once existing in the Qur'anic manuscript tradition; that the tradition at one time did indeed contain many more variants just prior to the extant palimpsests and also in Islam's first three centuries prior to Ibn Mujāhid (d. 934/323).

4.3.1.6. Variants Involving Arab 151

Four categories of variants will be considered in respect of Arab 151: additions and modifications to the text, Peshitta-related variants, Arabisms, and affinities with Codex Bezae. Many of these variants were seen to be related to translation choices, such as the Arabisms and some of the different word variants. These will be set aside for the time being since a Qur'ān translation was not used in the survey of Qur'ān manuscripts. The other variants, though, were similar in kind to those observed in other New Testament manuscripts, including the palimpsests, even to the extent that affinities could be discerned between Arab 151 and the Peshitta and Codex D. This demonstrates that even though variants did enter the text through the process of translation, the text had been translated reliably enough to discern close textual relationships across three languages. This confirms what has already been noted that the general attitude in these manuscript traditions has been to transmit the text reliably and precisely.

Comparatively, the discrepancies observed between one of the extant Qur'ānic palimpsests and the mainstream of the Qur'ān manuscript tradition are greater than the discrepancies observed in transmission of the text of the New Testament across the language barrier from Greek to Arabic. This can be seen in that the added phrases and sentence in the Bonham's manuscript are of a greater size and of more significant effect on the meaning in their immediate

⁵⁷ Jeffery mentions four others that have disappeared. Jeffery, *Materials*, x.

context than the added material found in Arab 151. This suggests that Arab 151, even though a translation, was prepared according to the same principles of scribal practise as are observed in the rest of the New Testament manuscripts tradition, whereas the practises observed in the *inferior* texts of the Qur'ānic palimpsests and the rest of the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition were done with different standard texts to be transmitted. Between these two early periods in the Qur'ān's textual transmission there was a change of mindset as to what should constitute the basic text of the Qur'ān.

4.3.2 *Qur'ān Variants*

The main category of variant that is found in the Qur'ān s surveyed but not in the New Testament manuscripts was consonantal diacritical mark variants. First of all, this is a basic palaeographical issue concerning the differences between Semitic and European languages and how they are inscribed in a script. Comparatively, the absence or irregular placement of diacritics was shown to add a degree of ambiguity to the text that is different than that which the orthography of New Testament Greek allows. This degree could potentially be expanded if they are found to be an equal or greater problem among Qur'ānic palimpsests. Comparatively, New Testament palimpsests do not add a further degree of ambiguity within their textual tradition.

4.3.2.1. Involving Diacritical Points

The variable use of diacritical marks produces ambiguity in each of the three situations in which they were examined:

- 1) The variable use of diacritics from what have come to be considered their proper places, but with the word retaining its basic meaning,
- 2) The use of different systems of diacritics, and
- 3) When diacritics are used that make the letter an intentional consonantal variant, thereby changing the word into a different word.

This first situation is what was found at 14:41:2 in manuscript 01-29.1 making Ibrāhīm's invocation more internally consistent and personal. By changing the pattern of the diacritical points, the scribe was able to improve the clarity and sense of the text. Without these clearly placed diacritics, the sense of the verses is more ambiguous and open to being read in alternative ways.

Concerning the second situation, when different systems of diacritics were used, the clarity of the text would have been improved for anyone reading the text familiar with that system. But if the text was read by someone familiar with one of the other systems the possibility was there to read a letter as the exact opposite of the letter it was supposed to distinguish. For example, in BN 325a, BN 326a, and 01-28.1 the letter ف (*fā'*), was distinguished from ق (qaf) by having one dot over it instead of two. In the Istanbul manuscript ف (*fā'*) goes undotted and ق (qaf) has one dot. In these early manuscripts, not every instance of a letter is distinguished from its look-alikes, so people using a particular system could have read the opposite of the letter intended by the diacritic. The concurrent use of these variant systems also highlights the degree of flexibility of diacritical mark systems being used in Qur'ān manuscripts at this time.

The third situation occurred in one instance where an individual word was changed into a different words by placing the diacritics in an alternative way. At 14:37:6 in BN 334c, the general word الثمرت (*al-thamarat*), meaning 'fruit',⁵⁸ was changed to التمرت (*al-tamarat*), meaning 'dates'.⁵⁹

In all of these situations, the difference in meaning is not great, but they do affect the interpretation of the verses in their immediate context. Examples which would have a greater effect are known, though.⁶⁰ Though no diacritical mark variants were observed in the palimpsests, they would be subject to the same issues of ambiguity caused by the lack of or variable placement of diacritical marks, and if more palimpsests become available for study this is an issue that should be kept in mind. Comparatively, the New

⁵⁸ Penrice, *Dictionary*, 25.

⁵⁹ Wehr, *Dictionary*, 98.

⁶⁰ See Madigan, *Self-Image*, 40, for a discussion on how the placement of diacritics affects the theological doctrine of abrogation as applied to the Qur'ān's text at S. 2:106.

Testament manuscripts could not be read in alternative or variable ways for this reason because of their more complete phonetic orthography.

4.3.2.2. Variants to Conform the Text to a Standard Form

These variants are corrections made so that the consonantal text conforms to what became regarded as the standard form of the text. A similar phenomenon was seen in New Testament manuscripts in that sometimes the text of a manuscript was corrected to the reading of a text the scribe thought was a better manuscript. The similarity ends, though, in that the corrections in the Qur'ān manuscripts to regularise the text were not isolated incidents according to the judgment of an individual scribe. These were part of a larger ideological campaign to create a completely unified text of the Qur'ān . It was mentioned earlier how it was possible that substantial consonantal variants of words and even phrases could have remained in the Qur'ān manuscript tradition until 934/323. According to Islamic tradition efforts were made prior to this in at least parts of the Umayyad and Abbasid Empires to establish a unified consonantal text. These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, but for now, it is enough to note that some of the manuscripts surveyed contain corrections made to conform variant texts to this standard.

The Meknes manuscript, BN 330a, 01-20.x, and BN 370a all had portions of text that were erased where there was a portion of consonantal text that was deemed incorrect. With the first three manuscripts listed, the correction was made by inserting the appropriate new letters. In BN 370a the portion erased was too small to accommodate the longer standard reading, so it was left defaced.

In BN 330a at 14:38:1 diacritical marks were added conspicuously to clarify a word. In the Istanbul manuscript at 14:40:1 and 14:41:1 *alifs* were conspicuously added to clarify pronunciation and possibly comply with a directive to add *alifs*. The second of these is interesting in that it might have been added to make the text comply with an alternative standard, a reading attributed to have been in the version of Ibn Mas'ūd.

The palimpsests examined by Fedeli are perhaps the greatest examples of this kind of corrective practise, in that the entire text was erased and replaced with the consonantal text now recognised as standard text.⁶¹

Comparatively, though corrections were made in New Testament manuscripts, they were made by a scribe to conform that individual manuscript to what he thought was a better reading in another manuscript, what was thought to be a better grammatical construction, a more correct spelling, or a more elegant style. They were not done to conform the text to a precise authorised form of the text over against competing versions that were read by other parts of the church. Perhaps the closest thing to this phenomenon in the New Testament tradition is if there were ‘corrections’ made by Marcion or other early groups as suggested by Ehrman.⁶² But again, these were done to manuscripts on an individual basis by individual scribes, on their own individual authority, not as a measure authorised by a central political and religious authority designed to extend to each and every manuscript within that authority’s dominion.

4.4. Intentionality

While analysing the variants in the two manuscript traditions, we considered whether a variant was the result of an unintentional error, or if there appeared to be a measure of choice that the scribe actively employed in writing the text as it came to be in that particular manuscript. Scholars have noted many reasons why such choices are made, and within a textual tradition, they were almost certainly made without an intention to substantially change the meaning of the text away from its original basic meaning. Ehrman, after an intensive study of intentional changes to the early New Testament texts states:⁶³

In fact, however, there is scarce need to posit any kind of ulterior motive for this kind of scribal activity. It is enough to recognize that when scribes modified their texts, they did so in light of what they already believed their Scriptures taught.

⁶¹ Fedeli, ‘Evidences’.

⁶² Ehrman, *Corruption*.

⁶³ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 279.

The effect of these un-intentioned and well-intentioned textual changes, however, can be cumulative and significant. They can obscure the original form and meaning of the text. Ehrman adds a significant observation:⁶⁴

This is exactly what the scribes did: they occasionally altered the words of the text by putting them “in other words.” To this extent, they were textual interpreters. At the same time, by physically altering the words, they did something quite different from other exegetes, and this difference is by no means to be minimized. Whereas all readers change a text when they construe it in their minds, the scribes actually changed the text on the page. As a result, they created a new text, a new concatenation of words over which future interpreters would dispute, no longer having access to the words of the original text, the words produced by the author.

Unintentional and intentional variants were observed in both manuscript traditions. As a prelude to examining their effects on both of their respective original texts and their effects on the later transmission of those texts, it would be helpful to compare these variants against each other.

4.6.1. Unintentional Variants

Scholars of both the New Testament and Qur’ānic traditions recognize that unintentional variants are a normal part of their respective manuscript traditions. Al-Azami recognizes that in the Qur’ānic tradition there are ‘scribal blunders resulting from fatigue.’⁶⁵ Gacek catalogues many types of unintentional errors found in the wider Arabic manuscript tradition as well as the ways they were corrected.⁶⁶ Metzger and Ehrman present a section on ‘Unintentional Changes’ in their introduction to New Testament textual criticism.⁶⁷ The confident assertion is often made that most of the textual variants in the New Testament textual tradition are unintentional copyist errors.⁶⁸ Gacek makes the same assertion for the wider Arabic manuscript

⁶⁴ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 280.

⁶⁵ Al-Azami, *History*, 151.

⁶⁶ Gacek, ‘Taxonomy’, 219, 222-225.

⁶⁷ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 251-258.

⁶⁸ For example, ‘Most of the changes were accidental, the results of scribal ineptitude, carelessness, or fatigue.’ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 275.

tradition.⁶⁹ In this sampling of text, however, the majority of variants *from both traditions* had a demonstrable element of intentionality.

If for the New Testament manuscripts surveyed one counts the variants that are due to known orthographic conventions, like the *nomina sacra* or legitimate variable orthography which had little effect on the meaning of the text, the total of intentional variants numbered two hundred and sixty-one. Without these sub-categories there were one hundred and thirty-three intentional variants. This compares with ninety-three unintentional copyist mistakes, and a further nineteen that could have been viewed as either intentional or unintentional.

The ninety-three unintentional variants in the New Testament manuscripts comprised a variety of phenomena. They ranged from simple misspellings of proper names to the omission of words. Forty-six (49%) involved variable spellings based on similar sounding vowels. The remaining ones consisted of differing combinations of mistakes of hearing and sight, involving the omission or addition of letters and sometimes words. Some of these resulted in a nonsense form, as in manuscript 69 at 7:6:3 where the word παροικονκον was found with an obvious duplication of the last three letters. At other times, the omission of a letter or word was less easy to evaluate, either because of the manuscript witnesses to that variant or to its effect on the meaning of the text. An example of this kind of variant was at 7:3:3 where the important majuscules B and D both omitted the small word εκ and there was legitimate debate as to whether it was an accidental or deliberate omission in these manuscripts.

Twenty-six unintentional variants were observed in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed together with four hundred and seventeen intentional variants and one that could have been interpreted either way. Among the intentional variants, if those due to varying orthographic conventions where the meaning was not affected are omitted, only twenty-seven remain (6%) that potentially affect the meaning, and twelve (3%) that definitely affect the meaning. Ninety percent of the intentional variants (85% of the total variants) were due to these orthographic conventions. The unintentional variants made

⁶⁹ Gacek, 'Taxonomy', 219.

up only nine percent of the total. They ranged from missing letters or the wrong letters to an omitted word. Nine of these twenty-six involved the misplacement of consonantal diacritical dots. The following chart will make these comparisons clearer.⁷⁰

	Total	Intentional Variants		Unintentional Variants		Undecided
		O. C. ⁷¹	S.I. ⁷²	C.M. ⁷³	D.M. ⁷⁴	
NT	397	173 (44%)	144 (36%)	68 (17%)	0%	12 (3%)
Qur'ān	407	337 (83%)	27 (6%)	15 (4%)	9 (2%)	19 (5%)

The intentional variants category is divided to reflect that some of the variants were the result of a scribe working according to a convention of his era that may have changed later on. For the New Testament this includes *nomina sacra*, conventions in writing numbers, and legitimate variable spelling since the scribe was intentionally employing them. The intentional variants due to scribal initiative are ones made deliberately to improve the text either grammatically, stylistically, or theologically. Alternative vowel spellings have all been kept in the unintentional count as mistakes of hearing, though some arguably could be orthographic conventions of their time. Diacritical mark variants are highlighted in the unintentional variant category because of their importance in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. They are not in addition to the other copyist mistakes but are included in the total of twenty-four. The significant issues these figures bring out are:

- 1) There were more New Testament variants of all categories except for orthographic conventions. This was expected because of the lack of formal control over the New Testament manuscript tradition in its formative stages, and because the script needed less improvement for it to be a complete phonetic system.

⁷⁰ These percentages are of the total variants for the respective manuscripts.

⁷¹ Orthographic Convention

⁷² Scribal Initiative

⁷³ Copyist Mistake

⁷⁴ Diacritical Mark

- 2) For the variants concerning orthographic conventions, there were almost twice as many in the Qur'ān manuscripts as in the New Testament manuscripts. This reflects the dynamic situation of the Qur'ān's orthography in the first three Islamic centuries compared with the relative stability and completeness of the Greek script and alphabet.
- 3) There are large discrepancies between the New Testament and Qur'ān traditions in regard to intentional variants due to scribal initiative. This shows a marked difference in scribal attitudes toward the introduction of even small changes to improve style or grammar with the New Testament tradition demonstrating the more permissive attitude.
- 4) There is a large discrepancy between the two traditions in regard to unintentional mistakes with the New Testament portion having more than twice as many as the Qur'ān portion. This, again, could be taken as a difference in scribal attitudes of care. It also could be testimony to the preservative effect on the consonantal text of the Qur'ān from the widespread and early conviction of memorisation of the text. This could also be evidence of the effectiveness of Islamic efforts to suppress manuscripts that were not sufficiently orthodox in their text.
- 5) All of these discrepancies in number between the New Testament and Qur'ān manuscript traditions can also be testimony to the effectiveness of the efforts to regularise the text at various times in Islamic history when the emphasis of unifying the text of the Qur'ān has been greater than the conviction to preserve or allow variant readings.

However, a major qualification on these comparisons must be made in view of the kinds of variants observed in the few extant Qur'ān palimpsests. If palimpsests had been available with S. 14:35-41 to represent the earliest period when the least amount of control on the text was exerted, it is likely that the numbers of Qur'ān variants would increase dramatically in number, variety, and significance. This disparity between palimpsest and non-palimpsest manuscripts is further evidence of an extensive project to

standardize and unify the text of the Qur'ān in its early years, and to a firm conviction to continue limiting variation in the centuries since, even to the extent of destroying manuscripts. Further significant observations can be made when the intentional variants are compared directly.

4.4.2. Intentional Variants

4.4.2.1. Intentional Variants: Stylistic and Dogmatic

Various kinds of intentional changes to the text were observed. Most of these in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed appear to be ones related to improving style or making the narrative more complete and dramatic, as was seen with many of the Western text-type variants and the variants found in Arab 151. However, these variants are faithful to the basic meaning of the text in that their enhancements emphasise facets of meaning that are already implicit or explicit in the grammar and syntax of the text, or that can be fairly inferred from the context. The concern behind these variants seems to be to present the story to the reader accurately and relevantly, not to change the story away from its basic meaning.

There is also the possibility that one of the variants in the New Testament manuscripts was made for a dogmatic reason. The inclusion of the additional phrase found in E, 1505, and 2495, at 7:3:4, 'and from your father's house' (καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου/τοῦ πατρὸς σου) may have been to correct a perceived failing to quote from Genesis 12:1 with enough precision. With this possibility in mind, it is interesting to note that there are no signs of attempted correction with the two potential discrepancies mentioned concerning God appearing to Abraham in Haran, and Terah's age when he died. Instead, even these potentially problematic texts have been transmitted faithfully, even across languages into Arabic and Syriac.

This supports the other observations made with the intentional stylistic changes that the normal scribal practise was to guard the meaning of the text by guarding its words. Metzger's observation, after surveying the spectrum of

intentional changes he had encountered,⁷⁵ is a legitimate conclusion for what has been observed in these texts,⁷⁶

Lest the foregoing examples of alterations should give the impression that scribes were altogether wilful and capricious in transmitting ancient copies of the New Testament, it ought to be noted that other evidence points to the careful and painstaking work on the part of many faithful copyists....Even in incidental details one observes the faithfulness of scribes.

Even with the number and variety of variants seen in this study, the overriding testimony of the manuscripts is to fidelity and care in transmitting the text with it being thought that there were small areas where there was room for scribes to take initiative to make corrections and changes to improve the style and grammar.

Intentional variants were observed in the Qur'ān manuscripts in the application of consonantal diacritical marks to clarify interpretation, the additions of letters, the updating of orthography, and the corrections made to conform the text to a particular standard form. At least four of these sixteen intentional variants involved the placement of consonantal diacritical marks, and these involved the creation of alternative words, and the alteration of a word to change the degree of intimacy expressed in a prayer. Comparatively, there are these kinds of variants in the New Testament tradition, though because of the nature of its script and alphabet they could have only been made through the inclusion or omission of letters and words.

Perhaps the greatest underlying issue related to intentionality in the Qur'ān manuscripts is that a unified official consonantal text was maintained in these manuscripts. Since there was not a uniform system of diacritical mark placement in use, and since there was opposition in some places to the addition of diacritical marks at all, the diacritical marks that are found were intentionally placed to make the ambiguous features of the text more explicit. A confirmation that there was no complete system in place is the observation on the different placement of the same kinds of diacritical marks between Or. 2165 and BN 328a. Since the vast majority of the diacritical marks found in

⁷⁵ Metzger, *Text*, 195-206.

⁷⁶ Metzger, *Text*, 206.

these manuscripts at least partly match what is held to be the standard text, they demonstrate intentionality of placement to make the text conform to a standard reading.

The most important comparison to be recognized in this, is that while both traditions have unintentional and intentional variants, and while large numbers of these variants are due to the intentional use of orthographic conventions in use at the time of the inscription of these manuscripts, the two traditions differ significantly in the numbers of variants observed, and in the direction to which the intentional variants work. While the New Testament intentional variants are the products of individual scribes attempting to make the text more consistent grammatically or stylistically, they were not made according to a preconceived idea of what ideal form that text should consist. They were instead looking to improve the clarity of the meaning of the text as they understood it. They were also doing this with an understanding that they were not to change the meaning away from its basic storyline.

The scribes who penned the Qur'ānic intentional variants, however, while exhibiting this same attitude of staying true to the basic storyline while making the text more internally consistent, had the added overriding conviction that the text ought to conform to a precise form of the consonantal text. This attitude is seen in the corrections made in the manuscripts surveyed and when the entire shape of the text is compared with the kind of texts observed in the extant Qur'ānic palimpsests. There is also a discernible attitude of limited freedom in the placing of diacritical marks while the consonantal *rasm* remained unchanged. This period of freedom, however, largely disappeared with the appearance of the fully vocalised texts in the tenth century.

4.5. CONCLUSIONS

4.5.1. *New Testament vs. Qur'ān Scripts*

Comparing the variants has brought out the differences between European and Semitic texts and the kinds of variants that can develop within the conventions

of their orthography. It was seen that the Qur'ānic scripts were more ambiguous than the New Testament ones, and that much of the orthographic development in Islam's first three centuries was designed to make the script more phonetically and grammatically precise. Even though the New Testament tradition had more variants of letters and words, the Qur'ān texts were found to contain the same kinds of ambiguities because of a lack of or misplacement of consonantal diacritical marks. Comparisons of these scripts which demonstrate the relative amounts of precision and ambiguity are found in Appendix P.⁷⁷

4.5.2. New Testament and Qur'ān Palimpsests

Whereas New Testament palimpsests were found to have the same kinds of variants in the New Testament tradition and do not represent the earliest attainable form of the text, the Qur'ānic palimpsests have different kinds of variants from the mainstream of the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition, and some of them represent the earliest attainable form of the text for the portions of text they contain because they are the earliest known Qur'ān manuscripts. Also, the Qur'ānic palimpsests were found to have categories of variants missing from the mainstream Qur'ānic manuscript tradition but found in the New Testament manuscript tradition. This was seen to provide strong evidence for a major editing project on the text of the Qur'ān to make it conform to a particular form of the text. Comparisons of New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests are found in Appendix Q.⁷⁸

4.5.3. Parallel Categories

Both traditions had variants for the spelling of proper names and conventions of variable orthography for the spelling of words in general. The New Testament variable orthography had mostly to do with vowel combinations that sounded similar. The Qur'ānic variable orthography had mostly to do

⁷⁷ See Appendix P: New Testament vs. Qur'ānic Scripts.

⁷⁸ See Appendix Q: New Testament and Qur'ānic Palimpsests.

with the uses of the long vowel *alif* and the consonant *hamza* . Both traditions had grammatical variants of person and number. Both had near-synonymous conjunctions substituted for one another. They also had copyist mistakes of various types and corrections to the text. They both had examples where the orthography had been updated to a newer standard. Though occasionally these changes could produce a variant that affected the meaning of the text, for the most part this did not happen in either tradition.

4.5.4. Non-Parallel Categories

The New Testament and Qur'ān both had categories of variant unique to their manuscript traditions. The New Testament had more categories of these than the Qur'ān did. For the New Testament, there were orthographic variants involving the special abbreviated proper nouns, the *nomina sacra*. Numerals were also occasionally abbreviated and there was some variable spelling of other words as well as some kinds of copyist mistakes not found in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. There were also grammatical variants of gender, case, changes of preposition and the grammatical forms of words that did not occur in the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed. There were transposition variants, conflation variants, different words used, and additional words and phrases. Also, since an Arabic translation was used for one of the manuscripts, there were translation related variants.

For the Qur'ān there were two types of variant that were not found among the New Testament manuscripts surveyed. The first was the variable placement and misplacement of consonantal diacritical dots. These dots designate many grammatical functions that are represented by words in the New Testament tradition. The Qur'ān also had intentional variants which made the basic consonantal text conform to an established standard pattern.

4.5.5. Overall Similarities

Overall, the areas of similarity between the traditions consisted of unintentional mistakes and intentional changes to make the text say clearly

what it was believed to mean. Intentional variants due to the application of orthographic conventions figured large in both traditions. For the New Testament tradition, *nomina sacra*, numerals, and legitimate variable orthography made up these conventions (44%, 173 out of 397). In the Qur'ān, the overwhelming majority of intentional variants were due to orthographic conventions concerning *alif*, *yā'*, and *ḥamza* (83%, 337 out of 407). Overall, both traditions showed a large number of variants, and a variety of variants, both unintentional and intentional.

4.5.6. Overall Differences

The main differences were in the scale of the numbers of variants with regard to kind of variant. Whereas 10% of the Qur'ān manuscript variants observed were other than orthographic variants, 51% of the New Testament variants were other kinds. This demonstrated that for the basic consonantal text of the Qur'ān in the manuscripts surveyed there had been a much higher degree of conformity of the text. There were fewer intentional and unintentional variants. When this situation was compared to the variants that can be observed in the few published Qur'ānic palimpsests, this gap diminishes, and the two traditions are seen to have much more of the same kinds of variants and in more equal numbers. The Qur'ānic palimpsests confirmed what the higher degree of conformity in the Qur'ān manuscripts also demonstrated: that the basic consonantal text had undergone a stronger editing process than that which can be discerned for the New Testament manuscript tradition as represented by the portions in the manuscripts that were analysed.

4.5.7. Concluding Observation

This leads to the most important observation that can be made concerning the overall shape of the basic texts that were studied. Though both traditions showed great concern for accuracy and fidelity in transmission, with the Qur'ān there was more concern with preserving a specific form of the consonantal text than there was for the New Testament. With the Qur'ān that

concern was extended to propel the development of a complete and universal system of diacritical marks and vowel marks within the first three Islamic centuries to reduce ambiguity of the form and meaning of the text.

Sometimes, different systems of pointing are recorded within the same manuscripts through the use of coloured dots. These systems, however, are only partly decipherable now because the reading systems they indicate often do not match the descriptions of the Seven, Ten, or Fourteen readings.⁷⁹ Also, particular forms of the text were standardised at different times, around 700/81 and 934/323, and these standardisation efforts involved the physical destruction and official suppression of other forms of the text.

With the New Testament, various forms of the text have been preserved in the manuscript tradition, in which concern for such a precise text form seems to be absent. There is concern evident that the meaning of the text was preserved and conveyed accurately, but not that a specific precise version and pronunciation of the text was needed. What Barbara Aland says of the scribal habits observable concerning the Chester Beatty Papyri are accurate here as well: they are ‘accurate in principle, but full of distinctive variants that do no violence to the meaning of the text.’⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Dutton, ‘Dots II’, citing 18.

⁸⁰ Barbara Aland, ‘The Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri in Early Church History’, in Charles Horton, *The Earliest Gospels*, London: T&T Clark, 2004, 108-121, citing 121.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANIC PRESERVATION OR SUPERMARKET STANDARDISATION?

*For how could you establish even the most obvious fact when there existed no record outside your own memory?*¹

-George Orwell, 1984

5.1. Introduction

While comparing the textual variants of the New Testament and Qur'ānic manuscript traditions in Chapter Four, it became apparent that the creation of textual variants was intimately bound up with the cultural histories of the religions that produced the texts. Three issues shaped the comparisons and informed both their similarities and their differences.

The first was the literary context in which the originals were created with their contrasting mixes of oral and written literary conventions. The New Testament text used in the survey was produced in a culture with a long heritage of written literature and literacy, and also oral performance of texts.² The Qur'ān text was produced in a culture where, while there were forms of writing adequate for business and administrative functions,³ its religious and cultural literature were kept according to oral conventions. There was evidently in the seventh century AD still a culture where poetic and religious oral literature was being created and performed, literature not necessarily tied to written texts but related flexibly to a body of oral stories and some written texts circulating in Arabia in those times.⁴ The different functions of written scripts were seen in that the New Testament texts were recorded to be read with all necessary grammatical and syntactical relationships

¹ G. Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1971 Reprint edn., Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949, 32.

² Achtemeier, 'Omne', 12, 25.

³ This refers to Arabic business and administrative papyri dating into the seventh/first century. See Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri III, Language and Literature*, O.I. P. LXXVII, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969; Grohmann, 'Problem', and Hopkins, *Studies*.

⁴ Alan Jones, 'Orality and Writing in Arabia', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *EQ*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, 3:587-593, citing 593.

expressed by the script. The Qur'ān texts were written in a script conveying less precise grammatical and syntactical meaning and phonetics, functioning more as an aid to memory in reciting an already known text than as a vehicle for recording and preserving written literature.⁵

The second was the qualitative difference in the nature of the records of early textual variants which have come down to us in the manuscripts themselves. The New Testament manuscripts showed the same basic kinds of variants throughout their history with only a gradual informal standardisation of the text occurring over centuries. The Qur'ān text, however, showed an early fixation of the consonantal line of text, and while flexibility of diacritics and vowels continued for at least three centuries, these too were eventually standardised to a high degree of precision. This concern in Islam for a precise form of the text is highlighted in that an academic discipline developed within Islam's first three centuries which was devoted to recording and explaining variant readings of the text of the Qur'ān.⁶ No comparable discipline developed in Christianity until the nineteenth century.

The third issue is the contrasting roles of political and ecclesiastical authority in the establishment and maintenance of a precise text of scripture for use in religious life. The Acts texts are notable for their lack of formal standardisation of a precise form of the text at the hands of a central authority. The S. 14 texts are notable for the repeated official editions which standardised particular forms of the text itself.

Having these three issues in mind and developing from them, this chapter will examine the comparisons from Chapter Four with particular regard to the two basic goals of textual criticism: recovering the original text, and tracing the transmission history of the respective text. In doing this, the variants involved will be examined against a wider background of textual studies on the respective texts of the New Testament and Qur'ān. This chapter will then close with conclusions concerning the respective original texts that can be deduced, and the most significant comparisons from their textual histories.

⁵ Fred M. Donner, 'The Historical Context', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 23-40, citing 32; Madigan, *Self-Image*, 40.

⁶ Jeffery mentions the development of books concerning the *Maṣāḥif*, the collections of Qur'ānic material attributed to the Companions of Muḥammad: Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, vii, x. Also, there is the extensive literature that was generated explaining the Seven, and Ten, as well as the non-canonical systems.

5.2. Recovering the Autographic Text-form

5.2.1.1. *The New Testament: Establishing a Critical Text*

As was discussed in Chapter One, section 1.1., the primary goal of textual criticism in New Testament studies is to reconstruct the original text of the New Testament from within the spectrum of textual variants that are contained in the New Testament manuscript tradition. The products of this kind of study are called ‘critical texts.’ Many have been constructed and currently the NA²⁷ is considered to be the best one to have been produced to date, though a more extensive project is in progress which has only been completed concerning some of the smaller New Testament books, the Editio Critica Maior project. Instead of using representative manuscripts this project seeks to incorporate the texts of all known New Testament manuscripts that differ from the Byzantine text-type in its collation of the text.⁷ Reconstructing the original text, and presenting it in a critical text, has been the primary goal in the discipline for at least two centuries. Only recently has the appropriateness of this goal been questioned. Questions have been raised asking if it is actually possible to reconstruct the original text, and what exactly is meant by the words ‘original text.’

For this study, Epp’s categories for labelling different stages of the text were adopted and modified.⁸ For this study, the Autographic text-form is what is considered to be what is usually termed, the original text, for the text of Acts. It is the version as it came from the author’s desk. The question as to whether or not one can reconstruct the Autographic text-form has been raised because of the recognition that in the earliest available records for the text of Acts, there are variations in the texts.⁹ This has been seen in that readings in the earliest textual witnesses that are classified as ‘Alexandrian’ and ‘Western’ can be traced to the second century, and they have significant variations between them.¹⁰ A variety of answers have arisen from there being an original text that is discernible and largely

⁷ Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, ‘The Greek Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament’, Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 46, 43-60, citing 54.

⁸ Epp, ‘Multivalence’.

⁹ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 275.

¹⁰ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 276-278.

recoverable through textual criticism, to the view that there may not have been one original text but instead various early texts. Much of this debate centres around the Gospels and incorporates various theories asserting varying degrees of dependence on oral and written approaches to Scripture.¹¹

The book of Acts, however, is best viewed as being a product of written literature without the added complication of an oral form preceding or accompanying the written one, even though it was written in a culture with ‘high residual orality.’¹² The biggest debate over the form of its original text is whether there was just one original form or two that were put into circulation, a shorter one, represented by what is considered the Alexandrian text-type, and the longer one represented by some form of the Western text-type.¹³ The main questions are: is the original text more similar to the short version, with the extra material having become part of the manuscript tradition through intentional and unintentional additions?¹⁴ Or, is the longer version closer to the more original version,¹⁵ or is the original text somewhere in between these two extremes? Most scholars tend toward the shorter version being closer to the form of the original text, though it is recognised that the issue is still an open one.¹⁶

Part of the reason the debate continues is because of the realisation that the earliest scribes in the New Testament tradition, though capable of accuracy, were ‘not interested in making a slavishly precise reproduction of their exemplar’ though they did want to accurately reproduce the meaning of the text.¹⁷ There was a wider degree of acceptable variation to the text in this earliest period of transcription than there was by the third century AD.¹⁸ With this situation, and with the recognition that some textual variants were introduced to strengthen particular dogmas

¹¹ One of the most important contributions raising the possibility of multiple original texts of the Gospels is D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, Cambridge: CUP, 1997. He further questions the possibility of reconstructing the original text of the New Testament in ‘Textual Criticism and Theology’, *Expository Times* 118 (2007), 583-89. A lengthy response to this article by Michael Bird was posted 17 October 2007 at

<http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/>. See also the review article of Parker’s book: Paul Ellingworth, ‘Text, Translation, and Theology: the New Testament in the Original Greek?’, *FilNT* 13 (2000), 61-73.

¹² Achtemeier, ‘*Omne*’, 3.

¹³ Strange, *Problem*.

¹⁴ Barbara Aland, ‘Entstehung, Charakter und Herkunft des sog. westlichen Textes untersucht an der Apostelgeschichte’, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses Bibliotheca* 62 (1986), 5-65.

¹⁵ Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*.

¹⁶ See Chapter One, section 1.1.2 Original Text Issues for Acts for further discussion.

¹⁷ Aland, ‘Significance’, citing 117, 121.

¹⁸ Aland, ‘Significance’, 117.

concerning Jesus Christ in the second and third centuries in conflicts between competing groups within Christianity, some scholars have become pessimistic as to the possibility of recovering the precise Autographic text-form.¹⁹ Others, though, still remain optimistic, believing there to be enough of a ‘basic text’ to the New Testament recognisable in the material that is common between manuscripts. Zuntz called attention to the shared ‘popular text’ of the second century.²⁰ Black presents the idea of a basic text being a core around which the variants revolve against the backdrop of what has been observed concerning the Targums:²¹

The situation in the New Testament is not quite the same as that of the history of the Targums: there, the collation of different texts to a basic “text” defeats every effort, and the only solution is to print the different texts in parallel columns. But there is in the New Testament textual traditions a *basic* text: there is an “overwhelming majority of textual agreements among all New Testament texts and textual traditions” (Epp 1966:40), so that comparison of texts is not only an unavoidable, but a necessary process in the search of the “true text”.

As with the Targums, a contrasting situation helps to put things in perspective. This present study also demonstrates that, against the contrasting situation of the Qur’ān, the breadth of variants observed in manuscripts concerning Acts 7:1-8 revolves around a clearly discernible core of text which contains the essential narrative and grammatical elements to maintain the integrity of the story.

5.2.1.2. Earliest Attainable Text from Manuscripts

Ehrman and others, in their scepticism concerning the possibility of reconstructing the first published form or author’s autograph, have advocated increasing the emphasis placed on the second goal of textual criticism: tracing the later textual history of the New Testament text. They advocate exploring the

¹⁹ The major proponent of this view is Dr. Bart Ehrman in his various books and articles, the most notable and foundational being Ehrman, *Corruption*.

²⁰ G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, The Schweich Lectures, London: British Academy, 1953; repr., Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2007, 265-266.

²¹ Matthew Black, ‘Notes on the Longer and the Shorter Text of Acts’ Matthew Black and William A. Smalley, eds., *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida*, The Hague: Mouton, 1974, 119-132, citing 120, which is citing Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, SNTSMS, Cambridge: CUP, 1966, 40.

theological and historical implications for early churches by carefully examining the textual variants that are usually consigned to the textual apparatus of critical texts having been left out of the reconstructed text. Parker coined a phrase for this emphasis calling it ‘narrative textual criticism.’²² An example of the use of this approach in this study is the inclusion and examination of Arab 151 to discern any possible Islamic influences on this text made in Damascus during the Abbasid era.

This study was conducted with the expectation that the earliest attainable version of the basic text would be one close to the Autographic text-form, that being the finished product of the author of Acts. This view is taken because there is good reason to believe that the original text lies within the spectrum of variants extant in the manuscripts. The reasons why this is a reasonable view are mainly arguments from silence, but they are profound silences. First, there are no indications from the wider corpus of Christian literature that in addition to the Western variants observed in the sources there were other portions of Acts known to have at one time been part of the text—like a report in one of the Fathers knowing of additional verses, of chapters or events in the stories recounted in Acts, or an alternative version used by some heretical group. Instead, other groups, like the Manicheans, substituted different complete books of apocryphal Acts.²³ Epiphanius in the early fourth century AD distinguishes some Ebionites who secretly had a Hebrew translation of the canonical Acts from others who openly used a completely different book of the same title which was more in line with their teaching.²⁴ The significance of this phenomenon will be seen more when this issue of known but missing additional texts for the Qur’ān is considered later in this chapter.

Second, Acts is a literary production that sits comfortably in the mainstream of classical historical literature while also having affinities with many other genres of the time.²⁵ The differences between the two major text-types have been attributed to the longer Western text arising out of a situation employing an oral conception of production rather than a written literary one. However, this view has not come to be accepted as the likely setting for the book’s production.²⁶ Acts, in comparison to more clearly oral literature like the Qur’ān, is not a collection of sayings or a loose

²² Epp, ‘Variant-Conscious’, 288.

²³ J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005, 229.

²⁴ St. Epiphanius, *Pan.*, 30.3.9, 30.6.9, 30.16.6.

²⁵ Bruce, *Acts*, 15; F. Scott Spencer, *Acts*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997, 13-14.

²⁶ Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 94.

collection of stories but is a smoothly unfolding narrative ‘featuring extended journeys and developed discourses by Jesus’ followers.’²⁷ All of the known manuscripts of Acts and early references to Acts treat it as a self-contained literary production, not as a source that was supplemented, expanded or contracted in its historical transmission beyond what is observed in the Western variants. For example, there are no extant versions of Acts with Paul taking a fourth missionary journey, or having an additional sermon from Peter or one of the other apostles. These kinds of additions are also not reported to have existed in the Church Fathers.

Third, when one reads the care and deliberation that has gone into the decisions over variants as recorded in a book like Metzger’s *Commentary* in its portion on the text of Acts, confidence in the reliability of the Greek text is supported.²⁸ This is true even if one takes into account the differences of presupposition between thoroughgoing eclectics who place most emphasis on internal evidence, and the reasoned eclectics, who place more emphasis on external evidence. The range of variants and their differences in meaning are not very significant, as concerning overall reliability and authenticity. What has been observed for the entire New Testament is true for Acts, which presents the greatest spectrum of variants for any New Testament book:²⁹

Rather, it is fair to say that the verses, chapters, and books of the Bible would read largely the same, and would leave the same impression with the reader, even if one adopted virtually every possible *alternative* reading to those now serving as the basis for current English translations.

With these considerations in mind, there is legitimate reason to believe that the Autographic text-form of Acts would have closely resembled the text that can be achieved through established methods of textual criticism.

²⁷ Spencer, *Acts*, 14.

²⁸ Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 222-445.

²⁹ Douglas Stuart, ‘Inerrancy and Textual Criticism’, Roger R. Nicole and J. Ramsey Michaels, eds., *Inerrancy and Common Sense*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980, 97-118, citing 98.

5.2.1.3. Unintentional Variants

Unintentional variants were observed throughout the entire New Testament manuscript tradition. They were usually easily identifiable, comprising a letter, a combination of letters, or an omission that did not make sense in the immediate context. A few of the manuscripts had corrections of such mistakes by later scribes. Occasionally, an omission needed more careful evaluation to discern if it was intentional or unintentional. These kinds of variants had no appreciable effect on obscuring the form of the basic text of the selected passage.

5.2.1.4. Intentional Variants

Intentional variants have been introduced into New Testament manuscripts for stylistic and possibly doctrinal reasons. Various kinds of intentional changes to the text were observed, with most of these related to improving style or making the narrative more complete and dramatic. In regard to establishing the original text, enough of a basic text is discernible that the intentional changes can be clearly seen. However, it should be said that even the variants are faithful to the basic meaning of the text in that they do not change the basic elements of characterisation concerning the human figures or God, and neither do they change the order or significance of the reported events. Their enhancements are to make the story even more vivid and satisfying.

It has been observed that the Byzantine text-type is marked particularly by improvements to the style of the text. Manuscript evidence confirms that from the fourth century until the ninth, the linkages between New Testament manuscripts and lectionaries affected both of their textual streams and induced what has been termed, 'Byzantine Drift.'³⁰ This was an informal process of assimilation which resulted in a homogenising of the text of both. The older manuscripts were corrected according to changing liturgical requirements, and newer manuscripts had these changes incorporated into their texts. By the ninth century these trends had coalesced into patterns characteristic of what

³⁰ Ralston, 'Byzantine Texttype Development', 288.

was to become the Byzantine text-type.³¹ Also, in the eleventh century this process accelerated and came to a climax in the form of the text that currently stands behind published versions of the ‘Majority Text.’³² Note that this was an informal process driven by the use of the text in liturgical worship, without the additional motive of a dogmatically or politically inspired effort to produce a uniform text. The creation of the ‘Uthmānic version was inspired strongly by political circumstances in addition to there being a desire for a unified liturgical use of the text. Though the variants in what came to be the Majority Text for the New Testament were intentional on a micro-textual level, their cumulative effect was to produce a distinctive form of the text. The changes can be discerned through the established methods of New Testament textual criticism due to the availability of significant numbers of manuscripts stretching in a time continuum from the second century to the application of the invention of printing to Bibles in the fifteenth century.

There was perhaps one dogmatic variant observed in the New Testament manuscripts surveyed in manuscripts E, 1505, and 2495 with the added phrase that makes Acts 7.3.4 more closely conform to Genesis 12:1.³³ This could also have been an example of intentional or unintentional harmonisation. The Alands note that ‘Apparent errors invite correction,’ and that harmonisations between slightly differing parallel texts were particularly frequent.³⁴ But if it was a dogmatically inspired variant, it would be helpful to consider the wider background of these kinds of variants.

Though early church fathers blamed heretics for dogmatically inspired variants, the first New Testament scholar to attribute them to copyists was Richard Simon in 1689.³⁵ The major introductions to New Testament textual criticism from the twentieth century recognised their existence.³⁶ A recent treatment highlighting this topic is Ehrman’s *The Orthodox Corruption of*

³¹ Ralston, ‘Byzantine Texttype Development’, 289.

³² Ralston, ‘Byzantine Texttype Development’, 289-90. The two editions are: Zane Hodges and Arthur Farstad (eds.), *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text*, Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982, and William G. Pierpont and Maurice A. Robinson (eds.), *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform*, Atlanta: Original Word Publishers, 1991.

³³ This was discussed in detail at Chapter Two, section 2.9.1.

³⁴ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 290.

³⁵ Peter Head, ‘Christology and Textual Transmission: Reverential Alterations in the Synoptic Gospels’, *NovT* 35 (1993), 105-129, citing 108.

³⁶ Head, ‘Alterations’, 110.

Scripture.³⁷ He is thought to have demonstrated this point convincingly, and summarizes the phenomenon with the sentence: ‘Scribes altered their sacred texts to make them “say” what they were already known to “mean.”’³⁸ By this, he explained, scribes who did this were more interested in improving a passage, strengthening the meaning that they believed was already there, than interpolating a new idea into a place that previously did not contain it.³⁹

Though his arguments have not met with unanimous agreement,⁴⁰ he does adequately make the case that occasionally individual scribes in the second and third centuries introduced changes to strengthen doctrines that they perceived were under attack by heretics. What is not proven is that these changes were part of a systematic attempt by a particular faction in the early church to manipulate the text of Scripture to their ends. Instead, the probability that these dogmatic changes were made sporadically and inconsistently by individual scribes demonstrates the lack of ecclesiastical or political authority over the text of the New Testament in this crucial early period. Ehrman also recognises that the scope of the changes is very limited, at most amounting to ‘dozens of changes, perhaps hundreds,’ across extant manuscripts, not the thousands that would be necessary to accomplish a thorough change of the character of the text in its description of Christ.⁴¹

5.2.1.5. Use of Prior Scripture

The portion of text surveyed in the New Testament manuscripts also contains quotations and allusions regarding the LXX text of Genesis and Exodus. The text of the surveyed manuscripts is very stable and the basic text around which the variants revolve is readily discernible. There are additions in three manuscripts which have the effect of making the quotation in Acts 7.3.4 align more precisely with Genesis 12:1, but we saw that these were later

³⁷ Ehrman, *Corruption*.

³⁸ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 276.

³⁹ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 277.

⁴⁰ He has been criticised for forcing his argument in certain places by J. Neville Birdsall, ‘The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture’, *Theology* XCVII (1994), 460-462 citing 460-461, for incorrect grammatical explanations, and for not recognising legitimate alternative explanations by J.K. Elliott, ‘Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*’, *NovT* 36 (1994), 405-406.

⁴¹ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 46, note 124.

additions, rather than presenting an earlier text than the other manuscripts. This phenomenon of the use of prior Scripture is considered in more detail in Appendix R.⁴² In that appendix, the use of prior religious material in the Qur'ān is also considered.

5.2.1.6. What can Be Recovered of the Autographic Text-form?

In examining the textual variants encountered in these manuscripts, we concluded that the earliest attainable text, and the text that is most likely to have been the Autographic text-form as represented by the text of NA²⁷, except in one place:

7:3:3 B, D: εκ is omitted from the text

NA²⁷ keeps εκ in the text though it notes this omission in the apparatus. This is a very debatable situation, but one that does not affect the meaning of the text. In fact, with this being the most debatable variant found in Acts 7:1-8, it is clear that the manuscripts surveyed presented a very clear basic text of this portion of Acts. Since this is the most questionable variant discerned in this study, and that the others are explainable with legitimate appeals to the known conventions of accidental and intentional transcription errors, this testifies to a high degree of uniformity of the text and excellent fidelity in transmission. Even taking the widest spread of variants into consideration, the most serious variants did not affect the basic storyline. It is recognised that this was a very limited sampling, and more controversial portions of Acts and other New Testament books are known. But for a representative sampling across a representative sampling of manuscripts, the manuscripts demonstrated a very high degree of agreement and continuity over centuries of transmission.

⁴² See Appendix R: The Use of Prior Religious texts in the New Testament and the Qur'ān.

5.2.2.1. The Qur'ān: Establishing a Critical Text

It was mentioned in the first chapter that producing a critical text of the Qur'ān similar to what has been accomplished with the New Testament has not been possible. Some initial reasons were given as to why this was so, and now in view of the comparisons of the variants between the two traditions in mind, it would be useful to revisit this subject and explore what would be possible and what would not be possible toward achieving one. A comparative chart has been placed in Appendix C to show the kinds of materials that would be necessary to produce one.

There are two basic problems which make the construction of a critical text of the Qur'ān impossible at this time. The first problem concerns the lack of suitable primary source materials. The second problem concerns the reliability of the available secondary sources, i.e. the records of textual variants for the Qur'ān found in early Islamic literature.

5.2.2.1.1. Problems with Qur'anic Primary Sources

The most important sources needed which are not possible to obtain are primary source materials from the earliest periods of the collection of the Qur'ān : from within the lifetime of Muḥammad and what was collected in writing at his death to what was collected before the alleged collection and standardisation of the text at the command of 'Uthmān. This would include copies of the collections attributed to Muḥammad's companions.

These sources, however, are not available, and not even in later copies, such as a ninth century Qur'ān claiming to be of the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd or Ubayy b. Ka'b. This lack is interesting in itself in that there are historical records claiming that such versions were extant and being recited until the fourth/eleventh century. Al-Kindī, a Christian official in the Abbasid court of Al-Ma'mūn wrote in 830/215:

Then the people fell to variance in their reading. Some read according to the version of Aly (and they follow the same to the present day); some read according to the collection of which we have made mention. Others read according to the reading of the Arab from the desert, who in his ignorance made changes and additions. A party read according to the text of Ibn Mas'ūd, following the saying of thy Master,—
'Whosoever would read the Coran in its pristine purity and freshness,

let him read after Ibn Omm Mabad'; and he used to repeat it over to him (Mahomet) once every year, and in the year he died, twice. And, yet again, some read after Obey ibn Kab, following thy Master's word,—'The best reader amongst you all is Obey.' Now the readings of Obey and Ibn Masūd are closely alike one to the other.⁴³

This quotation is from a book attributed to al-Kindī titled *The Apology of Al-Kindy* which presents itself as the account of a debate between a Muslim and a Christian in the court of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (reigned 813/198 to 833/218). This testimony from a Christian is especially interesting because it is from an outsider to Islam and it confirms what Muslims from the same general era also wrote. Ibn Nadīm, in his work *The Fihrist* (c. 377/987), mentions the existence in his time of many manuscript copies of Ibn Mas'ūd's version and one of 'Ubayy b. Ka'b's.⁴⁴ Also, a violent clash is recorded to have occurred in 1008/398 in Kerbala over a certain Shi'ite who publicly denounced 'the person who burned the muṣḥaf' (meaning the third caliph 'Uthmān), who also persecuted 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, and ordered the destruction by fire of Qur'ānic texts which differed from his own.⁴⁵

This reference could perhaps be to an oral version of reciting the basic text of the Qur'ān and not a physical manuscript, but the grudge concerning the burning of variant versions suggests that alternative collections and consonantal variants were still in view. Fedeli and Welch both mention the theoretical possibility of such Qur'āns existing until at least 934/322 when Ibn Mujāhid published seven standardised ways of reciting the consonantal text attributed to 'Uthmān.⁴⁶ Von Denffer acknowledges that at this time many ways of reciting the text were being practised including the reading systems of Ibn Mas'ūd and 'Ubayy b. Ka'b.⁴⁷ From this testimony, it is significant to note that there are no known copies of these Qur'āns extant.

No copies of the Qur'ān matching the descriptions of Ibn Mas'ūd's or 'Ubayy b. Ka'b's versions are known to exist. Also, no copies are known to exist that contain substantial amounts of textual variants asserted to have been in these and other collections belonging to Muḥammad's early companions. The only manuscripts that are known to contain any of these variants are the palimpsests

⁴³ William Muir, 'The Apology of Al-Kindy', <http://www.bible.ca/islam/library/Al-Kindi/index.htm>, accessed 27 June 2007.

⁴⁴ Dodge (ed.), *Fihrist*, 53, 57, 58, 62.

⁴⁵ Efim A. Rezvan, 'Mingana Folios: When and Why', *MO* Forthcoming (2008), 2.

⁴⁶ Fedeli, 'Evidences', citing 315. Welch, 'Kur'ān', citing 408.

⁴⁷ Denffer, *Ulūm*, 117.

examined by Fedeli and some early manuscripts observed by Puin in Ṣanʿāʾ which have surah orders similar to what is attributed to the collections of Ibn Masʿūd and ʿUbayy b. Kaʿb's. There is a variant that matches one attributed to ʿUbayy b. Kaʿb at S. 5:45 in the Bonhams palimpsest, and one very similar to one attributed to Ibn Masʿūd at S. 2:222 in the Fogg palimpsest.⁴⁸ Puin mentions one manuscript with a distinctive surah order that matches one part of the order attributed to Ibn Masʿūd: a skip from S. 26 to S. 36 according to the current surah order. He also mentions another manuscript that matches a skip reported to have been in ʿUbayy's order, S. 27-37.⁴⁹ These are the only known manuscripts that demonstrate affinities to what is reported concerning the Companions' collections.

5.2.2.1.2. Problems with Records of Variants

There are many records of textual variants for the text of the Qurʾān in early Islamic literature. They are listed in commentaries, grammatical works, and the hadith. There was also a genre of books that developed by the fourth/tenth century that consisted of extensive lists of textual variants. Unfortunately, only one of these books survives, and when he published it in 1936, Australian scholar Arthur Jeffery appended an extensive list of variants he had collected from Islamic literature.⁵⁰ Recently, a new collection has been made from early Islamic sources that are more extensive than Jeffery's,⁵¹ though Jeffery's is still useful and reports some variants that are not mentioned in the newer collection.

Jeffery's collection was made as part of a joint project to collect materials toward producing a critical text of the Qurʾān. Jeffery took the task of collecting variants from Islamic literature. Two German scholars, Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl, took the task of photographing as many early Qurʾān manuscripts as possible from collections in Europe, Morocco, Damascus, Istanbul, and Egypt. All three of these scholars also took it upon themselves to publish important Islamic works on the text of the Qurʾān.⁵² At first there was a feeling of excited anticipation

⁴⁸ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 304-305.

⁴⁹ Puin, 'Observations', , citing 111.

⁵⁰ Jeffery, *Materials*, Jeffery lists some of the lost books of this genre.

⁵¹ Makram and ʿUmar, *Muʿjam*, This collection and Jeffery's supplement each other.

⁵² This project is described in a series of articles: G. Bergsträsser, 'Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Koran', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1930),

in the scholarly community that a critical text similar to that for the New Testament and other literature was possible to achieve. While many important sources were collected and published, the effort ran into many significant problems. In addition to the deaths of Bergsträsser in the early 1930s in an accident and Pretzl in the 1940s in World War II, confidence in the results of the project began to flag. Welch described the situation in 1979:⁵³

During the 1920s and 1930s several European scholars, notably Gotthelf Bergstraesser, Otto Pretzl, and Arthur Jeffery, compiled lists of several thousand variants mentioned in the classical Arabic writings, in the hope of producing a critical text of the Qur'an similar to those of the New Testament. But confidence in the validity of the variants declined steadily as they were collected and analyzed, and this along with several other factors—including the destruction of the microfilms, photographs, and other materials for the project during the World War II bombing of Munich—brought a halt to the project. Most Western scholars who have worked on the problem since that time have concluded that many, if not most, of the allegedly pre-ʿUthmanic variants were later attempts by philologists and Qur'an exegetes to emend the ʿUthmanic text; and all agree that it is often virtually impossible to distinguish valid variants from invented ones. A similar problem exists concerning the numerous conflicting accounts of the “collection” (i.e., compiling and arranging) of the Qur'an during the reigns of the first three caliphs.

Welch also notes that before World War II, this lack of confidence became so pronounced that the project was halted.⁵⁴ Though some of the archive thought destroyed has been found, and since the discovery of the Ṣan'ā' manuscripts in the 1970s some interest in the project has revived, the problems of the inconsistencies, contradictions, and inventions of variants in the secondary literature remain. Part of the purpose of this study has been to examine the best primary source materials available over a limited portion of text to see what kinds of variants can be found. Another part has been to test the variants that are found against what is recorded in the secondary literature to see if there is reliable information contained in them. This will be done in section 5.2.2.3. of this chapter.

7:3-11; and Otto Pretzl, 'Die Fortführung des Apparatus Criticus zum Koran', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1934), 5:3-13.

⁵³ Alford Welch (ed.), *Studies in Qur'an and Tafsir*, JAAR Thematic Studies, Ann Arbor, Michigan: American Academy of Religion, 1979, 624-625.

⁵⁴ Welch, 'Kur'ān', 407.

Overall, the available sources do not provide the necessary information for reconstructing the original text of the Qur'ān, if the intended goal is the earliest written records of the Qur'ān from the time of Muḥammad. Neither do they yet provide the necessary information for reconstructing the text from the time immediately after Muḥammad's death until the first official edition of the Qur'ān attributed to the Caliph 'Uthmān in c. 653/30.

5.2.2.2. *Earliest Attainable text*

It was noted at the end of section 5.2.1.1 that for the New Testament text in Acts 7:1-8 there is a clearly discernible base text to which the variants relate. In section 5.2.1.2. different meanings of the terms, 'original text' were considered. It was argued that recovering the Autographic text-form for Acts is an appropriate goal for applying the methods of textual criticism. The Autographic text-form, however, is not a suitable goal for applying textual criticism to the Qur'ān's text, if by Autographic text-form one means the earliest versions and portions of material recited by Muḥammad and possibly recorded in writing within his lifetime.

5.2.2.2.1. Multiple Original Official Versions

According to Islamic tradition, the collections belonging to Muḥammad's companions were the earliest versions to be used in an official capacity, in that they were already in use in metropolitan centres of the empire when 'Uthmān sent out his edition to replace them.⁵⁵ Though Qur'ānic material was used under Muḥammad's authority within his lifetime, there does not seem to have been one written form of the text in use in his lifetime. Instead, individuals used collections of Qur'ānic material they were able to obtain for themselves. Because of this situation, if one uses Epp's categories, there is a blending between the Predecessor text-forms and Autographic text-forms for this earliest period. The Autographic material used within Muḥammad's lifetime preceded authoritative versions. There was an authoritative body of material, but varying collections of it seemed to have been in

⁵⁵ al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, 6.510: 'Uthmān sent to every Muslim province one set of what they had copied, and ordered that all the other Qur'ānic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt.'

use within Muḥammad's lifetime. This situation continued after his death, and it was in the years immediately following his death that authoritative bodies of Qur'ān material came into use. In this sense, the Qur'ān could be said to have multiple original texts, each with both distinct and overlapping content in relation to the others but also consisting of distinctive collections in their own right. Rezvan states succinctly,⁵⁶

Since we know that from the beginning there were several versions of the text related to different traditions of transmission, we should not reduce all of them to one: strictly speaking, from the time of the Prophet there was no one stemma of the Qur'ān text.

Islamic tradition indicates that collections of authoritative material became associated with Companions of Muḥammad and the geographic regions to which they travelled in the initial conquests. Jeffery found records regarding fifteen primary codices of Qur'ānic material belonging to companions and thirteen secondary or derivative ones, together with further records of codices attributed to unnamed companions of Muḥammad.⁵⁷ These could be termed Authoritative text-forms. These codices have not been found in manuscript form and their content can only be approximated from the extant historical records of their contents.

Inconsistencies in the early records of textual variants have already been mentioned. Also, there are variant stories as to how the Qur'ān was first collected. Burton has done a substantial work documenting the contradictions among the traditions considered by Muslims to be the best and most reliable.⁵⁸ Equally reliable hadith tell different stories and so lead to an impasse. Also, the manuscript tradition shows very little trace of the complicated situation described concerning the competing collections of Muḥammad's companions. The Islamic tradition does assert unanimously that about 653/30 ʿUthmān collated the text of the Qur'ān into a single edition and ordered the destruction of the remaining materials and variant versions.⁵⁹ Islamic tradition and a Christian source also assert a later, similar project which included the editing and improvement of the orthography of the text, and the

⁵⁶ Efim A. Rezvan, 'The Qur'ān: between *Textus Receptus* and Critical Edition', Jacqueline Hamesse, *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux: volume en collaboration internationale Institut d'Études Médiévales*, Paris: 1992, 291-310, citing 297.

⁵⁷ Jeffery, *Materials*, v-vi.

⁵⁸ John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, Cambridge: CUP, 1977, 117-189.

⁵⁹ Burton, *Collection*, 138-139.

destruction of rival versions in 705/86 by an Umayyad governor of Iraq named al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.⁶⁰ The earliest Qur'āns used in this study date back to the generation after al-Ḥajjāj. Concerning S. 14:35-41, they do demonstrate a precise consonantal base text and use varying degrees of consonantal diacritical points that appear to be the result of an editing project of the magnitude these traditions describe.

The palimpsests testify to a form of the text that preceded this text or existed alongside it. Their rarity supports that they were either cleansed to be replaced with a newer text, or they represent alternative texts that were eventually successfully suppressed. This basic consonantal form observed in the manuscripts used for this study is the earliest attainable text for the Qur'ān for S. 14:35-41. It is the basic text to which all variants examined relate. Whether it is of the version collated and edited by 'Uthmān, or the version edited by al-Ḥajjāj, or whether it is a combination of these or some other edition cannot be determined with certainty. What can be said is that there is strong evidence of a heavily edited text from the early 700s/100s.

Since, unlike the New Testament, it is impossible to reconstruct a reasonable approximation of the Autographic and even Authoritative text-forms, a later form must be sought. The edition attributed to 'Uthmān or its revision by al-Ḥajjāj, if they are two distinct versions, seem to be the more appropriate goals for the application of textual criticism. These two can perhaps both be viewed as Canonical text-forms with the revision by al-Ḥajjāj replacing 'Uthmān's as an Interpretive text-form and then becoming a Canonical text-form in itself. For the purposes of this thesis, this revised Canonical text-form will be equated with the popular conception of the 'Uthmānic consonantal text, keeping in mind that this is a working definition, and that there are significant outstanding historical questions behind making this precise an identification.

The second aim of textual criticism must play the dominant role in the textual criticism of the Qur'ān: to illumine the later textual history of the text. Also, because of the nature of the development of the orthography used for the Qur'ān and the interplay of religion and politics in the standardisation of the text, there is tremendous scope for the use of the approach of narrative textual criticism advocated by some New Testament scholars. There is substantially more material to

⁶⁰ Al-Azami, *History*, 103-104. Muir, 'Apology', 76.

trace the development of the orthography, observe textual variants and narrate cohesive historical accounts of their introduction, use and even active suppression.

5.2.2.2.2. The Orality of the Earliest Qur'ān Texts

One feature of the early Qur'ān that should be kept in mind is its orality. The written Qur'ān saw its genesis in an oral culture and the written form was subservient to its oral performance and recitation. That the Qur'ān started this way perhaps is part of the explanation also why written texts from its earliest period do not survive. They were not considered at the time as important as the memorized and recited versions.

Madigan ably demonstrates that the original form of the Qur'ān was oral, and that for much of these early centuries the written version was much less important in practise and in thought than the oral. He asserts that the full written text of the Qur'ān played quite a limited role in the early decades of Islam, since all of the text was not recited in worship or used for establishing a Muslim way of life.⁶¹ Concerning the process of recording the earliest versions of the Qur'ān with an incomplete script, he says there is,⁶²

the possibility that the scattered revelations were collected and transcribed early; the transcripts were preserved, but only parts of the oral tradition survived intact, since very little of the Qur'ān was required for worship and only a small amount offered any practical guidance in developing a characteristically Muslim style of life. At some later time, the integrity of the oral tradition would have been restored based upon the transcripts, even with their flaws.

Also, the traditions concerning 'Uthmān collating the text give as his main reason the conflict caused by soldiers reciting the Qur'ān in different ways.⁶³

Madigan also demonstrates the difficulty of asserting that Muḥammad had it in mind to produce a written scripture and that early Muslims do not seem to have

⁶¹ Madigan, *Self-Image*, 51-52.

⁶² Madigan, *Self-Image*, 52.

⁶³ al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, 6.510 'Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman came to Uthman at the time when the people of Sham and the people of Iraq were waging war to conquer Armenia and Azerbaijan. Hudhayfah was afraid of their (the people of Sham and Iraq) differences in the recitation of the Qur'an, so he said to Uthman, "O chief of the believers! Save this nation before they differ about the Book (Qur'an) as Jews and the Christians did before."

particularly wanted one. He asserts that Muḥammad never intended a written form for the Qur'ān:⁶⁴

To fulfil such a function, even an incomplete oral tradition would have been adequate. Indeed it still is, in practise, adequate. Wilfred Cantwell Smith maintains that “Muslims, from the beginning until now are that group of people that has coalesced around the Qur'ān.” There is a sense in which this is true, but the evidence indicates that they “coalesced” around it while it was still incomplete, still oral, still in process. They committed themselves to belief in a God who had initiated a direct communication with them, and who had thereby established a continuing relationship with them. They gathered around the recitations as the pledge of God's relationship of guidance with them rather than as a clearly defined and already closed textual corpus.

If the environment was so dominated by oral literature conventions and a recited oral Qur'ān, then according to Madigan's argument, it would be wrong to look for a complete written form of the Qur'ān from this period. It would be improper to expect the product of a written literary milieu from an oral one, like expecting a carefully composed literary work like Acts or the literatures from Persia or Byzantium from the seventh/first century. With this in mind, it is possible that the collection stories which emphasise written precision contain a degree of authentic memory of an early need for unity on the recitation of the Qur'ān and the standardisation of some form of written text to be an anchor for an oral tradition. While containing this memory, they would also be reading back on that early period a viewpoint of orthographic precision crafted in a later era after the initial conquests when the Qur'ān had become a written literary product and Islamic society had itself made the transition from an oral literary milieu to a written one. This would explain the discrepancies between the hadith collection stories that Burton has presented.⁶⁵ Another example of an anachronistic Islamic look back at this period, one depicting an inappropriate standard of proficiency in written literature, comes from the medieval polymath Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406/809):⁶⁶

Arabic writing at the beginning of Islam was, therefore, not of the best quality nor of the greatest accuracy and excellence. It was not (even) of

⁶⁴ Madigan, *Self-Image*, 52.

⁶⁵ Burton, *Collection*,

⁶⁶ Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 2:382.

medium quality, because the Arabs possessed the savage desert attitude and were not familiar with the crafts.

One may compare what happened to the orthography of the Qur'ān on account of this situation. The men around Muḥammad wrote the Qur'ān in their own script, which was not of a firmly established, good quality. Most of the letters were in contradiction to the orthography required by persons versed in the craft of writing. The Qur'ānic script of (the men around Muḥammad) was then imitated by the men of the second generation, because of the blessing inherent in the use of an orthography that had been used by the men around Muḥammad, who were the best human beings after (Muḥammad himself) and who had received his revelation from the book and word of God.

Though there might be some truth in this as to the lack of training of Muḥammad's companions, the earliest scripts found in the Qur'ān manuscripts are of the same quality and level of development as the Arabic used in business and administrative papyri.⁶⁷ It was of a normal quality for the secular standard of the time.

An earlier Islamic scholar, Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 1012/403), also made this kind of mistake in that he claimed that within Muḥammad's lifetime, the complete arrangement of the text of the Qur'ān was fixed, including the precise vowels and consonantal readings of the text.⁶⁸ In view of the extant manuscript evidence this view is also anachronistic, in that the precise vowels and readings could not have been preserved in the script of the seventh century, and the oral transmissions of whatever texts were being recited were so varied they were causing strife threatening civil war. Only a standardisation of the basic consonantal text could have provided an anchor for a more unified oral version. But the script used for this standardisation, while establishing a basic consonantal parameter for oral recitation, was one which was not precise enough to prevent the development of various further consonantal bases, and also various oral versions. This had to await further improvements to the orthography. This will be developed further in section 5.2.2.4., after the comparison of the variants in the manuscripts to those in the Islamic secondary literature.

Concerning the earliest attainable text, what these factors demonstrate is that a defective consonantal line of text, as is found in the earliest manuscripts used in this study, was the vehicle used for a collated and edited version of the Qur'ān which then became canonised. While this text stands within close proximity to the

⁶⁷ Grohmann, 'Problem', 221-222.

⁶⁸ Madigan, *Self-Image*, 47.

era of the first generation of Muslims, perhaps only a few generations away, it cannot represent the earliest forms of the Qur'ān if multiple and/or partial versions were being used before and after Muḥammad's death. It can be reasonably said to contain authentic portions of those forms of the text, but portions that had been collated and strongly edited after being reduced to writing.

5.2.2.3. *Variants in Manuscripts Compared to Islamic Records of Variants*

The Islamic records of variants are remarkable in their extensiveness in regard to the entire text of the Qur'ān, and that in addition to generating a genre of *qirā'āt* (recital systems) literature, they permeate the early and medieval commentaries and grammatical literature as well. Textual variants to the New Testament were never given this kind of attention in the Christian tradition until after the invention of printing in the fifteenth century. They were occasionally cited in some early church fathers,⁶⁹ but they did not become the object of a scholarly sub-discipline until relatively recent times.

The closest parallel in the New Testament tradition to the Islamic records of variants are quotations of scripture in the Church Fathers. For Acts 7:1-8, the available Church Fathers were not cited because there were more than enough extant manuscripts to work with. Also, as a brief glance at the apparatus in the NA²⁷ will demonstrate, these usually support readings that are also represented in manuscripts. This is the case in 7:6 where the Latin translation of Irenaeus has the same addition of 'to him' (προς αυτον) that is found in the Greek text of the manuscript D.⁷⁰ In 7:7 Irenaeus agrees with manuscripts ρ^{74} , A, C, and D in reading δουλευσουσιν. Also in 7:7 Irenaeus has the variant of having the transposed word order 'said God' (ειπεν ο θεος) instead of 'God said' (ο θεος ειπεν), which it shares with the Greek manuscripts D, E, and 1739.

⁶⁹ B.M. Metzger, 'Explicit References in the Work of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts', B.M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968, VIII, 88-103.

⁷⁰ Eberhard and Erwin Nestle and Barbara and Kurt Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, XXVII edn., Stuttgart, Germany: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001, 337.

Contrary to the New Testament variants in the Church Fathers which are of the same types as are found in New Testament manuscripts, the variants in Islamic literature are of a much broader span of types and sizes than is found in extant Qur'ān manuscripts. These variants are also of greater lengths than are found in the palimpsests. This section explores the question of how the variants observed in the manuscripts compare with what variants are asserted to have existed in manuscripts or oral tradition in this early Islamic literature. Bergsträsser noted that Qur'ān manuscripts have played no observable role in Islamic Qur'ān studies since the tenth /fourth century.⁷¹ By that time, a sizeable body of literature had developed concerning textual variants in the Qur'ān. Also, variants could be found in other early literature like commentaries, grammatical works, and hadith. Jeffery found one significant early collection of textual variants which he published and supplemented with readings he had gleaned from other literature.⁷² From his own study, he stated that the textual variants of substance that exist are to be found in the early Islamic literature but not in Qur'ān manuscripts.⁷³

In these records, one sometimes finds two different spellings of a word attributed to the same ancient authority.⁷⁴ This is one feature that has led some scholars to believe that the literature presents a pious fiction made up of invented readings.⁷⁵ However, some of the variants are found in the manuscripts, though they are not any of the major variants. Jeffery mentioned in the preface to his collection his opinion that,⁷⁶

When we have assembled all the variants from these earlier Codices that can be gleaned from the works of the exegetes and philologists, we have only such readings as were useful for the purposes of *Tafsīr* (commentary) and were considered to be sufficiently near orthodoxy to be allowed to survive.

The readings used for this thesis that were obtained from the collections of textual variants in addition to Jeffery's confirm his conclusion.

⁷¹ Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*, 3:249.

⁷² Jeffery, *Materials*.

⁷³ Jeffery, *Materials*, 2.

⁷⁴ See 14:41:1 in the section on Uncanonical Variants where contradictory variants are attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd, both **ولوالدى** and **ولوالدى**.

⁷⁵ Fischer, 'Grammatisch', 5, footnote 4.

⁷⁶ Jeffery, *Materials*, 10.

But they also provide evidence that the Islamic records do contain authentic memory of readings once contained in the manuscript tradition. Though there may be inconsistencies, they cannot be dismissed as wholesale inventions. This is so even though the overall degree of their accuracy is impossible to quantify because of the destruction of the primary source materials. That the literature contains some fabrication is proven.⁷⁷ That the literature contains variants that are present in some manuscripts and especially palimpsests is also proven.⁷⁸ That the palimpsests contain variants on a wider scale than is described in the literature is also proven.⁷⁹ The variants in the palimpsests and other manuscripts that are not mentioned in the literature, however, are not radically different from what are found in the literature, merely more of the same kind. There may be more word variants and some phrase variants, but they present the same basic kinds of texts in regard to themes, form, and content.

For the Qur'ān manuscripts in this survey, there is a complete lack of both word variants and the larger phrase-length variants. The only examples of word and phrase length variants in extant manuscripts known to this writer in the wider scope of the Qur'ān are those collected from various sources by Alphonse Mingana,⁸⁰ ones in articles by Noja and Fedeli,⁸¹ two manuscript pages pictured in an appendix of a doctoral thesis,⁸² versions mentioned in early Christian apologetic writers,⁸³ and the even larger phenomenon of variant surah orders observed in the Ṣan'ā' manuscripts.⁸⁴ None of these sources, however, present word or phrase variants for S. 14:35-41.

This section will test this general picture of Qur'ānic variants on the basis of the variants found in the manuscripts examined compared to those

⁷⁷ See Rippin, 'Ban', ----- 'Camel', -----, 'Ibn Abbas's al-Lughat fi'l-Qur'an', *BSOAS* 44 (1981), 15-25.

⁷⁸ That is part of the object of this study. Also, for proof of larger variants see Fedeli, 'Evidences'.

⁷⁹ Fedeli, 'Evidences'.

⁸⁰ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, Mingana, *Translation*.

⁸¹ Fedeli, 'Evidences', and Sergio Noja Nosedá, 'La Mia Visita a Sanaa e il Corano Palimpsesto', *Istituto Lombardo Rendiconti* 137 (2004), 43-60.

⁸² Brockett, 'Studies'.

⁸³ Sidney H. Griffith, 2005, 'Disputing with Islam in Syriac: The Case of the Monk of Bêt Hâlê', Washington D.C., 2005, unpublished paper.

⁸⁴ Puin, 'Observations', 110-111, and the UNESCO CD-Rom, *The San'ā' Manuscripts*, manuscript 35, Showcase 12, presents an irregular order which does coincide with that attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd in Dodge (ed.), *Fihrist*, 53-61.

recorded in the literature. The spectrum of manuscripts examined for this study provides some hope that other variants could be found, since some of the manuscripts used were not available to Jeffery, Bergsträsser or Pretzl, and these manuscripts are as old as those at their disposal.⁸⁵ This will be a representative presentation of what can be found in the literature from the most important collections available.

Islamic sources group Qur'anic textual variants into categories that Western scholars have come to refer to as 'canonical' and 'uncanonical':⁸⁶

We now have, then, two classes of variants to the Qur'ān text, the canonical, consisting of the variants of the Seven canonized by Ibn Mujāhid, and with lesser degree of authority those of the Ten, and uncanonical...consisting of all other variants.

These are to be distinguished from the Canonical text-form of the 'Uthmānic consonantal text. These Seven and Ten are currently referred to in the scholarly literature as 'canonical' but in terms of Epp's categories are actually later Interpretive text-forms of the 'Uthmānic consonantal text. The canonical Seven refers to the seven precise ways of reciting the consonantal Qur'ān text as standardized by Ibn Mujāhid in 934/322. These are termed canonical because for the most part they remain within the textual boundaries set by the consonantal text attributed to 'Uthmān and they were deemed acceptable by Muslim authorities. At about that same time, these were supplemented by three other versions which commanded general assent as well as the seven.⁸⁷ Four additional ones also achieved acceptance, but not to the same degree as the ten.⁸⁸ The uncanonical variants consist of all other known variants. These are variants from versions attributed to the Companions of Muḥammad as well as any other non-approved recitations systems. They are termed 'uncanonical' because they are not recognized as being legitimate variants within orthodox Sunni scholarship. Other variants can be discerned from actual Qur'ān manuscripts and other records contained in Islamic literature or inscriptions.

⁸⁵ The manuscripts they did not have access to are the San'ā' manuscripts 01-20.x, 01-28.1, and 01-29.1. Also, it is possible they did not have access to the Istanbul manuscript.

⁸⁶ Arthur Jeffery, 'Progress in the Study of the Qur'an Text', *MW* 25 (1935), 4-16, here 10.

⁸⁷ as-Said, *Koran*, 54; C. Melchert and A. Afsaruddin, 'Reciters of the Qur'ān', in *EQ* 4:391, citing Nöldeke, *GQ* 3, 225.

⁸⁸ Denffer, *Ulūm*, 117-118.

The variants from the manuscripts surveyed will be compared to the variants in Islamic literature under three headings:

5.2.2.3.1. Canonical Variants from the Ten Readings

5.2.2.3.2. Uncanonical Variants from the Fourteen⁸⁹ and other collections.

5.2.2.3.3. Shī'ite variants

The records of variants from the Islamic literature will first be listed out. They will then be compared to the text found in the manuscripts. The particular reading of one of the Ten recognised systems to which the variant belongs will be added in parentheses, whether it is of the Seven or the three past the seven that bring the total to Ten. The Ten recitation systems are also further subdivided by *riwayas*, that is, slightly different versions of the recitations of the ten attributed to noted Qur'ān reciters. When a variant is attributed to one of these sub-systems, the version of the Ten to which it is related will also be given in parentheses.⁹⁰ Within the above categories, the variants will be presented in the order in which they appear in the S. 14:35-41. Here are the Ten readers in order. The Seven are the first seven in the list.⁹¹

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Nāfi ^c (Medina, d. 785/169) | 6. Ḥamza (Kufa, d. 772/156) |
| 2. Ibn Kathīr (Mecca, d. 737/119) | 7. al-Kisā'ī (Kufa, d. 804/189) |
| 3. Abū 'Amr (Basra, d. 770/154) | 8. Abū Ja ^c far (Medina, d. 747/130) |
| 4. Ibn 'Āmir (Damascus, d. 736/118) | 9. Ya ^c qūb al-Ḥadramī (Basra, d. 820/205) |
| 5. 'Āṣim (Kufa, d. 745/128) | 10. Khalaf (Kufa, d. 843/229) |

⁸⁹ The Fourteen referred to here are often called, 'the four Past the Ten' in Islamic literature. They are four reading systems that are often cited as having almost the same degree of authority as the Ten canonical systems.

⁹⁰ Details of the Ten and its eighty sub-readings are taken from as-Said, *Koran*, 127-130.

⁹¹ Watt and Bell, *Introduction*, 49-50.

5.2.2.3.1. Canonical Variants from the Ten Readings

The following readings are listed according to how their form relates to the manuscripts surveyed for this study. On the left, after the verse citation, the Arabic form of the word in question is given in the most prominent form in which it appears in the manuscripts. This might be with or without the diacritical marks and without *ḥamza* that it has come to be read with. The readings on the right are given with a minimum of diacritical marks to distinguish the reading from the reading in the manuscripts and to show how it would have appeared in the early manuscripts.

14:35:1 ابراهيم ابراهام Ibn ‘Āmir (7),⁹² al-Muṭaw‘ī (Nāfi‘, 7)⁹³

Consonantal variant: *alif* in last syllable rather than *yā*’)

14:37:5 افنده افنده Ibn ‘Āmir (7), al-Ḥulwānī (Ibn ‘Āmir, 7),
Hishām (Ibn ‘Āmir, 7),⁹⁴ Khalaf (10)⁹⁵

Consonantal variant: added medial *yā*’, which does not change the meaning.

افده Ibn Kathīr (7)⁹⁶

Consonantal variant: no *ḥamza* or its stem in the middle of the word. No change in meaning.

14:37:5 تهوى يهوى Ja‘far b. Muḥammad (Nāfi‘, 7), Ibn Mujāhid
(Ibn Kathīr, 7, or Abū ‘Amr, 7)⁹⁷

Diacritical mark variant: changes person from ‘you incline their hearts’ to ‘they incline their hearts’.

⁹² Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 2:514. This is also reported to be the reading of three *riwayas* of Ibn ‘Āmir’s reading: al- Šūrī’s, Ibn Dhakwān’s and Hishām’s. Also, al-Bannā’, *Ithāf fudalā’ al-bashar fī l-qirā’āt al-arba’ ashṣ*, Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2001, 343, records it of Ibn ‘Āmir.

⁹³ Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 2:514.

⁹⁴ Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 2:515; al-Bannā’, *Ithāf*, 343 also cites Hishām.

⁹⁵ Shams al-dīn Muḥammad bin Khalīd al-Qabāqanī, *‘Isanāh al-Rumūz wa Maftāh al-Kunūz*, Amman: Amar House, 2003, 475.

⁹⁶ G. Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Hālawaih’s Sammlung Nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, Bibliotheca Islamica, Leipzig: BEI F.A. Brockhaus, 1934, 69.

⁹⁷ Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Hālawaih*, 69.

14:40:2 دعاء دعائي Ibn Kathīr (7), ‘Āsim (7), Abū Ja‘far (10)
 Qunbul (Ibn Kathīr, 7), Ibn Shanabūdh (Ibn
 Kathīr, 7)⁹⁸, Ḥamza (7), Abū ‘Amr (7), Ḥafs
 (7)⁹⁹, Ya‘qūb (10)¹⁰⁰

Consonantal variant: attached possessive pronoun suffix: ‘my prayer’- it makes explicit an implicit vowel mark.

5.2.2.3.2. Uncanonical Variants from the Fourteen¹⁰¹ and other collections.

14:35:1 ابراهيم ابرهام Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, Ibn az-Zubayr¹⁰²
 an-Nawawī¹⁰³ ابرهم , ابراهيم

Consonantal variants: these variations all affect the pronunciation of Ibrāhīm’s name.

14:35:2 اجعل اجعلني al-A‘mash (14), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (14)

Consonantal variant: attached direct object pronoun suffix: ‘make safe for me’.

14:37:1 انى اسكنت انك اسكنت Ubayy b. Ka‘b¹⁰⁴

Consonantal variant: different attached pronoun suffix: ‘I have made dwell’ is changed to ‘Truly, You have made dwell.’

14:37:5 افده افاده Ubayy b. Ka‘b, Ibn Mijlaz¹⁰⁵, Anonymous¹⁰⁶
 افده ‘Isā b. ‘Amr¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 2:515.

⁹⁹ Ibn Mujāhid, *Kitāb al-Sab‘ah fī al-Qirā‘āt*, Cairo: Dar al-Mu‘ārif, 323. He added these three to the list.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Mihrān, *al-Mabsūt fī l-qirā‘āt al-‘ashr*, Damascus: Matyū‘āt Majma‘ al-Lu‘at al-‘Arbayyat bi Damashiq, No date 258. He added this one to the list.

¹⁰¹ The four readers that make up the four past the ten are: Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Muḥaṣṣin, Yahyā al-Yazīdī, and al-A‘mash.

¹⁰² Jeffery, *Materials*, 211.

¹⁰³ Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, 45.

¹⁰⁴ Jeffery, *Vocabulary*, 140.

¹⁰⁵ Jeffery, *Materials*, 140.

¹⁰⁶ Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 2:515.

¹⁰⁷ Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Ḥālawaih*, 69.

Consonantal variant/Word variant: the *alif* instead of *ḥamza* changes this to a different word: ‘hearts’ is changed to ‘group’.

14:37:5 تهوى يهوى al-Yamānī, ‘A’isha Masālama b. ‘Abdāllah¹⁰⁹

Diacritical mark variant: changes person from ‘you incline their hearts’ to ‘the people incline their hearts’.

14:39:1 وهب لى وهبنى Ibn Muḥayṣin (14)¹¹⁰

Word variant: instead of preposition with attached pronoun, the pronoun is attached directly to the noun and the preposition ‘to’ is omitted.

14:41:1 ولوالدى ولولدى Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar, az-Zuhrī, Ibrāhīm an-Nakḥa‘ī, Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr¹¹¹, Ibn Mas‘ūd¹¹²

Consonantal variant: the dagger *alif* represents the pronunciation of a full *alif* while recognising that one was not in the earliest consonantal text. With the *alif*, the word means ‘parents.’ Without the *alif* the word means ‘children’.

ولوالدى Sa‘īd b. Jubair¹¹³, Ibn Mas‘ūd¹¹⁴, Yahya b. Ya‘mar¹¹⁵

Consonantal variant: the full *alif* is written in this form, making the word explicitly ‘parents’.

¹⁰⁸ Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 2:515.

¹⁰⁹ Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Ḥālawaih*, 69.

¹¹⁰ Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 2:516.

¹¹¹ G. Bergsträsser, *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muhtasab des ibn ‘Ginni*, Munich: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. D, Wiss., 1933, 44. These are also listed in Makram and ‘Umar, *Mu‘jam*, 517.

¹¹² Jeffery, *Materials*, 52.

¹¹³ Bergsträsser, ‘*Ginni*, 44.

¹¹⁴ Jeffery, *Materials*, 52.

¹¹⁵ Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Ḥālawaih*, 69.

ولابوي Ubayy b. Ka'b¹¹⁶

Word variant: this different word means 'father'.

ولذريتي Anonymous¹¹⁷, Some unnamed codices¹¹⁸

Word variant: this different word means 'descendants'.

5.2.2.3 Shi'ite Variants

The subject of the validity of Shi'ite variants is one that has generated much debate, both within Islam and in Western scholarship.¹¹⁹ The earliest Shi'ite scholars asserted that 'Uthmān had falsified the text of the Qur'ān, though later and current scholarship mainly upholds the authenticity of the text.¹²⁰ This study will not address this issue. Instead, it will present the variants reported in various lists and compare them to what has been found in the manuscripts surveyed. The main sources used are the collections by Jeffery and Makram,¹²¹ Jeffery's collection of the readings of Zayd b. 'Alī,¹²² son of the Fourth Imām, and a website devoted to comparing Shi'ite and Sunnī variants.¹²³ Though Zayd b. 'Alī died in 739/122, the records of his variants and other Shi'ite variants do not come from such early sources. They were instead collected from commentaries and medieval works that do not predate the eleventh/fourth century.

افاده Zayd b. 'Alī¹²⁴ افاده 14:37:5 افنده

¹¹⁶ Makram and 'Umar, *Mu'jam*, 517. Also in Jeffery, *Materials*, 140. Ibn Khālawāih said this word was in the master copy of the Qur'an, 'al-'imām' Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Hālawaiḥ*, 69.

¹¹⁷ Makram and 'Umar, *Mu'jam*, 517.

¹¹⁸ Jeffery, *Materials*, 340. Ibn Hālawāih says 'in some of the codices' Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Hālawaiḥ*, 69.

¹¹⁹ A good overview and bibliography are found in Meir M. Bar-Asher's article, 'Shī'ism and the Qur'ān' in Jane Dammen McAuliffe (ed.), *EQ*, 4:593-604.

¹²⁰ Bar-Asher, 'Shī'ism', *EQ*, 4:593-595.

¹²¹ Jeffery, *Materials*, , Makram and 'Umar, *Mu'jam*,

¹²² Arthur Jeffery, 'The Qur'an Readings of Zaid B. 'Ali', *Revista Degli Studi Orientalia* XVI (1936), 40.

¹²³ <http://www.alburhan.com>, accessed 28 December 2007.

¹²⁴ Jeffery, 'The Qur'an Readings of Zaid B. 'Ali', 265.

Consonantal variant/Word variant: the *alif* instead of *ḥamza* changes this to a different word: ‘hearts’ is changed to ‘group’.

14:38:3 من شى شان شى al-Sayyārī¹²⁵

Word variant: replacement of the preposition *min*, ‘of a thing’ (e.g. ‘nothing’), with the adjective *shāy*, ‘dishonourable thing.’

14:41:1 ولو لدی ولودى al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī,¹²⁶ Zayd b. ‘Alī¹²⁷

Consonantal variant/word variant: without the *alif* the word means ‘children’.

The al-Burhan website notes that Shi’ites tend to favour the spelling without the *alif* meaning ‘children’ or ‘sons’ and interpret it various ways from Ismā‘īl and Ishāq to including the entire family of ‘Alī together with them.¹²⁸ All of these variants agree with the accusation ‘Alī is reported to have made to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ concerning the extent of ‘Uthmān’s editing work on the Qur’ān being limited to the falsification of just letters and words, not phrases and portions.¹²⁹ But this cannot be asserted definitively since these variants are also found in Sunni sources and serve no clear dogmatic purpose. Also, they are all variants that are easily due to the ambiguities found in the earliest Arabic script found in Qur’ān manuscripts. They are all credible ways of reading a defective script.

¹²⁵ http://www.alburhan.com/book_articles.aspx?num=1328, page 12 of 19, 459.

¹²⁶ Jeffery, *Materials*, 140.

¹²⁷ Jeffery, ‘The Qur’an Readings of Zaid B. ‘Alī’, 265. Jeffery mentions that this recitation system was used ‘especially among the Ahl al-Bait,’ the family of ‘Alī.

¹²⁸ http://www.alburhan.com/book_articles.aspx?num=1328, page 12 of 19, 450-457.

¹²⁹ Bar-Asher, Meir M. ‘Shī‘ism and the Qur’ān’, in McAuliffe (ed.), *EQ*, 4:593.

5.2.2.3.4. Observations and Conclusions from Comparing Variants in Islamic Literature to Those in Manuscripts

5.2.2.3.4.1. Canonical Variants Compared to Variants in Manuscripts

ابرھام ابرھیم 14:35:1

Variants concerning the spelling of Ibrāhīm were discussed in detail in the section on variant spellings of names. However, it should be mentioned that this one canonical spelling variant of Ibrāhīm's name was not found in any of the manuscripts surveyed. It makes a particular pronunciation of his name explicit, one that is more in line with the pronunciation of Syrian Christians of the time.¹³⁰ Since it is not found in any of the earliest manuscripts surveyed, and since it makes explicit a pronunciation that is ambiguous in the earliest spellings observed, it is almost certainly a later form which cannot be considered to be what was in the initial Canonical text-form.

افده , افبيده افنده 14:37:5

The variant with the medial *yā'* was found in only Or. 12884. The form without the *yā'* or stem for *ḥamza* is however consistently found in the earlier manuscripts.¹³¹ Because of the prevalence of this form in the earliest manuscripts and it being the reading that best explains the origins of the other variants, it is probably the reading of the initial Canonical text-form.

The absence of *ḥamza* is understandable in that the convention for writing *ḥamza* was one introduced later into the Arabic Qur'ānic script. *Ḥamza* did not exist as a separate consonantal letter until the third Islamic century, and before that was only marked by *alif* if it began a word.¹³² This is confirmed in that *ḥamza* on the consonantal line is only found in the later texts, the Cairo, the Sharif, and the Warsh. Or. 12884 represents a transitional

¹³⁰ J. Horovitz, 'Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran', *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1925), 146-227 citing 160.

¹³¹ This form is found in Istanbul, Or. 2165, 01-20.x, BN 325a, 326a, 328a, 330a, 331, 332, 333c, 334c, 340c, 343, 370a, and Meknes.

¹³² Gruendler, 'Script', *EQ*, 1:140.

stage in the *ḥamza* 's development in that it is not marked, as the later texts and current Arabic script are, with a small 'ayn (ء) on the consonantal line, or as an even smaller 'ayn above vowel seats (أ). Instead, it is marked occasionally with a thick 's' shape above vowels in medial or final position, and it is never found above or below an *alif* in initial position, or as a full consonant in initial position. In the passage 14:35-41, excluding the thirteen initial uses of *ḥamza*, it is marked in only five of the nine medial and final positions where it is found in the Cairo text. At this word in 14:37:5 there is a *ḥamza* marked above the *yā* ' with the 's' symbol, but there is not a separate stem for it.

14:37:5 تَهْوِي يَهْوِي

This variant with the initial *yā* ' was not observed in any of the manuscripts, though the form تَهْوِي was purposefully indicated in some of the early manuscripts to remove the ambiguity of the unpointed form.¹³³ This variant involves a change of person, the variant reading 'he inclines' instead of 'you incline'. Only one of the manuscripts that have this reading is of the earliest stratum of manuscripts, which tend to have no diacritical marks on the initial letter.¹³⁴ This would be a negative indication that the scribe was making sure the variant version, يَهْوِي, and any other potential variant versions were not to be read at this point of the text. There is also a significant number of early manuscripts, though not of the earliest level, that have no diacritics here.¹³⁵

Grammatically, either reading makes sense in this passage. The standard second person reading 'You incline to them,' has Allah divinely moving the hearts of the people toward his progeny. The variant third person reading, 'the people incline to them,' has the people's response as a result of Allah's answering the prayer. It is difficult to decide which of these two interpretations of the unpointed text explains the origin of the other. Since the

¹³³ تَهْوِي was found in manuscripts: 01-28.1, BN 325a, 330a, 331, 334c, Meknes, Or. 12884.

¹³⁴ The manuscripts without diacritics here are: 01-29.1, 01-20.x, Or. 2165, BN 328a, and BN 326a.

¹³⁵ These manuscripts are: BN 332, 333c, 340c, 343 and 370a.

initial Canonical text-form was probably unpointed, it is perhaps best to leave it ambiguous.

دعائي دعاء 14:40:2

This variant is not clearly depicted on any of the manuscripts surveyed, though two of them, 01-29.1 and BN 334c do have final *nūn*'s instead of final *yā*'s. Neither of these, however, have a final *yā*' after the *nūn*.

5.2.2.3.4.2 Uncanonical Variants Compared to the Variants in the Manuscripts

ابرهيم , ابراهيم , ابرهام ابرهيم 14:35:1

Variants of this name are discussed at more length in the names section. However, it should be noted that the form third from the right matches an variant considered canonical in the Islamic tradition that is not found in the earliest manuscripts. The second from the right makes explicit what became the accepted pronunciation of Ibrāhīm's name. Neither the second nor third forms from the right match what was actually found in the manuscripts. Only the form at the extreme right, ابرهم, matches what is found in some of the manuscripts, and it is a form found only in some of the very earliest manuscripts: Istanbul, Or. 2165, BN 328a, and BN326a. These variant spellings make sense as attempts to make explicit particular pronunciations that are among several allowed by a defective script. Since two of the three reported forms are not found in the manuscripts, they are also evidence that the oral tradition was not sufficiently controlled to preserve only one pronunciation, but that the ambiguity inherent in the unpointed script was the departure point for many alternative pronunciations. Also, two forms of Ibrāhīm's name were found in the earliest manuscripts, ابرهيم and ابرهم, so both should be considered to have been part of the Canonical text-form. It was flexible on this point of detail.

اجعلنى 14:35:2 اجعل

This variant was not observed in any of the manuscripts surveyed. It makes explicit what is already implied in Ibrāhīm's prayer, 'Make *for me* this place a place of security.' Perhaps it is an exegetically inspired variant to heighten the sense of insecurity of the place to which Ibrāhīm was bringing Ismā'īl and Hagar. According to Islamic tradition it was a desolate place without water before the miraculous discovery of the Zamzam spring.¹³⁶ Since it was not in any of the manuscripts, and since it can be viewed as exegetically inspired, it was probably not the form in the Canonical text-form.

انك اسكنت 14:37:1 انى اسكنت

This variant was not observed in any of the manuscripts surveyed. Since it is attributed to one of the companions of Muḥammad, Ubayy ibn Kā'b, it deserves some extra consideration as a variant. This variant shifts the emphasis of responsibility from Ibrāhīm to Allah for Ibrāhīm's action for settling some of his family in 'this place'. It strengthens the conception of Allah's divine plan of establishing Ibrāhīm's progeny in Mecca. If the reading of the text originally attributed the action to Allah, it is hard to imagine why it would then have been changed to place the emphasis on Ibrāhīm's action. However, if the reading originally stressed Ibrāhīm's responsibility, then it is conceivable that a change would later be made to stress Allah's divine plan in this action. This variant, then, seems to be an exegetically-inspired variant, rather than a legitimate contender for the reading of the canonical text-form.

افودة , افده , افاده 14:37:5 افنده

The main variant here is the first one with the *alif* instead of the *ḥamza*, افاده. This form was not observed in any of the manuscripts surveyed. It makes it explicit that 'group' is what is intended at this point, and not 'hearts.'

¹³⁶ Ibn Kathīr, *Stories of the Prophets*, Riyadh: Darusslam, 148.

Since the earliest manuscripts contain a form that can be interpreted with either choice, this form, if found in a manuscript, would represent a later change to make the text conform to an understood interpretation of the word. If it did not appear in manuscripts, it could be the report of a received way of pronouncing افده . Because of the witness of the earliest manuscripts, and the way the reading افاده makes the meaning explicit, it is almost certainly a later reading and not part of the initial Canonical text-form.

The second variant, افده , was also in the canonical variants and is discussed there at 5.2.2.3.4.1. It is the form found in most of the early manuscripts. It is a form that can accommodate either of the main readings, ‘hearts’ or ‘group’, as they would have been written in the earliest orthography. Because of the prevalence of this form in the earliest manuscripts and it being the reading that best explains the origins of the other variants, it is probably the reading of the initial Canonical text-form.

The third variant, افودة , was not observed in the selected verses in any of the manuscripts surveyed. This one can be taken as a variant spelling of the first variant افاده , but with the *wāw* standing in for *alif*. In the early Arabic papyri, there is record of some interchange between the long vowels *alif* and *wāw* in their use as vowels before the introduction of *ḥamza* or their use as chairs for *ḥamza*.¹³⁷ Perhaps this is an example of this. If it were such an example, it would be an early attempt to make this word explicitly mean ‘group.’ Since it is not found in any of the early manuscripts surveyed, since it makes explicit an otherwise ambiguous word, and because the transposition of these long vowels is a rare occurrence, it is probably not the reading of the initial Canonical text-form

يهوى نهوى 14:37:5

This variant was also found in the canonical listings of variants and is discussed in more detail in that section 5.2.2.3.4.1. above. This diacritical variant is not found in any of the selected portions of the manuscripts

¹³⁷ Hopkins, *Studies*, 9.

surveyed. Seven of the older manuscripts do designate the consonant *tā*'.¹³⁸ The others would allow for either reading. As mentioned earlier, the Canonical text-form at this location was probably unpointed and allowed for the ambiguity that inspired both forms.

وهبني وهب لي 14:39:1

This variant is not found in any of portions of the manuscripts surveyed. Since it is found in the 14 Readings, it must have attained a fair degree of recognition. Grammatically, these represent two ways of saying the same thing: 'He gave to me,' one through the use of a pronoun attached to a preposition, the other through the method of attaching a pronoun suffix directly to the verb to create an indirect object. The variant is the simpler of the two methods, and it is difficult to determine which might have given rise to the other. Also, both sound very similar in recitation and it would be easy to mistake one for the other aurally. Since the manuscript tradition is so unanimous on the version using the preposition, and since there is no dogmatic or stylistic reason why one should be preferred to the other, the standard reading should be viewed as that of the Canonical text-form.

ولذريتي , ولابوي , ولوالدي , ولولدي ولوالدي 14:41:1

With the *alif*, the word means 'and to my parents.' Without the *alif* the word means 'and to my children'.¹³⁹ The 'dagger *alif*' in the standard text is a representation that the *alif* was originally thought to have been omitted graphically from the text, but pronounced vocally. This would mean that originally, the word was ambiguous as to whether children or parents were meant, and that the interpretation would have had to have been supplied by other means. There is agreement on what form of the word was originally in the text. The disagreement at the heart of the variants is what is meant by the

¹³⁸ These are 01-28.1, BN 325a, 330a, 331, 334c, Meknes, and Or. 12884.

¹³⁹ Ambros and Procházka, *Dictionary*, 295.

word, if Ibrāhīm is praying for the forgiveness of himself and his parents, or for himself and his children or descendants.

The reading *ولوآلدى* makes the understood pronunciation of the word meaning ‘parents’ explicit in the orthography. Since it is observed in two of the earliest manuscripts surveyed, Istanbul and 01-29.1, it has a strong claim to it being the reading of the Canonical text-form. More of the early manuscripts had the form without *alif*, having been written before the convention of dagger *alifs* was introduced, which if pronounced without the *alif* meant ‘children’ or ‘descendants’. This was the case in five early manuscripts: Or. 2165, BN 328a, 01-28.1, 01-20.x and the Samarkand Kufic Codex.

There are dogmatic reasons within Islam’s first three centuries for distinguishing the two readings. If it refers to parents (with *alif*), then this verse provides the initial impetus for later Qur’ānic verses that present Ibrāhīm’s personal struggle over his parents’ eternal destiny, and Allah’s decision that one should not pray for the forgiveness of confirmed idolators. If it refers to children (without *alif*), then it is at least a reference to the immediate context from verse 39 concerning Ismā‘īl and Ishāq, and possibly further to other descendants who were monotheists. This would have a bearing on views of the extent of Ibrāhīm’s prophetic knowledge and could provide a proof text for later Muslims seeking to include others under Ibrāhīm’s prophetic mantle.

It is not an easy issue to resolve. From a text-critical point of view, the form without *alif* (children) is the simplest, and best explains the origins of the others as attempts to alleviate the inherent ambiguity of the early script. Also, the meaning, ‘children’ has the appeal of fitting the context most closely with the near reference to Ibrāhīm’s sons. This is all complicated, however, in that there is very early testimony to the form with *alif*, which would make the meaning ‘parents’ explicit. If this were being treated as New Testament variants are in NA²⁷, one would put the form without *alif* in the text as the original reading, but put the word in brackets and a note in the apparatus to notify the reader that there is significant doubt as to which is the correct reading. This variant will be revisited in the following section concerning

Shi'ite variants, and also in the section concerning the use of prior scriptural material.

The last two variants listed above for this place in the text, involve words related to the two general options of parent or child. *ولا بوي*, 'and my father', attributed to Muḥammad's companion Ubayy b. Ka'b, is of special interest in that a ninth/third century authority on non-canonical variants, Ibn Ḥālawaīh, said this was in the original copy of the Qur'ān.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, he gave no further explanation. A dogmatic reason for this reading can be found in that within the Qur'ān itself there is a development in how Ibrāhīm's relationship with his idolatrous parents is presented. 14:41 is the only passage within the Qur'ān that refers to Ibrāhīm praying for both his parents' forgiveness. The other verses present him praying concerning just his father, before the later verses were given that he was not to pray for his forgiveness.¹⁴¹ Perhaps we have in this reading an attempt to make the Qur'ān passages consistent on the matter and have them all relate to just Ibrāhīm's father. Unfortunately, because there is such little reference to actual manuscripts in early Islamic literature concerning variant readings, and because there is strong evidence that even by Ibn Khālawayh's time any original manuscripts 'Uthmān may have sent out were probably destroyed,¹⁴² it is difficult to take Ibn Ḥālawaīh's testimony as more than a belief common to his time.

The last variant at this place, *ولذريتي*, means 'descendants'. It makes explicit a particular interpretation of *ولولدى*, 'children', that includes later generations. This reading was not found in any surveyed manuscript, and is only referred to in the secondary sources without any specific attribution to a Qur'ān reader or Companion of Muḥammad. If this had been the original reading, there would have been no reason to change it. However, it can be explained as an intentional variant to strengthen a particular interpretation of this verse so that it would include Muḥammad's descendants. It can therefore be safely regarded as not of the initial canonical text-form.

¹⁴⁰ Makram and 'Umar, *Mu'jam*, 517; Jeffery, *Materials*, 140; Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ibn Ḥālawaīh*, 69.

¹⁴¹ These are S. 2:118-124; 9:114; 19:47; 26:86; 60:4.

¹⁴² Nöldeke, Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl, *Geschichte*, 3:6-8.

5.2.2.3.4.3. *Shi'ite variants*

افاده 14:37:5 افنده

As mentioned in the section concerning uncanonical variants, this form was not observed in any of the manuscripts surveyed. It makes it explicit that 'group' is what is intended at this point, and not 'hearts.' Because of the witness of the earliest manuscripts, and the way the reading افاده makes the meaning explicit, it is almost certainly a later reading and not part of the initial Canonical text-form. There does not, however, seem to be a dogmatic reason why this reading was preferred, or why it would have been suppressed by non-Shi'ite scribes, if that were the case.

شان شی 14:38:3 من شی

This variant is not attested in the manuscripts surveyed. It was also not listed among the canonical and uncanonical variants. If it were original, there seems no apparent reason why the text would have been changed away from it. However, changing the unspecific من شی ('of a thing', e.g. 'nothing') to the specific شان شی ('a dishonourable thing') heightens the sense that Allah knows even the worst things that people conceal. A dogmatic reason could also be asserted in that it is only found in Shi'ite sources, and a common theme regarding the force of alleged Shi'ite variants is that they restored the honour and position of 'Alī and his family that had been suppressed by their enemies. Perhaps inserting this word strengthened the Shi'ite polemic that Allah was watching and would judge the dishonourable deeds done to 'Alī and all of the Shi'ites. Since this variant is so poorly attested in the literature and not at all in manuscripts, and since its existence can be explained as an exegetical and possible dogmatic strengthening of the text, it is almost certainly not the initial Canonical text-form.

This is listed in both the canonical and uncanonical variants lists, but in Shi'ite sources it is attributed specifically to Ḥasan, son of 'Alī. With what is said concerning it in the prior sections, here may be added that the Shi'ite sources consistently present this reading as the authentic one, and use it as part of their justification for the prominence of 'Alī and his family. For textual and contextual reasons, this reading has excellent support for being in the initial Canonical text-form and possibly of an earlier Authoritative text-form from 'Alī's collection, though it is not certain. The dogmatic interpretations that can be adduced have no effect on the question of its originality, other than to add the fact that Shi'ites from early times have held this view of the reading of the text, perhaps back to 'Alī himself through his son Ḥasan.

5.2.2.3.5. General Observations Concerning Variants in Islamic Literature

In view of the variants that have been listed, when one compares the kinds of variants present in these three categories of variants, Canonical, Uncanonical, and Shi'ite, some important facts emerge. First, the Canonical variants had the fewest variants in total and the ones that affected meaning the least. This was to be expected, in that being canonical they had been selected according to definite criteria of dogma. That selection, however, was not one that did away completely with disagreement and variety in meaning in the process of supporting the Canonical text-form attributed to ʿUthmān. There were three instances of a consonantal variant and one diacritical mark variant. The diacritical mark variant did affect meaning, as did one of the consonantal variants. The change of meaning involved a change of person with a verb and an added pronominal suffix that made an implied meaning explicit.

In addition to there being a degree of flexibility in regard to meaning, there was also a degree of flexibility of recitation exhibited among the canonical variants. All of these variants would have affected the sound of the recitation of these verses. Though the degree of variation is small, it is still one

that would be noticeable to the listener or reciter, and reflect a difference of more than intonation, emphasis, or variable pronunciation of short vowels.

As one would expect from the title, the Uncanonical variants had many more variants affecting meaning and recitation when compared with the Canonical ones: seven consonantal variants, one diacritical mark variant, and five word variants. Eleven of these affected the meaning of the verses in which they are located. This is a significant increase on the degree of variability compared with the canonical variants. It must be said, though, that the degree of variability is still relatively small. None of the Uncanonical variants change the meaning in a drastic way away from the basic story line. It is still the same story, but with some differences in detail.

All of these Uncanonical variants would have affected the sound of the recitation of these verses as well, and the degree of variability is increased in like manner to that of meaning. These differences would have been much more noticeable to the listener or reciter than with the Canonical variants. In a liturgical setting, the use of these various readings would have caused confusion, even though the basic meaning of the story was kept intact.

The Shi'ite variants were mainly a subset of the Uncanonical category, sharing many of the same readings. There were two consonantal variants and three word variants. All five of these affected the meaning of the verses in which they are located. None of them, however, changes the meaning in a drastic way away from the basic story line. Only one of them changes the meaning in a way that can be used to support Shi'ite dogma, but it is not necessary to interpret the word in that way, and some Sunni scholars share this reading. Also, all of the Shi'ite variants would have affected the sound of the recitation of these verses, on a level comparable to that of the other Uncanonical variants.

A noticeable omission from all of these types of variants recorded in Islamic Qur'ān literature is what may be termed, 'discourse variants.' These are variants that consist of larger portions of text from a verse to a block of verses. There are records of these kinds of variants existing in the Qur'ān prior to ʿUthmān's initial standardisation, but none of them are recorded in the records of the Canonical, Uncanonical, or Shi'ite variants. If the records of these kinds of variants contain an authentic memory of what the Qur'ān once

contained, then they are an additional measure by which the efficiency of efforts to conform the text of the Qur'ān to a standard consonantal text can be judged.

Examples of these can be found in regard to the collections of Muḥammad's companions. Ibn Mas'ūd is said to have had three fewer surahs in his collection omitting what are now considered to be surahs 1, 113, and 114. Ubayy b. Ka'b's collection included these plus two additional ones consisting of short prayers.¹⁴³ Jones records a variety of records from the hadith that record forgotten surahs of substantial length.¹⁴⁴ There are claims that Surah 9 was once three or four times as long as it is in the present Qur'ān which would have given it an additional 258-387 verses.¹⁴⁵ The Christian writer John of Damascus writing in the 730s/112-122, the mid-Umayyad period, mentioned the titles of surahs as separate writings, and included one called 'The Camel of God' together with 'the Women' (S. 4), 'the Table' (S. 5) and 'the Cow' (S. 2).¹⁴⁶ A Syriac Christian text, also thought to be from this time, mentions 'the Cow' as a book separate from the Qur'ān.¹⁴⁷ If these accounts are true, when they are viewed in light of the form of the text in the earliest Qur'ān manuscripts, they testify to a very extensive standardisation project for the text of the Qur'ān, and an equally extensive programme to have extant manuscripts conform to that text.

5.2.2.3.6. Conclusions Concerning Variants in Islamic Literature

Perhaps the most significant observation that comes out of comparing variants in Islamic literature to those found in the early manuscripts is that there are many more listed in the literature than found in the manuscripts. The manuscripts show a very high degree of uniformity with a complete absence of word variants that were described in the Islamic literature. The spelling variants that were observed in the manuscripts were also much less variable than those described in the literature.

¹⁴³ Watt and Bell, *Introduction*, 46.

¹⁴⁴ Jones, 'Qur'ān', 238-239. One he mentions had 150 verses.

¹⁴⁵ Modarressi, 'Debates', 12.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1997, 487.

¹⁴⁷ Hoyland, *Islam*, 471.

Often, the variants seemed to have arisen out of various legitimate ways of interpreting the ambiguous defective script of the early Arabic. Sometimes, though, memory of different words was asserted that differed from the consonantal skeleton of the current text. If these did exist in manuscripts at one time, their absence now attests to the efficiency of efforts to suppress them and to regularise the basic consonantal line to a very precise text-form. Also, evidence was found of dogmatically-inspired alterations to the text.

5.2.2.4. Qur'ānic Oral Tradition: It's Relationship with the Written Tradition

The Qur'ān was given in an oral setting which started to shift to one which relied on written sources. At the time of Muḥammad's death, this shift had been initiated but was not complete, having possibly started in the Medinan period.¹⁴⁸ After his death, various collections of these materials circulated in written and oral form. None of these collections was strictly uniform, but they apparently contained the same kind of material in the basic written and oral literary forms we find present in the current Qur'ān. Within the first Islamic century, from the evidence of the surveyed manuscripts, a major program was undertaken to unify the basic consonantal form and content of the text.

The co-existence of oral and written literary cultures continued, though the oral became more and more restricted and tied to the memorization of set texts, and the set texts were restricted to the revised and unified corpus of written material, which was recorded in an ambiguous script. The ambiguities of the script, together with the continuing conviction of the necessity of oral recitation, and with a somewhat flexible attitude toward the precision of readings, allowed variable versions of reciting the set texts to co-exist and multiply. Some of the material originally suppressed for the purposes of political unity continued to be recited and in the flexible situation even gather a following. Jeffery notes that at least 50

¹⁴⁸ Angelika Neuwirth, 'Structural, Linguistic, and Literary Features', in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 97-113, citing 101.

systems for reciting the Qur'ān were still known after the standardisation of the Ten in the tenth /fourth century.¹⁴⁹

In other genres of early Islamic literature, the reliability or unreliability of the written records of oral tradition are governed by the use of *isnads*, chains of names or oral transmitters attached to the report of the historical event, legal ruling or instruction from Muḥammad or a companion. There is considerable debate in Western scholarship as to whether or not these are a helpful tool or an irrelevant and possibly fabricated attachment.¹⁵⁰ However, when it comes to the Qur'ān, it is in an entirely different category from other Islamic literature. Neither the actual portions of the text of the Qur'ān, nor the form they are in, nor their precise orthography are supported by these chains of names of oral transmitters.¹⁵¹ The stories of the collection of the Qur'ān do have *isnads* attached, and complete systems of recitation will have the pedigrees of the reciters from past generations, but the exact contents of these systems and the precise form of the text do not have them. Al-Azami claims that such documentation was not needed because of the ubiquitous use of the Qur'ān in the lives of Muslims in that early era since it was a vital element in all prayers. This is an overstatement, in that only a small proportion of the complete text of the Qur'ān was needed for prayers and daily devotional needs.¹⁵² Also, he claims there were professional reciters who had certificates listing their pedigree as to which line of reciters they stood in going back to Muḥammad.¹⁵³ This may have been the situation after a couple of centuries with the consolidation of the empire, but from the picture already developed from manuscripts and the dynamics of oral transmission, it is difficult to envision that such a comprehensive and detailed system could have been set up from the outset. Pretzl gives an important observation concerning how these chains of reciters were viewed in the time of Ibn Mujāhid (924/323):¹⁵⁴

Now it has become considerably clearer that the books on the unified canonical readings are not the outcome of surviving oral traditions, but conversely the oral tradition of later times is very heavily dependent on the

¹⁴⁹ Jeffery, *Materials*, 2, note 3.

¹⁵⁰ An excellent overview of these arguments is presented in Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon Studies in the Qur'an, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000.

¹⁵¹ Al-Azami, *History*, 192.

¹⁵² Madigan, *Self-Image*, 52.

¹⁵³ Al-Azami, *History*, 192.

¹⁵⁴ Pretzl, 'Fortführung', 8-9.

sketchy literary tradition...It is extremely characteristic that Ibn Mujāhid of all people..., in order to solve the dispute which already existed in his time, argued with quotations from literary sources and did not refer back to an oral tradition. If such a tradition was known to anyone, then it must be to him, the founder of the unified canonical reading.

Instead of a well developed, standardized and regulated system of professional reciters, it appears that there was a very unregulated system with many oral transmissions of the text that matched the variety of ways with which the unpointed Qur'ān text of that era could be read and pronounced. Welch notes that the situation became so confused with the development of new ways of reading the text that it became impossible to recover with confidence even the 'original' 'Uthmānic text.¹⁵⁵ The initial forms of the text were ambiguous to a degree that no one oral tradition was able to control. Instead, oral recitations of even the unified consonantal text multiplied until they were limited by scholarly decision and government action to seven and then ten versions in the tenth/fourth century. These approved oral transmissions were each able to be precisely recorded and transmitted in the written tradition by the improvements that had by then been made to Arabic orthography, though these also continued to develop further oral versions based on the ten. In time, 80 distinct oral transmissions of the ten recitation systems came to have an authoritative status.¹⁵⁶

When Ibn Mujāhid set out the seven recitation systems he believed were best, he did not rely on oral tradition to establish which had the best claim to reach back to Muḥammad's practise. Instead, he relied on criteria which in his time seemed to be the criteria best suited for eliminating improper versions. The fifty plus versions he was sifting through were presumably based on 1) the 'Uthmānic consonantal text, 2) versions attributed to the Companions that were still in use, and 3) possibly other versions with a different consonantal structure.¹⁵⁷ In the midst of this complicated situation, Ibn Mujāhid settled on seven versions that could be traced back by named reciter (not written records of the pronunciation) to the

¹⁵⁵ Welch, 'Kur'ān', 408.

¹⁵⁶ as-Said, *Koran*, 127-130.

¹⁵⁷ It is worthwhile repeating that Jeffery collected records from this era of fifteen primary companions' collections, thirteen secondary collections, and numerous secondary codices not traced to a companion, and mentioned a lost source that reputedly had records of forty extra readers in addition to the Ten. Jeffery, *Materials*, v-vi, 2.

eighth/second century.¹⁵⁸ Note these were not traced back to one version given by Muḥammad¹⁵⁹ or even a particular version given to a companion. The Qur'ān resulting from Ibn Mujāhid's actions was in effect a compromise measure between an 'exact text' and a 'generalized variant.'¹⁶⁰ It was a scheme that could find the support of a large portion of the population and the government, while not reaching for the impossible task of requiring unity on one form of the text. It also brought the written text of the Qur'ān into as close agreement with the dogma of one eternal Qur'ān as was possible by the situation presented with the plethora of variant reading systems, the developments needed with Arabic orthography, and religio/political considerations at this volatile time when the debate was raging between the Mu'tazilites and the Orthodox.¹⁶¹ Ibn Muqla's reforms with the Arabic script also provided a suitable vehicle for recording precise pronunciations of the Qur'ānic text.

This brief historical overview of the relationship between the written and oral transmissions of the Qur'ān demonstrates that the oral transmissions became tied to written versions of the text, and to the reforms in the precision of the orthography of the written manuscript tradition. When the text of the Qur'ān changed through limiting consonantal variants or improving the orthography, these gave a departure point for new versions of the oral transmission of the text. This is a controversial statement because the written and the oral versions of the text are usually thought of as being separate, parallel, and also mutually supportive of the other.¹⁶² However, this view does not adequately explain the growth in the variety of the oral and written versions of the Qur'an in Islam's first three centuries. Whatever oral traditions were in place were not strong enough to prevent variants in meaning and pronunciation, both of which are necessary if there is to be a unified recitation of scripture.

¹⁵⁸ Their lineage to the eighth/second century was traced by their pedigree of named reciters, not written confirmation of the precise contents of the text.

¹⁵⁹ Claude Gilliot, 'Creation of a Fixed Text', in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 41-58, citing 50-51; Rezvan, 'Between', 294.

¹⁶⁰ Rezvan, 'Mingana', 2.

¹⁶¹ Yasser Tabbaa, 'The Transformation of Arabic Writing: Part I, Qur'ānic Calligraphy', *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), 119-148

¹⁶² Adrian Alan Brockett, 'The Value of the Hafs and Warsh Transmissions for the Textual History of the Qur'an', in Andrew Rippin, *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1988, 31-45, citing 44-45.

To further clarify the issues involved in relating the oral tradition of the Qur'ān to the written one, here are some other issues that demonstrate the dependence of the oral on a written form of the text:

1. Variants in the manuscripts concerning the spelling of proper names, grammatical variants from inserted or omitted long vowels, and grammatical variants due to diacritics, originally allowed a plurality of possible readings, and orthographic changes were necessary to limit the options for pronunciation and meaning.
2. Madigan and Bellamy highlight various early orthographic peculiarities that the oral tradition could not control, from the decision to pronounce an ending with *imālah*,¹⁶³ to correcting scribal errors in the 'Uthmānic text.¹⁶⁴
3. The oral traditions seem to have been encouraged or suppressed in accordance with whatever form of the text was then the recognized or permitted standard. Muḥammad left a variable situation with multiple forms of the Qur'ān being recited. The 'Uthmānic *rasm* was developed and introduced to limit this situation, though there was continued use of some of the Companions' collections. Because of the defective script and the multiple versions in use, these versions spawned at least 50 different ways of reciting the Qur'ān by the fourth/tenth century. Ibn Mujāhid's action could only limit this to seven, and three more were found after his death to meet the same criteria. Then from these ten, eighty further versions have come to be recognised, eight for each of the ten.¹⁶⁵ The ten may have been a refining measure to stop the excesses of forty plus wrong recitations, but then they themselves developed into eighty precise recitations, all of which had not been committed to writing prior to 934/323.
4. Pretzl's observation that even Ibn Mujāhid depended on literary tradition for determining the proper oral transmissions was augmented by the further observation that the *Qirā'āt* literature itself developed in

¹⁶³ Bellamy, 'Criticism', 2, note 3.

¹⁶⁴ Bellamy, 'Emendations', Madigan, *Self-Image*, 42-43.

¹⁶⁵ as-Said, *Koran*,

sophistication and detail as the written and oral versions themselves evolved into more complicated and precise systems.¹⁶⁶

5. Rippin's articles demonstrate that variants were at times invented for exegetical reasons, and this also confirms this general situation in that the orthography permitted ambiguity which some were minded to use to their advantage.¹⁶⁷

Bellamy helpfully summarizes the situation:

One cannot argue that the prophet used one variant one day and the other the next. Nor can one maintain that there is a firm oral tradition that guarantees the reading of the unambiguous words but breaks down when more than one reading is possible. It seems clear that the earliest readers got their readings from the *written* text of the Uthmanic recension, and since Arabic was their native language, they read the unambiguous parts correctly, and where the text was ambiguous, they exercised their knowledge of the language and came up with what pleased each of them the most.¹⁶⁸

The oral and the written transmissions of the Qur'ān were interrelated from the start, but in the final analysis, the oral has followed the lead of the written, as in an intricate and evolving dance. And as the written tradition increased in precision and sophistication, and decreased in flexibility, so too did the oral tradition. After the initial standardisation of the written text, the oral traditions have evolved from what the ambiguities in the Arabic script at each stage of its development would permit. Whether any of the oral versions of the earliest pedigrees do go back to Muḥammad is impossible to document because of the lack of precise written records of those recitations. Bellamy says of the *qirā'āt*.¹⁶⁹

They are important to us here because they prove that there was no oral tradition stemming directly from the prophet strong enough to overcome all the uncertainties inherent in the writing system.

¹⁶⁶ Pretzl, 'Fortfuehrung', 9.

¹⁶⁷ Rippin, 'Ban', Rippin, 'Camel',

¹⁶⁸ Bellamy, 'Criticism', 2.

¹⁶⁹ Bellamy, 'Emendations', 563.

Margoliouth, reflecting on the apparent situation that Ibn Mujāhid was not drawing his conclusions on a single tradition of Qur'ān reading going directly back to Muḥammad (but rather several), made this insightful comment about this process of the standardisation of the seven readings:¹⁷⁰

We should have expected the Various Readings to be based on Tradition; the commentators rather assume that they are based on consideration of the evidence...They were not, then, reproducing what they had learned from teachers, but doing their best to decipher a text.

Traditional Islamic views of the readings do not take these issues sufficiently into consideration. They tend to view the seven or ten readings as being reliable tradition in some way going back to Muḥammad. Some contemporary Muslim scholars believe that the seven readings are authentic presentations of pronunciations of the Qur'ān from the seventh/ first century, even going back to Muḥammad himself. Al-Azami states unequivocally, 'where more than one authoritative reading existed, the source of this multiplicity was traceable to the Prophet.'¹⁷¹ He is referring here to the memorised pedigrees of the Qur'ān reciters, not to *isnads*. There was not a written guarantee that the details of the recitation went back to Muḥammad.

In choosing seven readings, Ibn Mujāhid chose seven versions that were attributed to second/eighth century Qur'ān reciters and claimed their readings had divine authority.¹⁷² There is also a hadith which asserts that the Qur'ān was revealed in seven ways,¹⁷³

Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) said, "Gabriel recited the Qur'an to me in one way. Then I requested him (to read it in another way), and continued asking him to recite it in other ways, and he recited it in several ways till he ultimately recited it in seven different ways."

Ibn Mujāhid never identified his seven readings with these 'ways' but their explanation has gotten caught up in debates within Islamic scholarship as to exactly what the 'seven different ways' or 'modes' (*ahruf*) consist of. Von Denffer, a

¹⁷⁰ Margoliouth, 'Variations', 340.

¹⁷¹ Al-Azami, *History*, 153.

¹⁷² Welch, 'Kur'ān', 408.

¹⁷³ al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, 6.513.

current Islamic scholar who is very familiar with Western scholarship, acknowledges that historically there have been at least thirty-five different interpretations of this, anything from the Companions' collections being the different modes, to different dialects, to different ways of pronouncing the same basic consonantal text, or to the current text somehow within itself containing the seven modes.¹⁷⁴ Von Denffer is careful to say that the 'seven readings' chosen by Ibn Mujāhid are not the same as the seven modes attributed to Muḥammad. But he never clearly defines his own view of the seven readings. Instead, he states his agreement with another scholar's confusing and self-contradictory statement that any reading/recitation system that is in accordance with Arabic grammar, has an approved pedigree of reciters, and is in accordance with the consonantal text attributed to 'Uthmān, is a correct reading somehow belonging to the seven modes, even if it is one of the Ten or beyond.¹⁷⁵ Nelson, a researcher into Qur'ān recitation systems and practises, states,¹⁷⁶

Whatever the precise definition of *aḥruf*, all of the *ḥadīth* on the subject indicate the following principles: all variants are of equal status in terms of their truth and rightness and all variation is the word of God as revealed to Muḥammad, with no human intervention involved....the relationship of the canonical variant readings, the *qirā'āt*, to the *aḥruf* is also the subject of much discussion in Islamic works, and there are differing opinions. However, most scholars agree that the seven *aḥruf* do not refer to the seven canonical readings, although they are the basis for them.

Welch states that this method of selecting rival systems and declaring them equally authoritative was used in other areas of Islamic life to avoid irresolvable disputes and likens it to the four Sunnī schools of jurisprudence.¹⁷⁷ The following description is a more consistent answer than many Islamic explanations of the seven modes: since exact knowledge of the original recitation of the earliest edited version of the Qur'ān had been lost among the many versions that had arisen from the flexibility and ambiguity of the orthography of the Qur'ān, Ibn Mujāhid chose what in his time were the readings that had the greatest chance of being viewed as authoritative and authentic. It was a pragmatic decision based on the best results the

¹⁷⁴ Denffer, *'Ulūm*, 113-115. He is citing Şuyūṭī, *'Itqān*, I:45.

¹⁷⁵ Denffer, *'Ulūm*, 119.

¹⁷⁶ Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*, Modern Middle East Series, Austin: University of Texas, 1985, 201.

¹⁷⁷ Welch, 'Kur'ān', 409.

scholarship of that era could obtain. As Rezvan observed, it was a compromise between ‘the exact text’ which could not by then be recovered, even of the earliest edited version, and a ‘generalized variant’ that allowed some latitude of variation, and which would meet with broad acceptance from a variety of groups in his situation.¹⁷⁸

5.2.2.5. *Unintentional Variants*

Unintentional variants were observed throughout the Qur’ānic manuscript tradition as represented by the manuscripts surveyed. They were usually easily identifiable, usually being a letter or combination of letters that did not make sense in the immediate context, or a consonantal diacritical mark placed over the wrong letter. A few of the manuscripts had corrections of such mistakes by later scribes. Though these did add an extra element needing to be deciphered, once examined in their context they had no appreciable effect of obscuring the form of the Canonical text-form of the selected passage. Occasionally, when a correction was involved, it was necessary to evaluate whether or not the correction was rectifying a copyist mistake or conforming the text to a standard form. Their effect on the basic text of the Qur’ān is minimal, though occasionally, a misplaced diacritical mark or letter could conceivably have an effect on the meaning of the text.

5.2.2.6. *Intentional Variants*

It has been demonstrated that the Qur’ān manuscripts surveyed contained a variety of intentional variants. The major category was the improvement of the orthography, which included standardising and supplementing the use of *alifs*, adding diacritical marks to distinguish consonants, adding coloured dots to indicate placement and pronunciation of short vowels and *ḥamza*, and then to implement a complete system of vocalisation to indicate precise pronunciation of all consonants and vowels. Smaller categories were variants that were apparently done for grammatical improvements and to support a dogmatic position on an issue. These

¹⁷⁸ Rezvan, ‘Mingana’, 2.

can be viewed as exegetical variants, introduced to clarify or establish the meaning of a text.

One more category was variants introduced to conform the text to a particular form of the text established by political and religious authority. Together, these kinds of variants greatly illumine the textual history of the Qur'ān, illustrating the steps that were taken to make the script a fully sufficient vehicle to convey precise meaning and pronunciation.

One kind of intentional variant that was found in the New Testament tradition but not the Qur'ānic was stylistic improvement. While New Testament scribes (especially Byzantine ones) often improved the Greek style of the text with small changes, Muslims instead resisted changing the text they had received. The New Testament scribes were adapting a text they had received which was clearly written in a vernacular, which they then adapted for liturgy. Qur'ānic scribes, though also receiving a text originally written in a vernacular form of script, after an early major editing effort to put it into a liturgical form and kept this later text and form. Theological conceptions of their sacredness also played a part in this. The New Testament texts came to be held as the divinely inspired writings of humans. The Qur'ān came to be viewed as divine speech in and of itself, and so the form and sound of the text came to be regarded as sacred, and not just the meaning derived from that text. It is significant that the Qur'ānic palimpsests provide a window into a time and situation where the sacred nature of a specific form of the text had not yet been fully developed.

5.3. Conclusions: The Goals of Textual Criticism

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter that there are two major goals in the practise of textual criticism: to recover the original text or the Autographic text-form, and to illumine the history of the transmission of the text. Applying these goals to the New Testament manuscripts surveyed, it was determined that both of these goals are legitimate to pursue from the materials available for study. The first goal, recovering the original text, is made difficult, but not impossible, by the presence of textual variants in the earliest extant manuscripts from the second

century. It was recognised that, even with these variants, there is a large degree of shared, basic text, and that through established methods of textual criticism the variants can be evaluated with a reasonable amount of certainty to be able to recover the Autographic text-form of Acts 7:1-8. The second goal is also one that can be profitably pursued to illumine particular eras of church history and to define the historical transmission of the text in a better way.

. Concerning the Qur'ān, the situation changes dramatically. Since there is testimony that the earliest Authoritative text-forms were destroyed, the earliest attainable text is a reconstruction of the consonantal text that was edited by the late first/early eighth century. This text is often attributed to either 'Uthmān or al-Ḥajjāj, or both, and it can be considered the Canonical text-form. Also, the documentary evidence available permits the reconstruction of the outline and details of some of the 14 reading systems and the 80 transmissions of the 10. What it does not allow is the reconstruction of any of the Companion's Codices or of any precise vocalisation of the Qur'ān from the period before 934/323. For the Qur'ān, the main task becomes the second goal: illuminating historical textual development and transmission.

With this second goal in mind, the variants that can be observed in Qur'ān manuscripts raise significant issues concerning the development of the orthography and the consonantal form of the text. For instance, the palimpsests, together with the background of a partially controlled manuscript tradition in the early part of Qur'ānic textual history, indicate that the very shape of the consonantal text, and later, the completely vocalised text of the Qur'ān are in effect intentional variants and Interpretive text-forms of the Consonantal text-form in their own right. They are also versions that were made at the expense of more original versions that were purposefully suppressed. This is especially true viewing the palimpsests and/or the stories of suppression against the backdrop of Ehrman's assertion that scribes introducing variants that improve the text prevent access to the precise form of the original text.¹⁷⁹

Whereas with the New Testament, a basic text with limited fluidity was developed over eleven centuries into a liturgical text that is a polished stylistic and grammatical product, with the Qur'ān a truncated form derived from the

¹⁷⁹ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 280.

Authoritative text-forms was strongly edited for political and theological reasons, and this edition was accompanied by an order from the highest Islamic authority to destroy and suppress any prior and alternative texts. This destruction and suppression was apparently carried out over the first four Islamic centuries, though unevenly applied, and at the same time the Canonical version was preserved, improved, and developed over three centuries to a point where a precise text was formed to serve the needs of liturgy and the then dominant theology in the eleventh/fourth century. This theology was what has come to be regarded as Sunnī Orthodoxy and the precise form of the text of the Qur’ān was designed to support and enhance this ideology.¹⁸⁰ It was intended to support the idea of the uncreated Qur’ān and to suppress any alternative views of an uncreated and incomplete text of the Qur’ān.

The further development of eighty *riwāyas* of the ten approved readings of the ‘Uthmānic text demonstrates that even this effort did not control the growth of variant versions, and only the practical expedient of an almost universally printed copy in the last century is approaching success in completely unifying the text of the Qur’ān .

The manuscript traditions of the New Testament and the Qur’ān have a fundamental qualitative difference. The overwhelming majority of Qur’ān manuscripts present one form of the basic consonantal text, whereas the New Testament manuscripts present a variety of forms of the basic text. Qur’ānic palimpsests seem to be the only Qur’ān manuscripts that depart significantly from this basic text. In contrast, though the majority of New Testament manuscripts also present one basic form of text, even known as ‘The Majority Text,’¹⁸¹ there are hundreds of New Testament manuscripts that present different forms of the text, usually with the titles ‘Western,’ Alexandrian,’ and Caesarean,’ which include all of the manuscripts that are extant from before AD 600.¹⁸² New Testament textual criticism since the Protestant Reformation has been an attempt to regain the primitive vernacular form of the text, before the stylistic changes were added and any other portions that were intentionally or unintentionally changed.

¹⁸⁰ Tabbaa, ‘Canonicity’, 98.

¹⁸¹ An edition of this text-type has been produced: Hodges and Farstad (eds.), *Greek*.

¹⁸² There are more than 230 Greek New Testament manuscripts that are extant from before AD 600.

Qur'anic textual criticism as practised within Islam has been an effort to standardise the text to a pre-conceived form, and to turn a piece of originally oral literature into a form of written literature while retaining a measure of its orality. Instead of seeking to recover or restore its original Autographic text-forms or even its earliest Authoritative text-forms, what has been sought instead has been to create from the flexible consonantal orthography a form that satisfied as many of the dogmatic and practical liturgical conditions as possible. It is a revisionist exercise that in becoming established as the authoritative and traditional text has led to the irreparable loss of the most original forms of its early text.

To return to the title of this chapter, 'Organic Preservation or Supermarket Standardisation?', instead of the pure autographic text-forms being preserved, what has been preserved and transmitted for the Qur'ān is a text-form that was chosen from amidst a group of others, which was then edited and canonised at the expense of these others, and has been improved upon in order to make it conform to the desired ideal— similar to a supermarket accepting only carrots of a certain length and colour, or apples of a certain size and colour, these without visible blemishes, and then the suppliers being told to only plant and supply these ideal versions. The rest of the produce that does not make the grade is destroyed and suppressed. To continue the metaphor, with the New Testament, the organic original has been preserved amidst the various versions of the text found in the manuscript tradition.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

(Japp) Come now, Monsieur. You're not going to run down the value of details as clues?

(Poirot) Oh, by no means. These things are all good in their way. The danger is they may assume undue importance. Most details are insignificant. One or two are vital. It is the brain, the little grey cells, on which one must rely.¹

Agatha Christie

6.1. Introduction

This thesis has examined many details and sifted them to determine what significance they have for the transmission of the texts of the New Testament and the Qur'ān . In this last chapter we will survey what has been accomplished in each preceding chapter, revisit and answer the research questions posed in Chapter One, and present some implications that follow from these answers. We will then consider some areas deserving further future study and finish by giving summary accounts of the textual histories of both the New Testament and the Qur'ān which incorporate the information uncovered in this research.

In Chapter One the basic question was raised as to if and how a critical text of the Qur'ān could be constructed, similar to that which has been produced for the New Testament. This would involve the application of methods of textual criticism that have been developed in New Testament and Classics studies over the last two centuries. The goals of New Testament textual criticism have been defined as 1) to recover the original text, and 2) to trace the historical development of the text. It was stated that this thesis is an exercise in the application of textual criticism to early Qur'ān manuscripts to pursue these two goals.

The concept of original text was examined and working definitions were established for the earliest texts that would be the appropriate goals for the New Testament and the Qur'ān. For the New Testament book of Acts, this was the Autographic text-form. For the Qur'ān this was a Canonical text-form.

¹ Agatha Christie, *The Disappearance of Mr. Davenheim*, "The Mystery of the Hunter's Lodge" and Other Stories', London: HarperCollins Audiobooks, 1999.

Though the Autographic text-forms are not available for the Qur'ān, it was recognised that there was tremendous scope for the application of the second goal of textual criticism, the illumination of the history of the text. Research questions were posed to bring out the various implications of pursuing these two goals with the Qur'ān.

The methodology chosen for this analysis is called Reasoned Eclecticism. It was explained how this method was to be applied in this particular study since it is a new methodology to be applied to Qur'ān manuscripts. The chapter closed with a list of original contributions to the current state of knowledge that this study makes.

In Chapter Two, the method was applied to a small portion of text shared by twenty representative New Testament manuscripts. This text was a brief narrative portion from Acts 7:1-8. The variants in this portion from the chosen manuscripts were exhaustively analyzed and categorized. These results were then examined with the purpose of discerning the most probable original text of Acts 7:1-8. The results were also considered in relation to the later development and transmission of the New Testament text, including a window into its translation and dissemination into the Arabic speaking world of the ninth century provided by an Arabic translation of Acts.

Chapter Three took this work on the New Testament manuscripts as a basis for comparison and applied the methodology of Reasoned Eclecticism to twenty-one Qur'ānic manuscripts concerning the portion of Surah 14:35-41. The variants found in this portion from these manuscripts were exhaustively categorized and analyzed. These results were then applied to the task of discerning the most probable original text of S. 14:35-41. They were also applied to questions of the later development and transmission of the Qur'ān's text.

Chapter Four compared the results of Chapters Two and Three, setting out which categories were found to be parallel between the two manuscript traditions and which were not parallel. Special attention was given to the issues arising from the different kinds of scripts used in the two traditions noting the variants that were particular to their unique features. Also, special attention was given to palimpsest manuscripts in both traditions since they also highlight key features in the variants that were found.

Chapter Five then took these comparisons and used them as the basis for comparing the tasks of 1) recovering the autographic text-form in both traditions and 2) illuminating their respective textual histories. It was shown that, while both of these tasks are possible for the New Testament text, only the second is possible for the Qur'ān. Examining the history of the text of the Qur'ān demonstrates that it is possible to recover a Canonical text-form and various Interpretive text-forms. In establishing the traditional text of the Qur'ān, primary source material was destroyed which was necessary to reconstruct the earliest authoritative texts.

6.2. Research Questions Revisited

In Chapter One, research questions were also posed that the intervening study has answered. There were two major questions, and the second major question encompassed seven further questions, as follows:

6.2.1. To What Extent Can a Critical Text of the Qur'ān Be Constructed from Qur'ānic Manuscripts with the Goal of Recovering the Original Form of the Text?

A picture from forestry provides a useful illustration for distinguishing the different kinds of original texts that the New Testament books, such as Acts, and the Qur'ān developed from. Coppicing is a practise where certain kinds of small trees are regularly pruned back to the stumps so that they can grow again and provide a steady supply of material for crafts, small poles and firewood.² For the New Testament, there was one book of Acts that was planted, and within its first century two major trunks had sprouted from the same root and these trunks grew new major branches. The Diocletian persecution essentially cut one of these trunks down, and trimmed a lot of the smaller branches away from the other. The remaining trunk grew and was pruned over the centuries into a distinctive textual shape.

² *Collins English Dictionary*, third edn., Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1991, 'coppice.' See <http://www.coppicenorthwest.org.uk/> for information on coppicing methods.

The Qur'ān had a different beginning and a different program of cutting. Instead of one tree, it was like many trees sprouting from the same root, like a cluster of oak sprouts from a buried hoard of acorns. From these sprouts, a few grew into the authoritative text-forms of the Companions' collections. There were many trunks sharing the same root of material planted within Muḥammad's lifetime. At Muḥammad's death these trunks became independent trees still sharing the same root system. 'Uthmān pruned these back to one trunk, and then shaped this trunk through grafts and prunings into a distinctive shape. Al-Ḥajjāj did some further shaping, and then this form became a strong tree, but the root continued to send out shoots, and the main trunk continued to grow new branches so that within three hundred years there were fifty+ trunks or major branches sharing the same root system. Ibn Mujāhid and others then pruned these back to ten major branches from the main trunk and trimmed away all of the other trunks or shoots coming independently from the root. These ten branches have been maintained but have also been allowed to sprout 8 branches each. Two of these eighty branches have been put into print in this last century.

Recovering the Autographic text-form of the New Testament has become a trimming job on minor branches. The trunk and main branches are in place. The smaller branches are what need pruning. For instance, this study concluded that the reading set forth in NA²⁷ is, except for one small variant, the most probable reading of the Autographic text-form.

For the Qur'ān, the original forms of the trees cannot be recovered. One trunk survives which was heavily pruned and grafted onto at the outset. It has since been subject to two further major pruning exercises. Also, this metaphor breaks down in the complexity of the pruning/editing that was done. The earliest Canonical text-form that can be recovered is a consonantal text in its basic outline without diacritical dots or vocalisation marks. The set patterns of diacritics, and the precise vocalisation of the short vowels are later Interpretive text-forms. They were not fixed until the tenth /third century when Ibn Mujāhid legitimised the Seven reading systems. The two forms of text in print today are Interpretive text-forms of two of the seven readings. These two text-forms might date back to before the time of Ibn Mujāhid to the lives of Ḥafs (d. 796/180) and Warsh (d. 812/197), but this cannot be confirmed by

manuscripts of those early dates. Instead, we have only the indirect testimony from later tradition that the oral versions attributed to them started within their lifetimes.

A critical text for the Qur'ān based on extant manuscripts could potentially provide the earliest form of the Canonical text-form as a partially pointed consonantal text and, depending on how the palimpsests are interpreted, possibly with glimpses into prior Authoritative text-forms. The different schemes of how the consonantal text is partially pointed would need to be indicated, since the same letters are not always pointed in the earliest texts. The later schemes of adding coloured dots would provide the data for indicating later Interpretive text-forms. The texts that have fully or almost fully pointed and vocalised texts would provide another layer indicating further Interpretive text-forms, some of which have taken on an authority that is almost canonical through widespread dissemination and printing.

6.2.2 What are the Most Important Textual History Issues that can be Discerned from Qur'ān Manuscripts by Comparing Them to New Testament Manuscripts?

The second goal of textual criticism, illuminating textual history, is a significant exercise in both traditions. For the Qur'ān it is the main exercise, and one for which there is an enormous opportunity and scope for practise. The following seven questions highlight the most important issues this study unearthed.

6.2.2.1 What Kinds of Variants do the New Testament and Qur'ān Traditions Have in Common and What Kinds are Unique to Them Respectively? Do These Identify any Significant Comparative Issues of Textual Transmission History?

In the course of these analyses, certain significant similarities and differences were observed that deserve further comment. These are the most significant issues of comparison between the two texts and their textual tradition.

6.2.2.1.1. Major Similarities

All manuscript traditions share certain features because they use a certain set of shared materials, forms and palaeographical requirements for preserving and transmitting written texts. Scriptural traditions, because of their dogmatic concerns and high devotional regard for the text, also share particular features. The manuscripts in both traditions presented strong evidence of careful copying to preserve the meaning and form of their chosen text. The most significant similarities between the New Testament and Qur'ānic traditions were the following:

6.2.2.1.1.1. Unintentional Errors

Scribes in both traditions made mistakes. There were common examples of misspelled words, accidentally added and omitted letters and even omitted words. These are usually easily identifiable and are often corrected in the manuscript. They can occasionally affect the meaning of the text in its immediate context. Sometimes, there is ambiguity as to whether or not the variant is unintentional if it is close to a legitimate alternative spelling of the word, especially when common-sounding vowels are concerned.

6.2.2.1.1.2. Intentional Changes

One of the most significant observations made concerning intentional variants was that they were more common in both traditions than unintentional variants. When the kinds of intentional changes were broken down further, the majority of these variants in both traditions were orthographic variants comprising legitimate alternative spelling, minor grammatical variants, and the updating of conventions of spelling. Also, the very few changes that were made intentionally to the meaning of the text were to strengthen the meaning that was already understood to be conveyed by that text, not to change it to read something completely new or significantly different. All of them had only minor effects on the meaning of the text in the immediate context of the change.

For the New Testament, most intentional variants and corrections were made to correct grammar and orthography and to improve the style. Most and very possibly all were not done for dogmatic reasons to strengthen some doctrine under attack. For the Qur'ān, many intentional variants and corrections were made to improve the orthography, but many were also done for a dogmatic reason: to conform the text to one precise form. This will be discussed in section 6.2.2.2 below.

6.2.2.1.1.3. Intentional Changes Due to Orthographic Conventions

Both traditions had significant numbers of these. It was the single largest category by far in the Qur'ānic tradition. Both had variable spelling with proper names. Both traditions exhibited a limited degree of spelling variation in a variety of kinds of words, mainly with the spelling of vowels and vowel combinations.

6.2.2.1.1.4. Intentional Changes Due to Grammatical Correction

Both traditions had examples of grammatical corrections. With the New Testament tradition, this took the form of different grammatical forms of the words and a few different words. With the Qur'ānic tradition, this was found mainly in the alternative placement of consonantal diacritical marks. Changes of person and number were observed. There were also examples of conjunctions being substituted for one another.

6.2.2.1.1.5. Intentional Changes Due to Updating the Orthography

Both traditions also exhibited instances of spelling changes that were perceived as bringing the text in line with a standard that was perceived as new or better. For the New Testament, there were changes that showed a concern for upgrading the Koiné vernacular spelling to a more polished Attic one. For the Qur'ān, the improvements to the script were more substantial to make it more precise both in meaning and pronunciation. There was a series of improvements to remove ambiguity from the Arabic script itself by standardising the use of long

vowels, adding diacritical marks to consonants, adding short vowels, and the invention and introduction of the letter *ḥamza*.

6.2.2.1.2. Major Differences

Though there were similarities, the differences in kinds of variants between the two traditions were more pronounced. It is also in these differences that the most important comparisons concerning their textual histories are found. The three most significant had to do with 1) the amount of concern demonstrated for establishing a precise form of the text, 2) the role of oral tradition in the preservation of the text, and 3) the place of discourse variants in the respective manuscript tradition. What was involved in establishing a precise form of the text is summarised in the answers below at 6.2.2.2 and 6.2.2.3. the role of oral tradition is summarised in 6.2.2.7 below.

Discourse variants are perhaps the most noticeable kind of textual variant in that they are the longest and can be anywhere from a phrase to a multi-sentence portion of text. They also have the greatest effect on the meaning of the text. They are found in the New Testament manuscript tradition. Acts 7:4 has an additional phrase in some manuscripts. There are discourse variants in the New Testament tradition that extend from a phrase to multiple sentences, as with the long version of the ending of Mark's Gospel, Mark 16:9-20. None of the Qur'ān manuscripts collated for this study contained discourse variants. The only Qur'ān manuscripts discovered during this research that had discourse variants were the palimpsests and two manuscripts in Scottish collections. The Islamic literature concerning textual variants occasionally includes discourse variants. Islamic tradition also testifies to discourse variants of great length in its accounts of some of the portions not included in the present Qur'ān. These would have been portions in the Autographic text-forms and the Authoritative text-forms. None of the manuscripts examined and collated for this study had discourse variants.

The degree of difference of text-form seen between the Alexandrian and Western text-types of Acts can be seen between the Canonical text-form of the Qur'ān and the Qur'ānic palimpsests. This degree of difference of text-form can also be seen in what is related to have been the differences between the Companions' collections themselves, which for this study were considered to be

Authoritative text forms. Most of these variants consist of different pronunciations, slightly different grammatical structures, different added words, different phrases, and the occasional added or omitted phrase or sentence.

6.2.2.2. Development of Arabic Orthography: Did the Semantic Ambiguity of Early Arabic Script Impel the Development of a Precise Orthography?

The Qur'ānic tradition showed itself to have much more concern with the precise form of the text than the New Testament tradition. This was evident from the earliest available forms of these texts. The earliest available Qur'ānic manuscripts contained a very precise consonantal line of text. Only the Qur'ānic palimpsests showed a degree of variability in the consonantal text that approached the degree of flexibility exhibited in the New Testament manuscript tradition.

However, there was potentially more semantic ambiguity in the unpointed Qur'ānic script than the more flexibly spelled and worded New Testament script because of the characteristics of their respective scripts. This was because the grammatical relationships of the words were more precisely presented in the New Testament text through the letters that designated their case, person, mood and tense. Even though there was a more flexibly spelled and worded New Testament text, the meaning it conveyed was more precise than that which could be conveyed through an unpointed Arabic text because the grammatical relationships of the words in the New Testament text were explicitly notated. Rezvan noted that the development of Arabic orthography in Qur'ān manuscripts 'was largely due to the need to precisely interpret Qur'ānic texts.'³ The orthographic development observed in the collated Qur'ān manuscripts made the script both a script that could be precisely pronounced for a unified recitation and a script that could be precisely interpreted for instruction and dogma.

³ Rezvan, 'Qur'āns', citing 108-109.

6.2.2.3. Can an Early, Strong Standardisation of the Qur'ān Text Be Discerned in the Manuscript Tradition? Does it Agree, Disagree, or Modify the Traditional Islamic Views Concerning such Standardisation?

Early and strong standardisation of the Qur'ān text can be discerned in the manuscript tradition. Three phenomena make it plainly evident. First, there is the degree of agreement in the form of the consonantal text seen across all of the manuscripts that were collated. The degree of agreement is truly phenomenal when it is compared with other textual traditions such as that of the New Testament. The relatively small numbers of unintentional and intentional variants are quite noteworthy. In and of itself, this degree of agreement does not prove standardisation. It could be testimony to extremely careful scribal practise and a higher concern for precise verbal accuracy in transcription than other manuscript traditions. But taken with the next two phenomena, it becomes clear that while there was extreme care taken in the transcription process, there were also extraordinary external forces ensuring a level of standardisation well above that of the New Testament tradition.

The second factor is the kinds of textual variants observed in Qur'ānic palimpsests. These were found to be more of the same kinds found in the New Testament tradition. They demonstrate a concern for accuracy to convey meaning with a degree of flexibility in word choice that also marks the early New Testament textual tradition. That these kinds of texts were erased demonstrates that strong external forces were brought to bear on the textual transmission of the Qur'ān to edit the text and ensure uniformity, even at the cost of the irrevocable loss of early Qur'ānic material. This view is strengthened further when one considers the corrections found in manuscripts that conform the text to a Canonical text-form.

The third factor is the extensive testimony in Islamic tradition and literature to textual variants for the text of the Qur'ān. With this is also the open acknowledgement of at least two official efforts to standardise the text of the Qur'ān which involved the physical destruction of variant texts. At least two attempts to standardise the text are reported to have been made by central religious authorities, one attributed to 'Uthmān (c. 653/33) and one attributed to al-Ḥajjāj (c. 705/86). Following the description of seven systems by Ibn Mujāḥid (c. 934/323), it

can be argued that a more informal process of recognition of authoritative texts and exclusion of variant texts occurred as these systems became established. Also, an attitude of willingness from the earliest Islamic era to physically destroy variant texts continues to the present day.

In the 1920s the German professor Gotthelf Bergsträsser was prevented from photographing a manuscript because allowing a Western scholar to view and document its unique features 'was not consistent with orthodoxy.'⁴ A more recent example occurred in relation to the manuscript finds in Ṣan'ā', Yemen during the 1970s. Over concerns that Western scholars might find something detrimental to traditional Islamic dogma concerning the Qur'ān, the following request appeared in the letters to the editor of the English language version of the *Yemeni Times*,⁵

Please ensure that these scholars are not given further access to the documents. Also, please rebury them or if they are not exact reproductions, please burn them. Allah help us against our enemies.

It would be difficult to attribute such a high degree of uniformity of text to anything less than the involvement of a strong, centralised religious authority. This is especially true when one considers the kind of texts that are reported to have existed prior to the efforts to unify the text. There were various collections of Qur'ānic material all being read and recited as authoritative scriptural texts. There was not one initial, original text from the period of Muḥammad's career which was preserved with this high degree of precision. Instead, at best, one of the collections from among the various versions available was chosen to be the one text everyone would use. It was then edited heavily, and the others were forcibly suppressed, not because they were less authentic *per se*, but because they presented rivals to the one chosen text and could provide a basis for political and religious competition. This is in fact the role the collection of material attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd played in the first three Islamic centuries until it was finally suppressed in the wake of Ibn Mujāḥid's reforms. It was a competing Authoritative text-form to the Canonical text-form attributed to °Uthmān.

⁴ Jeffery, *Materials*, 10.

⁵ Abul Kasim, 'Conspiracy Against Islam: Muslims Being Cheated', *Yemeni Times*, Online edition, Issue 46- Nov 13 through Nov 19 2000, Vol. X, accessed 6 February 2003.

6.2.2.3.1. Informal vs. Formal Standardisation

In contrast to the Qur'ān's situation, the New Testament text came to be standardised through an informal process which occurred over centuries. There were external forces such as the Diocletian persecution (AD 303-311) which placed a limiting factor on the variety of text-types that were being copied. This, together with imperial edicts to replace destroyed Bibles gave prominence to a form of the text which was potentially one of many before the persecution. This had the cumulative effect of narrowing the scope of variants exhibited in manuscripts as this type of text was copied and stylistically improved as it was adapted for use in liturgy. Also, since the Western church had embraced a Latin translation of the text as their official text, the Greek tradition was mainly preserved in the Eastern portions of the Roman Empire where Greek was the dominant language. The Greek New Testament manuscript tradition was no longer cross-pollinated with Greek manuscripts from throughout the Christian world, as had been the case in the first three Christian centuries.

As mentioned above, the more formal standardisation of the text of the Qur'ān is also seen in some of the corrections made in Qur'ānic manuscripts and possibly the Qur'ānic palimpsests. Text not conforming to the precise consonantal text was corrected, erased and rewritten, or simply erased. This was not the case with the corrections observed in the New Testament tradition. These were designed to correct copyist mistakes and to improve the grammar and style of the text. Brogan presents an argument that certain Gospel manuscripts were changed to conform the text to the texts used by certain early church fathers,⁶ but these were not attempts by a central political or ecclesiastical power to enforce one precise form of the text across the entire manuscript tradition.

Comparatively, though the New Testament manuscripts contain different text-forms of the basic text of Acts, these text-forms present the same story with there being no evidence of a form of the text which presents a radically or even significantly different version of the basic story. These forms of the text were also never submitted to a formal process of standardisation conducted by a central religious or political authority. For S. 14 of the Qur'ān, and inasmuch as its features

⁶ Brogan, 'Sinaiticus'.

reflect the rest of the text of the Qur'ān, there is evidence of a very early attempt to standardise one form of the text. From what one can tell from the palimpsests, other forms of the text would not have been radically different, but they are a very insufficient sampling of what different forms of the text may have once existed. In the 1930's, one scholar has made the general comparative statement,⁷

But while it may be true that no other work has remained for twelve centuries with so pure a text, it is probably equally true that no other has suffered so drastic a purging.

This statement is certainly true for the comparison between the New Testament and the Qur'ān. Though texts of the books of the New Testament were destroyed in one state-sponsored persecution under Diocletian in the early 300s, the Qur'ān went through at least two and possibly three or more under Islamic leadership. Also, there has been a more of a willingness to destroy manuscripts with variant texts as a normal matter of policy in the Qur'ānic tradition than with the New Testament tradition.

6.2.2.4. How do the records of variants in the secondary Islamic literature compare to what is found in manuscripts?

Many more textual variants are listed in the Islamic literature than are found in the manuscript tradition. This was mentioned earlier as a factor demonstrating the degree of external control exerted on the text of the Qur'ān in the manuscript tradition. Many of the sources that list these variants precede the standardisation which followed Ibn Mujāhid's work. If the variants listed in these works were extant in manuscripts of the second and third Islamic centuries, then the complete absence of such manuscripts today can be best explained as evidence of a tremendous suppression of manuscript material.

6.2.2.5. Can the idea of one precise version of the Qur'ān going back to Muḥammad be supported from the manuscript evidence?

That the consonantal form of the Canonical text-form attributed to ʿUthmān contains authentic material dating back to Muḥammad does not seem to be in doubt. What is in doubt is how this material was originally

⁷ L. Bevan Jones, *The People of the Mosque*, London: SCM, 1932, 62.

pronounced and its meaning understood, since both the Autographic text-forms and the Authoritative text-forms are missing. It is impossible to quantify how much material has been lost through the various programmes to standardise the text. Also, the meaning of any text can be drastically altered in the editing process by the selective inclusion and omission of words, phrases, and portions. How much the meaning of the text of the Qur'ān was changed by this editing is impossible to quantify one way or the other. The idea of one precise version of the Qur'ān going back to Muḥammad cannot be substantiated in this situation.

One version of the consonantal text going back to ʿUthmān or al-Ḥajjāj is more possible to conceive, but even these cannot be ascertained with precision because of problems with internal contradictions in the Islamic traditions and because the earliest manuscripts themselves have different diacritical point patterns and no vocalisation marks. The contents of the manuscripts available from this period also do not fully represent the text of the Qur'ān in 114 surahs as it is found today. They are partial and fragmentary with especially the latter portions of the Qur'ān missing.⁸ This is not to say that those parts did not exist or were not used. There are other lines of evidence that can be pursued to support their existence. But their precise form cannot be found in extant manuscripts.

6.2.2.6. Can the Idea of Seven or Ten Versions of the Qur'ān Going Back to Muḥammad be Supported from the Manuscript Evidence?

Since it cannot be demonstrated that there was one version going back to Muḥammad, it also cannot be demonstrated that seven or ten went back to him. What can be maintained is that one form of the consonantal text has been very well preserved from the seventh/first century, and that oral traditions have developed which reinforce a particular understanding of, and a set number of recitals of, that one consonantal text. These recitals do perhaps survive from an early time in Islamic history, but not to before the fixing of the Canonical text-form or to

⁸ For example, in Sergio Noja-Noseda, 'Note Esterne in Margine Al 1° Volume Dei 'Materiali per un "Edizione Critica Del Corano"', *Rendiconti* 134 (2000), 3-37 Pages 19-28 contain a list of the contents of the known Hījāzi manuscripts in the USA, European collections, the Middle East, and Istanbul. Surahs 77-114 are not represented in any of these manuscripts, 71-76 in only one, and with very patchy coverage between 45 and 70.

Muḥammad himself. Also, there is no available method of testing how early their precise features were practised, other than the very few consonantal markers that some of these systems contained. Some have sought to argue that all of these versions were somehow present in or contained by the flexibility of this orthography.⁹ A more accurate way of stating this is to say that the flexibility and ambiguity inherent in the unpointed text allowed their development, and the development of other systems as well. The oral transmission was as static as the written text required, and as organic and creative as the ambiguous orthography permitted. At this point, the earliest that precise and complete versions of the Seven or Ten reading systems can be documented is to when the script was written with full consonantal diacritics and vocalisation symbols in the fourth/tenth century.

6.2.2.7. Did a Parallel Oral Tradition Act as a Strong Protection to the Precise Content and Pronunciation of the Text of the Qur’ān from the Time of Muḥammad?

That an oral tradition of the recital of the Qur’an exists from the earliest period of the text is not contested. What is contested is how complete and strong this tradition was to preserve a precise pronunciation of the text as it was received. The manuscript evidence best supports a view that though it was a necessary feature accompanying the written text, an oral tradition of the precise pronunciation of the text was never strong enough or developed enough to unify the earliest Muslim community on a standard recitation of the text. The mechanics and systems were not in place to establish and maintain a strong enough oral tradition to provide an undisputably precise oral pronunciation of the ambiguous consonantal text of the Qur’ān. The textual mechanics were not in place in that there were multiple Authoritative text-forms after Muḥammad’s death which would have each required a separate strong oral tradition. Otherwise, a written recension, like the one attributed to ʿUthmān, would not have been needed. The time frame for when this standardisation took place was in Islam’s first century, and it was possibly a two-stage standardisation of the consonantal text, with those two steps occurring toward the middle and end of the first Islamic century. The attributions of an edition to Al-

⁹ Brockett, ‘Studies’, 94, 142.

Ḥajjāj, the presence of corrections and alternative texts in the palimpsests, and the existence of manuscripts with variant surah orders, all support this scenario.

Second, there seems to have been in this period an attitude of flexibility of oral pronunciation that matched the flexibility of the written text. With the standardisation of the Canonical text-form and the suppression of the Authoritative text-forms, the oral traditions for those text-forms would have also been suppressed or conformed to the new standard. Also, though this early standardisation of the consonantal text did provide a basis of unity that still exists in Islam, it was not precise enough to prevent the development of rival recitation systems, even of its own consonantal text, nor did it completely displace the use of different recitation systems based on other forms of the consonantal text attributed to other companions of Muḥammad, which can be viewed as competing Authoritative text-forms. The most comprehensive explanation for the complexity of the records of textual variants and the Companions' collections is that a historical situation of competing recitals and written versions of the Qur'ān did in fact exist. This is seen in the existence and extent of the Qirā'āt literature with the systems of the Seven, the Ten, and the Fourteen reading systems, the various historical records concerning the existence and content of the Companions' collections, and the records of other portions that were known to have existed in the earliest period. If these variants were real, then the oral tradition was not strong enough to keep them completely in check.

Then, after the Canonical text-form was in place, there was a degree of flexibility allowed concerning its precise pointing and pronunciation that grew to the multiplicity of systems that were being practised two hundred and fifty years later when Ibn Mujāhid found it necessary to limit them to seven. Some of these were possibly tied to Authoritative text-forms that preceded the Canonical one, but most of them seem to have been based on different ways of applying diacritical and vocalisation marks to the Canonical consonantal text-form. The manuscripts from this period would have allowed this degree of flexibility, and the systems of coloured dots for vocalisations confirm that more systems than the seven or ten were being practised. Melchert makes an observation that in the era before Ibn Mujāhid there was growth in the reliance

on and precision of the oral transmission, confirms the conclusion reached from observing the development of orthography in the manuscripts.¹⁰

As the oral tradition became more precise it advanced the need for a more precise Arabic script, and at the same time the more precise Arabic script enabled the oral tradition to be recorded and maintained with greater precision. A strong, unified oral tradition was not preserved from the seventh/first century. Instead, the coppice illustration is the more accurate picture.

Arguments that this entire edifice is a pious fabrication,¹¹ though, cannot be maintained, in that there are manuscripts that preserve discernible features of distinctive readings of the Qur'ān.¹² Also, there is a conspicuous lack of evidence of the survival of one form of recitation with a strong written and oral pedigree traced directly back to Muḥammad, which, if it ever existed, would have commanded a high degree of use and allegiance. Though political and religious motives may have been sufficient reasons for people to abuse a system and create recitations that served their sectarian purposes, these are not sufficient reasons to cause the creation of the entire edifice of the reading systems in the first place. More sufficient reasons are at hand, for instance the defective character of the Arabic script and the transition from an oral literary environment to one that operated according to the conventions of written literature.

Though the coloured dot systems do give an indication that some of these recitation systems may have existed earlier, they do not present the short vowels with enough precision, they do not contain consonantal diacritical marks with enough precision, and they record other systems of pronunciation that are different than what later came to be regarded as the Seven and the Ten. Before the tenth/fourth century, the text was simply not in a state containing the degree of precision required to record and transmit the full reading system. The chains of names of transmitters of these systems are also

¹⁰ C. Melchert, 'Relation of the Ten Readings to One Another.' Oxford: Melchert, Christopher, 2007. Lecture given at SOAS, University of London conference: The Qur'an: Text, Interpretation & Translation, 7–9 November 2007. Copy obtained from author.

¹¹ Fischer, 'Grammatisch', 5, note 4.

¹² Dutton, 'Mushaf'; -----, 'Notes'; Intisar A. Rabb, 'Non-Canonical Readings of the Qur'an: Recognition and Authenticity (the Himsī Reading)', *JQS* (2006), 8:84-127

not enough of a guarantee of the precise pronunciation of these systems. The growth represented by the development of the eight eventual versions of each of the Ten recitation systems occurred when the script was developed enough to contain and preserve a precise recitation of the text. If there was this amount of flexibility and growth with such a system in place, there could have been no guarantee strong enough to prevent similar growth of reading systems before such a system was invented.

Comparatively, a similar oral tradition never developed for the New Testament text. Orthographically there was not the need for one to safeguard pronunciation or the meaning of the text because of the relative phonetic completeness of the Greek script. There may have also been theological reasons as well but those must wait for further studies. F. E. Peters makes an important observation adding in a comparison from the Jewish Masoretic tradition:¹³

In Islam, the emphasis was and is quite different. The preservation and transmission of the Qur'an has been overwhelmingly oral in nature, and so experts in the Book have been reciters (*qurra*) rather than scribes (*kuttāb*). Thus there have been no Masoretes jealously guarding a textual tradition and, in the process, noting the slightest variants. Among the Jews the effort was to preserve a properly written text, whereas the Muslims have been more concerned with a properly remembered text....But absent a masoretic tradition among Muslims, the variants on the Quranic text—as there certainly must have been with the early defective Arabic writing system that scarcely distinguished some consonants, much less vowels—have largely disappeared, and those that have survived are largely inconsequential to the text.

This conclusion is confirmed by the relatively insignificant variants left in the great majority of manuscripts in the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition. Only the palimpsests have anything approaching the kinds of textual variants found in the New Testament tradition. And such a Masoretic tradition never arose concerning the New Testament because of the completeness of the script and perhaps the differing conception of the use of it as a scripture to be read more for its meaning than recited for its blessing. Though an extensive oral tradition has been claimed for the Qur'ān, and there is excellent evidence for its existence, it was never strong enough to guard one precise form of pronunciation of the text, and the oral

¹³ F.E. Peters, *The Monotheists*, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003, 33.

traditions that have existed have always been tied to particular versions of the written text, particularly after orthographic improvements were added to the consonantal text to make it more precise syntactically and phonetically.

6.3. Implications That Follow

The primary task in New Testament textual criticism is to recover one text from among many—to recover the first published text of each biblical book from among the textual variants and text-types that have accumulated throughout the history of the transmission of the text. The primary task in Qur’ānic textual criticism as practised historically in Islam has been instead to justify one form of the text against many others. And the efforts to establish and justify one text from among a group of collections of material, both oral and written, has resulted in the irreparable loss of the earliest Authoritative forms of the text.

This contrast demonstrates that, comparatively, there is much more of a possibility of recovering the earliest Autographic forms of the New Testament texts, and discerning a reliably preserved representation of them from within the extant manuscripts, than there is for recovering the earliest Authoritative text-forms of the Qur’ān. And while the form of the text of the Qur’ān that survives contains authentic material, it is a partial selection of what was once available, and the materials are not available to discern if it is a reliably preserved representation of the entire body of material.

This situation makes Parker’s view of the impossibility of recovering any form of the original text of the New Testament actually a more appropriate statement for the text of the Qur’ān.¹⁴ Concerning at least the book of Acts, his view is an overstatement, because there is good reason to believe that from within present manuscript evidence a reliable, but not absolutely precise, version of the Autographic text-form of Acts can be recovered. Concerning the Qur’ān, his statement would not go far enough because of the amount of primary source material that was destroyed in order to establish the text that survives.

This is a similar situation to statements Ehrman has made concerning the amount of intentional dogmatic variants that have been made in the New Testament

¹⁴ Parker, ‘Theology’, 586.

tradition.¹⁵ His statements are actually more accurate concerning the Qur'ān than the New Testament, on the basis of what has been observed in Acts 7:1-8 and S. 14:35-41. The great majority of intentional variants in the New Testament tradition for this section of text were not dogmatically inspired. It can even be argued that not one of the variants in the section of New Testament text used in this thesis was dogmatically inspired. In contrast, much of the form of the Qur'ān text as it stands today has been shaped by dogmatic forces, from precise choice of diacritical marks on consonants to what portions of text were included and excluded. It also is evident in physical corrections to the text and in the Qur'ānic palimpsests. Physical corrections and palimpsests in the New Testament tradition, however, contain the same kinds of variants observed in the rest of the New Testament manuscript tradition.

With this in mind, based on the textual sampling used for this study, it can be confidently asserted, the original text of the New Testament as defined as the Autographic text-form has been transmitted and is discernible through judicious application of textual criticism, whereas this cannot be said for the Qur'ān . Though a form of text has been preserved that contains probably authentic material, one cannot know how accurate this transmission preserves the Autographic material from which the Qur'ān was constructed. Also, Islamic efforts from almost the earliest periods of the history of the text of the Qur'ān have been directed toward establishing and promoting one version of the text at the expense of others which also contained possibly authentic material.

6.4. Future Study

During the course of this study, many issues have been raised that would provide significant scope for further research. These will be divided into three categories: issues related to New Testament studies, issues related to Qur'ānic studies, and comparative issues between the New Testament and the Qur'ān .

¹⁵ Ehrman, *Corruption*, 276-280.

6.4.1 *New Testament Studies*

This thesis raises many issues that could profit from further research in New Testament textual criticism, especially in the realm of narrative textual criticism. For instance, in view of the role physical corrections were seen to play in the New Testament manuscripts, these should be explored further in specific manuscripts with regard to intentional dogmatic corrections. Do the corrections made within a manuscript show a concern for strengthening particular dogmas? Or is their concern mainly to correct obvious mistakes and improve style and grammar? Such a study could be combined with a broader study to categorise intentional variants of all kinds in particular manuscripts.

A second and related area is the effects of centralised ecclesiastical and political authority on the New Testament manuscript tradition. Is there evidence in manuscripts of official versions of the text being inscribed? An example could be to compare the Latin and Greek New Testament manuscript traditions for editing to conform the text to an ecclesiastical standard. This would be a hypothetical possibility since there were different attitudes to central religious authority between the Eastern Church based in Constantinople and the Western Church based in Rome. Nestlé lists many more formal editing projects in Europe on the Latin forms of the New Testament text than for the Greek text in more Eastern lands.¹⁶

A third area that needs more work is quantifying the degree of agreement in the New Testament manuscript tradition; that is, gauging how much of the basic text between manuscripts is in agreement. There also needs to be more precise quantification of the disagreement caused by variants by quantifying the significance various kinds of variants have in relation to changing the meaning of the text.¹⁷ With the numbers of textual variants involved in the New Testament tradition, it is too easy to get an unbalanced picture of either the degree of variation between texts or the degree of consistency.

¹⁶ Nestlé, *Introduction*, 124-26.

¹⁷ See Dan Wallace's recent blogs at <http://www.reclaimingthemind.org/blog/2007/11/06/the-number-of-textual-variants-an-evangelical-miscalculation/> (accessed 08/11/07) and <http://www.reclaimingthemind.org/blog/2007/11/28/textual-variants-what-issues-are-at-stake/> (accessed 03/12/07).

6.4.2. *Qur'ānic Studies*

In Qur'ānic studies there is tremendous scope for textual criticism, and especially narrative textual criticism. For instance, more study is needed on how the Seven, Ten, and Fourteen recitation systems came to hold their positions of prominence, and how the Ten developed further into eighty recitation systems. Tracing these reading systems in extant manuscripts would be a useful step in pursuing this. In manuscripts without vowels this can be done by examining their specific consonantal features, as has been done by Dutton¹⁸ and Rabb.¹⁹ This can also be done in manuscripts that have dots for vowelizing systems, as has been done by Dutton.²⁰ This also needs to be done in more fully vocalised manuscripts as has been done by Brockett.²¹ The particular task in this enterprise needing attention is isolating reading systems in addition to the Seven, Ten and Fourteen that were in use up until the time of Ibn Mujāhid (934/323).

The physical corrections in extant Qur'ān manuscripts need examination for the presence and percentages of dogmatic corrections, orthographical updating, and conforming the text to standard text-forms.²² This would help bring greater precision to our understanding of the chronological development of Arabic orthography as well as give historical data for the times when outside pressure was brought to bear on the text to standardise it to particular reading. Qur'ānic palimpsests should be sought and used especially for this kind of study.

Also, more work is needed tracing the transition from a predominantly oral literary environment in early Islam to one dominated by written literary conventions. Changes in orthography, the standardisation of spelling of names and other words, and detailed examination of the palimpsests could all

¹⁸ Dutton, 'Mushaf'; Dutton, 'Notes'.

¹⁹ Rabb, 'Non-Canonical'.

²⁰ Dutton, 'Dots'; Dutton, 'Dots II'.

²¹ Adrian Alan Brockett, 'Aspects of the physical transmission of the Qur'ān in 19th-century Sudan: Script, decoration, binding and paper', *MME* 2 (1987), 45-67.

²² David Powers of Cornell University did such a study of one correction at S. 4:12 in BN 328a at the recent University of London SOAS conference on the Qur'ān (7-9 November 2007): 'The Qur'ān: text, interpretation and translation, 9 November.'

contribute to this goal. This also would provide historical data to chart the encounter of early Islam with the more literate cultures of late antiquity.

6.4.3. Comparative Issues

In general, there is much work that can be done on the effects of political suppression on ancient texts. Did certain religious traditions have more political involvement than others? Within traditions, have there been times when there has been more or less political involvement? Were palimpsests the targets of special legislation and government action?

Also, were there other external and internal factors that affected the shaping of textual traditions? For instance, did the development of theories of divine inspiration of texts have an influence on how the text was edited and transmitted? Did different theories have more of an influence than others? Why did an extensive literature concerning textual variants develop for the text of the Qur'ān in its first three centuries and not for the New Testament? Are there parallels or contrasts with any other scriptural traditions? What comparative effects did the liturgical use of scriptural texts have on their editing and transmission? These are all questions deserving more research.

6.5. Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to summarise the views of development for the texts of the New Testament and the Qur'ān as they have been illumined by this study. The details observed in this study have made a cumulative contribution to filling out the historic panoramas of the development and transmission of these two globally cherished and influential scriptural traditions.

For the New Testament, the variants observed in the manuscripts support the following progression in the development of the text. The basic text of the passage in Acts 7 is witness to an autographic text-form. Within its first century of existence, the spectrum of variants represented by the Alexandrian and Western text-types came into existence as copyists used scribal methods which employed greater and lesser degrees of precise transcription. There was a discernible concern

to maintain and protect the meaning of the text, but in this early period, there was evidently an allowable degree of flexibility in transmitting that meaning. Within this period, two distinctive Authoritative text-forms developed, the Western and the Alexandrian. The Western had greater latitude in its parameters of wording. The Alexandrian was more oriented to precise transcription.

During the late second century and into the third, there seems to have been a growth in the concern for more precise transcription. This continued to be the dominant scribal methodology through the rest of the tradition, though other external and internal forces came into play. In AD 304, Diocletian ordered the destruction of Christian books in his infamous first edict. Though this was not carried out universally throughout the Roman Empire, it did drastically reduce the available copies of scripture, which by that time contained a recognisable corpus which came to be recognised as the New Testament.²³ Constantine ordered the recopying of scriptures, at least for his capital, and one can legitimately speculate that much effort was expended replacing destroyed scriptures wherever in the Empire there was this need. These copying efforts apparently used a smaller pool of text-types than had been available before the Diocletian persecution so that a more uniform text-type became the basis for the manuscript tradition in the fourth century.

This text-type then developed in two internal ways. First, there was an informal process of standardisation that started as scribes corrected manuscripts by conforming their readings to manuscripts which they thought had a better quality of text. This included stylistic, spelling, and grammatical improvements. Second, manuscripts would be adapted for use in church services as lectionaries, and manuscripts were corrected from lectionaries and vice versa. This informally produced a more uniform text which was then apparently submitted to more official editing in the ninth and eleventh centuries. These efforts cumulatively produced the Byzantine text-type. This remained the standard text-type until the invention of printing, and a form of it inadvertantly attained an extra degree of authority when it was described as the ‘the text now received by all’ coining the title *Textus Receptus*,

²³ David L. Dungan, *Constantine's Bible*, London: SCM Press, 2006, 54-93.

which was an edition based on the collations of a handful of Byzantine text-type manuscripts.²⁴

The New Testament manuscripts surveyed for this thesis support this scenario in the variants they contain for the eras from which they are extant.

For the Qur'ān, the earliest extant Qur'ān manuscripts have strong evidence of already being in a Canonical text-form. The only exceptions are the few extant palimpsests, which have texts recognisably close to the Canonical text-form, and the few manuscripts that have non-standard surah orders.

There were at least three major intensive state-sponsored efforts to establish and then refine this Canonical text-form. The initial one was evidently in the seventh/first century which produced a form of the text very similar in its consonants to that which is now used, but which was done to establish one form of the text against the rival versions in the Companions' collections. This is possibly what is represented in the *scriptio inferior* of the Qur'ānic palimpsests, or they could be the remains of an alternative version.

A second edition was produced perhaps in the early eighth/late first century to refine and improve the consonantal base of the initial edition. Diacritical marks may have been added. Both the initial and the second edition are reported to have been produced against the backdrop of the texts that varied from these being destroyed. The lack of manuscripts demonstrating a variant text in line with what was reported to exist seems to be confirmation of the efficiency of the suppression and destruction of these texts. There is also the possibility that these two editions were in fact one effort that in later Islamic tradition became divided and attributed to two different people in order to give them a more authoritative pedigree. If there was a distinct second edition, it was an Interpretive text-form of the Canonical text-form, which in turn became a new Canonical text-form.

The third edition came about in the third Islamic century at the time of Ibn Mujāhid (d. 934/324), and very possibly involved the physical destruction of variant texts as well. This edition, though united on a basic consonantal text, allowed flexibility in precise vocalisation to the extent that seven versions achieved an authoritative status. This status was also recognised for three further versions, with another four also gaining a high degree of recognition.

²⁴ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 152.

The ten main ones, however, have become Canonical text-forms in their own right, and have since undergone further development in that there are eighty recognized versions of the ten recitations systems authorised in the 900s/300s. All of these eighty are Interpretive text-forms of the second Canonical text-form. None of them represents the Authoritative text-forms or Predecessor autographic text-forms that preceded the first Canonical text-form.

APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY

Aḥruf: literally, ‘letters’, but in the sciences of the Qur’ān it refers to alternative ways of reciting the Qur’ān, supposedly with permission from Muḥammad.

Alexandrian text-type: a form of the New Testament text found in early manuscripts that is marked by brevity and an absence of systematic stylistic and grammatical improvement.

Authoritative text-form: a form of a text that achieved a degree of local consensual authority and recognition.

Autographic text-form: a form of a text as it came from the author before subsequent editing, improvement, or changes through transmission.

Byzantine text-type: Also known as the Koiné text-type, this is a form of the New Testament text which came into prominence after the AD 800s in Greek-speaking Eastern Christendom. It is marked by certain distinctive readings and systematic stylistic and grammatical improvement, especially for the use of the text in liturgy. Manuscripts of this text-type were used as the basis of European translations of the New Testament during the Reformation.

Caesarean text-type: An early local and intermediate text-type thought to have originated in Caesarea and contain a distinctive mixture of Alexandrian and Western readings.

Canonical text-form: a form of a text that achieved a widespread geographical degree of recognition and authority. This can be either through formal or informal processes of acquiring an authoritative status.

Diacritic, Diacritical Marks: in general usage, these designate any symbols added to a letter or text to clarify or designate a specific pronunciation. Concerning the text of the Qur’ān, however, they are used variably to designate 1) either the consonantal points added to distinguish certain consonants, 2) the symbols used to designate short vowels which are written above and below letters, or 3) both of these sets of symbols. In this thesis, diacritics and diacritical marks will refer to just the dots used above and below consonants which distinguish similar looking consonants. The short vowels will be referred to as ‘vocalisations’ or ‘vowel marks.’

Fourteen: Fourteen recitation systems of the Qur’ān that achieved a high degree of recognition and authority. These include the Seven which are also included in the Ten plus four more. The reading of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (642/22-728/110) is the most famous of these four.

Ḥafṣ text: The form of the text of the Qur’ān that preserves what is reputed to be the reading system of the reciter Ḥafṣ (709/91-796/180). It is the most prevalent form of the text of the Qur’ān in print.

Haplography: the omission of a letter, word, phrase, or portion of text from a manuscript. They can be either accidental or intentional.

Ḥijāzī: the designation for what is considered by Western scholars to be the earliest form of Arabic script used in Qur'ān manuscripts. It is thought to have been the dominant script used in the Umayyad period.

Interpretive text-form: a form of a text later than a Canonical form which has been reformulated for stylistic, practical, or dogmatic reasons.

Kufic: the designation for an early form of Arabic script, thought by Western scholars to have developed out of Ḥijāzī for epigraphic use and which came to be applied to Qur'ān scripts, especially during the Abbasid period.

Majuscule: the designation for the script used in Greek biblical manuscripts prior to c. AD 800. It is a script made up of capital letters.

Minuscule: the designation for the script used in Greek biblical manuscripts after c. AD 800. It is a cursive script based on lower case forms of the letters.

Muṣḥaf: the Arabic word for a book, codex, or volume, used for the collections of the Qur'ān by the companions of Muḥammad.

Nomina Sacra: a convention in Christian scriptural manuscripts to abbreviate and designate names with sacred associations.

Oral literature: the stories and accounts created and transmitted through oral performance dynamics without the use of conventions of writing.

Orality: the cultural dynamic of texts, stories, and information being conveyed through oral memorisation and performance. This can but does not necessarily include the oral creation of such texts.

Palimpsest: a manuscript which at some point in its life had its original text removed through washing and/or rubbing and then replaced by a new text.

Phoneme: the smallest significant unit of sound in a language.

Predecessor text-form: the oral or written sources an author used.

Qirā'āt: systems of precise pronunciation of the Qur'ān used for recitation.

Rasm: the consonantal line of text for the Qur'ān minus the vocalisation symbols.

Reading Systems: systems of precise pronunciation of the Qur'ān used for recitation. (See also Seven, Ten, and Fourteen)

Reasoned Eclecticism: the major method of textual criticism used by New Testament scholars. It seeks to balance the respective evidential values of

readings in extant manuscripts with scribal conventions for introducing accidental and intentional changes to the text.

Riwāya: a particular transmission of a Qur'ānic reading system that is tied to the name of a particular reciter.

Scriptio inferior: the original text inscribed on a palimpsest, which can sometimes be read through the use of infrared or ultraviolet light or multi-spectral imaging techniques. In some manuscripts it can be read using the naked eye.

Scriptio superior: the text inscribed over the *scriptio inferior* after it has been cleaned off the surface of the manuscript.

Seven: the particular reading systems identified by Ibn Mujāhid (859/245-936/325) as having the highest degree of authority for Muslims. These were supplemented later by three more to create the Ten, and later still by four more to create the Fourteen.

Shi'a or Shi'ite: the largest minority group within Islam. At times in their history they have asserted allegiance to Qur'ān versions of 'Alī, Ibn Ma'sūd, and Ubayy b. Ka'b.

Tafsīr: the genre of Islamic literature devoted to exegesis of the Qur'ān.

Ten: the seven particular reading systems identified by Ibn Mujāhid (859/245-936/325) as having the highest degree of authority for Muslims plus three more thought to fulfil the same criteria of soundness.

Text-forms: forms of a text which have a distinctive pattern of readings or textual variants. (See also Predecessor, autographic, Authoritative, Canonical, and Interpretive text-forms)

Text-types: forms of a text which have been discerned through the application of textual criticism. These are synonymous to text-forms though text-forms can be the more general of the terms. (See also Alexandrian, Byzantine, Caesarean, Western)

Vocalisation mark: in regard to the Arabic script, the marks used to designate short vowels. This is in distinction to diacritical marks which delineate similar looking consonants.

Warsh text: The form of the text of the ā that preserves what is reputed to be the reading system of the reciter Warsh: (728 /110- 812/197) Qur'ān reciter of the system of Nāfi'. The reading system attributed to Warsh is in print in North and West Africa and Yemen.

Western text-type: a text-form of the New Testament text which is marked by a distinctive group of variant readings. This text-type tends to be marked by paraphrases, additional material and omitted texts when considered in relation to the other major text-types.

APPENDIX B: IMPORTANT NAMES

Abbasid era: ruling dynasty of caliphs from in Baghdad, 750/133-1258/657;
1261/660-1517/923 in Cairo.

ʿAbd al-Malik: (reigned 685/66-705/86) Umayyad caliph, full name ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He built the dome of the Rock in Jerusalem with its Qurʾānic inscription in Hijazi script inside the dome dating to 690/71.

ʿAlī: (reigned 656/36-661/41) cousin and son-in-law to Muḥammad and the fourth caliph. He is believed to have had a personal collection of the Qurʾān.

Ebionites: an early Christian sect that was heavily oriented towards Judaism. They were purported to use a Hebrew version of the Gospel according to Matthew and to view Jesus as a prophet and the Messiah, but not to be divine.

Ḥafs: (709/91-796/180) famous Qurʾān reciter and transmitter of the reading of al-ʿĀsim. His version is what is believed to be contained in the 1924 Cairo printed edition of the Qurʾān.

Al-Ḥajjāj: (661/41-714/96) famous general and governor of the Umayyads. He is also believed responsible to improvements to the text of the Qurʾān. Full name: Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsūf al-Thaqafī.

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: (642/22-728/110) a famous preacher and Qurʾān reciter from Basra. His version of the Qurʾān is one of the Fourteen reading systems of the Qurʾān, in the four that are after the Ten.

Ibn Maʿsūd: (d. 652/32) early companion of Muḥammad who is reported to have had a collection of the Qurʾān. He supposedly resisted giving up his collection to be destroyed after ʿUthmān's edition was made official. This collection is reputed to have survived until 934/323 until it was finally suppressed completely.

Ibn Mujāhid: (859/245-936/325) Qurʾān scholar whose book on the Seven reading systems gained government support for standardising the limits of allowable diversity in Qurʾān recitation. As a result of this the reading systems and codices attributed to ʿAlī, Ibn Maʿsūd, and Ubayy b. Kaʿb, and many others were proscribed and suppressed.

Ibn Muqla: (885/272-940/329) Abbasid vizier who reformed Arabic script and also supported Ibn Mujāhid in his work to limit variant Qurʾān recitations.

Ibn al-Nadīm: (936/-995) Shiʿite Arabic bibliophile who wrote an important index of Arab books called the *Fihrist*. He reports seeing during his lifetime Qurʾān codices attributed to ʿAlī, Ibn Maʿsūd, and Ubayy b. Kaʿb.

Al-Kindī, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Ishāq: (wrote c. 830/215) Christian official in the Abbasid court of Al-Maʾmūn who wrote a defence of Christianity. In it he asserts the Qurʾān was in a different form than what it is in today. He is not

to be confused with the Muslim philosopher also of Al-Ma'mūn's court, al-Kindī, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb (801/185-866/252).

John of Damascus: (d. 750/133) Christian official under the Umayyad caliph Walīd (705/86-715/97). He wrote an early defence of Christianity and critique of Islam in which he asserts the Qur'ān was in a different form than what it is in today.

Al-Ma'mūn, Abu'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh: (reigned 813/198-833/218) Abbasid caliph who proclaimed the dogma of the createdness of the Qur'ān the official doctrine of the empire.

'Ubayy b Ka'b: (died c. 640/19/640- 656/35) companion of Muḥammad who is reported to have had a collection of the Qur'ān.

Umayyad period: dynasty of caliphs which ruled from 661/ 41 to 750/133.

'Uthmān b. 'Affān: (reigned 644/24-656/36) the third caliph after Muḥammad. He is reported to have established the first edited version of the Qur'ān and ordered variant versions destroyed.

Warsh: (728 /110- 812/197) Qur'ān reciter of the system of Nāfi'. The reading system attributed to Warsh is in print in North and West Africa and Yemen.

APPENDIX C: QUR'ĀN CRITICAL TEXT

NEW TESTAMENT AND QUR'ĀN CRITICAL TEXTS A COMPARATIVE CHART OF THE TASKS OF COMPILING THEM

NT Critical Text (Available)	Qur'ān Critical Text (Ideal) (Material in Italics is unavailable)
1) Manuscripts collated into text Families: Alexandrian Western Byzantine Caesarean	1) <i>Written material from within Muḥammad's lifetime and left at his death</i>
2) Early Translations	2) <i>Companions' Collections</i>
3) Lectionaries	3) <i>'Uthmān's edition</i>
4) Quotations in Church Fathers Epistles Commentaries Sermons	4) <i>Metropolitan Exemplars¹</i> 5) <i>Al-Ḥajjāj's edition</i>
	6) Extant Manuscripts collated according to reading system:
	6.1) 7 + 3 for the Canonical Readings
	6.2) 4 past the 10 + other 36 or more said to have been in use by the early AD 900's
	6.3) 80 riwāyas of the 10 Canonical Systems
	7) Quotations of Qur'ān in early Islamic literature- Hadith, Grammars, Commentaries, Sira and other historical literature, including Shi'a sources.
	8) Early translations
	9) Inscriptions

¹ These would be the copies of 'Uthmān's edition sent to major cities of the empire.

APPENDIX D: NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

A. Papyri

p³³ (VI c.) Aland Category II.² This MS contains Acts 7:6-10. Swanson was checked against P. Sanz's transcription of this papyri.³

p⁷⁴ (VII c.) Aland Egyptian Text Category I⁴. Swanson was checked against the facsimile by Kasser.⁵ This text is generally considered to represent the Alexandrian text-type.⁶

B. Uncials

Ⲱ (IV c.) Codex Sinaiticus: Aland Category I⁷ Alexandrian text-type, Swanson was checked against the facsimile edition by K. Lake.⁸ This is one of the chief representatives of the Alexandrian text-type,⁹ though it is known to have some Western readings.¹⁰

A (V c.) Codex Alexandrinus: Aland category I in Acts, It was located in the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria from the eleventh century.¹¹ Provenance before that is unknown. Swanson was checked against facsimile edition by C.G. Woide.¹² It is considered to be a good representative of the Alexandrian text-type.¹³

B (IV c.) Codex Vaticanus: Aland category I. Alexandrian text. Provenance

² Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, Second edn., Leiden: Brill, 1989, 98.

³ Peter Sanz, *Griechische literarische Papyri Christlichen Inhaltes*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Neue Serie, Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer Verlag, 1946 68. A number of discrepancies between Sanz and Swanson are to be noted. Most are where they disagreed on the precise letters that could be read in damaged portions. The most significant one is: 7.8.5 Swanson has ιακ[ωβ τους δω]δεκ[α πατριάρχας]; 7.8.5 Sanz has ιακωβ τους ιβ [πατριάρχας]. Sanz has here the number 12 in Greek letters whereas Swanson has it spelled out in the nominal form. The meaning is the same, but Swanson is usually careful to note this kind of distinction (in 7.6.5 he notes the uses of letters for numbers).

⁴ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 101.

⁵ R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVII: Acts es des Apotres, Epitres de Jacques, Pierre, Jean et Jude*, Colony, Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961

⁶ C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994, 3.

⁷ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 107.

⁸ Kirsopp Lake (ed.), *Codex Sinaiticus, Facsimile Edition*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901

⁹ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 107.

¹⁰ Barrett, *Acts*, 4.

¹¹ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 107-109.

¹² C. G. Woide, *Codex Alexandrinus, Novum Testamentum Graece*, London: Williams & Norgate, and D. Nutt, 1860, 243.

¹³ Barrett, *Acts*, 4.

unknown.¹⁴ Swanson was checked against the facsimile by J.H. Ropes.¹⁵ This is the chief witness of the Alexandrian text-type.¹⁶

C (V c.) Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus: Aland category II.¹⁷ This is the best known of the New Testament palimpsests. Its *superior* text dates from the twelfth century and is a Greek edition of some sermons by the fourth century Church Father Ephraem. The *inferior* text is Greek New Testament Majuscule script dating to the fifth century.¹⁸ Its text seems to be a mixture of all major text-types.¹⁹ Swanson was checked against the edition of the text produced by Tischendorf²⁰ as corrected by Lyon.²¹

D^{ca} (V c.) Codex Bezae: Aland category IV. Aland believes the provenance is either Egypt or North Africa. This is the chief witness of the Western text-type,²² though one must not identify all of its readings as comprising the Western text-type.²³ Swanson was checked against the facsimile by J.H. Ropes.²⁴

E^a (VI c.) Codex Laudianus: Aland category II.²⁵ Swanson was checked against A microfilm facsimile held at the Bodleian Library Oxford (Laud Gr. 35). Metzger states that this text has affinities with both the Western and the Byzantine text-types.²⁶

P (IX c.) Codex Porphyrianus: Aland category V in Acts.²⁷ This is a palimpsest. The superior script which is dated to the year 1301 is commentary by Euthalius with some biblical text.²⁸ The inferior script is New Testament text which is predominantly of the Byzantine text-type.²⁹ Swanson was checked against Tischendorff's edition.³⁰

¹⁴ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 107-109.

¹⁵ J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts*, The Beginnings of Christianity, London: MacMillan, 192660-62.

¹⁶ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 107.

¹⁷ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 109.

¹⁸ B.M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, Fourth edn., New York: OUP, 2005, 69.

¹⁹ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 70.

²⁰ Constantinus Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus sive Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti e Coice Graeco Parisiensi Celeberrimo Quinti ut videtur post Christum Seculi*, Lipsiae: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1845.

²¹ R. W. Lyon, 'A Re-examination of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus', *NTS* 5 (1958-9), 260-272

²² Aland and Aland, *Text*, 109-110.

²³ Barrett, *Acts*, 6.

²⁴ Ropes, *Acts*, 60-62.

²⁵ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 110.

²⁶ B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration.*, Third, enlarged edn., Oxford: OUP, 1992, 52.

²⁷ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 113.

²⁸ Metzger, *Text*, 79.

²⁹ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 113.

³⁰ Constantinus Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Leipzig: Hinrich, 1869, VI:115-116.

C. Minuscules

33 (IX/X c.) Aland category I for Acts.³¹ Metzger states that this is a representative of the Alexandrian text-type but that in Acts it also shows Byzantine text-type readings.³² Swanson was checked against Tragelless NT text which includes a collation of this MS.³³

69 (XV c.) Codex Lecestrensis. Aland category V in Acts.³⁴ This is considered to be an important member of the textual family 13.³⁵ Swanson was checked against colour photographs of the text obtained from the Record Office of Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland. It is Cod. 6D 32/1 in their collection.

104 (AD 1087) BL Harley MS. 5537: Aland category V for Acts.³⁶ Swanson was checked against the collation by Scrivener.³⁷ Swanson was also checked against the MS itself.

203 (AD 1111) This minuscule is not listed in Aland, Metzger or Swanson. Scrivener lists it as number 232 and gives a description though he does not define its text-type.³⁸ The text was obtained from the actual manuscript which is in the British Library, number Add. 28,816.

326 (XI c.) Aland category III.³⁹ 326 is not listed in Swanson. The text was obtained from the collation by Dobbin.⁴⁰ This is a representative of the Alexandrian text-type. The MS itself is located at Lincoln College, Oxford.⁴¹

383 (XIII c.) Not listed in Aland, Metzger cites it as a representative of the Western text.⁴² Swanson was checked against the collation in Valentine-Richards, though this collation does not include Acts chapters 1-12 since this section presents an 'ordinary text' whereas chapters 13-22 contain the 'noteworthy' Western readings.⁴³ The MS itself is located at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁴⁴

³¹ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 129.

³² Metzger, *Text*, 62.

³³ Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *The Greek New Testament*, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1857-79:514-515. I found two places where Tregelles does not note a variant for 33 that Swanson has, 7.5.5, το σπερματι (accusative) rather than τω σπερματιξ (dative), (p. 514 in Tregelles) and 7.7.2, the addition of ειπεν (p. 515 in Tregelles).

³⁴ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 129.

³⁵ Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 88.

³⁶ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 129.

³⁷ Frederick Henry Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis...to which is added a Full Collation of Fifty Manuscripts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1859, 76.

³⁸ Frederick Henry Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Fourth edn., Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1894, I:301.

³⁹ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 132.

⁴⁰ O. T. Dobbin, *The Codex Montfortianus*, London: 1854.

⁴¹ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Anchor Bible, London: Doubleday, 1998, 69.

⁴² Metzger, *Text*, 63.

⁴³ A. V. Valentine-Richards (ed.), *The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch 137) and its Allies*, Cambridge: CUP, 1934, x-xi.

⁴⁴ Metzger, *Text*, 63.

614 (XIII c.) Aland category III.⁴⁵ This is a representative of the Western text⁴⁶

with affinities to Codex Bezae.⁴⁷ Swanson was checked against Valentine-Richard's collation.⁴⁸

1175 (XI c.) Aland category I.⁴⁹ This is a representative of the Alexandrian text-type.⁵⁰ Swanson was checked against the collation by Silva New.⁵¹

1505 (AD 1084?, XV c.) Aland category III, which designates the presence of Byzantine readings.⁵² Colwell asserted that the date of AD 1084 is inaccurate because the colophon from which it is derived is almost certainly fraudulent, and instead has all the marks of having been written in the fifteenth century.⁵³ No collation or facsimile was available with which to check Swanson. The MS itself is located at the monastery on Mt. Athos in Greece.

1739 (X c.) Aland category II in Acts.⁵⁴ Swanson was checked against the collation in Lake.⁵⁵ This is a representative of the Alexandrian text-type, possibly copied from a fourth century exemplar.⁵⁶

2495 (XIV/XV c.) Aland category III (containing Byzantine readings) with some reservation.⁵⁷ No collation or facsimile was available with which to check Swanson. The MS itself is located at St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, Egypt.

D. Versions/Translations

1. Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151

This Arabic manuscript is significant for being the earliest dated Arabic translation of Acts with a date of 867 A.D.⁵⁸ It contains Acts, the Letters of

⁴⁵ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 133.

⁴⁶ Metzger, *Text*, 64.

⁴⁷ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 133.

⁴⁸ Valentine-Richards (ed.), *Codex 614*, 12.

⁴⁹ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 134.

⁵⁰ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 69.

⁵¹ Kirsopp Lake and Silva New (eds.), *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts*, Harvard Theological Studies, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1932, 221-225.

⁵² Aland and Aland, *Text*, 135.

⁵³ Ernest C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, New Testament Tools and Studies, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969, 142-147.

⁵⁴ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 135.

⁵⁵ Lake and New (eds.), *Six Collations*, 145.

⁵⁶ Metzger, *Text*, 65.

⁵⁷ Aland and Aland, *Text*, 137.

⁵⁸ Harvey Staal (ed.), *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151*, Louvain: Institute for Middle Eastern New Testament Studies, 1985, xi.

Paul, and the Catholic Epistles. It is one of the oldest Arabic New Testament manuscripts in existence, being surpassed only by Vatican Arabic No. 13, which contains the Gospels and is dated by its script to the eighth or ninth century.⁵⁹ It is even older than the oldest dated Gospel manuscript which is dated to AD 877.⁶⁰ It is pictured in colour in the catalogue of the recent exhibition: 'In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000' held at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 21 October 2007-7 January 2008.⁶¹

Arab151 was written in Damascus, then under the rule of the Abbasid Caliphate, by a Christian monk, Bishr ibn al-Sirrī.⁶² The manuscript has been characterized generally as being a translation from an Aramaic antecedent.⁶³ General comparisons have been made by this writer between this text and the Greek texts when phrase, word order, and some grammatical variants could be discerned without recourse to Syriac grammar. These were made with the Syriac Peshitta using an online Syriac/English interlinear text.⁶⁴ Many of Arab 151's readings agree with the Peshitta, but others do not, agreeing instead with Greek texts or presenting unique readings. There is also the possibility that it agrees with other Syriac New Testament texts, but this has not yet been explored.

⁵⁹ Kenneth E. Bailey and Harvey Staal, 'The Arabic Versions of the Bible, Reflections on Their History and Significance', *Reformed Review* 36 (1982), 3-10, citing 4.

⁶⁰ Sidney H. Griffith, 'Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth-Century Palestine', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), 23-45, 41.

⁶¹ Michelle P. Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000*, Washington D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2007, 158-161.

⁶² Shirley W. Madany, 'Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151', *Website Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151*, http://www.arabicbible.com/bible/codex151_article.htm, accessed 8 March 2005, identifies him as a Nestorian monk. Joseph Nasrallah, in 'Deux Versions Melchites Part I', *Oriens Christianus* lxiv (1980), 203-215, citing 203, identifies him as a Melchite and notes the similarity of Bishr's name to an 11th century Nestorian exegete. If he is a Melchite, it places his translation within the scriptural translation activity of 9th century Melchites as noted by Griffith, Sidney H. Griffith, 'From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997), 11-31 and Sidney H. Griffith, 'The Gospel in Arabic: An Enquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century', *Oriens Christianus* 69 (1985), 126-167. Though there is some confusion, this study will consider it to be the product of the Nestorian translation efforts.

⁶³ Madany, 'Arabic Codex 151', *Website Arabic Codex 151*,

⁶⁴ Paul Younan, 'Peshitta Aramaic/English Interlinear New Testament', http://www.aramiacpeshitta.com/AramaicNTtools/Peshittainterlinear/5_Acts.Actsch7.pdf, accessed 8 March 2005.

APPENDIX E : QUR'ĀN MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

1) Istanbul: This manuscript is a previously unpublished manuscript. It is mentioned by Professor Noja Nosedà in his article concerning Ḥijāzī manuscripts.⁶⁵ I obtained colour digital pictures of the portions of this manuscript containing Surah 14 from Professor Nosedà. The catalogue designation of this manuscript is IST TIEM SE 54, f. 11A and B. It is housed in Istanbul at the Turk ve Islam Eserleri Muzesi.

This manuscript has an early Ḥijāzī style script most similar to Déroches's H I style and it can be dated to the early eighth/first century. It is closest in style to the scripts found in manuscripts BN 326a and 328a. It has partial diacritical marks and some red dots designating vowels. These were possibly added later. One facet of the diacritics is notable in that it uses a system similar to that used today in the Warsh text, one dash underneath to designate *fā'* and one dash above for *qāf*.

It is vertical format and has twenty-four lines of text per page. There are single verse markers (4 to 6 dots arranged vertically), five verse markers (small circles), and ten verse markers (small circles surrounded by dots), but these all appear to have been added later than the original transcription of the manuscript. The manuscript page has a torn edge and two holes. There was a space left between the end of Surah 14 and the beginning of Surah 15. A band with geometric decoration as well as a title for Surah 15 were added in this space at a later time. The title is written in a different script style and colour of ink.

The next three manuscripts are from the manuscript discoveries made in San'ā', Yemen in 1972. Pictures of two of them and a photocopy of a third were given to me for use in this thesis by a collector who wishes to remain anonymous. They have not been published or described in the literature.

2) 01-28.1: This manuscript contains a very early form of Kufic script similar to Déroche's category B Ib. In this study it is closest in style to manuscript BN 325a. It is very similar to the Ḥijāzī script style except that the script is consistently vertical in its orientation to the line. Diacritical marks are used on consonants. They are

⁶⁵ Sergio Noja-Nosedà, 'Note Esterne in Margine Al 1° Volume Dei 'Materiali per un "Edizione Critica Del Corano"', *Rendiconti* 134 (2000), 3-37

partially applied and seem to be according to the system currently in use with one exception. One small difference is that the two dots designating *qaf* are applied vertically not horizontally.

The page orientation is also vertical, unlike the later custom with Kufic script manuscripts. It is probably from the eighth/first century. The recto side of the two pages used in this study have twenty-five lines of text. The verso sides have twenty-six. No blank line was left between the end of Surah 14 and the beginning of Surah 15. Surah 15 does start on a new line, and in the space left over after the three mysterious letters and the Basmalah there is a band with geometric decoration. A title is also squeezed in between the lines of text in a different and smaller script style.

There are single verse markers in patterns of three dots arranged vertically. These appear to have been inserted at the time of the original transcription of this text. There are only enough though to break up the text into forty verses, compared to the standard verse count of fifty-two. There are ten verse markers which are circles with two encircling bands of dots. These appear to have been added later after the text was originally transcribed. There are portions of the manuscript missing from the top and bottom of the pages and there appears to have been some water damage at some point. A photocopy of this manuscript was provided for this study.

3) 01-29.1: This manuscript has a form of the Ḥijāzī script similar to Déroche's category H I and the script found in BN 328a. There are many diacritical marks on the consonants, more so than many of these early manuscripts, but not all of the consonants that could be designated by dots are dotted. Many of the diacritical dots appear to have been added after the original transcription of the text. This text is unique among the manuscripts used for this study in that it uses an early but now discontinued system of diacritical marks. This manuscript uses one dash above to designate *fā'* and one dash below the letter to designate *qāf*. This system matches Leemhuis's category 3 and is a new manuscript to add to his list of the Dome of the

Rock; Saray, Medina 1a; Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt, Inv. No. 01-29.2; St. Petersburg, Inv. No. e-20; and Vienna, Cod. Mixt. 917.⁶⁶

The page orientation is vertical. The recto side has twenty-nine lines of text. The verso side has thirty. No blank line was left between the end of Surah 14 and the beginning of Surah 15. 15 starts on a new line. There is also no title written in for Surah 15 though there is a geometric decorative band in the space left at the end of Surah 14.

There are single verse markers that are patterns of between 3 and 8 dots arranged vertically at the end of verses. These were possibly added in later because they are often squeezed into the small portion of existing space between two words. A complete verse count for Surah 14 was not possible with the available manuscript pages. There are no five or ten verse markers. The page has a corner missing and some tears and water damage which at times obscures the reading. Photographs on CD-ROM were provided of this manuscript for this study.

4) 01-20.x: This is an early Kufic script which uses a heavier pen stroke than 01-28.1. It is most similar to Déroche's category B I and most resembles manuscript BN 370a and the Meknes manuscript in this study. This script style, however, gives the impression of being an earlier version of the script used in those two manuscripts because it is not as crisp or regulated in its execution. This manuscript is unique in this study for being the only one with absolutely no consonantal diacritical marks. These factors, taken with the ones that follow, provide a window for the date that is from the mid to late eighth/early second century.

The page orientation is horizontal, as with the great majority of Kufic manuscripts from the Abbasid era. Of the two pages used for this study, the recto page has nineteen lines of text and the verso twenty. Surah 14 ends at the bottom line on the page so that the beginning of Surah 15 could not be observed. There are no single or five verse markers. The ten verse markers consist of a circle with a dot in the middle, and they look as if they were written at the same time as the text was transcribed. Photographs on CD-ROM were provided of this manuscript for this study.

⁶⁶ Frederick Leemhuis, 'From Palm Leaves to the Internet', Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, Cambridge: CUP, 2006, 145-162, citing 148.

5) BL Or. 2165: This is the British Library's oldest Qur'ān. It is a partial text of the Qur'ān dated by most scholars from the late first century of Islam⁶⁷ to the late second century.⁶⁸ Recently, an argument has been put forward that it is Umayyad, and might be as early as AD 650-704/30-85 AH,⁶⁹ though the most recent study published concerning it retains the more conservative dating of seventh/first century or eighth/second century.⁷⁰ Its Ḥijāzī script is held to be the prototypical example of the subscript, al-Mā'il. This uses a heavier penstroke than the Ḥijāzī manuscripts mentioned so far. It originally had no titles between surahs, and it consistently has twenty-three lines of text per page. It has single verse markers at the end of each verse which consist of six dashes aligned horizontally to the line of text. It also has ten verse markers, but in the portion of text used for this study no five verse markers. The ten verse markers are a simple red circle itself circled by dots. The single verse markers were included when the text was written, but the ten verse markers look as if they were added later because they occasionally obscure prior verse markers or letters of the text. This manuscript was examined using the colour photographic facsimile produced by Drs. Déroche and Nosedá.⁷¹

6) BN Arabe 328a: This is one of the oldest Qur'ān manuscripts in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. It is held to date to the same era as BL Or. 2165, and a similar recent argument has been put forth moving its date back into the early to mid first century A.H.⁷² Déroche cites this as the best known example of Ḥijāzī script and it is one of two prototypes listed for his Ḥijāzī I category,⁷³ the oldest of the Ḥijāzī style scripts.⁷⁴ This Qur'ān is

⁶⁷ Adrian Alan Brockett, 'Studies in Two Transmissions of the Qur'ān', PhD, thesis, University of St. Andrew's, 1984, 76.

⁶⁸ Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qur'ān*, London: British Library, 1976, 20.

⁶⁹ Yasin Dutton, 'Some Notes on the British Library's "Oldest Qur'an Manuscript" (Or. 2165)', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* VI (2004), 43-71, citing 66.

⁷⁰ Intisar A. Rabb, 'Non-Canonical Readings of the Qur'an: Recognition and Authenticity (the Himsī Reading)', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* VIII (2006), 84-127 citing 84.

⁷¹ François Déroche and Sergio Noja-Nosedá, *Sources de la Transmission Manuscrite du Texte Coranique*, Projet Amari, Lesa, Italy: Fondazione Ferni Noja Nosedá Studi Arabo Islamici, 2001f. 31b.

⁷² Yasin Dutton, 'An Early *Mushaf* According to the Reading of Ibn 'Āmir', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* III (2001), 71-90 citing 84.

⁷³ François Déroche, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983, 35.

⁷⁴ François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London: Nour Foundation, 1992, 28.

also a partial copy. It appears to be written more neatly than Or. 2165 allowing more space between lines and more space between surahs, but it also has a variable number of lines per page; between twenty-five and twenty-eight. It has single verse markers following the verses which consist of six dots arranged horizontal to the line in two rows of three. It has five verse markers consisting of a backwards Arabic letter *alif* (ل) contained within a dotted circle. There are also ten verse markers which consist of the Arabic letter *hā* (ه) encircled by dots. These five and ten verse markers appear to have been put in after the time of the transcription of the text because they sometimes obscure the verse markers. This manuscript was examined using the colour photographic facsimile produced by Drs. Déroche and Nosedá.⁷⁵

7) The Samarqand Kufic Codex: Two ranges of date have been ascribed to this manuscript. Many Muslims think it is one of the copies of the Qur'ān that 'Uthman himself had prepared to be sent out to metropolitan centres of the new Islamic empire. It is even claimed that 'Uthmān's blood stains are on the original manuscript, held in Tashkent, Uzbekistan.⁷⁶ The consensus of Western scholars, however, puts its date later to the late eight/early second century.⁷⁷ This later date is suggested by the developed script style, ornamentation, and the large format of the manuscript. This manuscript is partial, and it has single verse markers⁷⁸ and ten verse markers, but none for five verse divisions. Jeffery suggests that the ten verse markers were added later,⁷⁹ but the single verse markers were written contemporaneous with the text. This manuscript was accessed two ways, by microfilm copy obtained

⁷⁵ François Déroche and Sergio Noja-Nosedá, *Sources de la Transmission Manuscrite du Texte Coranique*, Projet Amari, Lesa, Italy: Fondazione Ferni Noja Nosedá Studi Arabo Islamici, 1998.

⁷⁶ Arthur Jeffery and Isaac Mendelsohn, 'The Orthography of the Samarqand Qur'an Codex', *JAOS* 62 (1942), 175-195, citing 175. M. M. Al-Azami, *The History of the Qur'anic Text*, Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003, 111, 128. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4581684.stm>

⁷⁷ Efim A. Rezvan, 'Mingana Folios: When and Why', *Manuscripta Orientalia* 11 (2006), Obtained from the author. Jeffery dated it to the third century A.H. Jeffery and Mendelsohn, 'Orthography', 195.

⁷⁸ Al-Azami, *History*, 111, is wrong in asserting that this manuscript is devoid of *āyah*, or verse, separators. They are clearly evident upon inspection of the facsimile or the microfilm copy.

⁷⁹ Jeffery and Mendelsohn, 'Orthography', 179.

from Princeton University,⁸⁰ and by the full-size facsimile copy in the collection of the British Library.⁸¹

8) BN Arabe 325a: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the eighth/second century.⁸² Déroche concurs, dating this script style contemporaneously.⁸³ Déroche also notes that this script style (B Ia) is very similar to Ḥijāzī and may be considered a form of it, though he prefers it to be grouped under the Abbasid/Kufic styles.⁸⁴ This manuscript has many diacritical marks and coloured dots to mark some of the short vowels. It has single, five and ten verse markers. These all appear to have been written contemporaneous with the text, except perhaps the five verse markers, which sometimes are inserted into places that appear to contain inadequate space. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

9) BN Arabe 326a: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the second century A.H.⁸⁵ Déroche concurs with this and places its script style (H I) in the same category as BN arabe 328a.⁸⁶ As such, it could date into the first century A.H. Blachère dated it in the second century A.H.⁸⁷ Unlike 328a, the other example of this script style, this manuscript is oriented in a horizontal format, like the later Abbasid Qur'āns. It has some diacritical marks and no short vowel markings. It has single and ten verse markers, the ten verse ones apparently added later. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁸⁰ This was purchased through their Library's Photographic Services under the title, Samarkanskii Kuficheskii Koran, Microfilm 674, <http://catalog.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi>.

⁸¹ This is British Library Shelfmark: OC ORB.99/13 under the title, S. Pissaref, Samarkandskii kuficheskii Koran, St Pétersbourg: l'Institut Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg, 1905.

⁸² W.M. DeSlane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883-95, 88.

⁸³ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36.

⁸⁴ Déroche, *Tradition*, 35.

⁸⁵ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 89.

⁸⁶ Déroche, *Catalogue*, 61.

⁸⁷ Régis Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 2e édition partiellement refondue edn., Paris: Besson & Chantemerle, 1959 Figure 1 after page 88.

10) BN Arabe 330a: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the second century A.H.⁸⁸ Déroche dates this script style (H III) into the A.D. 800's, after the other two Ḥijāzī subscripts, and after the rise in use of the early Abbasid scripts in the Abbasid era, possibly putting this manuscript into the late second century A.H.⁸⁹ This manuscript is oriented in a horizontal format, like the later Abbasid Qur'āns. It has some diacritical marks and no short vowel markings. It has single and ten verse markers, the ten verse ones apparently contemporaneous with the text. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

11) BN Arabe 331: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the second century A.H.⁹⁰ Déroche concurs, dating this script style to the early second century A.H.⁹¹ Déroche also notes that this script style (BIa, the same as in 325a) is very similar to Ḥijāzī and may be considered a form of it, though he prefers to group it under the Abbasid/Kufic styles.⁹² This manuscript has some diacritical marks and no short vowel marks. It has single and ten verse markers, the ten verse markers apparently being inserted after the initial transcription. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

12) BN Arabe 332: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the eighth/second century⁹³ Déroche dates the use of this script style (C Ia, an Abbasid/Kufic style) to the late eighth/early second century concurring with DeSlane.⁹⁴ This manuscript has few diacritical marks and no vowel marks. It has single and ten verse markers, which were written at the same time as the text. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁸⁸ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 91.

⁸⁹ Déroche, *Tradition*, 28-29.

⁹⁰ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 92.

⁹¹ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36.

⁹² Déroche, *Tradition*, 35.

⁹³ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 92.

⁹⁴ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36.

13) BN Arabe 333c: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the tenth/third century.⁹⁵ Déroche dates this script style (C III) to the same period.⁹⁶ This manuscript has few diacritics and some coloured dots for vowels. This manuscript has only ten verse separators, which were written at the same time as the text. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

14) BN Arabe 334c: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the tenth/third century.⁹⁷ Déroche dates this script style (H IV) to the early ninth/late second century A.H. as a transitional script, incorporating the slant of the Ḥijāzī style with other features of the Abbasid styles.⁹⁸ This manuscript has some diacritics and some coloured dots to represent vowelizing. It has single, five, and ten verse markers, all included at the time of the text's transcription. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

15) BN Arabe 340c: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the tenth/third century.⁹⁹ Déroche dates its script style (B II) to the early to mid-ninth/late second to early third century, with it being the first script traceable to clearly dated samples.¹⁰⁰ It has few diacritical marks and coloured dots to represent vowelizing. It has single, five, and ten verse markers, the five verse markers possibly being added later. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

16) Meknes: This is a previously uncatalogued and un-described Qur'ān that was photographed by Dr. Götthelf Bergsträsser for his photo-archive of early

⁹⁵ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 93.

⁹⁶ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36.

⁹⁷ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 93.

⁹⁸ Déroche, *Tradition*, 29, 32 picture 3.

⁹⁹ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 97.

¹⁰⁰ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36.

Qur'ān manuscripts. Thought to have been destroyed in WWII,¹⁰¹ at least a portion of the archive survived intact and is preserved in the library of the Freie Universität Berlin. Permission was obtained to include a portion of this text, the only one from the collection yet to be digitally preserved.¹⁰² In the catalogue of this archive, this manuscript is described as 'Film Meknes.-10. Film Privatbibliothek Cherifen Abdarraḥman b. Zidan sehr alter kufischer Codex.'¹⁰³ The clarity of the black and white photographs is excellent. The script in this manuscript is closest to Déroche's category B II, dating to the early to mid-ninth/late second to early third century, like BN Arabe 340c.¹⁰⁴ It has few diacritic marks and coloured dots for vowelizing. It also has single, five, and ten verse markers, the five and ten verse markers possibly being added later.

17) BN Arabe 343: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the end of the eleventh/fourth century.¹⁰⁵ Déroche classifies its script as D commune, a category for manuscripts with general characteristics of this category but which defy more precise sub-categorization.¹⁰⁶ Déroche dates this general script style into the tenth/third and eleventh/fourth centuries.¹⁰⁷ It has few diacritics and coloured dots for vowels and *ḥamza*. It has only ten verse markers which appear to have been added to the text at a later time. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

18) BN Arabe 370a: DeSlane dated this manuscript to the end of the eleventh/fourth century.¹⁰⁸ Déroche describes the script style as Abbasid general class

¹⁰¹ Alford Welch (ed.), *Studies in Qur'an and Tafsir*, JAAR Thematic Studies, Ann Arbor, Michigan: American Academy of Religion, 1979, 624-625.

¹⁰² My gratitude for this extends to Michael Marx of the Seminar für Semitistik und Arabistik at the Freie Universität Berlin for his help in obtaining digitized photographs of this manuscript.

¹⁰³ Photocopied catalogue obtained from Michael Marx. Michael has also since found out that the manuscript is still intact in Meknes, Morocco.

¹⁰⁴ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 112.

¹⁰⁶ Déroche, *Catalogue*, 45.

¹⁰⁷ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36-37, citing 42.

¹⁰⁸ DeSlane, *Catalogue*, 112.

C,¹⁰⁹ and it resembles most closely the script of plate XV in his catalogue, which is a picture of BN Arabe 333c which he categorizes as C III. This would date it well into the tenth/third century.¹¹⁰ It has few diacritics and coloured dots for vowels and *ḥamza*. It has only ten verse markers which appear to have been added to the text at a later time. This manuscript was accessed through the use of a microfilm reproduction and colour photographs obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

19) BL Or. 12884: Concerning its date, the acquisition catalogue listing its entry into the British Library's collection says this:¹¹¹

On the back of the fly-leaf to which this has been pasted is an inscription stating that the manuscript was written in 340 (951 A.D.). Although this inscription is presumably not that of the original scribe, it might well have been copied from his colophon, in which this would be the oldest known bent Kufic *Qur'ān* and the oldest known paper *Qur'ān*. There is a bent Kufic paper *Qur'ān* in Istanbul University Library, A 6778, which is dated 361, and which has hitherto been considered the oldest in both respects.

Even if this colophon is wrong, the script style matches styles from this period. Déroche labels this the 'New Style' of script, which can be traced in its earliest examples to the early tenth/late third century, at the turn of the fourth century A.H.¹¹² This script style goes by many names, Eastern Kufic perhaps being the most common.¹¹³ This style represents a break with prior *Qur'ān* manuscript conventions in a number of ways. For instance, it has an almost fully phonetically vocalised script, both with diacritical marks for consonants and marks representing the short vowels and *ḥamza*. It does not however have *ḥamza* as a separate letter on the same line of text as the other consonants. This manuscript was examined first-hand.

This manuscript was chosen because it represents a manuscript from the next era of the development of the text of the *Qur'ān*, after the standardization of the seven reading systems of Ibn Mujāhid, after the

¹⁰⁹ Déroche, *Catalogue*, 149.

¹¹⁰ Déroche, *Tradition*, 36.

¹¹¹ British Library, *List of Oriental Manuscripts 1948-1964, Or. 11820-12898*, London: British Library, 1964. This entry is in the 1963 section.

¹¹² Déroche, *Tradition*, 132-135.

¹¹³ Déroche, *Tradition*, 132.

introduction of paper as a material for manuscripts, having more fully vocalized texts, and reverting to the vertical page format. It is at this point that the Qur'ān's text starts to look like its modern text. Rather than the Qur'ān being a mysterious book that only specialists can read, at this point the emphasis turns to present a clear, precise, readable text that can be produced more easily for a more literate population.¹¹⁴

This manuscript has many interesting features. First, it does not contain the letter *ḥamza*. It does use a symbol for *ḥamza* so that it is clearly indicated, but it does not have the letter *ḥamza* on the consonantal line. Second, it has a curious verse separator scheme. While containing single, five and ten verse separators that conform to the system used in the 1924 Cairo Qur'ān,¹¹⁵ it also contains a second system of single verse separators indicated by gold rectangles, which divide Surah 14 into sixty-five verses rather than the current count of fifty-two verses. The basic verse counting system that contains fifty-one verses works with Tabbā's hypothesis for other Qur'ān's of this era that their unified verse numbering system represents a new level of standardisation designed to reinforce the newly achieved supremacy of Sunni dogma concerning one eternal Qur'ān.¹¹⁶

20) *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*: This is a small facsimile edition of an 1682/1093 Qur'ān published in Istanbul.¹¹⁷ It is listed as Or.70.a.31. It is listed as "A facsimile edition of the Qur'ān from the Istanbul ms of Ḥāfiẓ 'Uthmān, dated A.H. 1093." This text of this Qur'ān was chosen as an example of a Turkish Qur'ān text to present a form of the text in use before the 1924 Cairo edition. It is beautifully decorated in vivid colours. The verse separators are in gold leaf, and gold leaf is used in many of the decorations. It has exactly the same kind of verse separators and script style as a Turkish Qur'ān in the Chester Beatty collection, MS. 1475, which dates to AD

¹¹⁴ Yasser Tabbā, 'The Transformation of Arabic Writing: Part I, Qur'ānic Calligraphy', *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), 119-148, citing 130, 141-143. Yasser Tabbā, 'Canonicity and Control: The Sociopolitical Underpinnings of Ibn Muqla's Reform', *Ars Orientalis* XXIX (1999), 91-100, citing 98.

¹¹⁵ It does not have a single verse separator after **السماء**, the current ending word for verse 38.

¹¹⁶ Tabbā, 'Transformation', 130, 141-143. Tabbā, 'Canonicity', 98.

¹¹⁷ *Muṣḥaf Sharīf*, Istanbul: Dojan Kardes, 1967

1339-40/740-741 AH.¹¹⁸ There are single and ten verse markers with a total of fifty-four verses.

21) Warsh: This text is a modern printed version of the text attributed to Warsh of the reading (Qirā'a) of Nāfi', one of the seven readings of the Qur'ān approved by Ibn Mujāhid. This reading is used in mostly in North Africa and Yemen.¹¹⁹ The text is fully vocalised and printed in Maghribi script on cream paper. Following Maghribi conventions, the letter *qāf* is marked by one dot rather than two. There are single and ten verse markers with a total of fifty-two verses.

¹¹⁸ Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated*, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd., 1967, Plate 60.

¹¹⁹ *Qur'ān Karīm*, Hodeida, Yemen: Matbaghut al-Najār, 1989. This copy was acquired by the writer through a friend living in Morocco.

APPENDIX F: NEW TESTAMENT TEXT DIVISIONS FOR

ACTS 7:1-8 FROM NA²⁷

- 7:1 1) Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
2) εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει;
- 7:2 1) ὁ δὲ εἶφη
2) Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἀκουσατέ.
3) Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δοξῆς ὤφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ
4) ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ
5) πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἥαρραν
- 7:3 1) καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν
2) ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου
3) καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου,
4) *(καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου)*
5) καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν
6) ἣν ἀν σοὶ δεῖξω.
- 7:4 1) τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Ὑαιδαίων
2) κατῴκησεν ἐν Ἥαρραν.
3) κακείθεν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ
4) μετῴκησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτὴν
5) εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε,
6) *(καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν)*
- 7:5 1) καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν
2) ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός
3) καὶ ἐπηγγέιλαι το δοῦναι αὐτῷ
4) εἰς κατασχέσιν αὐτὴν
5) καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτόν,
6) οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου.
- 7:6 1) ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς
2) ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ
3) παροικὸν ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ
4) καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτό
5) καὶ κακώσουσιν ἐτὴ τετρακοσία
- 7:7 1) καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὥς ἐάν δουλεύουσιν
2) κρίνω ἐγώ, ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν,
3) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται
4) καὶ λατρεύσουσιν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.
- 7:8 1) καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην περιτομῆς
2) καὶ οὕτως ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ
3) καὶ περιέτεμεν αὐτόν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδοῇ,
4) καὶ Ἰσαάκ τὸν Ἰακώβ,
5) καὶ Ἰακώβ τοὺς δώδεκα πατριαρχάς.

APPENDIX G: NEW TESTAMENT TEXT COLLATIONS

7 1 1 NA27	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
p33	xxxxx xx x xxxxxxxxxxx	
p74	χχχεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Codex Alexandrinus A	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Codex Vaticanus B	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Codex Eph.Rescriptus C	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Codex Bezae D	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	τῷ Στεφάνῳ
Codex Laudianus E	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	τῷ Στεφάνῳ
Codex Porphyrianus P	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 33	xxxxx xx x xxxxxxxxxxx	
Minuscule 69	Εἶπε δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	(Scriv has ν incorrectly)
Minuscule 104	Εἶπε δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 203	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 326	Εἶπον δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 614	Εἶπε δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 1175	Εἶπεν δο ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 1505	Εἶπε δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 1739	Εἶπεν δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Minuscule 2495	Εἶπε δε ο ἀρχιερεὺς	
Arab 151	Then the High Priest asked him	Steven
English Translation (NASB)	The High Priest said,	

7 1 2 NA27	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
p33	xx xxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxx	
p74	xx xxυτα οχτως ἐχει	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Codex Alexandrinus A	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Codex Vaticanus B	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Codex Eph.Rescriptus C	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχι	
Codex Bezae D	εἰ ἀρα τοῦτο οὕτως ἐχει	
Codex Laudianus E	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Codex Porphyrianus P	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	(Tisch omits ἀρα)
Minuscule 33	xx ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 69	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 104	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 203	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει;	
Minuscule 326	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 614	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 1175	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 1175 ^c	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 1505	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 1739	εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχει	
Minuscule 2495	εἰ ἀρα ταῦτα οὗτος ἐχει	
Arab 151	Are these sayings like this?	
English	Are these things so?	

7 2 1 NA27	ο δε εφη	
p33	χ χχ χχχ	
p74	Χ χχ εφη	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	ο δε εφη	
Codex Alexandrinus A	ο δε εφη	
Codex Vaticanus B	ο δε εφη	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	ο δε εφη	
Codex Bezae D	ο δε εφη	
Codex Laudianus E	ο δε εφη	
Codex Porphyrianus P	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 33	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 69	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 104	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 203	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 326	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 614	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 1175	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 1505	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 1739	ο δε εφη	
Minuscule 2495	ο δε εφη	
Arab 151	Then however he then said	
English	And he said,	

7 2 2 NA27	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες	Ακουσατε
p33	χχχχχχ χχχχχχχχ χχχ χχχχχχχ	Χχχχχχχχ
p74	Ανδρχχ χχχχχφοι και πατερες	Ακχχχσατε
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες	Ακουσατε
Codex Alexandrinus A	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσατε
Codex Vaticanus B	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες	Ακουσατε
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσαται
Codex Bezae D	Ανδρες αδελφη και πατερες	Ακουσατε
Codex Bezae D ^c	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες	Ακουσατε
Codex Laudianus E	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες	Ακουσατε
Codex Porphyrianus P	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες	Ακουσατε
Minuscule 33	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακοχχχχχ
Minuscule 69	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσατε
Minuscule 104	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσατε
Minuscule 203	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες.	ακουσατε
Minuscule 326	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες	Ακουσατε
Minuscule 614	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσατε
Minuscule 1175	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Χχχχχχχχ
Minuscule 1175 ^c	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσαται
Minuscule 1505	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσατε
Minuscule 1739	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	ακουσατε μου
Minuscule 2495	Ανδρες αδελφοι και πρες	Ακουσατε
Arab 151	O! Men, brothers, and our fathers	Listen to me
English	Hear me, brethren and fathers!	

7 2 3 NA27	Ο θεος της δοξης ωφθη	τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ
p33	Χ xxxx xxx xxxxx xxxx	xx xxxxx xxxx xxxxxx
p74	Ο θς της δοξηχ ωφθη	τω πρι ημxx Αβρααμ
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ
Codex Alexandrinus A	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Codex Vaticanus B	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Codex Bezae D	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ
Codex Laudianus E	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Codex Porphyrianus P	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 33	Χ xx xxx xxxxx ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 69	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 104	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 203	Ο θς της δοξης. Ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 326	Ο θεος της δοξης ωφθη	τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 614	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 1175	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 1505	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 1739	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Minuscule 2495	Ο θς της δοξης ωφθη	τω πρι ημων Αβρααμ
Arab 151	The God of glory appeared	to our father Abraham
English	The God of glory appeared	To our father Abraham

7 2 4 NA27	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
p33	xxxx xx xx xxxxxxxxxxxx	
p74	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Codex Alexandrinus A	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Codex Vaticanus B	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Codex Bezae D	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Codex Laudianus E	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Codex Porphyrianus P	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 33	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 69	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 104	οτι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 203	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 326	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 614	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 1175	οτι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 1505	[****] εν τω Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 1739	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Minuscule 2495	οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια	
Arab 151	while he was between the two rivers	
English	when he was in Mesopotamia	

7 2 5 NA27	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
p33	xxxx x xxxxxxxxxxx xxxxx	xx xxxxxx
p74	πριν η κατοικησε αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Codex Alexandrinus A	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Codex Vaticanus B	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Codex Bezae D	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαραν
Codex Laudianus E	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν (v is a cor. to Swan.)
Codex Porphyrianus P	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Minuscule 33	πριν η κατxxxxxxxx xxxxx	xx xxxxxx
Minuscule 69	πριν η κατοικισαι αυτον	εν Χαρα
Minuscule 69 ^c	πριν η κατοικισαι αυτον	εν Χαρρα
Minuscule 104	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαραν
Minuscule 203	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν.
Minuscule 326	πριν [†] κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Minuscule 614	πριν η κατοικησαι [***]	εν Χαρραν
Minuscule 1175	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Minuscule 1505	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Minuscule 1739	πριν η κατοικησαι αυτον	εν Χαρραν
Minuscule 2495	πριν η κατοικισαι αυτον	εν Χαραν
Arab 151	before that he came to dwell	in Haran
English	Before he lived	in Haran

7 3 1 NA27	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
p33	xxx xxxxx xxxx xxxxx	
p74	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Codex Alexandrinus A	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Codex Vaticanus B	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Codex Bezae D	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Codex Laudianus E	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Codex Porphyrianus P	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Minuscule 33	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Minuscule 69	και ειπε προς αυτον	
Minuscule 104	και ειπε προς αυτον	
Minuscule 203	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Minuscule 326	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Minuscule 614	και ειπε προς αυτον	
Minuscule 1175	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Minuscule 1505	και ειπε προς αυτον	
Minuscule 1739	και ειπεν προς αυτον	
Minuscule 2495	και ειπε προς αυτον	
Arab 151	and verily he said to them	
English	and said to him	

7 3 2 NA27	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
p33	xxxxxx xx xxx xxx xxx	
p74	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	(not in facsimile of p74)
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Codex Alexandrinus A	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Codex Vaticanus B	ἐξελθη ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Codex Bezae D	ἐξηλθε ἀπο τῆς γῆς σου	
Codex Bezae D ^c	ἐξηλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Codex Laudianus E	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Codex Porphyrianus P	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 33	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 69	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 104	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 203	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 326	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 614	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 1175	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 1505	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 1739	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Minuscule 2495	ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	
Arab 151	that he should go out from your land	
English	Leave your country	

7 3 3 NA27	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
p33	xxx xx xxx xxxxxxxxx xxx	
p74	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Alexandrinus A	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Vaticanus B	καὶ [**] τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Vaticanus B ^c	καὶ [**] τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Bezae D	καὶ [**] τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Laudianus E	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Codex Porphyrianus P	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	(Tisch has - εἰας)
Minuscule 33	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας xxx	
Minuscule 69	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Minuscule 104	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Minuscule 203	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου.	
Minuscule 326	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Minuscule 614	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Minuscule 1175	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Minuscule 1505	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Minuscule 1739	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Minuscule 2495	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	
Arab 151	and from among the sons of your race	
English	and your relatives,	

7 3 4 NA27	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
p33	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
p74	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Codex Alexandrinus A	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Codex Vaticanus B	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Codex Bezae D	[** ** * ** * **]	*** ** * ** *
Codex Laudianus E	και εκ του οικου	του πρς
Codex Porphyrianus P	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 33	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 69	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 104	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 203	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 326	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 614	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 1175	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 1505	και εκ του οικου	του πατρος σου
Minuscule 1739	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxx
Minuscule 2495	και εκ του οικου	του πρς σου
Arab 151	xxx xx xxx xxxxx	xxx xxx xxx
English	(and from your house)	

7 3 5 NA27	και δευρο εις την γην	
p33	xxx xxxxx xxx xxx xxx	
p74	και δευρο εις την γην	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και δευρο εις την γην	
Codex Alexandrinus A	και δευρο εις την γην	
Codex Vaticanus B	και δευρο εις την γην	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και δευρο εις την γην	
Codex Bezae D	και δευρο εις εις την γην	
Codex Bezae D ^c	και δευρο εις την γην	
Codex Laudianus E	και δευρο εις την γην	
Codex Porphyrianus P	και δευρο εις [***] γην	(Tisch has την)
Minuscule 33	xxx xxxxx xxx xxx xxx	
Minuscule 69	και δευρο εις [***] γην	
Minuscule 104	και δευρο εις [***] γην	
Minuscule 203	και δευρο εις [***] γην	
Minuscule 326	και δευρο εις την γην	
Minuscule 614	και δευρο εις [***] γην	
Minuscule 1175	και δευρω εις την γην	
Minuscule 1505	και δευρο εις [***] γην	
Minuscule 1739	και δευρο εις [***] γην	
Minuscule 2495	και δευρο εις [***] γην	
Arab 151	and come to the land	
English	and come into the land	

7 3 6 NA27	ην αν σοι δειξω	
p33	xx xx xxx xxxxx	
p74	ην αν σοι διξω	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	ην εαν σοι διξω	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph ^c	ην αν σοι διξω	
Codex Alexandrinus A	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Codex Vaticanus B	ην αν σοι διεξω	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	[**] αν σοι δειξω	
Codex Bezae D	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Codex Laudianus E	ην αν σοι διξω	
Codex Porphyrianus P	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 33	xx xv σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 69	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 104	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 203	η αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 326	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 614	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 1175	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 1505	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 1739	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Minuscule 2495	ην αν σοι δειξω	
Arab 151	which I will show you	
English	that I will show you	

7 4 1 NA27	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
p33	xxxx xxxxxxx	xx xxx xxxxxxxxx
p74	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Codex Alexandrinus A	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Codex Vaticanus B	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Codex Bezae D	τοτε Αβρααμ εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Codex Laudianus E	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Codex Porphyrianus P	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 33	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 69	τοτε εξελθων	εκ της Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 69 ^c	τοτε εξελθων	εκ της γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 104	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 203	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων.
Minuscule 326	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 614	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 1175	και τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 1505	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 1739	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 2495	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Minuscule 2495 ^c	τοτε εξελθων	εκ γης Χαλδαιων
Arab 151	And then Abraham went out	of the land of the Chaldeans
English	Then he left	The land of the Chaldeans

7 4 2 NA27	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
p33	xxxxxxxx xx xxxxxx	
p74	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Codex Alexandrinus A	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Codex Vaticanus B	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Codex Bezae D	και κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Codex Bezae D ^c	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Codex Laudianus E	κατωκησεν εν Χαρρα	
Codex Porphyrianus P	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Minuscule 33	κατωκησεν επι Χxxxxx	
Minuscule 69	κατωκισεν εις Χαρραν	(Swanson has η incorrectly)
Minuscule 104	κατωκησεν εις Χαρραν	
Minuscule 203	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Minuscule 326	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Minuscule 614	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Minuscule 1175	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Minuscule 1505	κατωκησεν εις Χαρραν	
Minuscule 1739	κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν	
Minuscule 2495	κατωκησεν εν Χαραν	
Arab 151	Then he came and dwelled in Haran	
English	and settled in Haran	

7 4 3 NA27	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πατερα αυτου
p33	xxxxxxxx xxxx xx xxxxxxxxxxx	xxx xxxxxx xxxxx
p74	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανιν	τον πατερα αυτου
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph ^c	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πατερα αυτου
Codex Alexandrinus A	κακειθεν μετα [**] αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Codex Vaticanus B	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πατερα αυτου
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανιν	τον πατερα αυτου
Codex Bezae D	κακει ην μετα το αποθανειν	τον πατερα αυτου
Codex Laudianus E	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανιν	τον πρα αυτου
Codex Porphyrianus P	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 33	xxxxxxxx xxxx xx αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 69	και εκειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 104	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 203	και εκειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου.
Minuscule 326	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πατερα αυτου
Minuscule 614	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 1175	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 1505	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 1739	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Minuscule 2495	κακειθεν μετα το αποθανειν	τον πρα αυτου
Arab 151	And from there when his father died	
English	From there, after his father died	

7 4 4 NA27	μετωκισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
p33	XXXXXXXXX XXXXX	XXX XXX XXX XXXXXX
p74	μετωκεισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	μετωκισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Alexandrinus A	μετωκισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Vaticanus B	μετωκισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	μετωκισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Bezae D	και μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Bezae D ^c	και μετωκεισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Laudianus E	μετωκησεν αυτον ο θς	εις την γην ταυτην
Codex Porphyrianus P	μετωκησεν ¹²⁰ αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 33	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 69	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 104	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 203	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 326	μετωκισεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 614	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 1175	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 1505	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 1739	μετωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Minuscule 2495	κατωκησεν αυτον	εις την γην ταυτην
Arab 151	God transferred him	to this land
English	God had him move	to this country

7 4 5 NA27	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
p33	XXX XX XXXXX	XXX XXXXXXXXXXXX
p74	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικιτε
Codex Alexandrinus A	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Codex Vaticanus B	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειται
Codex Bezae D	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειται
Codex Laudianus E	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειται
Codex Porphyrianus P	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Minuscule 33	εις ηχ XXXXX	XXX XXXXXXXXXXXX
Minuscule 69	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Minuscule 104	εις ην και υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Minuscule 203	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Minuscule 326	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Minuscule 614	εις ην υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Minuscule 1175	εισιν υμεις	νυν κατοικειτε
Minuscule 1505	εις ην υμεις	[***] κατοικειτε
Minuscule 1739	εις ην	νυν υμεις κατοικειτε
Minuscule 2495	εις ην υμεις	νυν οικειτε
Arab 151	in which you	are dwelling today
English	In which you	are now living

¹²⁰ Tisch. has t here like C.

7 4 6 NA27	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
p33	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
p74	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Codex Alexandrinus A	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Codex Vaticanus B	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Codex Bezae D	και οι πατερες ημων	οι προ ημων
Codex Laudianus E	και οι πρες υμων	
Codex Porphyrianus P	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 33	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 69	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 104	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 326	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 203	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 614	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 1175	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 1505	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 1739	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Minuscule 2495	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
Arab 151	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxx	xx xxx xxxx
English	(and your/our fathers	who were before us)

7 5 1 NA27	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
p33	xxx xxx xxxxxxx xxxx	Xxxxxxxxxxxxx
p74	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Codex Alexandrinus A	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Codex Vaticanus B	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Codex Bezae D	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Codex Laudianus E	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	εν αυτη
Codex Porphyrianus P	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 33	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 69	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 104	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 203	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 326	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 614	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 1175	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 1505	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 1739	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Minuscule 2495	και ουκ εδωκεν αυτω	Κληρονομιαν
Arab 151	And he did not give him	an inheritance
English	But He gave him no	Inheritance

7 5 2 NA27	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
p33	xx xxxx xxxx xxxx	
p74	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Codex Alexandrinus A	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Codex Vaticanus B	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Codex Bezae D	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Codex Laudianus E	κληρονομίαν ουδε βημα ποδος	
Codex Porphyrianus P	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 33	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 104	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 326	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 203	εν αυτη. ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 614	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 1175	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 1505	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 1739	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Minuscule 2495	εν αυτη ουδε βημα ποδος	
Arab 151	in it, not even a place for his foot	
English	in it, not even a foot of ground	

7 5 3 NA27	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
p33	xxx xxxxxxxxxxxx	xxxxxx xxxx
p74	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτην
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτην
Codex Alexandrinus A	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτην
Codex Vaticanus B	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Codex Bezae D	αλλ επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Codex Laudianus E	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτην
Codex Porphyrianus P	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Minuscule 33	και επηγγελαxx	xxxxxx χχτην
Minuscule 69	και επηγγειλατου ¹²¹	δουναι αυτω
Minuscule 104	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Minuscule 203	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Minuscule 326	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Minuscule 614	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Minuscule 1175	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτην
Minuscule 1505	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτω
Minuscule 1739	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτην
Minuscule 2495	και επηγγειλατο	δουναι αυτην
Arab 151	even though he promised	that he would give it to him
English	And yet, He promised	That He would give it to him

¹²¹ Scrivener has ο not ου.

7 5 4 NA27	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
p33	xxx xxxxxxxxxxx xxxxx	
p74	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Codex Alexandrinus A	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Codex Vaticanus B	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Codex Bezae D	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Codex Laudianus E	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Codex Porphyrianus P	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Minuscule 33	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Minuscule 69	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Minuscule 104	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Minuscule 203	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Minuscule 326	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Minuscule 614	εις κατασχεσιν [***]	
Minuscule 1175	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Minuscule 1505	εις κατασχεσιν αυτην	
Minuscule 1739	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Minuscule 2495	εις κατασχεσιν αυτω	
Arab 151	to inherit for himself	
English	as a possession	

7 5 5 NA27	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
p33	xxx xx xxxxxxxx xxxxx	xxx xxxxx
p74	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Codex Alexandrinus A	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ ουτον
Codex Vaticanus B	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ ουτον ¹²²
Codex Bezae D	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Codex Laudianus E	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Codex Porphyrianus P	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ ουτον
Minuscule 33	και το σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Minuscule 69	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ ουτον
Minuscule 104	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Minuscule 203	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτου.
Minuscule 326	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Minuscule 614	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Minuscule 1175	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Minuscule 1505	και το σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτον
Minuscule 1739	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτης
Minuscule 2495	και τω σπερματι αυτου	μετ αυτου
Arab 151	and his seed	xxx xxxxx
English	and to his descendants	after him

¹²² Tischendorf has α instead of ο in ουτον.

7 5 6 NA27	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
p33	ΧΧΧ ΧΧΧΧΧ ΧΧΧΧ ΧΧΧΧΧΧ	
p74	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΧΧ	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Codex Alexandrinus A	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Codex Vaticanus B	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	(Tisch has ou instead of ω)
Codex Bezae D	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Codex Laudianus E	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Codex Porphyrianus P	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 33	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΧΧΧΧ ΧΧΧΧΧΧ	
Minuscule 69	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 104	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 203	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 326	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 614	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 1175	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 1505	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 1739	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Minuscule 2495	ΟΥΚ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ	
Arab 151	although he did not have a son	
English	even when he had no child	

7 6 1 NA27	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θεος	
p33	ΧΧΧΧΧΧΧΧ ΧΧ ΧΧΧΧΧ Χ ΧΧ	
p74	χλαλησεν δε αυτω Χ ΧΧ	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	ελαλησεν δε αυτω ο θς	
Codex Alexandrinus A	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	
Codex Vaticanus B	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	
Codex Bezae D	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	προς αυτον
Codex Laudianus E	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	
Codex Porphyrianus P	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	
Minuscule 33	ελαλησεν δε ουτος ο θς	
Minuscule 69	ελαλησε δε ουτως ο θς	
Minuscule 104	ελαλησε δε αυτω ο θς	
Minuscule 203	ελαλησε δε αυτω ο θς	
Minuscule 326	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θεος	
Minuscule 614	ελαλησε δε ουτως ο θς	
Minuscule 1175	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	
Minuscule 1505	ελαλησε δε αυτω ο θς	
Minuscule 1739	ελαλησεν δε ουτως ο θς	
Minuscule 2495	ελαλησε δε ουτος ο θς	
Arab 151	Then God spoke to him	while saying to him
English	But God spoke to him	To this effect

7 6 2 NA27	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
p33	xxx xxxxx xx xxxxxx xxxxx	
p74	χτι εστε το χπερxx xxxxx	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	οτι εσται το σπερμα σου	
Codex Alexandrinus A	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Codex Vaticanus B	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Codex Bezae D	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Codex Laudianus E	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Codex Porphyrianus P	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 33	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 69	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 104	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 203	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 326	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 614	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 1175	οτι εστε το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 1505	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 1739	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Minuscule 2495	οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου	
Arab 151	Your seed will	
English	That his descendents would be	

7 6 3 NA27	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
p33	xxxxxxxx xx xx xxxxxxxx	
p74	xxxοικον εν xx xxxxxxxx	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Codex Alexandrinus A	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Codex Vaticanus B	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Codex Bezae D	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Codex Laudianus E	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Codex Porphyrianus P	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 33	παροικον xx xx xxxxxxxx	
Minuscule 69	παροικονκον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 104	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 203	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 326	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 614	παροικον εν γη αλλοτραι	
Minuscule 1175	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 1505	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 1739	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Minuscule 2495	παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια	
Arab 151	sojourn in a strange land	
English	aliens in a foreign land	

7 6 4 NA27	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
p33	και δουxxxxxxχιν αυτω	
p74	και δουλωσουxxx χχχο	
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Codex Alexandrinus A	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Codex Vaticanus B	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Codex Bezae D	και δουλωσουσιν αυτους	
Codex Laudianus E	και κακωσουσιν αυτο	
Codex Porphyrianus P	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Minuscule 33	xxx χχχχχχουσιν αυτω	
Minuscule 69	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Minuscule 104	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Minuscule 203	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο.	
Minuscule 326	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Minuscule 614	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Minuscule 1175	και δουλωσουσιν αυτω	
Minuscule 1505	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Minuscule 1739	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Minuscule 2495	και δουλωσουσιν αυτω	
Minuscule 2495 ^c	και δουλωσουσιν αυτο	
Arab 151	Then they will enslave them	
English	and they would be enslaved	

7 6 5 NA27	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
p33	και κακωσουσιν	ετη υ
p74	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Codex Alexandrinus A	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Codex Vaticanus B	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και κακωσουσιν αυτο	ετη τετρακοσια
Codex Bezae D	και κακωσουσιν	ετη υ
Codex Laudianus E	και δουλωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Codex Porphyrianus P	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 33	και κακωσουσιν αυτω	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 69	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 104	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 203	και κακωσουσιν.	ε.τη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 326	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 614	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 1175	και κακωσουσιν	ετι τετρακοσια
Minuscule 1505	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 1739	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Minuscule 2495	και κακωσουσιν	ετη τετρακοσια
Arab 151	and do evil to them	for four hundred years
English	and mistreated	For four hundred years

7 7 1 NA27	και το εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσουσιν
p33	xxx xx xcnos o εαν	κουλευσωσιν
p74	και το εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσουσιν
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και το εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσωσιν
Codex Alexandrinus A	και το εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσουσιν
Codex Vaticanus B	και το εθνος ω αν	δουλευσωσιν
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	το δε εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσουσιν
Codex Bezae D	και το εθνος ω αν	δουλευσουσιν
Codex Laudianus E	και το εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσωσιν
Codex Porphyrianus P	και το εθνος ω εαν	Δουλευσωσιν ¹²³
Minuscule 33	και το εθνος x xxx	xxxxxxxxxxx
Minuscule 69	και το εθνος εκεινο ω εαν	δουλευσωσιν
Minuscule 104	και το εθνος ο εαν	δουλευσωσι
Minuscule 203	και το εθνος ω εαν	Δουλευσωσι.
Minuscule 326	και το εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσουσι
Minuscule 614	και το εθνος ω εαν	Δουλευσωσι
Minuscule 1175	και το εθνος ω εαν	δουλευσωσιν
Minuscule 1505	και το εθνος ω εαν	Δουλευσωσι
Minuscule 1739	και το εθνος ω εαν	Δουλευσωσι
Minuscule 2495	και το εθνος ο εαν	δουλευσωσιν
Arab 151	And the people whom	they will serve in slavery
English	And whatever nation to which	They will be in bondage

7 7 2 NA27	κρινω εγω	Ο θεος ειπεν
p33	κρxxx xxx	Χ xxxx xxxcn
p74	κρινω εγω	Ο θς ειπεν
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	κρινω εγω	Ο θς ειπεν
Codex Alexandrinus A	κρινω εγω	Ο θς ειπεν
Codex Vaticanus B	κρινω εγω	Ο θς ειπε
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	κρινω εγω	Ο θς ειπεν
Codex Bezae D	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Codex Laudianus E	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Codex Porphyrianus P	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς ¹²⁴
Minuscule 33	xxxxω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Minuscule 69	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Minuscule 104	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Minuscule 203	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Minuscule 326	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θεος
Minuscule 614	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Minuscule 1175	κρινω εγω	Ο θς ειπεν
Minuscule 1505	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Minuscule 1739	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Minuscule 2495	κρινω εγω ειπεν	Ο θς
Arab 151	I will punish them, even I, says	God
English	I myself will judge, said	God

¹²³ Tischendorf has ou instead of ω in δουλευσωσιν.

¹²⁴ Tischendorf has ειπεν after θς.

7 7 3 NA27	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
p33	και μxxx xxxυτα	εξελευxxxxxx
p74	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Codex Alexandrinus A	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Codex Vaticanus B	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Codex Bezae D	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Codex Laudianus E	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται εκιθεν
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Codex Porphyrianus P	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 33	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 69	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 104	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 203	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται'
Minuscule 326	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 614	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 1175	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσεται
Minuscule 1505	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 1739	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Minuscule 2495	και μετα ταυτα	εξελευσονται
Arab 151	And after that	they will go out
English	And after that	they will come out

7 7 4 NA27	και λατρεουσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
p33	xxx xxxρευσxxxxx xxx	εν τω τοπω xxxxx
p74	και λατρεουσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και λατρεουσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Codex Alexandrinus A	και λατρεουσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Codex Vaticanus B	και λατρεουσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και λατρεωσιν μοι	
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C ^c	και λατρεουσιν μοι	
Codex Bezae D	και λατρεουσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Codex Laudianus E	και λατρεωσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Codex Porphyrianus P	και λατρεουσιν μοι	
Minuscule 33	και λατρεουσιν xxx	xx xx xxxx xxxxx
Minuscule 69	και λατρεουσι μοι	
Minuscule 104	και λατρεωσι μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Minuscule 203	και λατρεουσι μοι.	εν τω τοπω τουτω'
Minuscule 326	και λατρεουσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Minuscule 614	και λατρεουσι μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Minuscule 1175	και λατρεωσιν μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Minuscule 1505	και λατρεουσι μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Minuscule 1739	και λατρεουσι μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Minuscule 2495	και λατρεουσι μοι	εν τω τοπω τουτω
Arab 151	And they will worship me	in this country
English	and serve me	in this place

7 8 1 NA27	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
p33	xxx xxxκεν αυxx	xxαθηκην περιxxxxx
p74	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Codex Alexandrinus A	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Codex Vaticanus B	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Codex Bezae D	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Codex Laudianus E	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Codex Porphyrianus P	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 33	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 69	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 104	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 203	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 326	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 614	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 1175	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 1505	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 1739	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Minuscule 2495	και εδωκεν αυτω	διαθηκην περιτομης
Arab 151	And he gave them	the covenant of circumcision
English	And he gave them	the comenant of circumcision

7 8 2 NA27	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
p33	xxx xxxxs εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
p74	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Alexandrinus A	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Vaticanus B	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Vaticanus B ^c	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Bezae D	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Laudianus E	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Codex Porphyrianus P	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 33	και ουτως εγεννηxxx	xxx xxxxx
Minuscule 69	και ουτως εγεννησε	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 104	και ουτως εγεννησε	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 203	και ουτος εγεννησε	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 326	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 614	και ουτως εγεννησε	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 1175	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 1505	και ουτος εγεννησε	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 1739	και ουτως εγεννησεν	τον ισαακ
Minuscule 2495	και ουτως εγεννησε	τον ισαακ
Arab 151	And then was born to him	Isaac
English	And so Abraham became the father	of Isaac

7 8 3 NA27	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
p33	xxx xxxxxxxxv αυτον	τη ημερα το ογδοη
p74	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη εβδομη
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph ^c	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Codex Alexandrinus A	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Codex Vaticanus B	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Codex Bezae D	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Codex Laudianus E	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Codex Porphyrianus P	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 33	xxx xxxxxxxxεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 69	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 104	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ογδοη [**] ημερα
Minuscule 203	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 326	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 614	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 1175	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 1505	και περιετεμεν	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 1739	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Minuscule 2495	και περιετεμεν αυτον	τη ημερα τη ογδοη
Arab 151	And he circumcised him	on the eighth day
English	and circumcised him	On the eighth day

7 8 4 NA27	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
p33	xxx xxxxx	xxx xkωβ
p74	και ισαακ	την ιxxωβ
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Codex Alexandrinus A	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Codex Vaticanus B	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Codex Bezae D	και ο ισακ	τον ιακωβ
Codex Laudianus E	και ισαακ εγεννησεν	τον ιακωβ
Codex Porphyrianus P	και ο ¹²⁵ ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 33	και ο ισαακ	xxx xxxxx
Minuscule 69	και ο ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 104	και ο ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 203	και ο ισαακ.	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 326	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 614	και ο ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 1175	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 1505	και ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 1739	και ο ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Minuscule 2495	και ο ισαακ	τον ιακωβ
Arab 151	And Isaac was born to him	Jacob
English	and Isaac became the father	of Jacob

¹²⁵ Tischendorf omits ο.

7 8 5 NA27	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
p33	και Ιακκκ κκκκ	κκδεκκ κκκκκκκκκκ
p74	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Codex Sinaiticus Aleph	και Ιακωβ τους	Δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Codex Alexandrinus A	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Codex Vaticanus B	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Codex Eph. Rescriptus C	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Codex Bezae D	και Ιακωβ τους	ιβ πατριαρχας
Codex Laudianus E	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Codex Porphyrianus P	και ο ¹²⁶ Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Minuscule 33	κκκ κκκκκ κκκκ	κκκκκκ κκκκκκρχας
Minuscule 69	και ο Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Minuscule 104	και ο Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Minuscule 203	και ο Ιακωβ. Τους	δωδεκα πριαρχας
Minuscule 326	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Minuscule 614	και ο Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πριαρχας
Minuscule 1175	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Minuscule 1505	και Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Minuscule 1739	και ο Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πατριαρχας
Minuscule 2495	και ο Ιακωβ τους	δωδεκα πριαρχας
Arab 151	And Jacob was born to him	the twelve fathers
English	and Jacob of	the twelve patriarchs

¹²⁶ Tischendorf omits ο.

APPENDIX H: NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPT PICTURES

These are pictures of the few New Testament manuscripts that could not be checked by using published collations or facsimiles. The following manuscripts are pictured:

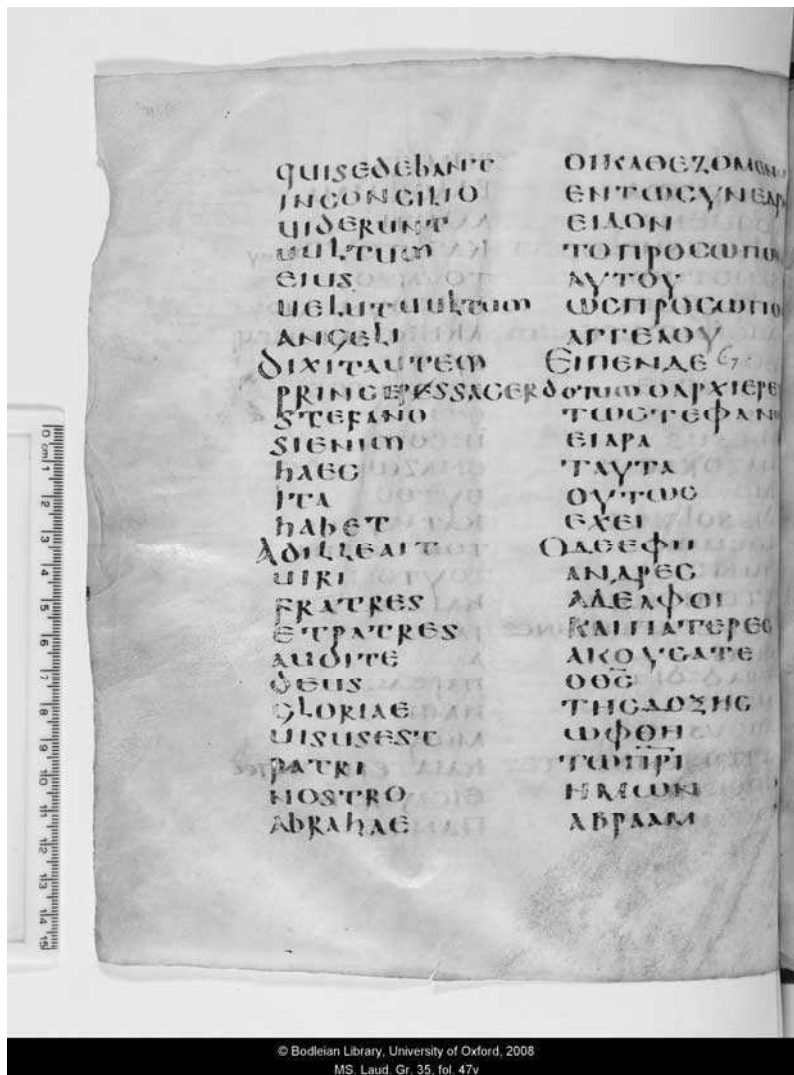
E^a, Codex Laudianus

69, Codex Leicestrensis

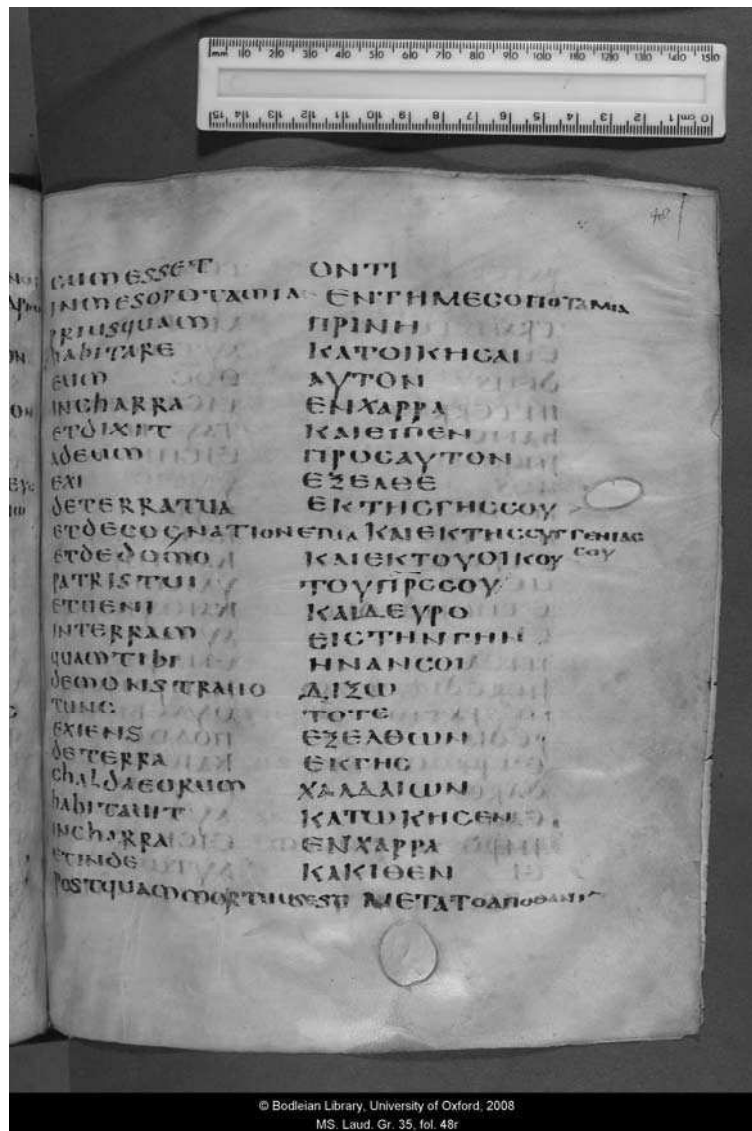
203, British Library manuscript Add. 28,816

Mt. Sinai Arabic MS 151

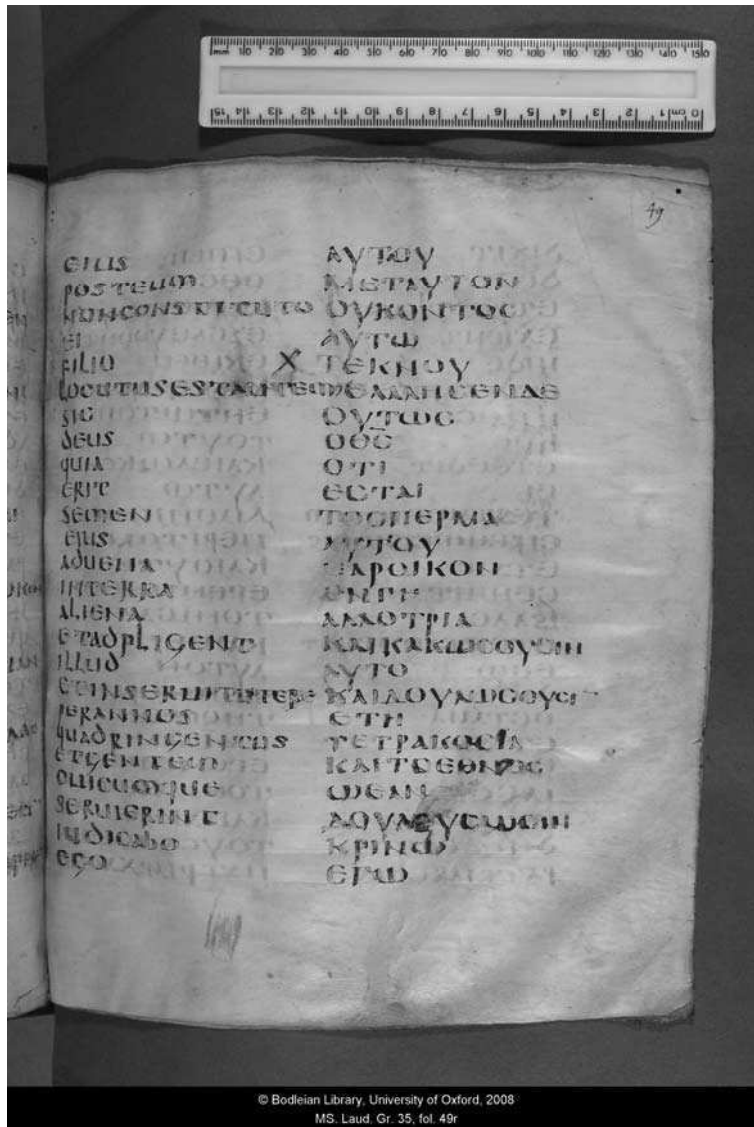
Codex Laudianus, Acts 6:15-7:2. Used with permission from the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



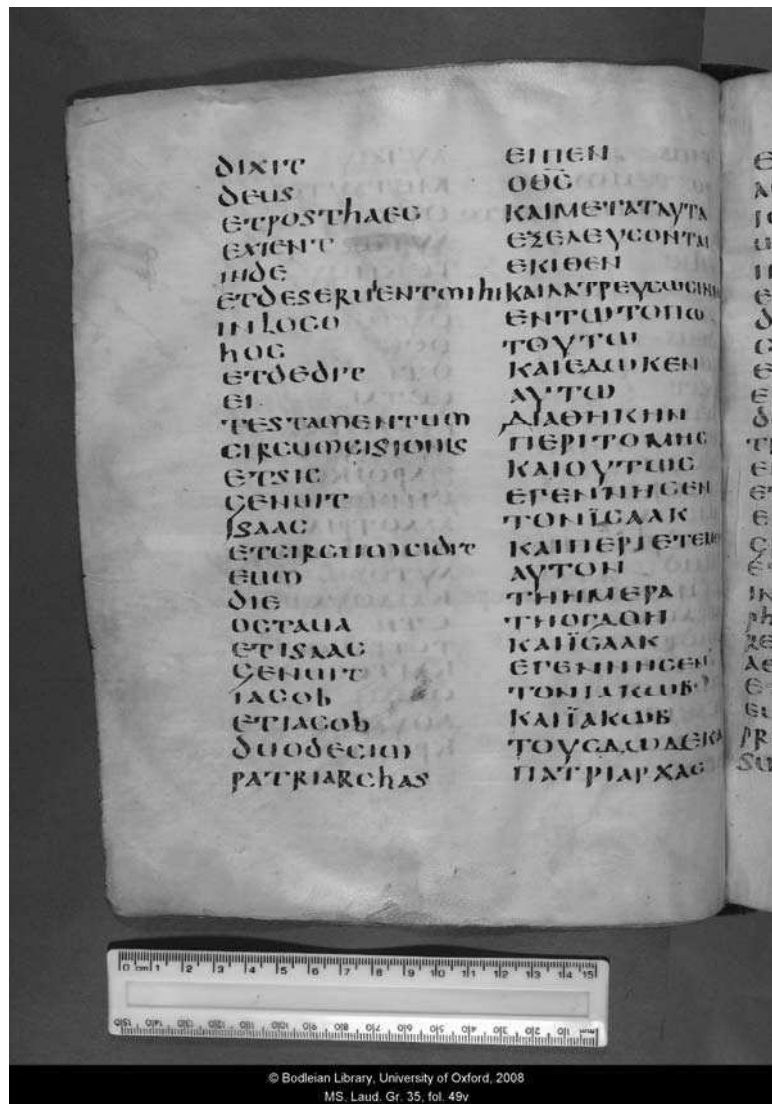
Codex Laudianus, Acts 7:2-4. Used with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



Codex Laudianus, Acts 7:5-7. Used by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



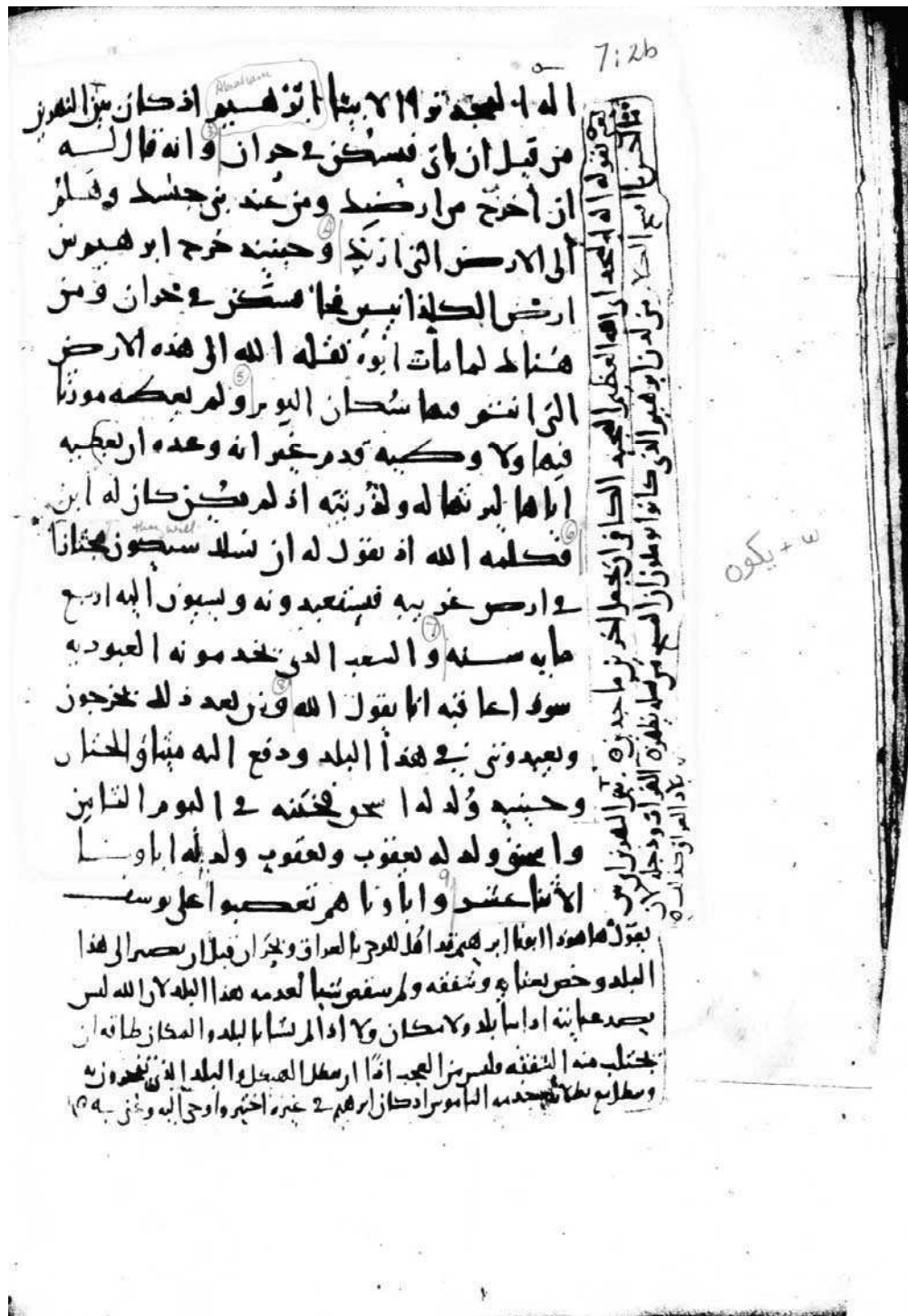
Codex Laudianus, Acts 7:7-8. Used by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



[illegible]

Θεός· καὶ οἱ πατέρες· καὶ ἡλικίαν· καὶ τὸν Ἰω
σηφ, ἀπέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἐν ὅσῃ μετὰ τοῦ
καὶ ἐξήγαγε αὐτὸν ἐκ παλαιῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔ
δωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον φαραὼ βασιλε
ῖς Αἰγύπτου· καὶ κατέστη αὐτὸν ἡγετὴν ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτον·
καὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ἡλθον δὲ λιμοὶ ἐφ' ὅλην γῆν
Αἰγύπτου καὶ χανάαν καὶ ὅλην μεγάλην καὶ οὐχ ἔ
ρίσκον χορτὰς, κατὰ οἱ πρῶς ἡμῶν· ἀκούσαι δὲ Ἰακώβ,
ὅτι εἶπα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἔλατ' ἐλθόντες πατέρας ἡμῶν
πρῶτον· καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀνέγνωρίσθη ἡ σὴφ τοῖς ἀ
δελφοῖς αὐτοῦ· καὶ φανερόν ἐγένετο τῷ φαραὼ τότε
νοεῖ τοῦ Ἰωσηφ· ἀποχρῆσαι δὲ ὅς ἡ σὴφ μετὰ καλεῖσθαι
καὶ ὅσον πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν
ἡβδωμνησὶ πάντας τῆς γῆς· κατέβη δὲ Ἰακώβ ἐκ Αἰγύπτου·
καὶ ἔτελευτήσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ πρῶς ἡμῶν· καὶ μετετέθη
σαν ἐν σὴμ· καὶ ἐτάφησαν ἐν τῷ μηνί· καὶ ὡς ἠκούσθη
ἀβραὰμ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἡμιμοῦ τοῦ
σὴμ· καὶ ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡ σὴφ ὁ χρόνος, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
ἡμιμοὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀβραὰμ, ἡνέκουν ὅλοι καὶ ἐπληρώθη
ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἄχρι οὗ, ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἄσπετος οὗτος ἡ
τον Ἰωσηφ· οὗτος κατὰ σοφίαν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν,
ἐκάλει αὐτοὺς πρῶς ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποιῆν ταβερῆθ αὐτῶν, ἐν
θεῖα· ἡ δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐγενήθη ἡμι
μοῖ· καὶ ἐν αἰσῶνι τῷ θῷ· οὗτος ἡμιμοὶ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πρῶ· ὡς ταυθὲντα δὲ αὐτόν, ἀνέλατο αὐτόν
ἡ σὴφ ἡ φαραὼ· καὶ ἀνέθετο αὐτόν ἐαυτῇ ἡ σὴφ
οῦ· καὶ ἐπαλειψάμενος αὐτὸν παῖς σοφίας Αἰγυπτίων·
ἐν δὲ δυνάμει, ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ· ὡς δὲ ἐπληρῶν
το αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς ἐκείνους χρόνους, ἀνέβη πάλιν ἐκ
Αἰγύπτου, ἐπιστάμενος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ τοῖς
ἡμῶν· καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ ἡμιμῶν καὶ
ὑποίκων· καὶ ἡμιμῶν τὰ κατεπονέμενα πατρίδας
τον Αἰγύπτου· ὡς ἡμιμῶν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ὅτι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ δίδωσι σὺν ἡμῶν
αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ οὐ σὺν ἡμῶν· καὶ ταυθὲν ἡμιμῶν
φῶν αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἡμῶν· καὶ σὺν ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ἡμιμῶν
φῶν ἡμιμῶν· ἀνδρες ἀδελφοὶ ὡς ἡμῶν· ἰνατί αὐ
τῶν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι ἀδελφὸν τὸν πολλόν αὐτοῦ





APPENDIX I: QUR'ĀNIC TEXT DIVISIONS FOR SURAH

14:35-41

- 35.1 واذا قال ابراهيم
35.2 رب اجعل هذا البلداً آمناً
35.3 واجنبني وبني ان نعبد الاصنام.
36.1 رب انهن اضللن كثيراً من الناس
36.2 فمن تبغنى فإنه منى
36.3 ومن عصانى فانك غفور رحيم
37.1 ربنا انى اسكنت من ذريتى
37.2 بواد غير ذى زرع
37.3 عند بيتك المحرم
37.4 ربنا ليقيموا الصلوة
37.5 فاجعل افءدة من الناس تهوى اليهم
37.6 وارزقهن من الثمرات لعلهم يشكرون
38.1 ربنا انك تعلم ما نخفى
38.2 وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله
38.3 من شىء فى الارض ولا فى السماء
39.1 الحمد لله الذى وهب لى
39.2 على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق
39.3 ان ربه لسميع الدعاء
40.1 رب اجعلنى مقيم الصلوة
40.2 ومن ذريتى ربنا وتقبل دعاء
41.1 ربنا اغفر لى ولولدى
41.2 وللمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب

APPENDIX J: QUR'ĀNIC TEXT COLLATIONS

This appendix has the collations of the texts of the Qur'ān manuscripts used for this thesis. The manuscripts are listed in general date order by century, oldest to newest, and they are grouped by number and collection within those year groups. Yellow highlighting has been used to note differences from the major current text in print. The Cairo 1924 text is given at the top as the text to which comparisons are being made. Only its consonantal script with diacritical marks is given since the great majority of manuscripts surveyed did not have the vocalisation marks for short vowels.

VN: This stands for the Verse Number of the single verse marker after this verse within the surah in its respective manuscript.

VM: This stands for Verse Marker and records if a five or ten verse marker is found after this verse.

Verse subdivision: This is the portion of text as contained in the breakdown given in the appendices related to Chapter One. Dashes or a horizontal line in this space denotes that this part of the text is not found in the manuscript because of damage to the manuscript.

Manuscript: This is the catalogue number of each respective manuscript according to the collection in which they are found. The appendices related to Chapter One provide more complete information on each manuscript.

Date: These are the dates given in the respective catalogues for these manuscripts according to the Islamic century in which they were written. This thesis uses the generally accepted dates in Western scholarship for these manuscripts, recognising that the dating of Qurān manuscripts is still a developing discipline in relation to the dating of manuscripts in other disciplines.

Script: The categories used are the ones devised by Déroche.¹²⁷ These were used to introduce a degree of consistency since there is tremendous variety in the descriptive titles used for the various scripts used in early Qurāns. Also, Déroche's system is the most extensive and inclusive system developed so far. H categories are forms of the Ḥijāzī script. B, C, and D are various forms Kufic script. A clear distinction is made in this thesis between Ḥijāzī script styles which have a slant to the right, and Kufic styles, which tend to be vertical and have a thicker line. Also, Ḥijāzī Qur'āns tend to be oriented vertically and Kufic ones tend to be oriented horizontally. Kufic scripts also came to be highly stylised and the dominant script style in the Abbasid era.

¹²⁷ Déroche, *Tradition*.

14:35:1

VN	VM	Verse subdivision	Manuscript	Date	Script
35		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
35		² إِبْرَاهِيمُ وَادِ قُلْ	Istanbul	I	H I
35		³ وَادِ قُلْ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	01-28.1	I	B Ib
35		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	01-29.1	I	H I
		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	01-20.x	I	B I
37		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
38		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
37		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 325a	II	B Ib
31		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 326a	II	H I
35		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 330a	II	H III
35		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 331	II	B Ia
36		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 332	II	C I
----		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 333c	III	C III
38		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 340c	III	B II
32		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	Meknes	III	B II
----		إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN 343	IV	D c
----		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	BN370a	IV	C
35		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
36		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
35		وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ	Warsh	XV	Magh
		And when Ibrahim said	Engl. H & K		

14:35:2

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
35		رب اجعل هذا البلد ءامنا	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
35		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	Istanbul	I	H I
35		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	01-28.1	I	B Ib
35		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	01-29.1	I	H I
35		اجعل هذا البلد اما	01-20.x	I	B I
37		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
38		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
37		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	BN 325a	II	B Ib
31		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	BN 326a	II	H I
35		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	BN 330a	II	H III
35		ر- اجعل هذا البلد امنا	BN 331	II	B Ia
36		رب اجعل هذا البلد اما	BN 332	II	C I
---		رب اجعل هذا البلد اما	BN 333c	III	C III
38		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		رب اجعل هذا البلد اما	BN 340c	III	B II
32		رب اجعل هذا البلد اما	Meknes	III	B II
----		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	BN 343	IV	D c
----		رب اجعل هذا البلد اما	BN370a	IV	C
35		امنا ⁴ رب اجعل هذا البلد	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
36		رب اجعل هذا البلد امنا	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
35		رب اجعل هذا البلد ءامنا	Warsh	XV	Magh
		a place of security place this make Lord	English		
		O my Lord! Make this city one of peace and security	Engl. H & K		

14:35:3

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
35		واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصنام	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
35		⁶ احسى وبنى -ن بعد الاصم ⁵ ف	Istanbul	I	H I
35		⁷ واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	01-28.1	I	B Ib
35		¹⁰ ال-صم ⁹ وبنى ان نعبد ⁸ واجنبني	01-29.1	I	H I
35		¹¹ واحسى وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	01-20.x	I	B I
37		واجنبني و- - - ان نعبد الاصم	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
38	5	ان نعبد الاصم ¹² واحسى وبن	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
37		واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	BN 325a	II	B Ib
31		واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	BN 326a	II	H I
35		واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد -صم	BN 330a	II	H III
35		واحسى وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	BN 331	II	B Ia
36		واحسى وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	BN 332	II	C I
---		واحسى وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	BN 333c	III	C III
38		واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصم	BN 334c	III	H IV
---		واحسى وبنى ان نعبد الاصام	BN 340c	III	B II
32		¹⁵ ان نعبد لاصام ¹⁴ وبنى ¹³ واجنبني	Meknes	III	B II
---		ان نعبد الاصام - - - - -	BN 343	IV	D c
---		واحسى وبنى ان -بد الاصم	BN370a	IV	C
35	5	واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصنام	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
36		واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصنام	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
35		واجنبني وبنى ان نعبد الاصنام	Warsh	XV	Magh
		And keep me and my sons away from worshipping idols	Engl. H & K		

14:36:1

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
36		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
36		رب انهن اصللن كـا من الناس	Istanbul	I	H I
36		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	01-28.1	I	B Ib
36		¹⁶ رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس ¹⁷	01-29.1	I	H I
36		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	01-20.x	I	B I
39		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
---		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
38		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 325a	II	B Ib
32		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 326a	II	H I
36		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 330a	II	H III
36		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 331	II	B Ia
37		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 332	II	C I
----		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 333c	III	C III
39		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 334c	III	H IV
---		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	BN 340c	III	B II
33		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	Meknes	III	B II
---		¹⁸ اضللن كثيرا من الناس رب انهن	BN 343	IV	D c
---		رب انهن اصللن كثيرا من الناس	BN370a	IV	C
36		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	Or. 12884	IV	NAK NS I
37		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
36		رب انهن اضللن كثيرا من الناس	Warsh	XV	Magh
O my Lord! They have indeed led many astray among mankind			Engl. H & K		

14:36:2

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
36		فمن تبعني فانه مني	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
36		فمن تبعني فانه مني	Istanbul	I	H I
36		فمن تبعني فانه مني	01-28.1	I	B Ib
36		فمن تبعني فانه مني	01-29.1	I	H I
36		فمن سعي فانه مني	01-20.-x	I	B I
38		فانه مني ¹⁹ - من تعني	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
39		فمن سعي فانه مني	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
---		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
38		فمن تبعني فانه مني	BN 325a	II	B Ib
32		فمن سعي فانه مني	BN 326a	II	H I
36		فمن تبعني فا- ----	BN 330a	II	H III
36		فمن تبعني فانه مني	BN 331	II	B Ia
37		فمن تبعني فانه مني	BN 332	II	C I
----		فمن سعي فانه مني	BN 333c	III	C III
39		فمن سعي فانه مني	BN 334c	III	H IV
---		فمن سعي فانه مني	BN 340c	III	B II
33		فمن سعي فانه مني	Meknes	III	B II
---		فمن سعي فانه مني	BN 343	IV	D c
---		فمن سعي فانه مني	BN370a	IV	C
36		فمن تبعني فانه مني	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
37		فمن تبعني فانه مني	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
36		فمن تبعني فانه مني	Warsh	XV	Magh
		But whoso follows me, he verily, is of me.	Engl. H & K		

14:36:3

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript		
36		ومن عصاني فانك غفور رحيم	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
36		²⁰ ف—ك عمو— ²¹ حم ومن عصي	Istanbul	I	H I
36		²² فانك غفور رحيم ومن عصي	01-28.1	I	B Ib
36		²³ فانك غفور رحيم ومن عصني ²⁴	01-29.1	I	H I
36		ومن عصاي فانك غفور رحيم	01-20.x	I	B I
38		ومن عصني فانك غفور رحيم	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
39		ومن عصني فانك غفور رحيم	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
---		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
38		ومن عصاني فانك غفور رحيم	BN 325a	II	B Ib
32		ومن عصني فانك غفور رحيم	BN 326a	II	H I
36		ومن عصاني فانك غفور رحيم	BN 330a	II	H III
36		ومن عصني فانك غفور رحيم	BN 331	II	B Ia
37		ومن عصاني فانك غفور رحيم	BN 332	II	C I
----		ومن عصاي فانك غفور رحيم	BN 333c	III	C III
39		ومن عصني فانك غفور رحيم	BN 334c	III	H IV
---	5	ومن عصي فانك غفور رحيم	BN 340c	III	B II
33		ومن عصاي فانك غفور رحيم	Meknes	III	B II
---		²⁵ ومن عصاي فانك غفور رحيم	BN 343	IV	D c
---		ومن عصاي فانك غفور رحيم	BN370a	IV	C
36		ومن عصاني فانك غفور رحيم	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
37		ومن عصاني فانك غفور رحيم	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
36		ومن عصاني فانك غفور رحيم	Warsh	XV	Magh
		And whoso disobeys me, still you are indeed oft-forgiving, most merciful	Engl. H & K		

14:37:1

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript		
37		ربنا انی اسکنت من ذریتی	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
37		انی اسکنت من دربی ²⁶ رنا	Istanbul	I	H I
37		ربنا انی اسکنت من درتی	01-28.1	I	B Ib
37		ربنا انی اسکنت من درتی ²⁷	01-29.1	I	H I
37		ربا ای اسکب من دربی	01-20.x	I	B I
39		ربنا ای اسکنت من درتی	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
40		ربا ای اسکب من دربی	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
39		ربنا انی اسکنت من ذریتی	BN 325a	II	B Ib
----		ربنا ای اسکنت من درتی	BN 326a	II	H I
37		ربنا انی اسکنت م-- رتی	BN 330a	II	H III
37		ربنا انی اسکنت من ذرنی ²⁸	BN 331	II	B Ia
38		ربنا ای اسکنت من درنی ²⁹	BN 332	II	C I
----		ربا ای اسکب- من دربی	BN 333c	III	C III
40		ربنا انی اسکنت من درنی ³⁰	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		ربا ای اسکب من دربی	BN 340c	III	B II
34		ربا ای اسکنت من دربی	Meknes	III	B II
----		ربا ای اسکب من ذری	BN 343	IV	D c
----		ربا ای اسکب من دربی	BN370a	IV	C
37		ربنا انی اسکنت من ذریتی	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
38		ربنا انی اسکنت من ذریتی	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
37		ربنا انی اسکنت من ذریتی	Warsh	XV	Magh
		Our Lord, I have made some of my offspring to dwell	Engl. H & K		

14:37:2

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
37		بواد غیر ذی زرع	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
37		ب---عردی زرع	Istanbul	I	H I
37		بواد عردی زرع	01-28.1	I	B Ib
37		بواد عردی زرع	01-29.1	I	H I
37		بواد عردی زرع	01-20.x	I	B I
39		بواد عردی زرع	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
40		بواد غردی زرع	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
39		بواد غیر ذی زرع	BN 325a	II	B Ib
----		بواد غردی زرع	BN 326a	II	H I
37		بواد غردی زرع	BN 330a	II	H III
37		بواد عردی زرع	BN 331	II	B Ia
38		بواد عردی زرع	BN 332	II	C I
----		بواد عردی زرع	BN 333c	III	C III
40		³¹ بواد عردی زرع	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		³² بواد عردی زرع	BN 340c	III	B II
34		بواد عردی زرع	Meknes	III	B II
----		بواد عردی زرع	BN 343	IV	D c
----		بواد عردی زرع	BN370a	IV	C
37		بواد غیر ذی زرع	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
38		بواد غیر ذی زرع	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
37		بواد غیر ذی زرع	Warsh	XV	Magh
		In an uncultivated valley ³³	Engl. H & K		

14:37:3

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
37		عند بيتك المحرم	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
37		عند سك المحرم	Istanbul	I	H I
37		عند بتك المحرم	01-28.1	I	B Ib
37		³⁴ عند ³⁵ بتك المجرم	01-29.1	I	H I
37		عند سك المحرم	01-20.x	I	B I
39		عند بتك المحرم	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
40		³⁶ عند سك المحرم	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
39		عند بيتك المحرم	BN 325a	II	B Ib
----		عند بتك —هرم	BN 326a	II	H I
37		³⁷ عند بتك المجرم	BN 330a	II	H III
37		عند بتك المحرم	BN 331	II	B Ia
38		عند بتك المحرم	BN 332	II	C I
----		عند ببك المحرم	BN 333c	III	C III
40		عند بتك المحرم	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		عند سك المحرم	BN 340c	III	B II
34		عند سك المحرم	Meknes	III	B II
----		³⁸ المجرم عند سك	BN 343	IV	D c
----		عند سك المحرم	BN370a	IV	C
37		عند بيتك المحرم	Or. 12884	IV	NAK NS I
38		عند بيتك الحرم	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
37		عند بيتك المحرم	Warsh	XV	Magh
		By your sacred house	Engl. H & K		

14:37:4

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
37		ربنا ليقيموا الصلوة	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
37		ربنا لقموا الصلو-	Istanbul	I	H I
37		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	01-28.1	I	B Ib
37		ربنا ³⁹ لقموا الصلوه	01-29.1	I	H I
37		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	01-20.x	I	B I
39		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
40		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
39		ربنا ليقيموا الصلوه	BN 325a	II	B Ib
----		الصلوه ربنا ⁴⁰ لقموا	BN 326a	II	H I
37		ربنا اب-ا الصلوه	BN 330a	II	H III
37		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	BN 331	II	B Ia
38		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	BN 332	II	C I
----		الصلوه ربنا ⁴¹ للقموا	BN 333c	III	C III
40		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	BN 340c	III	B II
34		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	Meknes	III	B II
----		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	BN 343	IV	D c
----		ربنا لقموا الصلوه	BN370a	IV	C
37		ربنا ليقيموا الصلوة	Or. 12884	IV	NAK NS I
38		ربنا ليقيموا الصلوة	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
37		ربنا ليقيموا الصلوة ⁴²	Warsh	XV	Magh
		In order, O our Lord, that they may perform the salat	Engl. H & K		

14:37:5

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
37		فاجعل افءدة من الناس تهوى اليهم	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
37		فاجعل افءة من الناس بهوى الهم	Istanbul	I	H I
37		من الناس تهوى الهم ⁴³ فاجعل افاده	01-28.1	I	B Ib
37		من الناس بهوى الهم ⁴⁴ فاجعل افاده	01-29.1	I	H I
37		فاجعل افده من الناس بهوى الهم	01-20.x	I	B I
39		فاجعل افده من الناس بهوى الهم	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
40		افده من الناس بهوى الهم ⁴⁵ واجعل	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
39		فاجعل افده من الناس تهوى اليهم	BN 325a	II	B Ib
----		فاجع- افده من الناس بهوى الهم	BN 326a	II	H I
37		فاجعل افده من الناس تهوى الهم	BN 330a	II	H III
37		فاجعل افده من الناس تهوى الهم	BN 331	II	B Ia
38		فاجعل افده من الناس بهوى الهم	BN 332	II	C I
----		فاجعل افده من الناس بهوى الهم	BN 333c	III	C III
40		الهم ⁴⁶ فاجعل افده من الناس تهون	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		فاجعل افده من الناس بهوى الهم	BN 340c	III	B II
34		الهم ⁴⁷ فاجعل افده من الناس تهوى	Meknes	III	B II
----		فاجعل افده من الناس بهوى الهم	BN 343	IV	D c
----		فاجعل افده من الناس بهوى الهم	BN370a	IV	C
37		من الناس تهوى اليهم ⁴⁸ فاجعل افيدة	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
38		فاجعل افءدة من الناس تهوى اليهم	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
37		فاجعل افءدة من الناس تهوى اليهم	Warsh	XV	Magh
		So fill some hearts among men with love towards them	Engl. H & K		

14:37:6

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
37		وارز قهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
37		فهم م- للمرب لعلمهم يسكرون ⁴⁹ وارز	Istanbul	I	H I
37		من ال----- ⁵⁰ وارز فهم	01-28.1	I	B Ib
37		قهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون ⁵¹ وارز	01-29.1	I	H I
37		وارز فهم من المرب لعلمهم يسكرون	01-20.x	I	B I
39		وارز فهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يسكرون	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
40		وارز فهم من المرب لعلمهم يسكرون	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
39		وارز قهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون	BN 325a	II	B Ib
----		وارز قهم من المرب لعلمه- يشكرو-	BN 326a	II	H I
37	10	---ز فهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون	BN 330a	II	H III
37		وارز فهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون	BN 331	II	B Ia
38		وارز فهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يسكرون	BN 332	II	C I
----		وارز فهم من المرب لعلمهم يسكرون	BN 333c	III	C III
40		لعلمهم يشكرون ⁵² وارز فهم من الثمرات	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		لعلمهم يسكرون ⁵³ وارز فهم من المرب	BN 340c	III	B II
34	5	لعلمهم يسكرون ⁵⁴ وارز فهم من المرب	Meknes	III	B II
----		لعلمهم يسكرون ⁵⁵ وارز فهم من المرب	BN 343	IV	D c
----	5 or 10	وارز فهم من المرب لعلمهم يسكرون	BN370a	IV	C
37		وارز قهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون	Or. 12884	IV	NAK NS I
38		وارز قهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
37		وارز فهم من الثمرات لعلمهم يشكرون	Warsh	XV	Magh
		And provide them with fruits so that they may give thanks	Engl. H & K		

14:38:1

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
38		ربنا انك تعلم ما نخفي	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
38		ربنا ⁵⁶ انك نعلم ما بحى	Istanbul	I	H I
38		-----	01-28.1	I	B Ib
38		ربنا ⁵⁷ انك تعلم ما نخفي	01-29.1	I	H I
38		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	01-20.x	I	B I
40		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
41		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
40		ربنا انك تعلم ما نخفي	BN 325a	II	B Ib
34		ربنا انك ---- ما بحى	BN 326a	II	H I
38		ربنا ⁵⁸ انك تعلم -- -- نخفي	BN 330a	II	H III
38		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN 331	II	B Ia
39		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN 332	II	C I
----		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN 333c	III	C III
41		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN 340c	III	B II
35		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	Meknes	III	B II
----		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN 343	IV	D c
----		ربنا انك نعلم ما بحى	BN370a	IV	C
38		ربنا ⁵⁹ انك تعلم ما نخفي	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
39		ربنا انك تعلم ما نخفي	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
38		ربنا انك تعلم ما نخفي	Warsh	XV	Magh
		O our Lord! Certainly , You know what we conceal	Engl. H & K		

14:38:2

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
38		وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
38		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	Istanbul	I	H I
38		-----	01-28.1	I	B Ib
38		و-ا نعلن وما يخفى على الله	01-29.1	I	H I
38		الله ⁶¹ يحى ⁶⁰ علا وما نعلن وما	01-20.x	I	B I
40		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
41		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
40		وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله	BN 325a	II	B Ib
34		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	BN 326a	II	H I
38		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	BN 330a	II	H III
38		وما نعان وما يخفى على الله	BN 331	II	B Ia
39		وما نعلن وما يحى علا الله	BN 332	II	C I
----		وما نعلن وما يحى علا الله	BN 333c	III	C III
41		وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	BN 340c	III	B II
35		على الله ⁶³ وما يحى ⁶² وما نعلن	Meknes	III	B II
----		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	BN 343	IV	D c
----		وما نعلن وما يحى على الله	BN370a	IV	C
38		وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
39		وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
38		وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله	Warsh	XV	Magh
		And nothing is hidden to Allah And what we reveal.	Engl. H & K		

14:38:3

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
38		من شيء في الارض ولا في السماء	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
38		في الارز- ولا في السما ⁶⁴ من سان	Istanbul	I	H I
38		من --- في الارض و-----	01-28.1	I	B Ib
38		في الارض ولا في السما ⁶⁵ من شاي	01-29.1	I	H I
38		من سي في الارض ولا في السما ⁶⁶	01-20.x	I	B I
40		من ساي في الارض ولا في السما	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
41	5	من ساي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
----		-----	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
40	5	من شي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 325a	II	B Ib
34		من شاي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 326a	II	H I
38		في الارض ولا في السما من شاي	BN 330a	II	H III
38		من سي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 331	II	B Ia
39	10	من سي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 332	II	C I
----	10	من سي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 333c	III	C III
41	10	من شي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		من سي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 340c	III	B II
35		من سي في الارض ولا في السما	Meknes	III	B II
----		من سي في الارض ولا في السما	BN 343	IV	D c
----	10	من سي في الارض ولا في السما	BN370a	IV	C
38		ولا في السما ⁶⁹ الارض ⁶⁸ في ⁶⁷ من شي	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
39		من شيء في الارض ولا في السماء	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
38	10	من شيء في الارض ولا في السماء	Warsh	XV	Magh
		Nothing on the earth or in the heaven is hidden from Allah.	Engl. H & K		

14:39:1

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
39		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
39		الحمد لله --- وهب لى	Istanbul	I	H I
39		الحمد لله --- وهب لى	01-28.1	I	B Ib
39		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	01-29.1	I	H I
39		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى ⁷⁰	01-20.x	I	B I
41		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
42		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
39?		الحمد لله --- وهب لى	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
41		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 325a	II	B Ib
35		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 326a	II	H I
39		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 330a	II	H III
40		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 331	II	B Ia
40		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 332	II	C I
----		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 333c	III	C III
----		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 340c	III	B II
36		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	Meknes	III	B II
----		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	BN 343	IV	D c
----		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى ⁷¹	BN370a	IV	C
38		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
40		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
39		الحمد لله الذى وهب لى	Warsh	XV	Magh
		All praise and thanks are Allah's, who has given me	Engl. H & K		

14:39:2

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
39		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
39		واسحق ⁷² على الكبر اسمعيل	Istanbul	I	H I
39		على الكبر اسمعيل و ا-----	01-28.1	I	B Ib
39		اسمعيل واسحق ⁷³ على الكبر	01-29.1	I	H I
39		الكبر اسمعيل واسحق ⁷⁴ علا	01-20.x	I	B I
41		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
42		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
39?		على الك----- واسحق	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
41		علي الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	BN 325a	II	B Ib
35		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	BN 326a	II	H I
39		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	BN 330a	II	H III
40	10	اسمعيل واسحق ⁷⁵ على الكبر *	BN 331	II	B Ia
40		علا الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	BN 332	II	C I
----		⁷⁶ علا الكبر اسمعيل واسحاق	BN 333c	III	C III
----		واسحق ⁷⁷ على الكبر اسمعيل	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	BN 340c	III	B II
36		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	Meknes	III	B II
----		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	BN 343	IV	D c
----		اسمعيل واسحق ⁷⁸ على ال-----	BN370a	IV	C
38		⁷⁹ على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
40		على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
39		⁸⁰ على الكبر اسمعيل واسحق	Warsh	XV	Magh
		In old age Ismail and Ishaq	Engl. H & K		

14:39:3

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
39		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
39	10	الدعا ⁸¹ ان ربى لسم--	Istanbul	I	H I
39		-----عا	01-28.1	I	B Ib
39		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	01-29.1	I	H I
39	10	ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	01-20.x	I	B I
41	10	ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
42		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
39?		ا- --- لسميع الدعاء	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
41		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 325a	II	B Ib
35		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 326a	II	H I
39		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 330a	II	H III
40		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 331	II	B Ia
40		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 332	II	C I
----		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 333c	III	C III
----		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN 340c	III	B II
36		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	Meknes	III	B II
----		ان ربى ل---- الدعاء	BN 343	IV	D c
----		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	BN370a	IV	C
38		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
40		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
39		ان ربى لسميع الدعاء	Warsh	XV	Magh
		Verily, my Lord is indeed the Hearer of invocations	Engl. H & K		

14:40:1

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
40		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوة	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
40		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوة ⁸²	Istanbul	I	H I
40		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	01-28.1	I	B Ib
40		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	01-29.1	I	H I
40		مقيم الصاوه ⁸³ رب احصى	01-20.x	I	B I
42		- ر اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
43		رب اجعلني مقيم الصوه	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
40?		ر- اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
42		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 325a	II	B Ib
36		رب احفاني مقيم الصلوه	BN 326a	II	H I
40		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 330a	II	H III
41		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 331	II	B Ia
41		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 332	II	C I
----		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 333c	III	C III
43		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 340c	III	B II
37		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	Meknes	III	B II
----		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN 343	IV	D c
----		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوه	BN370a	IV	C
39		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوة	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
41		رب اجعلني مقيم السلوة	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
40		رب اجعلني مقيم الصلوة ⁸⁴	Warsh	XV	Magh
		O my Lord! Make me one who performs salat	Engl. H & K		

14:40:2

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
40		ومن ذريتي ربنا وتقبل دعاء	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
40		ربنا وصل دعا ⁸⁵ ومن درسي	Istanbul	I	H I
40		ومن در-----	01-28.1	I	B Ib
40		ومن درتي ربنا وتقبل دعان ⁸⁶	01-29.1	I	H I
40		ومن دربي ربا وصل دعار ⁸⁷	01-20.x	I	B I
42		ومن درتي ربنا وصل دعا	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
43		ومن دربي ربنا وصل دعا	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
40?		ومن دربي ربا وصل دعا	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
42		ومن ذريتي ربنا وتقبل دعا	BN 325a	II	B Ib
36		ومن دربي ربا وتقبل دعا	BN 326a	II	H I
40		ومن- درتي ربنا وتقبل دعا	BN 330a	II	H III
41	10	ومن دربي ربنا وتقبل دعا	BN 331	II	B Ia
41		ومن دربي ربا وتقبل دعا	BN 332	II	C I
----		ومن دربي ربا وصل دعا	BN 333c	III	C III
43		ومن ذريتي ربنا وصل دعا	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		ومن دربي ربا وصل دعا	BN 340c	III	B II
37		وصل دعا ⁸⁸ ومن دربي رنا	Meknes	III	B II
----		-عا ⁸⁹ ومن دربي ربا وصل	BN 343	IV	D c
----		دعا ⁹⁰ ومن دربي ربا وصل الا	BN370a	IV	C
39	10	ومن ذريتي ربنا وتقبل دعا	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
41		ومن ذريتي ربنا وتقبل دعاء	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
40		ومن ذريتي ربنا وتقبل دعاء	Warsh	XV	Magh
		And from my offspring, our Lord! And accept my invocation	Engl. H & K		

14:41:1

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
41		ربنا اغفر لی ولوالدی	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
41		ربنا ⁹¹ -فر لی ولوالدی	Istanbul	I	H I
41		--- اغفر لی ولودی	01-28.1	I	B Ib
41		ربنا اغفر لی ولوالدی ⁹²	01-29.1	I	H I
41		اعمر لی ولودی ⁹³ سا	01-20.x	I	B I
43		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
44		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
NVM		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
43		ربنا اغفر لی ولودی	BN 325a	II	B Ib
NVM		ربنا اغفر لی ولودی	BN 326a	II	H I
41		ربنا اغفر لی ولودی	BN 330a	II	H III
NVM		ربنا اغفر لی ولودی	BN 331	II	B Ia
42		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	BN 332	II	C I
----		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	BN 333c	III	C III
44		ربنا اغفر لی ولودی	BN 334c	III	H IV
----		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	BN 340c	III	B II
38		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	Meknes	III	B II
----		ربنا اعمر لی ولوالدی ⁹⁴	BN 343	IV	D c
----		ربنا اعمر لی ولودی	BN370a	IV	C
43		ربنا اغفر لی ولوالدی ⁹⁵	Or. 12884	IV	NAK NS I
42		ربنا اغفر لی ولوالدی	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
41		ربنا اغفر لی ولودی	Warsh	XV	Magh
		Our Lord! Forgive me and my parents	Engl. H & K		

14:41:2

VN	VM	Reading	Manuscript	Date	Script
41		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	Cairo 1924	1924	Naskh
41		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	Istanbul	I	H I
41	10	والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	01-28.1	I	B Ib
41		الحساب ⁹⁶ والمؤمنين يوم تقوم	01-29.1	I	H I
41		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	01-20.x	I	B I
43		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	Or. 2165	I (720?)	H II
44		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 328a	I (720?)	H I
NVM		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	SamK	I (800's?)	D I? CI?
43	10	والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 325a	II	B Ib
NVM		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 326a	II	H I
41		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 330a	II	H III
NVM		والمؤمنين نوة يقوم الحساب ⁹⁷	BN 331	II	B Ia
42		والمؤمنين يوم هو-- الحساب	BN 332	II	C I
----		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 333c	III	C III
44		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 334c	III	H IV
----	10	والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 340c	III	B II
38	10	والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	Meknes	III	B II
----		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN 343	IV	D c
----		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	BN370a	IV	C
43		يوم يقوم الحساب ⁹⁸ والمؤمنين	Or. 12884	IV	NS I
42		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	Sharīf	XI	Naskh
41		والمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب	Warsh	XV	Magh
		And the believers when the reckoning will be established	Engl. H & K		

¹ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*.

² There is space for the *yā'*, and it looks like one was added and then erased.

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- ³ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*.
- ⁴ The dot denoting the *ba* in this word is obscured by the verse markers notated on the line below this word. *Ba*'s are normally notated in this MS.
- ⁵ This *fa* is dotted like a standard *fa*, though in this manuscript, one dot on top of the letter designates a *qāf*. The dot is also heavier than the other diacritical dots in this MS. It is my conjecture that it was added later. It also makes this letter a consonantal variant of the type of the substitution of one conjunction for another.
- ⁶ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*.
- ⁷ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*.
- ⁸ Possible consonantal variant: there is no dot under the *jīm* possibly making it a *hā*'.
- ⁹ Possible consonantal variant?: this *dāl* has a dot under it like a diacritical mark.
- ¹⁰ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*. Possible consonantal variant: the *sā*' in this word has a dot under it like a diacritical mark.
- ¹¹ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*.
- ¹² Consonantal variant: *nūn* for *yā*'.
- ¹³ The initial *alif* of this word seems to have been written over either an erased verse marker or letter.
- ¹⁴ Consonantal variant: the initial letter of this word is odd- it resembles an '*ayn*, except that it is too short and thin.
- ¹⁵ Note that in this manuscript *الا* of *الاصنام* is added as a correction in a different hand.
- ¹⁶ Possible consonantal variant: the *rā*' has a dot under it like a diacritical mark.
- ¹⁷ Possible consonantal variant: there are three dots under this *sīn* perhaps making it a *shīn*, or they are under the letter making it a *s sīn* in this particular MSS which has non-standard way of applying diacritical marks.
- ¹⁸ Consonantal variant. The *lām* is missing.
- ¹⁹ Consonantal variant, *bā*' is missing.
- ²⁰ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*.
- ²¹ The *yā*' here has one dot above and one dot below, both in red ink.
- ²² Consonantal variant: missing *alif*.
- ²³ Consonantal variant: missing *alif*, unless the extra tooth letter is an *alif* or *yā*'.
- ²⁴ Possible consonantal variant: the *hā*' at the beginning of this word has a dot above it like a *khā*'.
- ²⁵ Spelling variant: added *ghayn*. (See Penrice, p. 95. *عجم*, 'foreigner, barbarian'.)
- ²⁶ Consonantal variant, diacritical mark: the *nūn* is marked with a red dot over the letter instead of one dot below for a *bā*'.
- ²⁷ Possible consonantal variant: the *dhāl* has an unclear mark immediately above it where a dot would normally be, but because of water damage, it cannot be made out. It is larger and more like a letter than a dot, though.
- ²⁸ Consonantal variant: *nūn* for *tā*'.
- ²⁹ Consonantal variant: *nūn* for *tā*'.
- ³⁰ Consonantal variant: *nūn* for *tā*'.
- ³¹ Significant consonantal variant. The *rā*' and *zayn* are interchanged.

- ³² Significant consonantal variant. There is a missing word, and this is in the hand of the original scribe. There is not an erasure and correction at this point. Also, the remaining word is an odd form because of its last letter. There is an odd letter after the *ghayn* and it cannot be the tail of the *ghayn* because it does not match any other *ghayns* in the surah. It is most likely a *ya*, but this is also debateable. The tail is not long and turned to the right like with the other final *ya*'s. However, everything else about its shape and size matches the other *ya*'s.
- ³³ Lit. 'in a valley not sown with grain'
- ³⁴ Possible consonantal variant: the *dal* has a dot under it like a diacritic.
- ³⁵ Consonantal variant: diacritical mark- the *hā'* is marked with a dot underneath making it a *jīm*.
- ³⁶ The *mīm* and *hā'* are blurred but mostly distinct- perhaps a copyist mistake.
- ³⁷ Consonantal variant: *jīm* for *hā'*.
- ³⁸ Consonantal variant. Appears to be missing one of the first three letters.
- ³⁹ Possible consonantal variant: the *rā'* has a dot under it like a diacritic.
- ⁴⁰ Both *yā'* s in this word are missing and leave the word having the radicals **ل ق م**, meaning 'to obstruct'. This word only appears in the Qur'an in form eight having the meaning 'to devour'. Neither meaning is appropriate in this context.
- ⁴¹ This *lām* appears to have been corrected in the ms to make it a *yā'* or similar short stemmed consonant.
- ⁴² Consonantal variant: *lām* added.
- ⁴³ Consonantal variants: *alif* added where present text has *hamza*..
- ⁴⁴ Consonantal variant: *alif* added where present text has *hamza*.
- ⁴⁵ Consonantal variant: *wa* for *fa*.
- ⁴⁶ Consonantal variant: *nūn* for *yā'*.
- ⁴⁷ The dots distinguishing the *tā'* appear to have been added later.
- ⁴⁸ The *yā'* here has a *hamza* over it.
- ⁴⁹ The last letter of this word, *zā'*, has a large black dot above and to the left of the letter. Immediately above the letter, where the small dot would normally be, there is a hole in the MS.
- ⁵⁰ Consonantal variant, diacritic variant: *fā'* instead of *qāf*.
- ⁵¹ Note that the *rā'* is pointed with a dot underneath.
- ⁵² Consonantal variant: The *thā'* in this word is marked with two dots in a later hand and style..
- ⁵³ This *alif* is represented as a dagger *alif* in the Cairo text, and not in the *rasm* in the other mss.
- ⁵⁴ This *alif* is represented as a dagger *alif* in the Cairo text, and not in the *rasm* in the other mss.
- ⁵⁵ Consonantal variant: *zā'* for *rā'*.
- ⁵⁶ Consonantal variant, diacritical mark: the *nūn* is marked with a red dot over the letter instead of one dot below for a *bā'*.
- ⁵⁷ Note that the *rā'* has a dot under it.
- ⁵⁸ Though there is a dot for a nun at this point, there is not the stem for one on the consonantal line.
- ⁵⁹ This *yā'* is dotted, whereas in the Cairo text it is not. Also, the *qāf* is not dotted.
- ⁶⁰ Correction?: The *mīm* of this word looks as though it is covered over with a large blob of ink.

-
- ⁶¹ Consonantal variant: *alif* instead of *alif maqsura*.
- ⁶² The dash designating the *nūn* was added later. It makes the standard reading explicit.
- ⁶³ The two dashes designating this *yā'* explicit were added in later.
- ⁶⁴ The last letter of this word is not quite distinct. It curves to the left like a *nūn* or the tail of a *sīn*. All of the *yā'*s in this MS curve to the right. It seems to be either a copyist mistake, a different word, or *sāy* written with a non-standard *yā'*.
- ⁶⁵ Consonantal variant: *alif* added.
- ⁶⁶ Consonantal variants: an extra hook is inserted between the *mīm* and the *alif*.
- ⁶⁷ This *yā'* is dotted and has a mark over it for *ḥamza*.
- ⁶⁸ This *yā'*'s tail returns to the right, contrary to the next one.
- ⁶⁹ There is a *ḥamza* above the second *alif* in this word.
- ⁷⁰ Possible consonantal variant: the initial *alif* looks as though it were defaced and the *lām* added by another hand.
- ⁷¹ This section of text, which continues into 14:39.2, appears to have been a different reading that was defaced. Some letters are visible, and are marked in this table. The spacing of the letters is odd and does not allow for the traditional line of text.
- ⁷² Consonantal variant: no *yā'*.
- ⁷³ There is an added letter here. It could be a *yā'* or a stem for a *nūn*, *tā'*, *thā'*, or *bā'*. Penrice (p. 123), Ambros (p. 234), and Lane (under كبر) list كبر as , 'great, grand, large, aged, oldest' as the plural form of كبر 'old age'. This is possibly an intentional variant which heightens Ibrāhīm's age.
- ⁷⁴ Consonantal variant: *alif* instead of *alif maqsura*.
- ⁷⁵ There is a ten verse marker at this point that breaks the sentence.
- ⁷⁶ Variant name spelling. This *alif* is a dagger *alif* in the Cairo text and is not present in the *rasm* of the other MSS.
- ⁷⁷ Ismā'īl has the *yā'* dotted, one of the few times in this portion that the *yā'* is dotted.
- ⁷⁸ See footnote for 14:39.1 for this manuscript. This appears to be an intentionally defaced portion to erase an improper reading. There is not enough space for the traditional line of text..
- ⁷⁹ There is a dagger *alif* before the *qāf*, as in the Cairo text.
- ⁸⁰ Ismā'īl and Ishāq both have dagger *alifs* like the Cairo text.
- ⁸¹ Consonantal variant: no *yā'*, and the 'ayn is missing due to damage to this MS at this point.
- ⁸² Consonantal variant: the *alif* is fully written that in the later script is a dagger *alif*. It is squeezed in and partially obscures the *hā'*.
- ⁸³ Consonantal variant: the *lām* is too short and resembles a medial hooked letter.
- ⁸⁴ Consonantal variant: *lām* added.
- ⁸⁵ Consonantal variant: there is an additional tooth here before the *yā'*.
- ⁸⁶ Possible consonantal variants: there is a *nūn* inserted after the *alif* just above the verse divider.
- ⁸⁷ Consonantal variant: the *rā'* for the next word which starts on the next line is written at the end of this line, going against the custom in this manuscript of separating words.

⁸⁸ Consonantal variant: *nūn* for *bā*'.

⁸⁹ Consonantal variant: there is an extra smudged letter here that cannot be read.

⁹⁰ Consonantal variant added in a smaller hand in the small space between the two surrounding words.

⁹¹ Consonantal variant: the full *alif* is clearly added in later as a correction on the MS. With it present it has a full *alif* where the present text has a dagger *alif*. With it absent it agrees with the basic consonantal text of the present text.

⁹² Consonantal variant: inserted *alif* that is a dagger *alif* in present text.

⁹³ Consonantal variant: the *rā*' for this word is attached to the end of the previous word on the previous line.

⁹⁴ Consonantal variant: added *alif*. Possibly a variant of Ibn Mas'ūd's.

⁹⁵ Consonantal variants: added *alif* which the Cairo text has as a dagger *alif*, and the *ya* is dotted, contrary to the Cairo text

⁹⁶ Consonantal variant, diacritical mark: *tā*' for *yā*'.

⁹⁷ This is worth checking on the original ms. It does not appear to be a smudged verse marker, though it is in the place for one. It appears to be a letter written on the line of text, and the most likely, if this is so, is *rā*'. If so, it is most likely a copyist error as it is a nonsense word.

⁹⁸ There is a *hamza* over the *wāw* in this word.

APPENDIX K: Ibrahim Alif Agreements

	SamK	SamH	Or-2165	BN328a	BN331	BN332	BN343	U105.2	U105.3	U123.1	U87	U120.1	U85
2:124								No alif					
2:125					No alif			No alif					
2:125					No alif			No alif					
2:126					No alif								
2:127		Red alif			No alif								
2:130		Red alif?			No alif		Alif						
2:132		No alif			No alif		Alif		No alif				
2:133		No alif			No alif		Alif		No alif				
2:135		No alif			No alif		No alif		No alif				
2:136		No alif			No alif		Alif		No alif				
2:140		No alif			No alif		No alif						
2:258					No alif		Alif						
2:258					No alif		Alif						
2:258					No alif		Alif						
2:260										No alif			
3:33		No alif		No alif									
3:65													
3:67						No alif							
3:68						No alif							
3:84													
3:95													
3:97		No alif		No alif		No alif							
4:54		No alif		No alif									
4:125		No alif		No alif								No alif	
4:125		No alif		No alif								No alif	
4:163		No alif		No alif									
6:74		No alif		No alif									
6:75		No alif		No alif									
6:83		No alif		No alif									
6:161				No alif									
9:70		Red Alif	No alif	No alif									
9:114		No alif		No alif									

Surah	SamK	SamH	Or:2165	BN328a	BN331	BN332	BN343	U85	U121.2	U115.3	HLNr9	USh1,1	U93.2
9:114		No alif		No alif									
11:69			No alif					No alif					
11:74			No alif					No alif					
11:75			No alif					No alif					
11:76			No alif					No alif					
12:6			No alif										
12:38			No alif						No alif				
14:35			No alif	No alif		No alif	No alif						
15:51			No alif	No alif									
16:120			No alif										
16:123			No alif										
19:41			No alif										
19:46			No alif										
19:58													
21:51			No alif										
21:60			No alif										
21:62			No alif										
21:69			No alif										
22:26			No alif										
22:43			No alif										
22:78													
26:69		No alif								Alif			
29:16		No alif											
29:31		No alif											
33:7		No alif									No alif		
37:83		No alif											
37:104		No alif											
37:109		No alif											
38:45		No alif											
42:13													
43:26		No alif										No alif	
51:24													
53:37		No alif											bl alif

Surah	SamK	SamH	Or.2165	BN328a	BN331	BN332	BN343	U83	U121.2	U115.3	HLNr9	96.4	111.4
57:26		No alif						No alif					
60:4	D alif												
60:4	D alif												
87:19	D alif											blalif	Noalif

Key:

Bl alif: alif added later in black ink

D alif: Dagger alif

No alif: No alif is present at this location

Red alif: alif added later in red ink

Notes:

- 1) Alif only appears as a full consonant in later mss or added conspicuously onto older mss.
- 2) The manuscripts listed that are other than the ones used for this thesis. SamH is E20, the Samarkand Hijazi Qurʾān published in facsimile form by Rezvan. The ones starting with ‘U’ are on the UNESCO CD. HLNr9 is a fragment described by Helen Loebenstein (ed.) in *Koranfragmente auf Pergament aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien: In Kommission bei Verlag Brueder Hollinek, 1982.

APPENDIX L: Ibrāhīm/Yā' Agreements

Surah	SamK	SamH	Or-2165	BN328a	BN331	BN332	BN343	U105.2	U105.3	U123.1	U87	U120.1	U85
2:124	No ya							Ya					
2:125	No ya				No ya			Ya					
2:125	No ya				No ya			Ya					
2:126	No ya				No ya								
2:127	No ya	Ya			No ya								
2:130		Ya			No ya		ya						
2:132		Ya			No ya		ya		Ya				
2:133	No ya	Ya			No ya		ya		Ya				
2:135	No ya	Ya			No ya		ya		Ya				
2:136	No ya	Ya			Ya		ya		Ya				
2:140		Ya			No ya		Ya						
2:258	Ya				No ya		Ya						
2:258	Ya				No ya		Ya						
2:258	Ya				No ya		Ya						
2:260	Ya				No ya		Ya			Ya			
3:33	Ya	Ya		No ya							Ya		
3:65	Ya												
3:67	Ya					Ya							
3:68						Ya							
3:84													
3:95													
3:97		Ya		Ya									
4:54		Ya		Ya		Ya							
4:125		Ya		No ya								Ya	
4:125		Ya		No ya									
4:163		Ya		No ya									
6:74	Ya	Ya		Ya									
6:75	Ya	Ya		Ya									
6:83	Ya	Ya		Ya									
6:161				No ya									
9:70		Ya	ya	ya									
9:114		Ya		No ya									

Surah	SamK	SamH	Or.2165	BN328a	BN331	BN332	BN343	U85	U121.2	U115.3	HLNr9	
9:114		ya		No ya								
11:69			Ya					No ya				
11:74			Ya					No ya				
11:75			Ya					Ya				
11:76			Ya					Ya				
12:6			Ya						Ya			
12:38			Ya									
14:35			No ya	No ya		Ya	Ya					
15:51			Ya	Ya								
16:120			No ya									
16:123			No ya									
19:41	No ya		No ya									
19:46			No ya									
19:58	No ya											
21:51			Ya									
21:60			Ya									
21:62			Ya									
21:69			Ya									
22:26			Ya									
22:43			Ya									
22:78												
26:69		Ya								Ya		
29:16		Ya										
29:31		Ya										
33:7		Ya									No ya	
37:83		Ya										
37:104		Ya										
37:109		Ya										
38:45		Ya										
42:13												
43:26		Ya										
51:24												
53:37		Ya										

Surah	SamK	SamH	Or.2165	BN328a	BN331	BN332	BN343	U85	U121.2	U115.3	HLNr9	
57:26		Ya										
60:4												
60:4												
87:19												

Key: 'No Ya', no yā' is present at this location, Ya, yā' is present.

Notes:

- 1) The manuscripts listed that are other than the ones used for this thesis. SamH is E20, the Samarkand Hijazi Qur'ān published in facsimile form by Rezvan. The ones starting with 'U' are on the UNESCO CD. HLNr9 is a fragment described by Helen Loebenstein (ed.) in *Koranfragmente auf Pergament aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien: In Kommission bei Verlag Brueder Hollinek, 1982.
- 2) Note that in Or. 2165 and BN 328a at S. 9:70, 14:35, and 15:51 the exact pattern of variant spellings is repeated.

APPENDIX M: QUR'ĀNIC VERSE NUMBERING SYSTEMS CHARTS

Spitaler's categories for S. 14¹ do not mention clearly when the Bismillah is included as a verse or not. This is indicated in the chart below. Or. 12884 appears to have two verse notation systems, hence the two columns. 12884¹ is the one using rosettes. 12884² is the one using rectangles.

Cai/W	Arabic ²	2165	12884 ¹	12884 ²	325a	326a	328a	330a	331	332	333c	334c	340c	343	370a	SamK	Moro
0	Basmalah	1	----	----	1	----	1	----	----	0	----	1	----	----	----	----	0
0	التور	2	----	----	----	----	2	----	----	0	----	2	----	----	----	----	0
1	الحمد	3	1	1	2	----	3	----	----	1	----	3	----	----	----	----	1
1	الأرض	----	----	2	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
2	شديد	4	2	----	3	----	4	----	----	2	----	4	----	----	----	----	2
2	عوجا	----	----	3	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
3	بعيد	5	3	4	4	----	5	----	----	3	----	5	----	----	----	----	3
4	الحكيم	6	4	----	5	----	6	----	----	4	----	6	----	----	----	----	4
4	الله	----	----	5	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
4	5VM الحكيم	----	----	5	5	----	6	----	----	----	----	6	----	----	----	----	----
4	التور	7? ³	----	----	6	----	7	----	----	5	----	7	----	----	----	----	----
5	شكور	8	5	6	7	----	8	----	----	6	----	8	----	----	----	----	5
5	5VM شكور	----	5	6	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	5? ⁴	----	----	----	----	5
6	نساءكم	----	----	7	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
6	عظيم	9	6	8	8	----	9	----	----	7	----	9	----	----	----	----	6
7	لشديد	10	7	10	9	----	10	----	----	8	----	10	----	----	----	----	7
8	حميد	11	8	11	10	----	11	----	----	9	----	11	----	----	----	----	8
8	10VM حميد	11	----	----	10 ⁵	----	11	----	----	9	8? ⁶	11	----	8? ⁷	----	----	----
9	ثمود	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	12	----	----	----	----	----

¹ Anton Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935, 41-42.

² Arabic word immediately preceding verse marker is cited.

³ This verse marker is unique in S. 14 in 2165. It is five vertical dots and might have been inserted later to mark this popular verse ending in other systems. If so, it would not necessarily make 2165 54 verses rather than 55, making it conform to Spitaler's Hims category, thereby disagreeing with Dutton's conclusions.

⁴ 340c does not have individual verse separators, so one cannot tell which specific verse this is.

⁵ This appears to have been added later. There is an original one after verse 11.

⁶ 333c does not have individual verse separators, so one cannot tell which specific verse this is.

⁷ 343 does not have individual verse separators, so one cannot tell which specific verse this is.

Cai/W	Arabic	2165	12884 ¹	12884 ²	325a	326a	328a	330a	331	332	333c	334c	340c	370a	SamK	Moro
9	الله			12												
9	مريب	12	9	13	11		12			10		13				9
9	10VM مريب				11				9? ⁸				9			9
10	مين	13	10	14	12		13		10	11		14				10
10*	10VM مين		10													
11	عياد			15												
11	يشاء مين				13											
11	الله			16												
11	المونون	14	11	17	14		14		11	12		15				11
12	ءاڊيتون			18												
12	كلون	15	12	19	15		15		12	13		16				12
12	5VM كلون				15							16				
13	ملتنا			20												
13	الظلمين	16	13		16		16		13	14		17				NVM ⁹
13	5VM						16									
14	بعد هم			21												
14	ذلك									15						
14	وعند	17	14	22	17		17		14	16		18				13
14	5VM وعند												14			
15	عند	18	15		18		18		15	17		19				14
15	5VM عند		15													14
16	صديق	19	16		19	16? ¹⁰	19		16	18		20				15
17	بعيت			23												
17	غليظ	20	17	24	20	17	20		17	20		21				16
17	10VM غليظ				20		20			20	17	21				
18	شيء			25												
18	البعيد	21	18	26	21	18	21		18	21		22				17
18	10VM غليظ	21														
19	بالحق			27												

⁸ 331 starts at verse 9 so one cannot tell if it is actually verse 9 in the ms.

⁹ NVM stands for 'No Verse Marker'.

¹⁰ 326a starts with the last two words of verse 16, so one cannot tell if it is actually verse 16 in the ms.

Cai/W	Arabic	2165	12884 ¹	12884 ²	325a	326a	328a	330a	331	332	333c	334c	340c	343	370a	SamK	Moro
19	جيد	NVM	19	28	NVM	NVM	NVM		19	22		NVM					18
19	جيد 10V/M		19														
20	يعزير	22	20	29	22	19	22		20	23		23					19
20	يعزير 10V/M				22				20				20				19
21	شيء			30													
21	محيص	23	21	31	23	NVM	23		21	24		24					20
22	فاخفتكم			32													
22	انفسكم			33													
22	اليم	24	22		24	20	24		22	25		25					21
23	سلم	25	23	34	25	21	25	27 ¹¹	23?	26		26					22
23	سلم 5V/M				25	21?		28				26					
24	السماء	26	24 ¹²		26	NVM	26	29	24	27		27					23
25	رهبها			35													
25	كرون	27	25	36	27	22	27	30	25	28		28					24
25	كرون 5V/M		25	36			27						25	25? ¹³			24
26	قرار	28	26	37	28	23	28	31	26	29		29					25
27	الآخرة			38													
27	الظلمين				?		29 ¹⁴										
27	يساء	29	27		29	24	30	32	27	30		30					26
27	يساء 10V/M							32						27?			
28	البوار	30	28		30	25	31	33	28	31		31					27
28	البوار 10V/M				30		31			31	28	31	28	28			
29	القرار	31	29	39	31	26	32	34	29	32		32					28
29	القرار 10V/M	31				26											
30	شبيله			40													
30	التار	32	30	41	32	27	33	35	30	33		33					29
30	التار 10V/M		30	41	32				30				30				29

¹¹ This MS begins with S. 14:23, but at the end of S. 14 is a note in another hand that Surat Ibrahim had 55 ayats. The verses are numbered back from that total.

¹² This VM may have been added later because there is no room on the line for it. However, it is in the same style as the other verse markers.

¹³ At this verse break there are three diagonal slashes, similar to a verse separator in other MSS (like 332, 334c). However, in the S. 14 portion of this ms it occurs at only three places: here after 25, after 37, and in the middle of 42 after 42. This ms does not have verse separators after each verse.

¹⁴ This verse separator looks in the ms to have been there originally and then later was erased.

Cai/W	Arabic	2165	12884 ¹	12884 ²	325a	326a	328a	330a	331	332	333c	334c	340c	343	370a	SamK	Moro
31	خلل	33	31	42	33	28	34	36	31	34		34					30
32	قالكم			43													
32	الانهر	34	32	44	34	NVM	35	NVM? ¹⁵	32	NVM		35					NVM
33	داعبين			45													
33	النهار	35	33	46	35	29	36	37	33	NVM		36					NVM
33	5V/M النهار				35							36					
34	ماسا التموه			47													
34	كفار	36? ¹⁶	34		36	30	37	38	34	35		37					31
34	5V/M كفار														34		
35	الاصنام	37	35	48	37	31	38	39	35	36		38					32
35	5V/M الاصنام		35	48			38										
36	الناس			49													
36	منى			50													
36	رحيم	38	36	51	38	32	39	40	36	37		39					33
36	5V/M رحيم												36				
37	المحرم			52													
37	يسكرون	39	37	53	39	33? ¹⁷	40	41	37	38		40					34
37	5V/M يسكرون														37 ¹⁸		34
37	10V/M يسكرون							41 ¹⁹									
38	السماء	40			40	34	41	42	38	39		41					35
38	5V/M السماء				40		41										
38	10V/M السماء									39		41			38		
38	10V/M الكبر								39								
39	الدعاء	41	38		41	35	42	43	40	40		42? ²⁰				39? ²¹	36
39	10V/M الدعاء	41															

¹⁵ A verse marker might have been in the part of the ms torn away at this point.

¹⁶ The MS page is damaged where this verse separator ought to be.

¹⁷ The MS is damaged at this point so that the verse separator is not visible.

¹⁸ See note 12. It is uncertain what kind of a verse marker this is.

¹⁹ Or is this a 5 verse marker?

²⁰ The MS is damaged at this point so that the verse marker is not visible.

²¹ This MS starts with 14:39, so it is impossible to know the exact number of verses. This might be a 10 verse mark.

Cai/W	Arabic	2165	12884 ¹	12884 ²	325a	326a	328a	330a	331	332	333c	334c	340c	343	370a	SamK	Moro
40	دعاء	42	39		42	36	43	44	41	41	43					40? ²²	37
40	10V/M دعاء		39						41 ²³								
41	الحساب	43	40	54	43	NVM	44	45	NVM	42	44					NVM	38
41	10V/M الحساب				43								41				38
42	الظلمون	44		55		37	45		42	43	45				42 ²⁴		39 ²⁵
42	10V/M الظلمون					37											
42	الابصر	45	41	56	44	38	46	46	43	NVM		46				NVM	40
43	هواء	46	42		45	39? ²⁶	47	NVM	44	44		47				NVM	41
43	5V/M هواء				45										43		
43	10V/M هواء											47					
44	قريب																
44	زوال	47	43		46	40	48	47	NVM ²⁷	45		48					42
44	5V/M زوال						48										43
45	الامثال	48	44	57	47	41	49	48	45	46		49					44
45	5V/M الامثال		44	57													44
46	الجبال	49	45	58	48	42	50	49	46	46		50					45
46	5V/M الجبال												46				
47	رساله			59													
47	انتقام	50	46	60	49	43	51	50	47	47		51					46
47	5V/M انتقام							50									
48	السموت			61													
48	القهار	51	47	62	50	44	52	51	48	48		52					47
48	5V/M القهار				50												
48	10V/M القهار	51					52			48	48	52			48		
49	الاصفاد	52	48	63	51	45	53	52	49	49		53					48

²² This might be a 10 verse mark.

²³ This 10 verse marker appears to have been put in later. It has a different symbol than the other 10 verse markers.

²⁴ See notes 12 and 17.

²⁵ There was a verse marker at this point originally, but in the photograph of the ms it can be seen that it was erased.

²⁶ This verse marker is different than the normal kind in this MS (three diagonal slashes as opposed to three dots in a pyramid), and because of the lack of space between letters where it is put it was probably added later to conform the numbering of this ms to another system. There was NVM here originally.

²⁷ There is no verse marker at this point, though the word it is at the extreme left margin.

Cai/W	Arabic	2165	12884 ¹	12884 ²	325a	326a	328a	330a	331	332	333c	334c	340c	343	370a	SamK	Moro
50	النار	53	49	64	52	NVM	54	53	NVM	50		54					49
50	10 VM النار		49	64													
51	كسبت			65													
51	الحساب	54	50		53	46	55	54	51	51		55					50
51	10VM الحساب				53				51				51				50
52	الب	55	51		54	47	56	55	52	52		56					51

Cai/W	Arabic ²⁸	S 20-x	S 01-28.1	S 01-29.1	Istanbul
0	Bismillah				
0	النور				
1	الحمد	1			
	الارض				
2	شديد	2			
	عوجا				
3	بعيد	3			
4	الحكيم	NVM			
	الله				
4	5VM الحكيم				
	النور				
5	شكور	5			
5	5VM شكور				
	نساءكم				
6	عظيم	6			
7	لشديد	7			
8	حميد				
8	10VM حميد				
	ثمود	8			
	الله				
9	مريب	9			
9	10VM مريب	9			

²⁸ Arabic word immediately preceding verse marker is cited.

10	مبين		10		
10*	مبين 10VM				
	عباد				
	يشاء مين				
	لله				
11	المؤمنون		11		
	ءاديتمون				
12	كلون		12		
12	كلون 5VM				
	ملتنا				
13	الظلمين		13		
13	5VM				
	بعد هم				
	ذلك				
14	وعند		14		
14	وعند 5VM				
15	عند				
15	عند 5VM				
16	صديق				
	بعبث				
17	غليظ		15		
17	غليظ 10VM				
	شيء				
18	البعيد				
18	غليظ 10VM				
	بالحق				
19	جديد				
19	جديد 10VM				
20	بعزيز		16		
20	بعزيز 10VM		16		
	شيء				
21	محيط		17?		
	فاخلفتكم				
	انفسكم				

22	اليوم		18		
23	سلم		19		
23	سلم 5V/M				
24	السماء				
	ربها				
25	كرون		20	25	
25	كرون 5V/M				
26	قرار			26	26
	الآخرة				
	الظلمين				
27	يساء			27	27
27	يساء 10V/M				
28	البوار			28	28
28	البوار 10V/M				
29	القرار		21?	29	29
29	القرار 10V/M	29			29
	شبيبه				
30	النار			30	30
30	النار 10V/M				
31	خلل		22	31	31
31	خلل 10V/M		22		
	قاتلهم				
32	اللاهوت			32	32
	داعيين				
33	النهار			33	33
33	النهار 5V/M				
	ماسا التتموه				
34	كفار			34	34
34	كفار 5V/M				34
35	الاصنام		23	35	35
35	الاصنام 5V/M				
	الناس				
	منى				
36	رحيم		24	36	36

36	5VM رحيم المحرم						
37	يسكرون		25?	37		37	
37	5VM يسكرون						
37	10VM يسكرون						
38	السماء		26?	38		38	
38	5VM السماء						
38	10VM السماء						
	10VM الكبر						
39	الدعاء		27	39		39	
39	10VM الدعاء	39				39	
40	دعاء		28	40		40	
40	10VM دعاء						
41	الحساب		29	41		41	
41	10VM الحساب		29				
	الظلمون		30	?		42	
	10VM الظلمون						
42	الابصر		31	?		43	
43	هواء		32	?		44	
43	5VM هواء					44	
43	10VM هواء						
	قريب						
44	زوال		33	?		45	
44	5VM زوال						
45	الامثال		34	45?		46	
45	5VM الامثال						
46	الجبال			46?		47	
46	5VM الجبال						
	رساله						
47	انتقام		35	47?		48	
47	5VM انتقام						
	السموت						
48	القهار		36	48?		49	
48	5VM القهار						

48	10VM	48			49
49	الاصفاد		37	49?	50
50	النار		38	50?	51
50	10 VM		38		
	كسبت				
51	الحساب		39	51?	52
51	10VM				
52	البب		40	52?	53

APPENDIX N: VARIANT VERSE ORDER OBSERVATIONS

A notable feature of even the earliest extant Qur'ān manuscripts is that there are symbols designating division at the end of meaningful sense units. These sense units have for the most part come to be regarded as the individual verses of the Qur'ān and the symbols as verse separators.¹ These symbols usually consist of various clusters of dots or strokes, often in groups of three or more.

Contrary to Azami, the very earliest Qur'ān manuscripts almost all contain these verse separators. He is mistaken in the assertion that the manuscripts reputed to be 'Uthmān's Muṣḥaf, the Samarkand Kufic manuscripts held in Tashkent, is devoid of them.² They are readily apparent in the microfilm copy used for this study and in the photographic reproductions of the manuscripts produced in 1905.³ They are easily missed in reduced photographic copies because they are small dashes, often in groups of six placed at a diagonal slant after the last word of the verse, and the SamK manuscripts is very large.⁴ Also, it is probable that this manuscript is of a later date than Azami asserts and does not represent the precise form of text used in the earliest Qur'ān manuscripts.

Also, contrary to Azami, there is little evidence that their use 'trickled in' to the manuscript tradition. They are there from the outset of the manuscript tradition in the earliest extant manuscript.⁵ All of the Ḥijāzī manuscripts used in this survey from the earliest period had them.⁶ Even a Hijazi palimpsest page has them on its *scriptio inferior*.⁷ Of the early Kufic manuscripts surveyed for this study, one did not have them, 01-20.x, but other

¹ Puin, 'Observations', 109.

² Al-Azami, *History*, 111.

³ A microfilm copy obtained from Princeton University's Reproduction services.

⁴ Two examples are readily visible on the photocopy of the portion used for this study contained in Appendix O. The full size of a page of this manuscript is 50cm x 67cm and individual letters can be up to 37mm high. The copy in the British Library weighs at least 20 kg and is delivered on a handcart!

⁵ Al-Azami, *History*, 111.

⁶ Istanbul, 01-28.1, 01-29, Or. 2165; BN 328a, 326a.

⁷ Fogg, *Islamic Calligraphy*, London: Sam Fogg, 2003.9, visible between the ۞ and ۞ in تحفوه on line 12.

early Kufic manuscripts have them.⁸ This is also borne out through a survey of the available pictures of Qur'ān manuscripts from Ṣan'ā'. On the UNESCO CD and in the manuscripts surveyed for this research, all of the vertical format first century AH manuscripts have single verse markers. On the UNESCO CD, most of the horizontal format manuscripts given a first century AH date do not have them, though many do.⁹ There also seems to have been a movement, especially in the Kufic manuscripts tradition, to discontinue their use after Islam's first century. The great majority of Qur'ān manuscripts from the first three centuries that do not have them are Kufic ones from the second and third centuries AH.¹⁰ Also, if the Ṣan'ā' manuscripts are an indication, the earliest Kufic ones often had them as well.

There are types of verse counting symbols that did gradually enter the entire manuscript tradition starting within the first century AH. These were special symbols that were grouped roughly every five or 10 verses. Also, sometimes these were added later to texts that did not originally have them. As the manuscript tradition progressed, these often became the objects of special artistic embellishment. Most of the manuscripts used in this study had individual verse separators. All of them had 10 verse markers, and many of them also had 5 verse markers. Some of the manuscripts had all three types.

The Islamic tradition recognizes different systems of the placement of all three types of verse markers and associates them with regional metropolitan centres of Qur'ān recitation.¹¹ Spitaler compiled a survey of these from Islamic tradition and delineated 21 different systems that were supposedly in use during Islam's first three centuries.¹² An important task in Qur'ān manuscript studies is to attempt to match the system of a particular manuscript to one of the systems described in the literature. One scholar has based much of his argument that two of the earliest extant manuscripts which were used in

⁸ E.g. SamK, BN 325a, 330a, 331, 332.

⁹ 'Ṣan'ā' Manuscripts', UNESCO CD, This CD was searched using the indices prepared by Keith Small and Elisabeth Puin: Small, 'UNESCO CD of Ṣan'ā' MSS: Qur'ān MSS Contents', *Manuscripta Orientalia* 12 (2006) 65-72.; Small and Puin, 'UNESCO CD of Ṣan'ā' MSS: Part III', *Manuscripta Orientalia* (Forthcoming in 2008) .

¹⁰ Déroche, *Tradition*, 22.

¹¹ Puin, 'Observations', 109.

¹² Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935.

this survey, Or. 2165 and BN 328a, have the mutual provenance of Umayyad Damascus.¹³ The numbering systems in these two manuscripts are closely aligned to a system that the literature records was in use in Syria during the Umayyad period.

The verse numbering systems observed in the manuscripts used in this study are tabulated in Appendix M titled ‘Verse Numbering Systems Charts.’ To determine their verse counting systems, the manuscripts were first checked for as much of the text of S. 14 as they contained. Their single, five, and ten verse markers were then entered into the table. Close examination of the systems these manuscripts used bring out some important observations:

- 1) No two manuscripts had the exact same counting system, and none of them matched the systems described by Spitaler exactly. Or. 2165, BN 328a and BN 325a did have almost identical single verse systems, and they were the closest to each other of any of the manuscripts. These three are close to Spitaler’s Damascus category.
- 2) BN 330a, 331, Meknes, and Or. 12884¹ follow the Kufan system of verse numbering most closely.¹⁴
- 3) There were many manuscripts that did not follow any of the systems described in Spitaler. These were BN 326a, 332, 333c, 340c, 343, 370a.
- 4) The relatively late manuscript, Or. 12884, appears to have two systems notated, one in rough agreement to the Kufan system, and the other very much out of step with all reported systems.
- 5) There is even less agreement between the placement of five and ten verse markers.
- 6) Some of the manuscripts had no single verse separators: 01-20.x, BN 333c, 340c, 343.
- 7) The total number of verses varied widely. The Cairo text for S. 14 is divided into 52 verses according to the Kufan system in Spitaler’s tables. BN 326a had this same amount of text divided into 47 verses. BN 328a and 334c had 56. Or. 12884² had the same text divided into 65 verses, 26 of these in

¹³ Dutton, ‘Dots’, -----, ‘Dots II’,

¹⁴ Or. 12884 seems to have two systems of numbering single verses. They are designated Or. 12884¹ and Or. 12884² in Appendix M.

unique positions not shared with any of the other manuscripts. Surah 14:35-41 started anywhere from 14:31 to 38, and Or. 12884² had it starting it at 14:48.

The overall picture is that there was a great variety of counting systems in use, and a variety greater than the Islamic tradition recognises. Puin also observed this phenomenon among the early San‘ā’ manuscripts.¹⁵

Also, if these separators are more than simple markers for designating sections of text but are also marking a pause in recitation, or their placement affects the rhyming pattern, then these varying systems represent various ways of reciting the text. These different systems would have had a very audible effect on the recitation of the text. A careful look through the chart of single verse separators shows that individual verses were of varying length between the systems. Almost always, the individual verse separators are placed at the end of a sentence, or at a place that semantically can function as the end of a sentence. Some of them are placed at the ends of what are phrases in compound sentences in other versions, or other locations, that affect the meaning of the verse. Only four such instances were observed in the manuscripts surveyed for all of S. 14, and only one of these was in S. 14:35-41. The four are as follows:

1. 14:14, manuscript BN 332: This has a verse marker after the word **ذلك** , breaking up a phrase. This is perhaps a mistake in the placement of this marker, because there seems to be no grammatical, stylistic, or exegetical reason for breaking the verse at this point.
2. 14:25, manuscript 12884²: Placed at the end of a phrase, if this marker denotes a new sentence, then the meaning of the text is changed slightly, placing more emphasis on Allah commanding a tree to bear its fruit.
3. 14:33, manuscript 12884²: Placed at the end of a phrase, if this marker denotes a new sentence, then the meaning of the text is changed significantly. Instead of, ‘and He has made the sun and the moon, both constantly pursuing

¹⁵ Puin, ‘Observations’, 110.

their courses, to be of service to you...’, it would read, ‘And He has made the sun and the moon constantly pursue their courses. And it is of service to you...’

4. 14:39, manuscript 331: Here a 10 verse marker is placed in the middle of a sentence breaking a phrase. Here is how the sentence reads with the marker in it: ‘All the praises and thanks be to Allah, who has given me in old age (10VM) Ishmael and Isaac.’ There seems to be no grammatical function for its placement. If 10 verse markers were used to mark a pause in pronunciation, then it is also hard to discern an advantage for placing it at this point.

Though they do not change any rhyme patterns, the differences in verse endings would have an effect on pauses and reciting the text to make the meaning clear. Nelson remarks concerning one of the rules of correct recitation (*waqf wa l-ibidā*):¹⁶

The types of pauses are characterized by the syntactic and semantic completeness or incompleteness of the preceding phrase and determine whether the reciter is to stop, to continue with what follows, or to back up to bridge a break in meaning or syntax.

If the placement of these verse separators affects recitation, perhaps this is a confirmation of the assertions of Jeffery that before the Qur’ān recitation systems had been limited to the Seven through the work of Ibn Mujahid, there were at least 50 different recitation systems in use.¹⁷ The variety exhibited in these manuscripts of verse systems would leave one with the impression that Qur’ān recitation, even based on the ‘Uthmānic consonantal text, was actually a much more fluid and variable situation than the traditions report.¹⁸

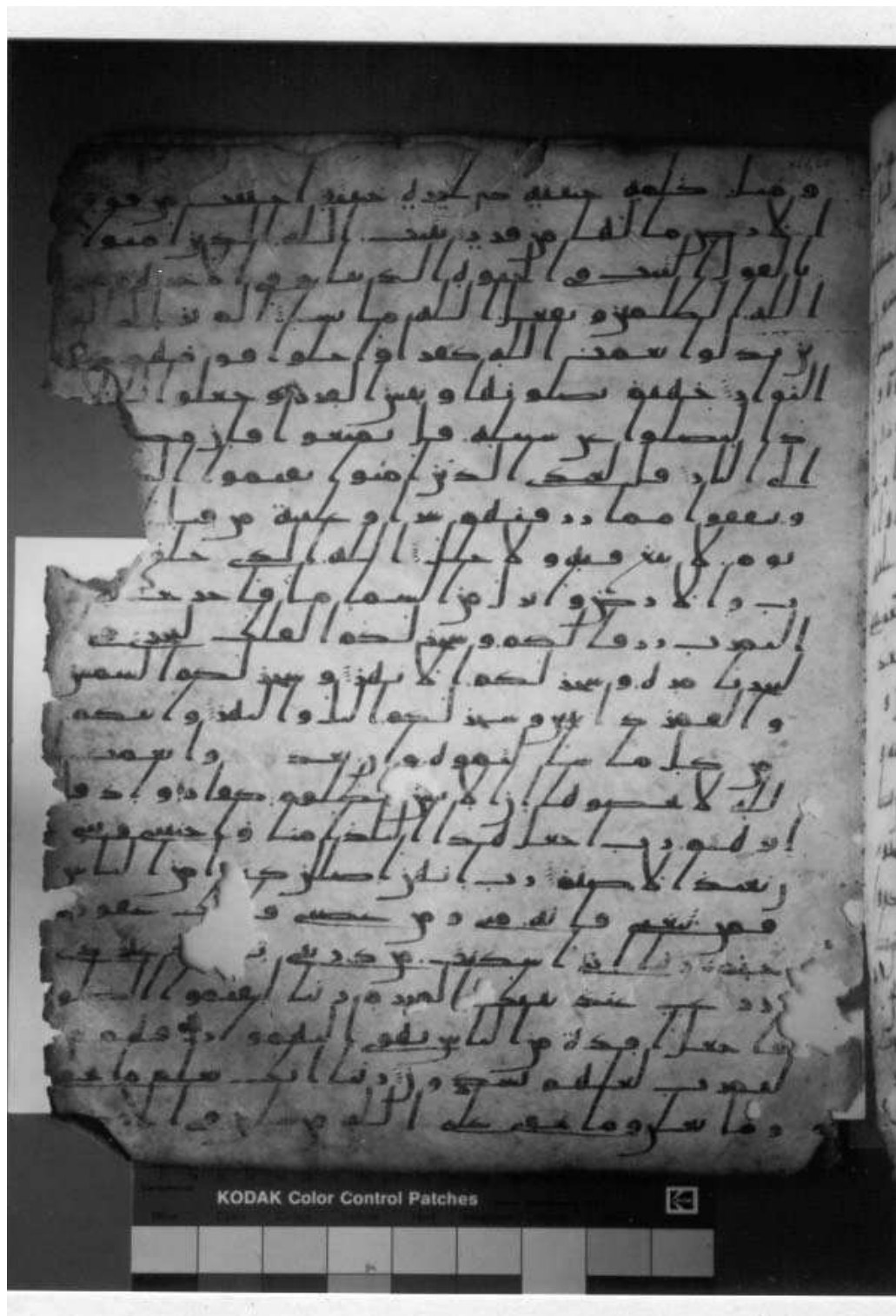
¹⁶ Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*, Modern Middle East Series, Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1985, 19.

¹⁷ Jeffery, *Materials*, 2, note 3. Forty systems in addition to the canonical 10 are mentioned.

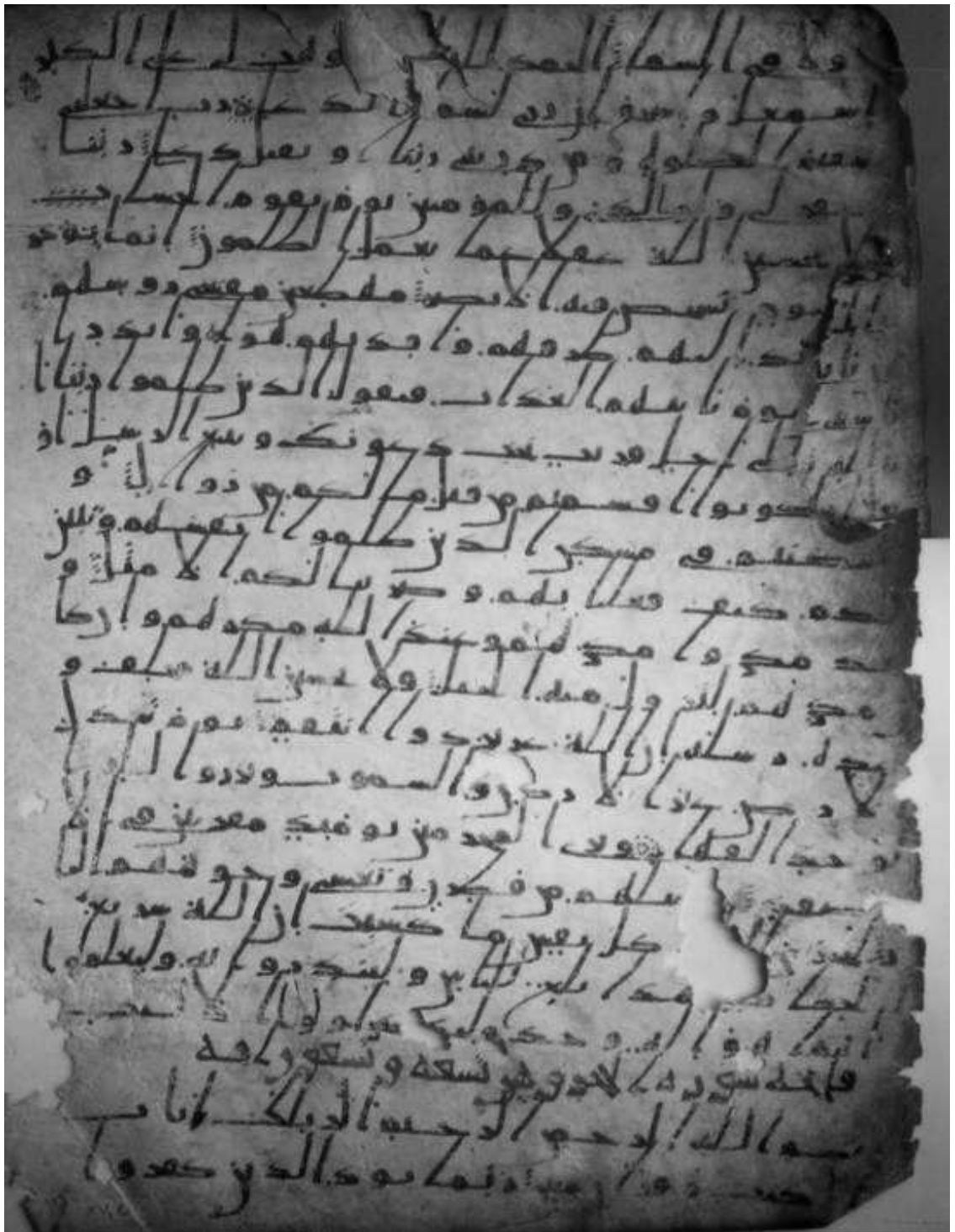
¹⁸ Dr. Melchert disagrees with this suggestion and thinks that though it is a plausible guess that verse division was influenced by recitation conventions, it is actually a separate question and generated a separate literature- the literature of ‘*adad āy al-Qur’ān*. This was expressed in a written note concerning this portion of text.

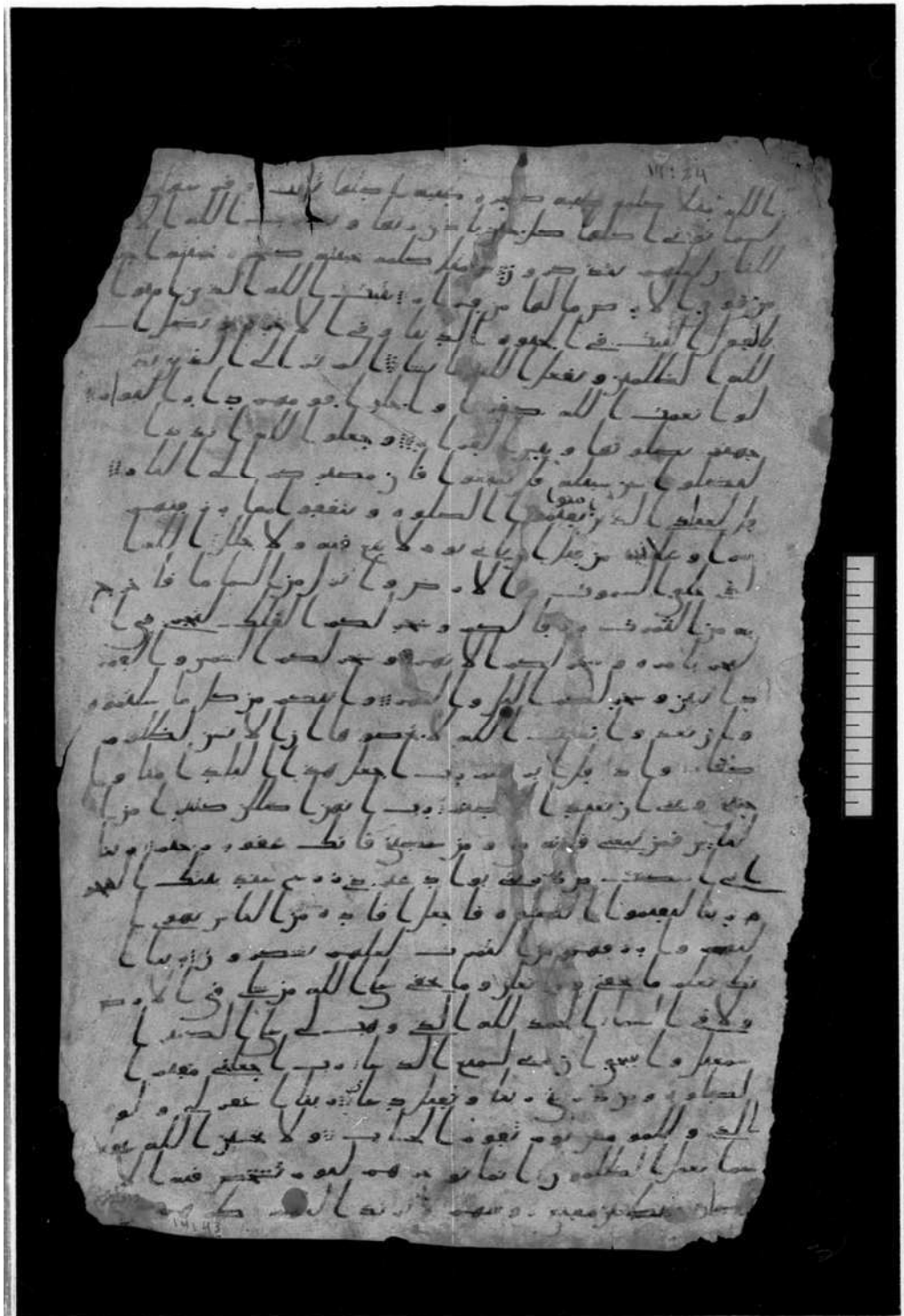
APPENDIX O: QUR'ĀN MANUSCRIPT PICTURES

These are pictures of all of the Qur'ān manuscripts used in this thesis. The entire portions of the texts used in the collations are included.

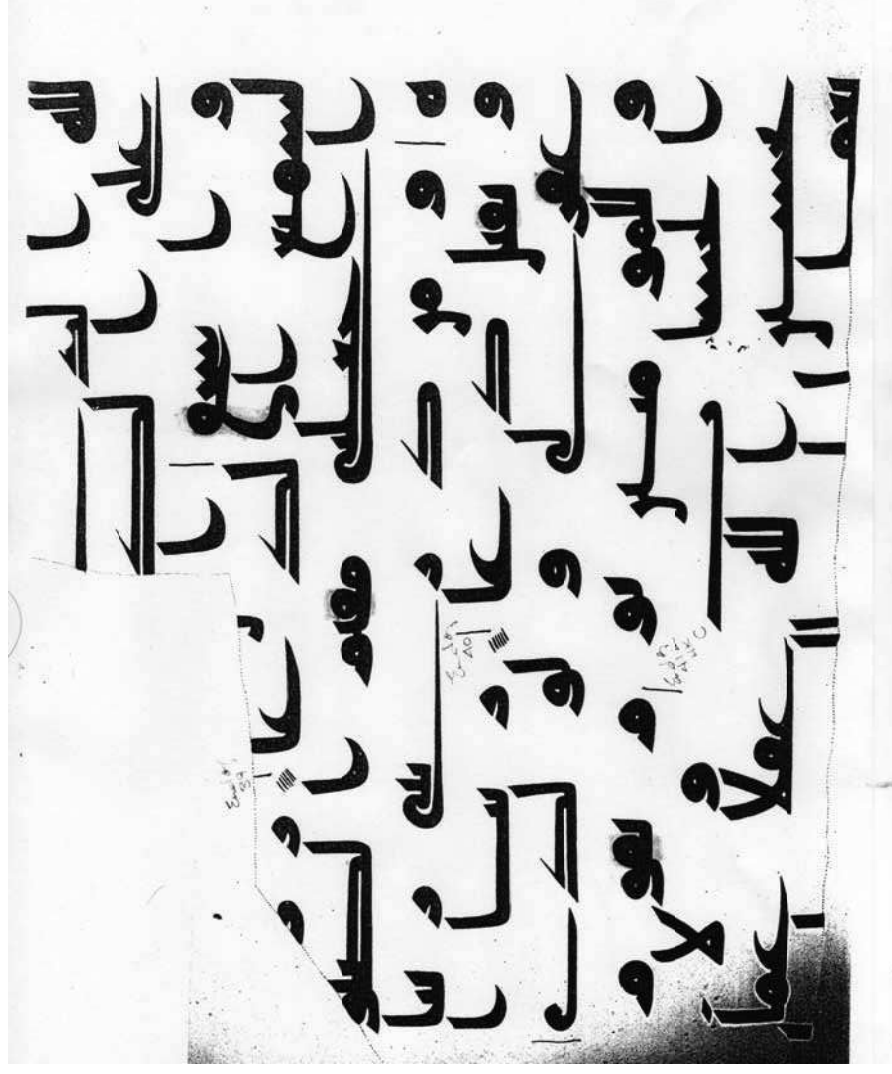


Used with the permission of Professor Sergio Noja Nosedá and the Fondazione Ferni Noja Nosedá.



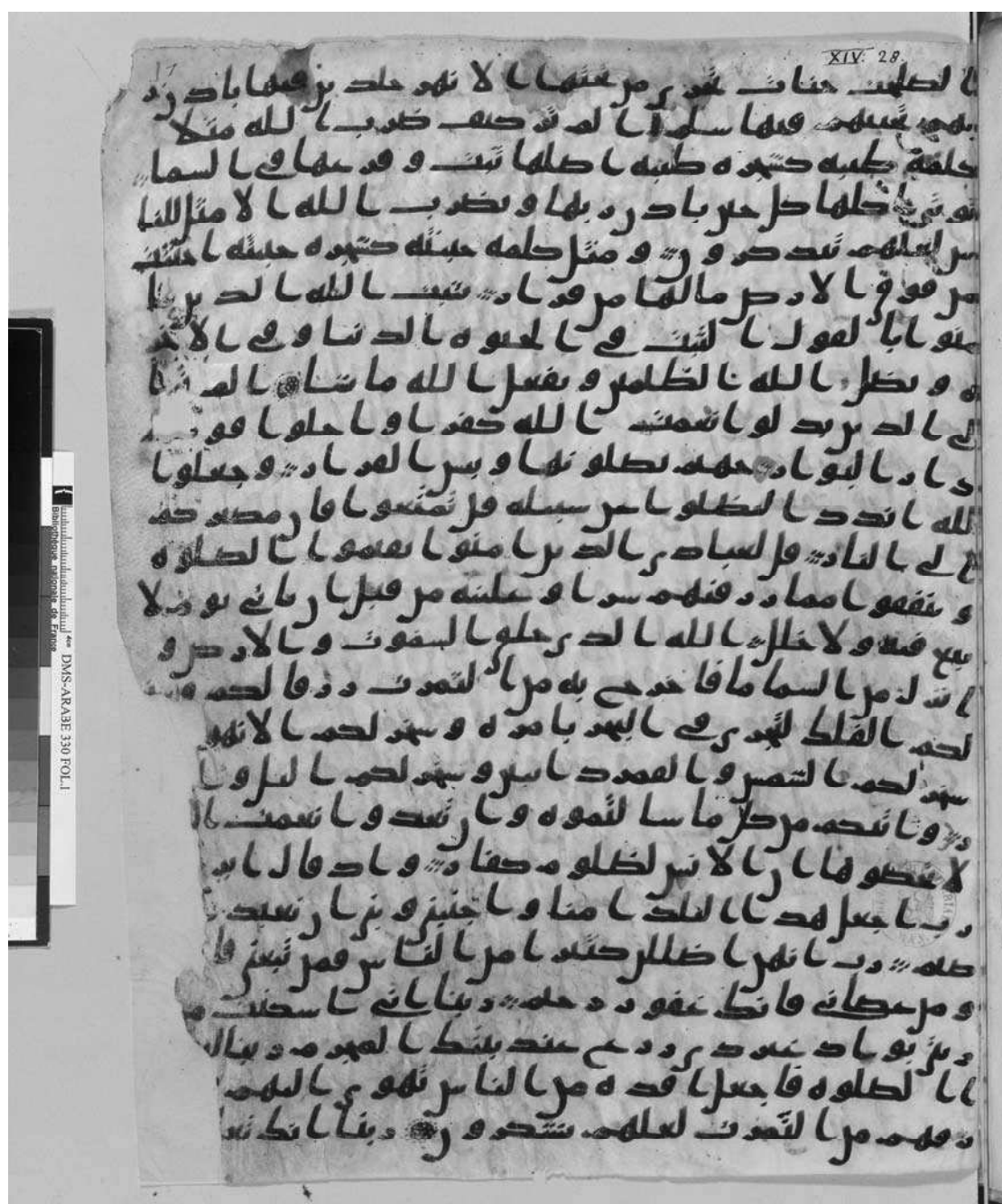


Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a fragment from a larger manuscript. The text is written in a cursive style and appears to be a religious or philosophical passage. The fragment is irregularly shaped, suggesting it is a piece of a larger document. The text is written in a cursive style, with some words being difficult to decipher due to the script and the fragmentary nature of the piece. The text is written in a cursive style, with some words being difficult to decipher due to the script and the fragmentary nature of the piece.

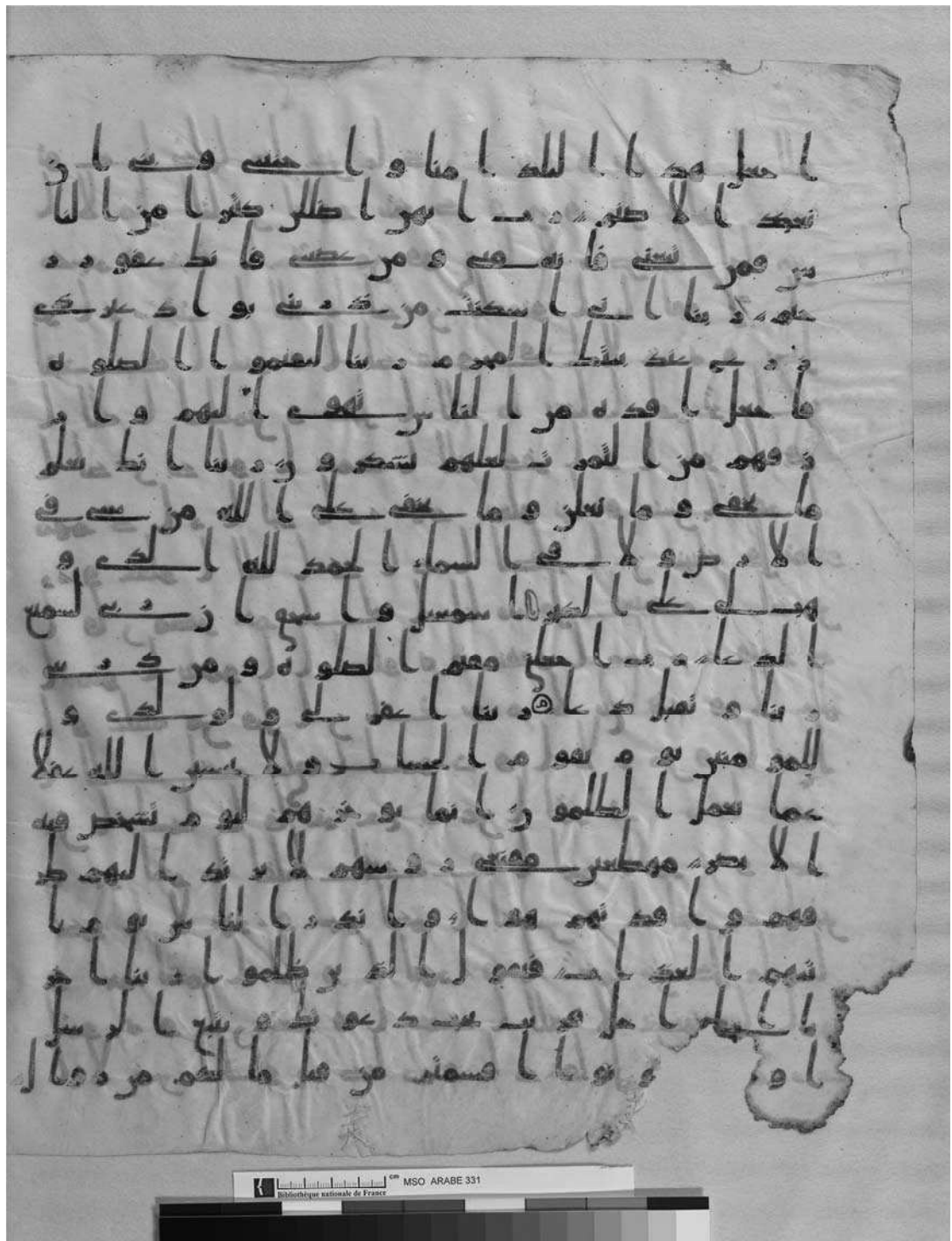


عن سبيله فلما سمعوا قار مصر جميعا الى الباب فلما رآه
 من امنوا انهم صعدوا الى الطلوة وسمعوا انهم قد صعدوا الى
 من قبل اراي يوما لا سمع فيه ولا حلا لآلهة اجد جميع السموات
 ولا لا دصر في قول من السماوات فاحم جميع من الآلهة قد
 قال لهم وسمع لهم الملك لعمري في العوالم وسمع لهم الا
 وسمع لهم السموات والارض وسمع لهم جميع الابرار والنجس
 من كل ما بنا لعمده وان تكلموا انهم لا يعبثون بها الا
 لطلوة كما دوا واد قارهم وباعل هذا الملك صاوا
 جميع وبعث انهم الى مصر وبعث انهم الى مصر وبعث انهم
 سمع قاطبة من مصر جميع قاطبة سمعوا وسمعهم وسمعهم
 دوا في بواقي عموهم سمعهم سمعهم سمعهم سمعهم سمعهم
 اوقدهم النار وهو انهم واد دوا في مصر وسمعهم سمعهم

انا اظن ما عصف وما عصف وما عصف على الله من عاصي في الاخر ولا
 في السما الحمد لله الذي وهب لي علم الاخر اسعيا واسعوا
 من السمع اليك عاصي احملهم معهم الى الصلوة و من دبرهم
 يفلح عاصي عاصي لي ولو كثر والله مستحقون يقولون انما
 ولا عصى الله عاصي عاصي الظلمون انما عاصيوا الله يوم
 فيه الا يضربهم مطر ممطر رواه الله لا يرتد الله طوفهم
 وقد هم هوانا وانت ذا الناس يومنا ثمهم الله في صمود الله
 اربنا اخرجنا الى احرار رب عبد ذو نطق و نطق الرسل اولم
 نوالا فسمعهم من قدامكم من رواه و نطقهم من مستحق اليك
 ظلموا انفسهم و قتلوا كذبهم و قتلوا بدمهم و صرنا لكم الامم
 لم يردت محروا و قتلهم و عند الله مستحقهم و ارجح محروهم
 و ل من الله الى الله فلا عصى الله محروهم و عند الله مستحقهم

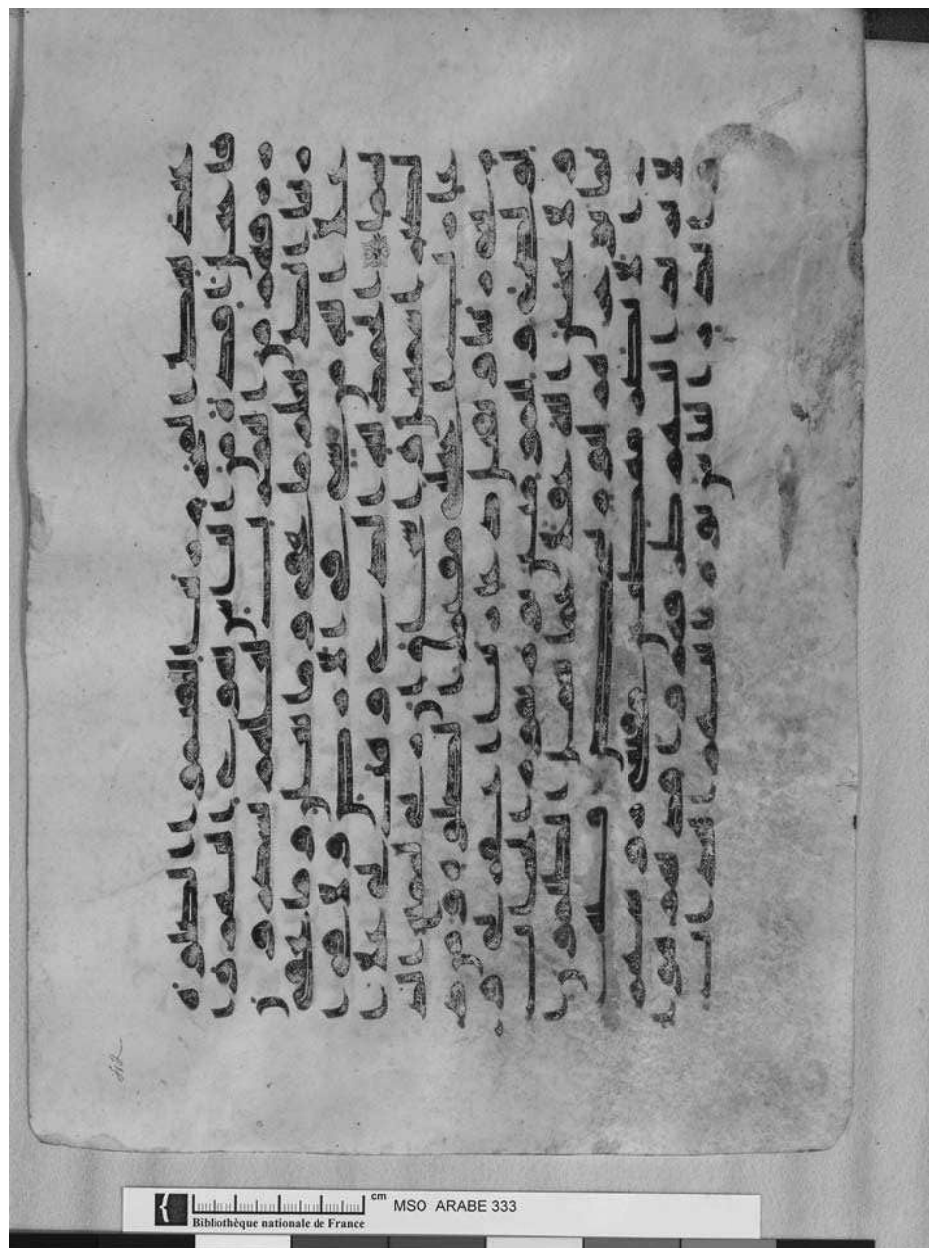


[illegible]



XIV. 46

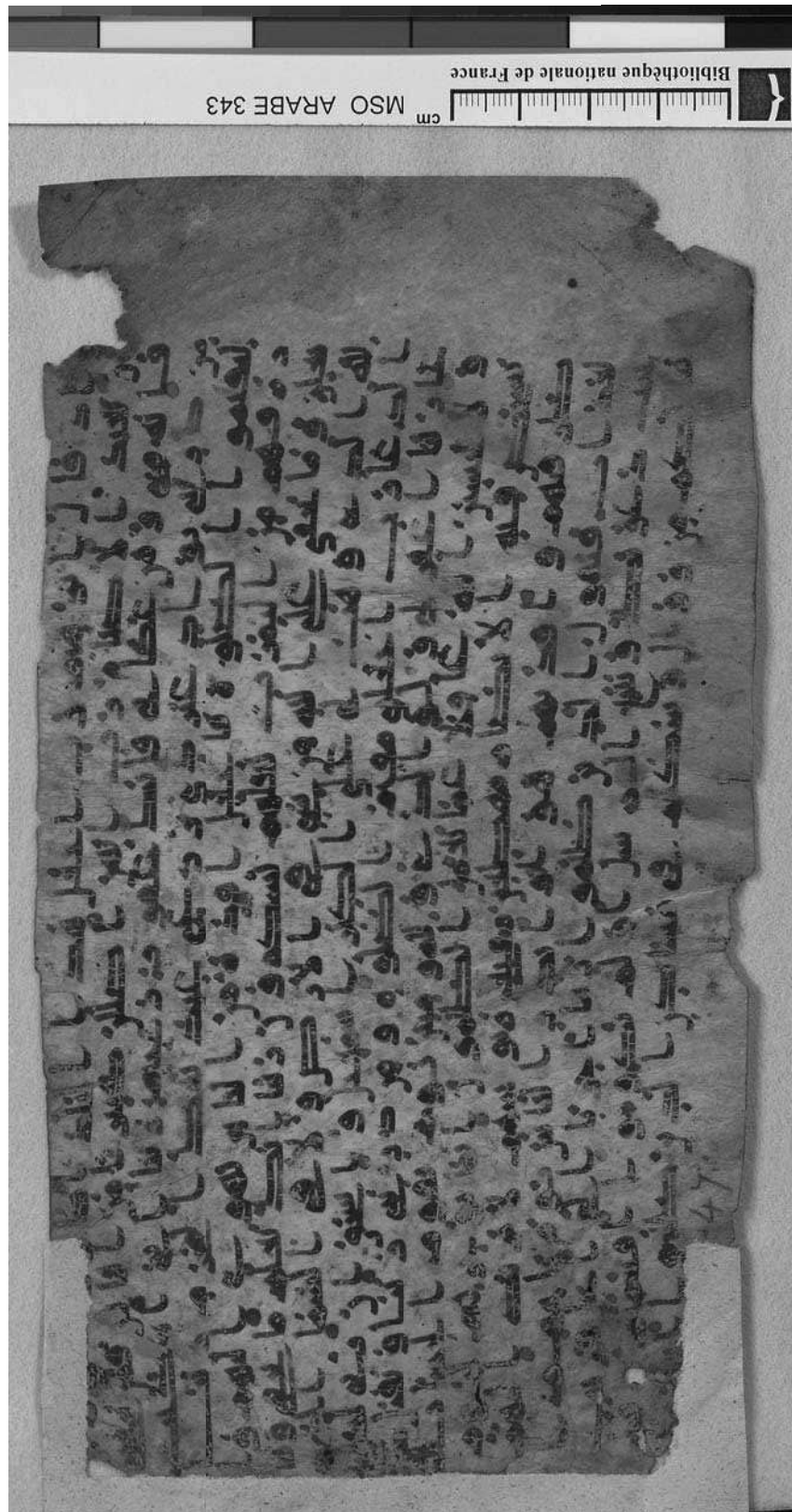
ويعقوب امما د صسم سما وعلية مرفيل
ان تالين يود لا سفل حله ولا حلال الله الح
علة السمو بسوا ولا حله حله وانه ارم السما
مار فاحد حله من الله حله حله حله حله
لحمه وبيد لحمه حله حله حله حله حله
تامة وبيد لحمه حله حله حله حله حله
والقمة حله حله حله حله حله حله حله
والقمة حله حله حله حله حله حله حله
لحمه حله حله حله حله حله حله حله
كلمة حله حله حله حله حله حله حله
مدا حله حله حله حله حله حله حله
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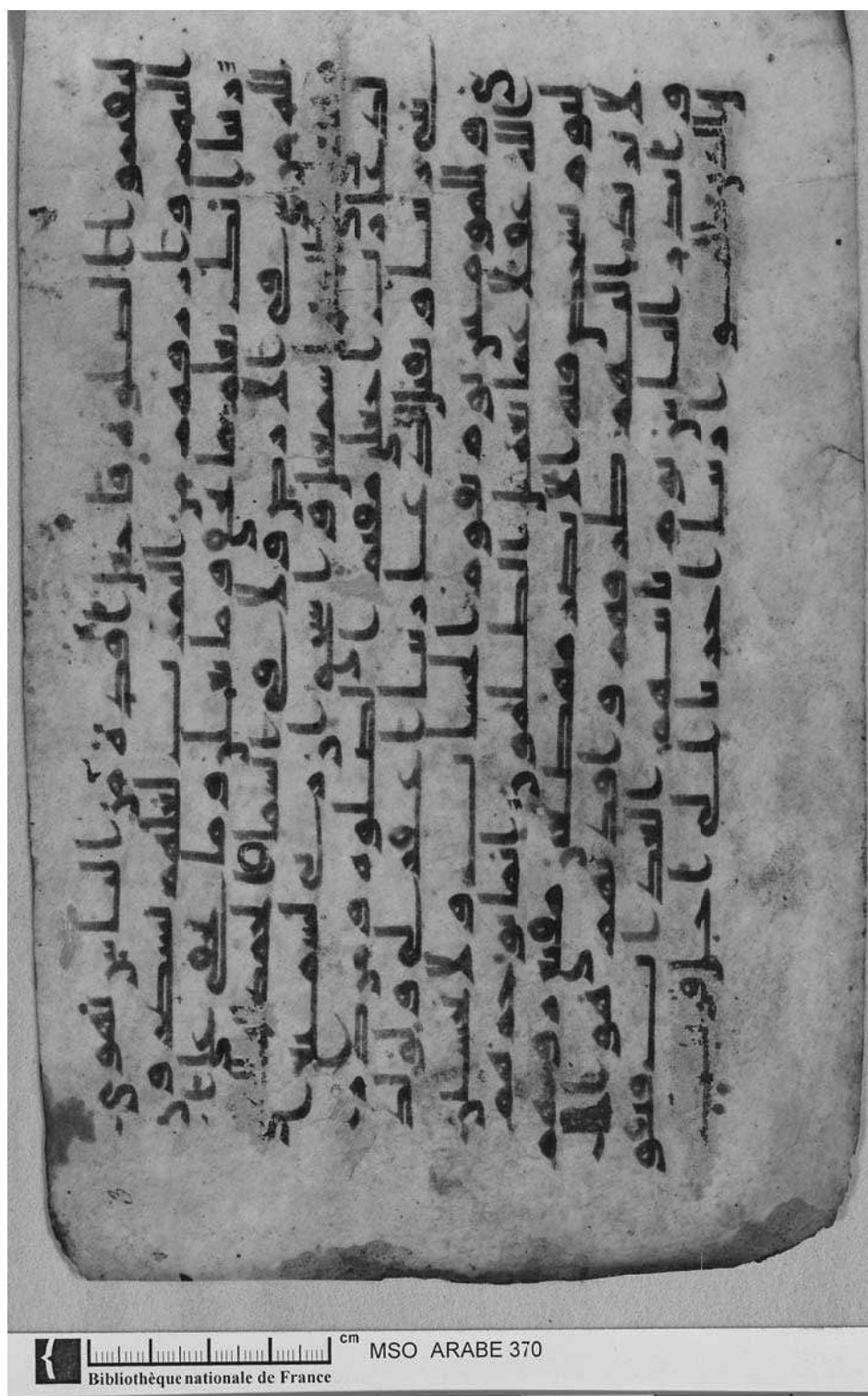


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سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ الَّذِي يَرَىٰ أَعْيُنُهُمْ يَالْقَوْمِ لَهُ الثَّابِتُ إِنَّ الْمَثُورَ
 الْمُنْيَا وَيَوْمَ لَا يَنْصُرُهُمْ وَلَا يَنْصُرُهُمْ وَلَا يَنْصُرُهُمْ وَلَا يَنْصُرُهُمْ
 اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاءُ الْعُرْدُ إِلَىٰ آلِهِمْ إِنَّ لَهُمْ لَعِظَةً اللَّهُ كَرِيمٌ
 وَأَخْلَفَ مَا مَعَدَّ إِذَا انبَرَأُوْا إِلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ يَوْمَ لَا يَنْفَعُ الْهُنَاءَ
 وَلَا يَسْرُ الْغَوَاةُ وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ شُرَكَاءَ الْيَتَامَىٰ
 كَرِهُوا حَقَّ رَبِّهِمْ فَوَقَّعُوا فِي الْأُمَمِ يَوْمَ لَا يَنْصُرُهُمُ
 اللَّهُ وَمَا يَنْصُرُهُمْ إِلَّا اللَّهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ
 وَالْأَرْضَ وَنَزَلَ مِنْ فِيهَا نُورٌ يَوْمَ يُنْفَخُ السُّجُودُ
 وَالْقُرْآنُ وَرُفْقًا لِّكُفْرِهِمْ سَبَّوْا كُفْرًا لِّلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا
 فِي الْبُيُوتِ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَبَنَاتِهِمْ وَبَنَاتِهِمْ وَبَنَاتِهِمْ
 السُّفْسَفَ وَالْعَمَقَ أَيْبَسُوا كُفْرًا لِّلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا
 وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْ كُلِّ مَا هَآءِلَتْهُمْ هُوَ يُزِيلُهَا وَيُزِيلُهَا
 وَيُزِيلُهَا وَيُزِيلُهَا وَيُزِيلُهَا وَيُزِيلُهَا وَيُزِيلُهَا
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يَا تَقَرُّأَ خَلِّقْ كَلِمًا مِّنَ التَّائِبِينَ فَقَرِّبْنِي قَائِلًا مِّنْ
 وَ مِّنْ كَلِمَاتٍ قَائِلًا تَكْ كَلِمًا وَ دَرَجَاتٍ وَ تَائِبًا
 أَسْكَنْتَ مَرْحَةً وَ تَائِبًا مَّا يَكُونُ فِي دَرْجَةٍ كَلِمَةً
 مِّنْكَ يَا تَقَرُّأَ مَرَّةً لِّتَعْتَمِدَ عَلَى السَّلَاطَةِ قَائِلًا جَعَلَ اللَّهُ
 مِّنَ التَّائِبِينَ تَقَرُّأَ يَا تَائِبًا وَ دَرَجَاتٍ مِّنَ التَّائِبِينَ
 لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ وَ تَائِبًا يَا تَكْ تَعْلَمُ مَا يُنْفَعُ وَمَا
 يُغْلَى وَ مَا يُنْفَعُ عَلَى اللَّهِ مَوْشِيءٌ بِالْأَمْرِ وَ حَرَّةٌ لِّ
 فِي السَّمَاءِ أَلَمَّا لَهِ إِلَهٌ فِي مَقَرِّ السَّمَوَاتِ الْكِبَرِيَّةِ
 يَا سُبْحَنَ رَبِّيَ أَرْأَيْتَ لِمَن يَصْطَلِحُ إِلَهُ كَائِدًا يَخْلُقُ مَغْلَى
 السَّلَاطَةَ وَ يَزِدُّ وَ يَنْقُصُ وَ تَائِبًا وَ تَعْلَمُ كَائِدًا وَ تَائِبًا
 أَلَمْ يَكُنْ لِي وَ لِيَ إِلَهٌ وَ لِّلْمَلَأَةِ مَبْنًى مَّرْتَبَةً مِّنَ السَّمَاءِ
 وَ لَمْ يَحْشُرْ اللَّهُ كَائِدًا كَمَا يَحْكُمُ السَّالِمُونَ وَ تَائِبًا
 يَوْمَ تَكُونُ هَوَاجَةٌ مِّنْ تَشْهَرٍ فِيهِ أَلَمْ تَكُنْ مَفْجُورًا
 مَفْجُورًا وَ سَهْوًا لِّبَدَا تَائِبًا تَعْلَمُ كَلِمَةً مَّعْنًى أَلَمْ تَكُنْ
 هَوَاجَةً أَلَمْ تَكُنْ هَوَاجَةً مَّرْمًا مِّنْهُمُ الْعَدَاةُ
 تَقَرُّأَ لَئِنْ لَّمْ يَرْكَلُوا أَوْ تَائِبًا أَوْ تَائِبًا إِلَى أَعْلَى قَوْمٍ
 يُمْسِكُ كَلِمَةً تَلْبِيعُ أَلَوْ هَلْ هَلَاكَ لَوْ تَكُونُ تَائِبًا

14:31-36

قُلْ تَتَعَوَّافُونَ مَصِيرَكُمْ إِلَى النَّارِ ۖ قُلْ لِعِبَادِيَ
الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا يُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَيُنْفِقُوا مِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ
سِرًّا وَعَلَانِيَةً مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ يَوْمٌ لَا يَبِيعُ فِيهِ وَلَا يَخْلَى
ۖ اللَّهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَأَنْزَلَ مِنَ
السَّمَاءِ مَاءً فَأَخْرَجَ مِنْ ثَمَرَاتِ رِزْقِ قَالِكُمْ
وَسَخَّرَ لَكُمْ الْفَلَكَ لِجَرْيٍ فِي الْخَيْرِ بِأَمْرٍ ۚ وَسَخَّرَ لَكُمْ
الْأَنْهَارَ ۖ وَسَخَّرَ لَكُمْ الشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَ دَائِبِينَ
وَسَخَّرَ لَكُمْ اللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ ۖ وَأَنْتُمْ مِنْ كُلِّ
مَا سَأَلْتُمُوهُ وَإِنْ تَعَدُّوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ لَا تُحْصُوهَا إِنَّ
الْإِنْسَانَ لَظَلُومٌ كَفَّارٌ ۖ وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ رَبِّ
اجْعَلْ هَذَا الْبَلَدَ آمِنًا وَاجْنُبْنِي وَبَنِيَّ أَنْ نَعْبُدَ

14:35/36

الْأَصْنَامَ

14:36-43

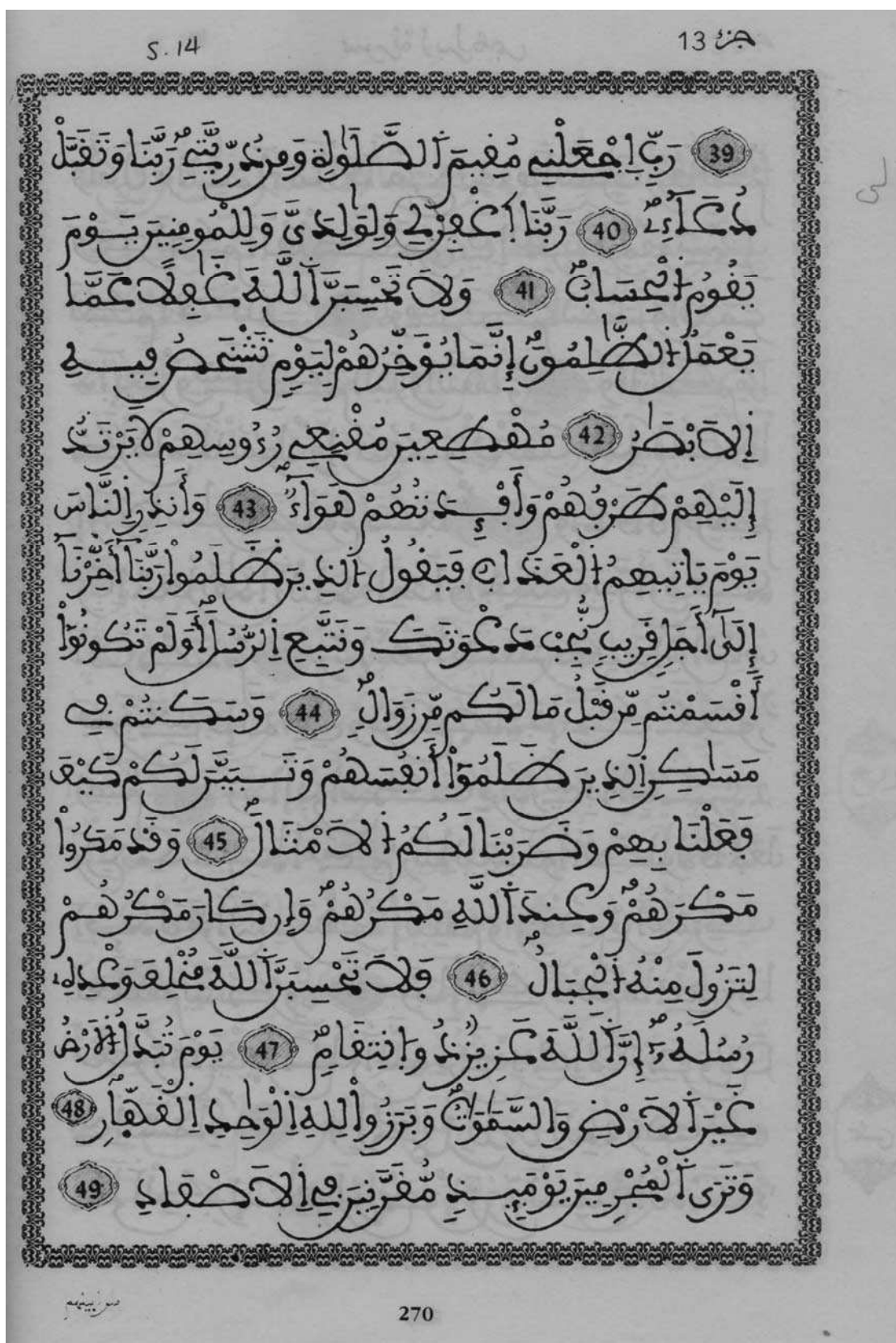
الْأَصْنَامُ ۖ رَبَّنَا هُمْ أَضَلُّنَا كَثِيرًا ۖ سُبْحَانَ
 رَبِّكَ إِنَّا كُنَّا بِكَ غَافِرِينَ ۖ ٣٦
 رَبَّنَا إِنِّي أَسْكَنْتُ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي بِوَادٍ غَيْرِ ذِي زَرْعٍ عِنْدَ
 بَيْتِكَ الْحَرَامِ ۖ رَبَّنَا لِيُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ ۖ فَاجْعَلْ أَفْئِدَةً
 مِنَ النَّاسِ تَهْوِي إِلَيْهِمْ ۖ وَارْزُقْهُمْ مِنْ الثَّمَرَاتِ ۖ لَعَلَّهُمْ
 يَشْكُرُونَ ۖ ٣٧
 رَبَّنَا إِنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ مَا نُخْفِي ۖ وَمَا نُعْلِنُ
 وَمَا يَخْفَى عَلَى اللَّهِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي السَّمَاءِ ۖ ٣٨
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي وَهَبَ لِي عَلَى الْكِبَرِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ
 ۖ إِنَّ رَبِّي لَسَمِيعُ الدُّعَاءِ ۖ ٣٩
 رَبَّنَا اجْعَلْنِي مُقِيمَ الصَّلَاةِ
 وَمِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي ۖ رَبَّنَا وَتَقَبَّلْ دُعَاءَ ۖ ٤٠
 رَبَّنَا اغْفِرْ لِي وَلِوَالِدَيَّ
 وَلِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۖ يَوْمَ يَقُومُ الْحِسَابُ ۖ ٤١
 وَلَا تَحْشَبْ لِلَّهِ غَافِلًا ۖ ٤٢



سورة ابراهيم

وَأَنْزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً فَأَخْرَجَ بِهِ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ رِزْقًا لَكُمْ
وَسَخَّرَ لَكُمْ الْفُلُوكَ لِتَجْرِيَ فِي الْبَحْرِ بِأَمْرِهِ وَسَخَّرَ
لَكُمْ الْأَنْهَارَ ۝ ٣٢ وَسَخَّرَ لَكُمْ الشَّيْءَ وَالْفَمْرَ
عَلَّابِينَ وَسَخَّرَ لَكُمْ الْبِلَّ وَالنَّهَارَ ۝ ٣٣ وَابْتَلَاكُمْ فِي
كُلِّ مَا سَأَلْتُمُوهُ وَإِنْ تَعُدُّوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ لَا تَحْصُوهَا
إِذْ لَا تُسَلِّحُكُمْ كَقَارٍ ۝ ٣٤ وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ
رَبِّ اجْعَلْ هَذَا الْبَلَدَ آمِنًا وَاجْنُبْنِي وَبَنِيَّ أَنْ نَعْبُدَ
الْأَوْثَانَ ۝ ٣٥ رَبِّ إِنِّي خَشِيتُ أَنْ يَحْمِلُنِيَ إِثْمَ
الَّذِينَ يَجْعَلُونَ بَيْنَهُمْ وَمِنْكَ حَوَافٍ عِجُورٍ
رَحِيمٍ ۝ ٣٦ رَبَّنَا إِنِّي أَسْكَنْتُ مِنْ دُونِ بَيْتِي
مَكِينًا مَكِينًا لِيُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ فَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ
أَفْئِدَةَ قَرْنًا لِيُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَابْتَلَاهُمْ رَبُّهُمُ
وَأَزْفَاهُمْ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَشْكُرُونَ ۝ ٣٧ رَبَّنَا إِنَّكَ
تَعْلَمُ مَا نَجْعِي وَمَا نَعْلَمُ وَمَا يَجْعَلُكَ اللَّهُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي الْإِلَهِ وَخُورٍ
فِي السَّمَاءِ ۝ ٣٨ * الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْكَبِيرِ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْكَبِيرِ وَابْتَلَاهُمْ رَبُّهُمُ
وَأَزْفَاهُمْ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَشْكُرُونَ





APPENDIX P: New Testament vs. Qur'ānic Scripts: European vs. Semitic

Special mention must be made of the effect the kind of script used in these manuscript traditions had on the categories of variants. The scripts used in the New Testament tradition were fully phonetic and they clearly distinguished the grammatical relationships inherent in the syntax of the chosen text. The case system upon which Greek relies is fully represented in the orthographies recorded in both the majuscule and minuscule scripts. The Greek manuscripts were written as literary works for which the words would convey the majority of the meaning, and with the reader maintaining subject-verb agreement through their knowledge of the conventions of aural performance of the texts as they were read aloud. Ambiguity is found to a small degree in that often there was no separation of words and limited punctuation.¹⁹ Though this might have complicated the process of learning to read unbroken blocks of text, once the reader had this ability there was no further impediment to reading the script.²⁰ The texts could be understood completely by the reader and were conceived as literary works in their own right in a culture that preserved its cultural, historical, and religious heritage in written literature.

The Qur'ān was originally recorded in a different kind of cultural environment where the religious and cultural heritage of the people was passed on as oral literature and was not committed to writing.²¹ Writing had a different function of utility in Arabic society at this time as compared to Greek in first century Palestine and the Mediterranean.²² The Qur'ān seems to have been the first major exception to this rule, and it was a major catalyst to start a transition in Arabian society from it possessing a predominantly oral literary heritage to a written one. This had an effect on the script used for recording the Qur'ān in that in the course of this transition, it had to be adapted and

¹⁹ Metzger and Ehrman discuss this phenomenon and give examples of the few places in the NT text where the lack of division between words makes a difference in meaning. Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 22.

²⁰ Hurtado, *Artifacts*, 178.

²¹ Beeston, Johnstone, Serjeant and Smith (eds.), *Umayyad Period*, 4.

²² J. Sourdel-Thomine, 'Khatt', *EI2*, 4:1113-1128, citing 1113.

improved in order to make it a fully phonetic system. The Qur'ān manuscripts used for this study are predominantly from this early period and traces of the transition may be observed. This will be developed more in Chapter Five when the variants are analysed in respect to the respective histories of textual transmission for the New Testament and the Qur'ān. In this chapter, it is enough to note the relative situations of verbal precision and imprecision inherent in New Testament Greek and early Qur'ānic Arabic.

Barr presents a useful description of the differences between European and Semitic alphabets. He states:²³

A pointed Semitic text of this kind can be considered as a text with three bands. A European alphabetic text has one band, one series of letters which you read in succession from left to right. In a Semitic text you have a central band, furnished by the 'consonantal' text, and a band above and below in which lie the marks for vowels. The operation of reading can be thought of as the combination of the three bands into one unilinear series.

He goes on to explain that if the top or bottom band of a Semitic script is missing, as is the case with most of the Qur'ānic manuscripts used in this study, then the series of phonemes on offer to the reader is full of gaps, and these gaps can only be filled if the reader understands the meaning of the entire text.²⁴ This means that the full meaning of the text cannot be fully discerned from the text itself but a major component of it must be imported by the reader. He diagrams it this way:²⁵

Pointed text: written signs → full phoneme series → semantic
interpretation

Unpointed text: written signs → semantic interpretation → full phoneme
series

Whereas with a pointed Semitic text, the text guides the reader to the full semantic interpretation, with an unpointed text the reader must do much of the interpretation as he reads, interjecting what he thinks is the proper meaning

²³ James Barr, 'Reading a Script Without Vowels', W. Haas, *Writing Without Letters*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976, 71-100, citing 79-80.

²⁴ Barr, 'Reading', 80-81.

²⁵ Barr, 'Reading', 82.

into an ambiguous text. In this example, the European script acts as the pointed text that presents the full semantic meaning of the text. Accents and breathing marks do distinguish some ambiguous words in Greek, especially in the minuscules. But this is not as extensive a phenomenon as the consonantal diacritics and vowel symbols in Arabic.

In situations with an unpointed Semitic text, the reader who must introduce meaning usually does so from a cultural background where he was taught a 'correct' way of reading this text which is preserved in an oral or literary tradition, and the text serves as a mnemonic device to remind the reader of the tradition with which he interprets it.²⁶ Such a situation can accurately preserve the meaning of an unpointed text once a tradition of its full recitation is developed and perpetuated. However, prior to this, when such a tradition is developing, or before one has developed, the interpretations of the unpointed text can be as contradictory in meaning as the ambiguity of the unpointed text will allow. Conversely, once a written tradition of the European alphabetic type is established, it contains and transmits the meaning of the text in a much more precise way.

The unpointed or sparsely pointed text of the Qur'ān relied on a less precise orthographical system than that of the New Testament, and this text served a different frame of mind and cultural situation. The script was meant more as an aid to memory which was used to working in an oral context, rather than being a system devised to preserve a complete literary record.²⁷ Great stress has always been made in the Islamic tradition on oral traditions that accompanied the written text in this early period.²⁸ Consisting mainly of a consonantal text, the Arabic script lacked the means for recording the pronunciation of short vowels and precise case endings. The Qur'ān scripts used in the earliest periods, both Ḥijāzī and Kufī, were not originally fully phonetic, nor did they unambiguously distinguish all of the grammatical functions of the words employed in the text. There was also variability in the usage of the few long vowels that were represented in the script. Also, words were not separated and there was no punctuation. These absent features were

²⁶ Barr, 'Reading', 83.

²⁷ Daniel A. Madigan, *The Qur'ān's Self-Image*, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001, 40.

²⁸ See for example Denffer, *'Ulūm*, 31-34.

partly supplied by readers from their knowledge of Arabic and the syntactical relationships that could be discerned by the juxtaposition of words. The deficiencies that remained were then overcome through their prior knowledge of the text itself and their additional knowledge of the oral tradition accompanying the text.

Cultural, historic, and religious information was preserved more through oral tradition in Arabic culture of this period, and the earliest Qur'ān texts were conceived of as aids to preserve and perform this oral tradition. The time span covered by the Qur'ān manuscripts surveyed encloses the period in which the script and orthography were developed from a defective script into a complete phonetic system capable of recording the Qur'ān as written literature in which the text conveyed precise meaning. This time span also comprises the period of transition in Arabic culture from being dependent on oral tradition for the transmission of their cultural heritage to using written literature to preserve and disseminate it.

The relative degree of ambiguity inherent in the early Arabic text is difficult to quantify precisely. Various factors can aid the reader in deciphering the text such as context and knowledge of Arabic grammar. But with even these helps, it is recognised that ambiguity remains, and the *tafsīr* tradition and the *qirā'āt* literature testify to many places in the text that can still be interpreted in a variety of ways. A modern confirmation of the degree of this ambiguity comes from an unexpected quarter in an article by a Western convert to Islam trying to come to terms with the modern practice of not including vowels in contemporary printed Arabic texts. She passionately notes,²⁹

The alleged comfortable argument that all ambiguities are worked out from the context is torn asunder by a range of factors spelled out in any linguistics course in the fields of neurolinguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. The solution is a complete representation of the Arabic language as a safe tool for proper utterance and competence for the sake of communication...A vicious circle is enlarged for illiterate people...The *madrasah* teaches the Qur'an and the Sunnah, but only in the form of memorizing the holy texts... public schools in Egypt have their elementary grade books unvowelized after the fifth grade. A

²⁹ Anne Eudoxie Francis, 'The Short Vowels in Islamic Texts', *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 13 (1996), 593-603, citing 596-598.

student leaving school at that time would depend on the talk around him, television, or the radio to guess at the Arabic press. The adult's behaviour is reduced permanently to a behavior of second-language acquisition.

The ambiguity that is being described here is only increased in the earliest Qur'ān texts which not only were without short vowels, they also had inconsistent and sometimes contradictory placement of consonantal diacritical marks. With this in mind, the relative precision and/or ambiguity inherent in the scripts of each manuscript tradition will be considered in the comparison of each category of variant.

The significance of this phenomenon is further seen by noting the significant place variants arising from this orthographic ambiguity have had in the history of the development of the Qur'ān text, and in Western discussions of this development. The ancient Islamic records of these variants as collated in the collections such as the *Mu'jām* and Jeffery contain many of these kinds of variants. These collections record differing intentional placements of the diacritical marks. Such placements were interpretations of the text presenting alternative ways of reading the ambiguous underlying consonantal text. Though many examples of this are recorded in these ancient collections, modern Islamic Qur'ān scholars do not continue to interpret or work from the bare consonantal text. They treat the fully pointed text as a received sacrosanct text, and acknowledge the existence of these variants in the early Islamic centuries.³⁰ They tend to assert that a strong oral tradition of precise pronunciation made up for the deficiencies of the script.³¹ Discussion of this oral tradition is in Chapter Five.

In Western Qur'ān scholarship, the text of the Qur'ān is not regarded with a prior faith commitment that views it as sacrosanct. Also, the claims to a strong oral tradition have been regarded with varying degrees of trust or scepticism. One result of these attitudes is that there has historically been more opportunity to pursue conjectural emendation involving the experimental placement of consonantal diacritical marks. Various results have been attained

³⁰ Denffer, *Ulūm*, 46-52.

³¹ Iman, *Readings*, 172.

by re-pointing the basic unpointed consonantal text, from individual words to complete surahs.

On the basis of such efforts, Lüling concluded that as much as a third of the Qur'ān is made up of pre-Islamic unitarian Christian Syriac hymns that were reworked into classical Arabic and had their content theologically Islamised.³² Bellamy has reworked the pointing and used similar consonants for a number of words in parts of the text that are difficult to understand to suggest emendations that give a more satisfying meaning.³³ The most recent and controversial efforts in this field have been those of Luxenberg, who claims that much of the material making up the Qur'ān was Syriac that was transcribed into Arabic letters but not translated. It was then read and edited by later Muslims who did not know Syriac and so attached Arabic meanings to the words they did not understand. He follows a methodology similar to Bellamy's starting with words and phrases that are ambiguous in the Arabic and which puzzled the earliest Islamic commentators and lexicographers.³⁴ Though controversial in their conclusions, the methods these scholars use are demonstrate the inherent ambiguities of early Arabic orthography and raise a legitimate question concerning a possible Aramaic substrate. One analysis that examines the range of inherent ambiguity from within Islamic sources is Puin's study of variants attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd in the *Mu'jām*.³⁵

In addition to there being the possibility of different intentional ways of placing the diacritical marks, they also provide scope for unintentional error. Beeston summarizes these possibilities:³⁶

³² Günter Lüling, *A Challenge to Islam for Reformation*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.

³³ J. Bellamy, 'A Further Note on Papyri Hirbet el-Mird, 47', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 6 (1985), 477-479; -----, 'The Mysterious Letters of the Koran: Old Abbreviations of the Basmalah', *JAOS* 93 (1973), 267-285; -----, 'Al-Raqim or al-Ruqud? A Note on Surah 18:9', *JAOS* 111 (1991), 115-117; -----, 'Some Proposed Emendations to the Text of the Koran', *JAOS* 113 (1993), 562-573; -----, 'More Proposed Emendations to the Text of the Koran', *JAOS* 116 (1996), 196-204; -----, 'Textual Criticism of the Koran', *JAOS* 121 (2001), 1-6.

³⁴ Christoph Luxenberg, *Die Syro-Aramäische Lesart des Koran*, Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2004; -----, *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran: A Contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran*, Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2007.

³⁵ Gerd-R. Puin, 'Variant Readings of the Koran Due to Ambiguity of the Rasm', Ibn Warraq, *Which Koran? Variants, Manuscripts, and the Influence of Pre-Islamic Poetry*, (forthcoming in 2008).

³⁶ Beeston, Johnstone, Serjeant and Smith (eds.), *Umayyad Period*, 13-14.

On top of all the usual possibilities of textual corruption, a careless copyist may misread the dots of his original; he may, if his original uses one of the older conventions described above, forget to make the transposition into his own conventions; if his original has simply omitted a diacritic, he may supply it on his own initiative, and possibly wrongly. Equally, the copy which has actually survived for us may lack reading marks, so that it is even uncertain what the copyist himself intended to write. Hence the editing of manuscripts is exposed at times to wild uncertainties about the correct reading of a text.

Many of the variants that are based on the ambiguous orthography of the earliest manuscripts, both intentional and unintentional, do affect the meaning of the text in substantial ways, as was demonstrated in Chapter 3, where twenty-three textual variants of this kind from the manuscripts surveyed were discussed. This is a kind of variant that is not found in the New Testament tradition, and which has a greater potential for affecting the meaning of the text than can be seen with the areas of ambiguity inherent in the Greek orthography used in early New Testament manuscripts. With the Greek New Testament manuscripts, ambiguity arises mainly from the lack of punctuation and the lack of spacing between words. Case endings, person, gender, and most tenses are not affected because they are almost fully represented in the orthography. In Arabic, person, gender, and tense are often represented in the basic consonantal orthography, but often they are not. Case also can sometimes be inferred by context and word order, but again, this does not always clarify the situation. The orthography was improved and developed during Islam's first three centuries to develop a system that removed all such areas of ambiguity. Also, in the early Arabic Qur'ān manuscripts, there was a lack of spacing between words, which could also cause a change in the meaning of the text.³⁷

³⁷ Gerd-R. Puin, 2007, *Koranic Studies: Obsolete or Actual?*, Unpublished paper, 1-8, citing 2.

APPENDIX Q: NEW TESTAMENT VS QUR'ĀN IC PALIMPSESTS

In Chapter Three it was noted that frequently Qur'ān ic palimpsests contained variants of much greater significance than the overwhelming majority of the manuscripts in the Qur'ān manuscript tradition. This, however, was not the case with New Testament palimpsests, two of which were included in the manuscripts surveyed.³⁸ Understanding the similarities and differences between New Testament and Qur'ān ic palimpsests provides essential background information for determining the comparative significance of their respective textual variants.

In New Testament text-critical studies, palimpsests have featured importantly for at least two centuries as providing significant witness to early forms of the text of the New Testament. Palimpsest C 04, Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus was particularly significant in this regard, especially before the more recent discoveries of even earlier papyri. Palimpsests have enjoyed an honoured place in the mainstream of New Testament textual studies as witnesses to the text deserving equal consideration with other early manuscripts of similar age and script style. This has not, however, been the case for palimpsests in the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition. The first one to be discovered was published in 1914 and has been virtually ignored since the 1930s when its editor was brought into disrepute over unrelated matters,³⁹ even though its texts are among the very earliest known to Qur'ān scholarship. This has only been remedied recently with the publication of two other palimpsest pages.⁴⁰ In view of this situation, it would be helpful to compare New Testament and Qur'ān palimpsests in order to further understand the significance of textual variants in the entire Qur'ānic manuscript tradition.

New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests differ in some significant ways. There are differences in the numbers of palimpsest manuscripts extant, differences in the manner or their inscription, differences in the time-span between the writing of the *scripta inferior* and *superior* and differences for the

³⁸ These are the majuscules C 04 and P 025.

³⁹ Fedeli, 'Mingana', citing 3-4.

⁴⁰ Fedeli, 'Evidences'.

reasons of the inscription of the *superior* script. All of these differences bring out important considerations that provide the context for understanding the single most significant difference between New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests: the types of variants that are present in their respective *inferior* scripts.⁴¹

First, New Testament palimpsests are much more numerous than Qur'ānic ones. Sixty-eight out of three hundred and ten majuscule New Testament manuscripts are palimpsests and most of these have had their texts examined and incorporated into the NA²⁷ New Testament critical text.⁴² If lectionaries are added, the number exceeds one hundred extant New Testament palimpsests.⁴³ These New Testament palimpsests were made and survive despite prohibitions of their use in church history. One such prohibition is recorded in the sixty-eighth canon passed by the Quinisext Ecumenical Council in 692/73,⁴⁴ though these canons were probably enforced only in the Eastern Church.⁴⁵ A minor tractate attached to the Babylonian Talmud dating from the eighth/second century also forbade the use of palimpsests for Jewish scripture.⁴⁶ This writer has not yet been able to discover a similar prohibition in the relevant Arabic literature.

Only three Qur'ān palimpsests have been published.⁴⁷ More pages are known to exist in the Ṣan'ā' discoveries but they are yet to be examined and published.⁴⁸ This disparity in numbers of palimpsests could be evidence of the

⁴¹ For a brief comparison of New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests, see Small and Puin, 'Index III'.

⁴² Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 22. Seventeen of these sixty-eight palimpsests have not been incorporated into the NA²⁷ text: 0116, 0133, 0158, 0168, 0196, 0248, 0257, 0279, 0280, 0281, 0282, 0284, 0288, 0289, 0297, 0306, and 0307.

⁴³ Eldon Jay Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, 485.

⁴⁴ Eberhard Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, Second edn., London: Williams and Norgate, 1901, 51; Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 22; Metzger, *Manuscripts*.

⁴⁵ Leo Donald Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787)*, Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1983, 287.

⁴⁶ This can be found in the *Masseketh Soferim*, 'Tractate for Scribes' A. Cohen (ed.), *The Minor Tractates of the Talmud*, Second edn., London: Soncino Press, 1971, 1:212, Ch. 1: Rule 5.

⁴⁷ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, Fedeli, 'Evidences', Some consider a manuscript in Austria to be a fourth, but I concur with Fedeli that it was probably a writing exercise: Fedeli, 'Non-Palimpsest',

⁴⁸ See Small and Puin, 'Index III', for a list of five palimpsest pages pictured on the UNESCO CD-ROM, and Lester, 'Koran', Issue, Number, 45, for a picture of another palimpsest from the Ṣan'ā' discoveries. Also, S. Noja Noseda described an unpublished palimpsest manuscript,

strength of the external forces brought to bear on the transmission of the Qur'ān's text. It could also be evidence that more searches have been made for New Testament palimpsests than for Qur'ānic ones. In 1914, Agnes Smith Lewis called for a general search of manuscripts in European libraries to see if more Qur'ānic palimpsests could be discovered.⁴⁹ Since current catalogues of these collections list no further discoveries, perhaps further searches in Western libraries and in Christian and Islamic libraries in the Middle East and North Africa will bring new ones to light.

There are some differences in the ways New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests were inscribed. Many of the New Testament copies have the later text written at a 90° angle to the erased underlying text. Only the Mingana Qur'ānic palimpsest is this way with the writings in Arabic of a Christian Father being written at a 90° angle over the underlying Qur'ānic text. All of the other known palimpsests that have either been published or pictured have the *scriptio superior* running in the same direction as the underlying text, often being written directly over it. Also, the New Testament manuscripts usually have completely different types of script between the *scriptio inferior* and *superior*. Many of them have a Greek majuscule script as the *scriptio inferior*, whereas the *scriptio superior* is either a Greek minuscule script if it is a biblical text,⁵⁰ or a text in a completely different language and genre.⁵¹

A typical example is New Testament manuscript C 04, Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus, which was used in this study. The original script of this manuscript was that of a portion of the text of the New Testament written in the fifth century AD. In the twelfth/fifth century it was erased and reused for a Greek translation of some of the works of the Syrian church father Ephraem.⁵² There has even been found a quintuple palimpsest among the manuscripts kept at St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai which has scriptio

01.27.1, still in Ṣan'ā', that consists of 32 folios. S. Sergio Noja-Noseda, 'La Mia Visita a Sanaa e il Corano Palimpsesto', *Istituto Lombardo Rendiconti* 137 (2004), 43-60.

⁴⁹ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, p. x.

⁵⁰ Majuscule script is written in capital letters. Minuscule script is a cursive script developed circa the 9th century. These manuscripts are described in D. C. Parker, 'The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament', Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 46, 22-42, 24, and Aland and Aland, *Text*, 72-184.

⁵¹ Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 33-41, lists New Testament palimpsests found with varying combinations of languages.

⁵² See Aland and Aland, *Text*, p. 109.

inferiors in Syriac (two of them), Greek, and Arabic (two of them). The different layers span at least five centuries with the Syriac layers being the earliest, the first inscribed perhaps during fifth century AD. The Arabic ones are the latest with the superior text dating to perhaps the early ninth/late second century.⁵³ They are all biblical texts.

Concerning the time span between the writing of the *superior* and *inferior* scripts, for New Testament palimpsests the time between the writing of the two scripts can be anywhere from one to twelve centuries, with most of them having between four and seven centuries.⁵⁴ Only two of the known Qur'ān palimpsests seem to have the possibility of multiple centuries occurring between the inscriptions of their *inferior* and *superior* scripts: the Mingana palimpsest with an Arabic Qur'ānic text overwritten by a later Arabic Christian text and manuscript number SC 6/ 18-?.a, pictured on the UNESCO CD which has a Kufic script overwritten with a different type of Kufic script.⁵⁵ The other known Qur'ānic palimpsests have both the *superior* and *inferior* scripts in Ḥijāzi script, and both scripts may be dated to the early eighth/late first century.⁵⁶ These two scripts are so similar to each other within the Ḥijāzi style, that the difference in years between the two scripts is not likely to be great, perhaps even within a generation.

The reasons for the re-writing of New Testament manuscripts seems to have been mainly economic.⁵⁷ Parchment was an expensive material, and later scribes would sometimes use old and partial manuscripts to provide material for new manuscripts.⁵⁸ The Qur'ānic palimpsests seem to have been rewritten for economic and other reasons. The Mingana palimpsest and the UNESCO Kufic palimpsest may have been produced because of the economic benefits of recycling parchment. The *scriptio superior* of the Mingana palimpsest was

⁵³ Codex Arabicus, Sinai Arabic Ms. No. 514. It is described in A.S. Atiya, 'Codex Arabicus', Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Homage to a Bookman*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967, 75-85.

⁵⁴ These figures were obtained by examining the records in Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 22 and Ehrman and Holmes (eds.), 24-25.

⁵⁵ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, page 18.

⁵⁶ Fedeli, 'Evidences', SC 2/ 01-27.1, Page 2.1; SC 2/ 01-27.1, Page 2.2; 01-27.1, Page 126.1; 01-27.1, Page 126.3 ; Lester, 'Koran', 45.

⁵⁷ Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1912, 65. Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 125.

⁵⁸ For instance, this practice is known for Greek literary papyri: see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1968, 6, 173; and for Greek LXX and New Testament manuscripts: see Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 18.

used by a completely different faith community from that which wrote the *scriptio inferior*.⁵⁹ It is difficult to imagine that a Christian community under Islamic rule could have obtained and erased a Qur'ān manuscript with impunity. It is more reasonable to suggest that they obtained the parchment from a dealer after it had already been erased. Mingana makes the observation that though 'Uthmān ordered the variant Qur'ān s burned, some may have taken the more practical and profitable expedient of erasing the parchment and selling it.⁶⁰

Concerning the page from 18-?.a pictured on the UNESCO CD, the *scriptio superior* can be dated to the tenth-eleventh/third-fourth century, and the *scriptio inferior* can be dated as early as the seventh-eighth/first-second century.⁶¹ Also, the two script styles for this palimpsest are two different forms of Kufic script. The *scriptio superior* is a non-calligraphic, non-formal variant of Eastern Kufic used in Yemen in the tenth-eleventh/third-fourth century and it has many more consonantal diacritical dots than the *scriptio inferior*. Discerning the full reasons why one script was replaced by the other must await a close examination of both scripts. But perhaps economics provide a sufficient reason, that when an old Qur'ān manuscript was found to be too worn for use and perhaps lacking large sections it was no longer used. It would then have been destroyed or put away, for example, in a geniza like the one in the Great Mosque in San'ā'. Or it could have been cut into pieces and used for amulets, and parts could have been washed, scraped, and reused in other Qur'ān manuscripts. There could also have been the need to correct some orthographical and textual features, but this can only be determined through a closer examination of the manuscript.

The Ḥijāzi palimpsests, though, may have been rewritten for a dogmatic reason: to make the text conform to a recognised standard. This view gains credibility when the script styles used in the *inferior* and *superior* scripts are considered. Their Ḥijāzi script styles are very similar to each other, and this style of script went out of use relatively quickly within the first two centuries of Islam. It was replaced by more formal and artistic versions of the

⁵⁹ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, v-vi.

⁶⁰ Mingana and Smith Lewis (eds.), *Leaves*, vii-viii.

⁶¹ Dr. Gerd-R. Puin provided the dates for these two scripts.

Kufic script.⁶² All of the Ḥijāzi palimpsests have Qur'ān text being replaced with Qur'ān text, and though this is a small sampling of manuscripts, there is good reason to suggest this is not an accident. Fedeli demonstrated that on just one folio of such material, there were thirty significant variant readings, and those in addition to purely orthographic variants.⁶³ These readings were erased and replaced with text conforming to the present standard consonantal text from a different portion of the Qur'ān.

Islamic tradition also provides evidence that the Qur'ānic palimpsests may have been made for dogmatic reasons. It is asserted in Islamic tradition that the third Caliph 'Uthmān standardized the basic consonantal Qur'ān text and physically destroyed variant texts.⁶⁴ Also, it is asserted that under al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, governor of Iraq (694-714/75-95), some editing of the text and improvement of the script occurred, as well as further destruction of variant texts.⁶⁵ These Ḥijāzi palimpsests pages are physical evidence that editing and suppression projects of this magnitude and perhaps greater did occur within the seventh/first century. Perhaps in the Ḥijāzi palimpsest pages were orthographic and textual differences that were no longer deemed acceptable text-forms and so needed to be erased. Because of these factors of style of script, content of corrections, and the reported historical context, economic reasons do not seem to be an adequate explanation for the production of Qur'ān palimpsests as they are for the New Testament tradition. Also, dogmatic reasons of replacing a non-standard text were not in view in the New Testament palimpsests.

With these comparative issues in mind, the kinds of variants found in the New Testament and Qur'ānic palimpsests take on added significance. All of the types of variants found in New Testament manuscripts are found in both the *scriptio inferiors* and *superiors* of New Testament palimpsests. The *scriptio inferiors* of these manuscripts contain the same kinds of variants as are in the *scriptio superiors*, and these are the same kinds as are found in the rest of the New Testament manuscript tradition. In the Qur'ān tradition,

⁶² Déroche, *Tradition*, 28.

⁶³ Fedeli, 'Evidences', 304.

⁶⁴ Sahih Al-Bukhari 6:510.

⁶⁵ Jones, 'Qur'ān', 243; Alphonse Mingana, *An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Kur'ān Exhibiting New Verses and Variants*, Manchester: The University Press, 1925, 16; Al-Azami, *History*, 103.

however, there is a marked difference in kind, as was demonstrated in Chapter Three and will be developed further in this chapter. Also, this disparity is further reinforced in that the earliest extant New Testament manuscripts are not palimpsests, as in the Qur'ānic tradition. One of these has had its *scriptio inferior* reliably dated to the early eighth/late first century.⁶⁶ From this observation, one can conclude that the *superior* texts in New Testament palimpsests were not written to maintain a certain form of the text, whereas this is the most likely explanation for some of the most significant Qur'ānic ones. Instead, the New Testament ones were written for practical rather than dogmatic reasons.

⁶⁶ Lester, 'Koran', 45.

APPENDIX R: USE OF PRIOR RELIGIOUS TEXTS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE QUR'ĀN

The Book of Acts and Surah 14 use information from prior religious traditions in different ways. Since Acts 7:1-8 contains textual variants in allusions and quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures, it would be helpful to compare the ways the book of Acts and the Qur'ān use prior scriptural texts.

Acts: Old Testament Allusions and Quotations

The book of Acts is rich in quotations and references to the Old Testament, and especially in its speeches. It has been long recognised that the New Testament writers heavily used the Greek version of the Old Testament, and that other forms of the Old Testament text, both Greek and Hebrew, were also used to significant degrees.⁶⁷ Note Bruce's comments:⁶⁸

In pre-Christian times the only part of the LXX to be authorized in a more or less stereotyped text was the Pentateuch. The Greek version of the prophets and other OT books was much more fluid. What we commonly refer to as the LXX version of these books is the more stereotyped form which they assumed as a result of the work of Christian scholars (notably Origen). Therefore, when we say that NT writers quote from the LXX, this does not imply that we can check their quotations by reference to a contemporary LXX norm (except, to some degree, for quotations from the Pentateuch).

Noting this fluid situation, this section will demonstrate that the writer of Acts was using Old Testament texts recognised to exist at his time as he was presenting Stephen's speech.

It is significant to note that the writer of Acts used known Jewish scriptural texts as he wrote his work with a concern for accurate transmission of the content of those texts. The writer of Acts was conscious that his teaching needed to recognise the authority and wording of prior scriptural

⁶⁷ Karen H. Jobes and Moises Silva, *Invitation to Septuagint*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005, 189.

⁶⁸ Bruce, *Acts*, 145-146, note 26.

texts. Though he may have exercised a degree of freedom in interpreting these texts, he was not inventing texts or referring to oral tradition under a claim of divine inspiration. Rather, he was explicitly quoting recognised scriptural texts.

Also, to reinforce the point that the writer of Acts was referring to known texts in conventional ways, the quotations and allusions to prior scripture in Acts will be compared to the quotations and allusions of two other ancient authors who also cite biblical texts: Philo (d. AD 50) and Josephus (d. circa AD 100). When the citation of an Old Testament text in Acts is also shared with Philo or Josephus, a comparison will be made at that point.

Concerning Stephen's speech in Acts 7, though the participants in the trial probably did not speak Greek at the trial, the quotations in this and the other speeches in Acts are primarily taken from the LXX.⁶⁹ Johnson also notes that in Acts, Luke's use of the LXX relies on its text to such a degree that even the LXX's specific nuances are incorporated into his argument as over against the Hebrew Masoretic text.⁷⁰ He notes that Luke does not merely use Biblical diction, he actually quotes verses and constructs his discourse with phrases from the LXX.⁷¹ He states,⁷²

Luke does not rewrite the story in his own words. Instead...Luke shows remarkable fidelity to the diction of the LXX; it truly is "Scripture's" words that he uses in his own version of the story, a feat all the more remarkable given the abbreviation involved...Luke expected his readers to have a reading competence sufficient to catch these allusions and echoes.

With that in mind, what follows is a listing of the major Old Testament passages either quoted or referred to in Acts 7:1-8. There are three potential discrepancies between the references in Acts and the LXX. These will be discussed in the order in which they are found in the text.

7:2:3 Ο θεος της δοξης "the God of glory" Psalm 29:3

⁶⁹ Jobs and Silva, *Invitation*, 194.

⁷⁰ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash in the Speeches of Acts*, Milwaukee: Marquette University, 2002, 14.

⁷¹ Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1992, 121.

⁷² Johnson, *Midrash*, 26, 47.

Ο θεος της δοξης LXX⁷³ (Psalm 28:3)

7:2:3-4 3) ωφθη τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ
4) οντι εν τη Μεσοποταμια

‘The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham while he was in Mesopotamia’

This is a condensation or restatement of the events mentioned in Genesis 11:31 and 15:7, though Genesis recounts the vision after the move to Haran. The texts in Genesis 11 and 15 are not quoted. Barratt and Haenchen see this verse as a mistake on the part of the author and Haenchen states ‘...the author wrongly relates Gen. 12 to Abraham’s first departure instead of the second.’⁷⁴ Fitzmyer has a helpful discussion of this discrepancy and concludes that Stephen’s view was a valid interpretation of that time when it is viewed in the light of broader references in literature of the first century.⁷⁵ Though Stephen is interpreting the verses from Genesis in a way that at first appears contrary to the order of events set out in Genesis, he is still clearly referring to these passages from Genesis.

Josephus also refers to the events recorded in Genesis and to some of the events mentioned in Acts 7:2. He summarizes Genesis 11:31 where he mentions concerning Abraham:⁷⁶

...at the age of seventy-five he left Chaldea, God having bidden him to remove to Canaan, and there he settled...

και καταλειπει την Χαλδαιας εβδομηκοντα και πεντε γεγονως
ετη του θεου κελευσαντος εις την Χαναναιαν μετελθειν, εν η
[και] κατωκησε...

None of Josephus’ phrases quote or use verses from Genesis, though the content is recognisable as coming from the Genesis story.

⁷³ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, II:26.

⁷⁴ Haenchen, *Acts*, 278. Barrett, *Acts*, I:341.

⁷⁵ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 369.

⁷⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154.

Philo recounts one of the verses behind these summaries, God's call to Abraham recorded in Genesis 15:7:⁷⁷

He said to him, I am the God who brought thee out of the land of the Chaldaeans, to give thee this land to inherit.

Εἶπε δὲ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαιῶν, ὥστε δοῦναι σοὶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην κληρονομήσαι.

Philo's statement is a very precise quotation of the LXX:⁷⁸

εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐξεγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαιῶν ὥστε δοῦναι σοὶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην κληρονομήσαι.

Aside from punctuation, there is only one word different with Philo adding φησὶ, a verb used to introduce scriptural quotations.⁷⁹ The author of Acts and Josephus are content at this point to allude to Scripture; Philo quotes it with precision.

- 7:3: 2) ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου
3) καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου,
4) **(καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου)**
5) καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν
6) ἣν ἀν σοὶ δεῖξω.

‘Go out from your land and from your (and from the house of your father), and come into the land that I will show you.’ Genesis 12:1

This is almost an exact quotation from Genesis 12:1 in the LXX.⁸⁰

Εξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἀν σοὶ δεῖξω.

Archer and Chirichigno note that, ‘Gen 12:1 is accurately followed by Acts 7:3, except that “and from your father’s house” is omitted, and δεῦρο is

⁷⁷ Philo, *Heir*, 20:96.

⁷⁸ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:20.

⁷⁹ It is the third singular present indicative form of φημι, to say or affirm, BDAG, 1053, §1.d.

⁸⁰ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:16.

inserted before εἰς τὴν γῆν.⁸¹ The phrase καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου is only found in three of the New Testament manuscripts surveyed: E, 1505, and 2495. This was discussed in detail in the section 2.2.9.1 concerning additions in Western manuscripts where it was seen to be either an intentional or unintentional change to conform the text to the LXX of Genesis 12:1.

Philo also refers to this passage in two of his works. In his book, *On Abraham*, he alludes to this scripture without quoting it.⁸²

Under the force of an oracle which bade him leave his country and kinsfolk and seek a new home...

Λογίῳ πληχθεὶς περὶ τοῦ πατρίδα καὶ συγγενείας καὶ πατρῶον οἶκον...

His manner of reference here is similar to Josephus in the last section. He is reporting the facts but recasting it for the purposes of his own narrative. Philo does keep the order of leaving his country and relatives, so in this respect it is slightly more precise than Josephus' manner of citation.

Philo also quotes this passage precisely in his work, *On the Migration of Abraham*.⁸³

And the Lord said to Abraham, Depart out of thy land, and out of thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, into the land which I shall shew thee;

Καὶ εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ἀπελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν σοὶ δεῖξω·

This quotation is very precise, differing from the LXX text in only three places. He uses a different imperative for 'go out': ἀπελθε instead of ἐξελθε. Ἀπελθε is the imperative form of ἀπερχομαι, which is a command to depart. It is a synonym but also a related word to ἐξερχομαι, the two sharing the same

⁸¹ Gleason L. Archer and Gregory Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, Chicago: Moody, 1983, 5.

⁸² Philo, *Abraham*, 13:62.

⁸³ Philo, *Migration*, 1:1.

base word but with different attached propositions *ἐκ* or *ἀπο*. It does not appear as a variant in any of the New Testament manuscripts, nor in the apparatus in Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint.

Philo also omits the small word *ὅν* in the phrase *ἦν ὅν σοι δεῖξω*. This omission was not observed in any of the manuscripts surveyed, nor is it a variant in Rahlfs' apparatus. Grammatically, it is a legitimate omission with the future indicative verb *δειξω* following.⁸⁴

With this quotation, Philo and the author of Acts share the same relative degree of concern for precise citation.

7:4 This is a summary restatement of Genesis 11:31-12:4. There is a potential discrepancy here in that Abraham is spoken of as leaving Haran after the death of his father. Haenchen states it this way,⁸⁵

...when Abraham was born Terah was seventy years old (Genesis 11:26); since Abraham when he left Haran was seventy-five (Gen. 12:4) and Terah attained the age of 205 (Gen. 11:32), Terah must have survived Abraham's departure by sixty years.

Barratt notes that the Samaritan Pentateuch has the figure of 145 years for Terah's age at his death in Gen. 11:32,⁸⁶ though no Greek manuscript has been discovered with this figure.⁸⁷ This reconciles the arithmetic, but the question of Stephen's or Luke's contact with the Samaritan Pentateuch is an open one. This does demonstrate, however, that the view Stephen is presenting is one that was held by Jews in the first century.⁸⁸

Like the statement from the author of Acts, Philo's statement is also an example of a summary restatement drawing on a larger scriptural passage. He does quote a sentence from Genesis 12:4 and then explains it in view of its broader context of Abraham quitting two places, Chaldea and Harran. And again, he quotes scripture with precision.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ BDF, §380.

⁸⁵ Haenchen, *Acts*, 278.

⁸⁶ Barrett, *Acts*, I:342.

⁸⁷ Simon J. Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990, 241.

⁸⁸ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 370.

⁸⁹ Philo, *Migration*, 1:1.

‘And Abraham was,’ he says ‘seventy and five years old when he went out from Haran.’

‘Αβρααμ δε ην’ φησιν ‘ετων εβδομηκοντα πεντε, οτε εξηλθεν εκ Χαρραν.’

The LXX has:⁹⁰

Αβραμ δε ην ετων εβδομηκοντα πεντε, οτε εξηλθεν εκ Χαρραν.

The only difference is the minor spelling variant of Abraham’s name. Philo is using both of the citation methods that can be observed in the writing of the author of Acts, allusion which stays true to the facts of the scriptural text and direct, precise quotation.

7:5: 3) και επηγγειλατο δουναι αυτω
4) εις κατασχεσιν αυτην
5) και τω σπερματι αυτου μετ αυτον,
6) ουκ οντος αυτω τεκνου.

‘and promised to give it to him as his possession, and to his offspring after him while he had no child.’ Genesis 12:7

The LXX reads:⁹¹

Και ωφθη κυριος τω Αβραμ και ειπεν αυτω Τω σπερματι σου δωσω την γην ταυτην.

And the Lord appeared to Abram and said to him: To your descendants I will give this land.

The portion in Acts is an allusion to Genesis 12:7. Archer notes that to Genesis 12:7, Acts 7:5 inserts εις κατασχεσιν αυτην.⁹² He also states that Acts 7:5 includes portions of Genesis 48:4 where direct address is converted into the

⁹⁰ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:16.

⁹¹ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:16.

⁹² Archer and Chirichigno, *Quotations*, 5.

indirect address in a manner appropriate to the context of Stephen's speech.⁹³

The relevant part of Genesis 48:4 in the LXX reads:⁹⁴

Και δώσω σοι την γην ταυτην και τω σπερματι σου μετα σε εις
κατασχεσιν αιωνιον.

And I will give you this land and to your descendants and (for it) to be
an everlasting possession.

Neither Philo nor Josephus quote or allude to this verse. The author of Acts
clearly refers to scriptural passages and casts his narrative using phrases the
basic facts from those passages in a way that serves his literary purpose.

7:6: 2) οτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου
3) παροικον εν γη αλλοτρια
4) και δουλωσουσιν αυτο
5) και κακωσουσιν ετη τετρακοσια

‘that His descendants will be aliens in a foreign land, and they will enslave
them and mistreat them for four hundred years.’ Genesis 15:13

The LXX has for this portion:⁹⁵

Οτι παροικον εσται το σπερμα σου εν γη ουκ ιδια, και
δουλωσουσιν αυτους και κακωσουσιν αυτους και ταπεινωσουσιν
αυτους τετρακοσια ετη.

That your descendants will be strangers in a land not their own, and
they shall enslave them and oppress them and humiliate them for four
hundred years.

This reference is to Genesis 15:13. Direct address is again converted into
indirect discourse and there are some small changes to the text in keeping with
the story being referred to.⁹⁶ Key words of vocabulary are kept and the order
of ideas is preserved, but the account is condensed slightly. ‘Land not their

⁹³ Archer and Chirichigno, *Quotations*, 9.

⁹⁴ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:80.

⁹⁵ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:20.

⁹⁶ Johnson, *Acts*, 115.

own' is changed to 'foreign land'. Also, 'humiliate them' is omitted. The remaining material is recast in a smooth narrative. This could be viewed as an accurate paraphrase of Genesis 15:13 rather than a direct quotation. For a contrast in usage, Philo quotes part of this verse exactly as a direct quotation:⁹⁷

ΟΤΙ παροικιν εσται το σπερμα σου εν γη ουκ ιδια.

That your descendants will be strangers in a land not their own.

7:7: 1) και το εθνος ω εαν δουλευσουσιν
2) κρινω εγω, ο θεος ειπεν,
3) και μετα ταυτα εξελευσονται
4) και λατρευσουσιν μοι εν τω τοπω τουτω.

'And the nation to which they are enslaved I myself will judge,' God said, 'and after this they will come out and serve me in this place.'

This is another modified quotation taking parts from Genesis and Exodus. 7:7:1-3 is a partial quotation from Genesis 15:14. 7:7:4 is a partial quotation from Exodus 3:12. Luke's Stephen joins these in a conflated summary manner in his argument, and changes the words 'on this mountain' to 'in this place' transferring the focus of God's desired place of worship to either Palestine or Jerusalem.⁹⁸

The LXX has the following for these portions:

Το δε εθνος, ω εαν δουλευσωσιν, κρινω εγω.⁹⁹ (Genesis 15:14)

But the nation, whoever they shall serve, I will judge.

και λατρευσετε τω θεω εν τω ορει τουτω.¹⁰⁰ (Exodus 3:12)

then you will serve God at this mountain.

⁹⁷ Philo, *Heir*, 54:267.

⁹⁸ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 372.

⁹⁹ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:20.

¹⁰⁰ Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta*, I:89.

Philo quotes the first part of this precisely from the LXX text of Genesis 15:14.¹⁰¹

Το δε εθνος ω αν δουλευσωσι κρινω εγω·

The only variant is the interchange of αν for εαν which is a very common substitution after relative pronouns in Greek.¹⁰²

7:8: 1) και εδωκεν αυτω διαθηκην περιτομης
2) και ουτως εγεννησεν τον Ισαακ
3) και περιετεμεν αυτον τη ημερα τη ογδοη,
4) και Ισαακ τον Ιακωβ,
5) και Ιακωβ τους δωδεκα πατριαρχας.

And he gave to him the covenant of circumcision, and so he became the father of Isaac and circumcised him on the eighth day, and Isaac (became the father of) Jacob, and Jacob of the twelve patriarchs.

This verse alludes to at least five portions of Genesis rather than quoting them. The five portions are: Genesis 17:10-27; 21:2-4; 25:26; 29:31-24; and 35:16-26. It condenses the story of the covenant passing from Abraham through Isaac through to Jacob's twelve sons in a very brief fashion. Genesis 17:10-27 contains the institution of the covenant of circumcision with Abraham and his male descendants. 21:2-4 is the account of Isaac's birth. 25:26 is the account of Jacob's birth. 29:31-24 and 35:16-18 are accounts of the births of Jacob's twelve sons. 35:23-26 lists the sons by mother.

Josephus gives summary condensations of the birth of Isaac and the giving of the covenant of circumcision.¹⁰³ Also, Philo mentions some of these events in condensed and summary manners in his brief commentary on Genesis.¹⁰⁴

In summary, concerning the text in Acts 7, it is significant to note that the scriptural references being referred to are clearly recognisable even with the potential discrepancies mentioned, as well as the textual changes made for the purposes of Stephen's speech. The modifications to the Old Testament

¹⁰¹ Philo, *Heir*, 54:272.

¹⁰² BDAG, 56, αν §1.

¹⁰³ Josephus, *Ant* 1:191-192, 213-214.

¹⁰⁴ Philo, *QG* 3:47-52, 58, 60-62; 4:12-19.

texts made for the purposes of recounting the basic stories for Stephen's speech also do not change the original stories but instead retain the basic facts concerning the events and characters of the Old Testament narratives.

Josephus, in his use of material from Genesis, adopts a method of referring to the scriptural stories without quoting them. He recounts their facts and events but puts them in his own order for his own purposes. Philo is more exacting. His citations are usually very precise, though he does on occasion give summary or condensed accounts. The author of Acts employs both of these citation practices as well as using paraphrases that are more recognisably tied to the scriptural texts than Josephus, but not as precisely as Philo. The author of Acts seems to span the breadth of citation practices in use at his time.

It is also significant in this regard to note that there were no recorded textual variants that sought to reconcile the potential discrepancies. Instead, the quotations and allusions, together with their modifications were preserved faithfully in the New Testament manuscript tradition rather than a scribe seeking to change them to make them conform to the Old Testament text even more. The only possible example of this kind of change is at 7:3:4 where three manuscripts add a phrase: Ε (και εκ του οικου του πατρ^{ος}, 'and from the house of the father'), 1505 (και εκ του οικου του πατρο^ς σου, 'and from the house of your father'), and 2495 (και εκ του οικου του πατρ^{ος} σου, 'and from the house of your father'). These additions make their respective quotations conform more closely to the texts in Genesis. But, though these make their respective quotations closer to the LXX text, they still are not attempts to solve the apparent discrepancies.

Surah 14: Quotations and Allusions to Prior Religious Texts

Since the New Testament explicitly referred to the LXX, this section explores the relationship of the chosen Qur'ān portion with any other possible scriptural precedents to its narrative. The three named figures in S. 14:35-41, Ibrāhīm, Isma'īl, and Ishāq, are prominent figures in religious literature prior to the Qur'ān. Also, they are mentioned elsewhere in the Qur'ān. Their mention raises two questions of literary relationship. Does this passage 1) show a

formal literary relationship to earlier religious literature, and 2) show a formal literary relationship to another written portion within the Qur'ān?

The Relationship of S. 14:35-41 to Prior Religious Tradition

Concerning the first issue, the relationship of stories in the Qur'ān to earlier religious literature, many scholars have observed that stories in the Qur'ān bear clear similarities with other religious traditions that preceded Islam.¹⁰⁵ The search for these kinds of precedents occupied the attention of many scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they continue to attract attention today in formal studies of intertextuality. However, concerning S. 14:35-41, no one has been able to uncover a clear literary precedent for this story and the claim made for it in Islamic scholarship that Ibrāhīm helped Isma'īl settle in Mecca.

With that said, it can be asserted that background ingredients can be discerned that could have come together by the seventh/first century so that such a story would have been plausible and positively received by Muḥammad's audience. Nevo and Koren demonstrate that in the centuries immediately preceding Islam there was a form of monotheism present among Arab tribes which looked back to Abraham as its originator.¹⁰⁶ This included a belief that they were descendants of Abraham through Ishmael. The earliest literary record of this belief is found in the first century AD Jewish writer, Josephus, who wrote in Palestine.¹⁰⁷ Also, there is evidence that these tribes held a simple monotheistic creed which they asserted was Abraham's own.¹⁰⁸

Rahman goes so far as to claim that while they had a developed prophetology that used some biblical names, it was actually independent of the biblical literary tradition.¹⁰⁹ The earliest biography of Muḥammad stated that Muḥammad's tribe, the Quraysh, had a longstanding belief that they were descended from Abraham through Ishmael.¹¹⁰ Though the centuries of contact,

¹⁰⁵ Watt and Bell, *Introduction*, 184-186 gives a brief summary of these.

¹⁰⁶ Yehuda D. Nevo and Judith Koren, *Crossroads to Islam*, Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2003, 186-190.

¹⁰⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 1:214, 220.

¹⁰⁸ Nevo and Koren, *Crossroads*, 190.

¹⁰⁹ Fazlur Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'an*, Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980, 82.

¹¹⁰ Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad*, Karachi: OUP, 1967, 628, 691.

trade, warfare and emigration in this region between many religious groups makes a strictly independent tradition unlikely, it does seem plausible that a tradition grew borrowing from a variety of traditions and yet also maintained a separate ethnic and cultural identity.

Also, in Jewish Midrash, there is a story of Abraham making visits to Ishmael in the wilderness,¹¹¹ though Arabia is not mentioned nor Mecca, nor any reference to Abraham and Ishmael building a sanctuary, as is asserted in later Islamic tradition.¹¹² The Jewish stories also do not have them physically meet. On both occasions Abraham talked with one of Ishmael's wives rather than Ishmael himself.¹¹³

The Qur'ānic stories and later Islamic tradition could easily have been constructed from these known precedents being retold and developed in the oral storytelling milieu known for this region and era. Without directly contradicting the biblical stories, they fill in and expand on areas of silence in the biblical text. Firestone observes concerning the Islamic traditions based on the Qur'ān text that the basic body of tradition 'exhibits all the earmarks of a Biblicist tradition that has evolved to the point where it has become acceptable to an Arab Islamic milieu.'¹¹⁴ The Qur'ān story in S. 14:35-41 stands in a clearly plausible relationship to stories known from oral and written literary precedents. It does not quote or allude directly to an earlier literature, but it demonstrates an evolutionary relationship from stories and texts that are known.

Inter-Qur'ānic Relationships in Ibrāhīm Stories

The second issue questions the relationships of material related to Ibrāhīm within the Qur'ān itself. Though no direct relationship can be

¹¹¹ Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909, 1:266-269.

¹¹² Qur'ān S. 2:125-127; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisā'i, *Tales of the Prophets (Qisas al-anbiyā')*, Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., trans. Great Books of the Islamic World, Chicago: Kazi, 1997, 151-154; Brannon Wheeler, *Prophets in the Qur'an*, London: Continuum, 2002, 96-101.

¹¹³ Ginzberg, *Legends*, 266-269.

¹¹⁴ Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1990, 64.

discerned with prior religious literary tradition, there is a discernible written textual relationship between the Ibrāhīm stories within the Qur’ān itself.

Both Islamic and Western scholarship regard S. 14 as having been given during Muḥammad’s stay in Mecca.¹¹⁵ Some Western scholars believe that portions of S. 14:35-41 were given during Muḥammad’s sojourn in Medina and then inserted back into the Meccan material.¹¹⁶ Without going into the details of this particular discussion, the entire section is viewed as being given before the other sections of the Qur’ān that speak of Ibrāhīm at Mecca with Isma‘īl.¹¹⁷

S. 2:126, usually thought to have been given after S. 14, has textual relations to 14:35, 37, and 41. It appears to quote and allude back to these verses in a summary style, and these relationships confirm the view that S. 14 was given before S. 2. The relationship can be easily seen in English translation, and it proves even more precise in the Arabic.¹¹⁸

2:126: 1 When Ibrāhīm said,

و اذ قال ابراهيم 1

2 O my Lord! Make this land secure,

رب اجعل هذا بلداً آمناً 2

3 and provide its people with fruits

وارزق اهله من الثمرات 3

4 whosoever of them as believes in Allah and the Last Day.

من آمن منهم بالله واليوم الآخر 4

14:35: 1 When Ibrāhīm said,

و اذ قال ابراهيم 1

2 O my Lord! Make this land secure...

رب اجعل هذا البلد آمناً 2

14:37: 6 and make provision for them of fruits

¹¹⁵ Watt and Bell, *Introduction*, 110, 206-207.

¹¹⁶ Watt and Bell, *Introduction*, 206-207.

¹¹⁷ These are S. 2:118-124; 9:114; 19:47; 26:86; 60:4.

¹¹⁸ Bell’s English translation is used with its numbering conformed to the current standard. The further subdivisions are this writer’s convention.

وارزقهم من الثمرت 6

14:41: 2 and the believers on the day when takes place the reckoning.

وللمومنين يوم يقوم لاحساب 2

2:126:1 and 14:35: 1 are the same verbatim.

2:126:2 and 14:35:2 are exactly the same except that land in 2:126:2 is indefinite and land in 14:35:2 is definite.

2:126:3 and 14:37:6 are almost the same, except that 2:126:3 has ‘provide its people’ with the specific word for people, and 14:37:6 leaves the people indefinite by attaching a direct object pronominal suffix to the verb, ‘provide them’. Both forms use the same verb in the same imperative mood, and both use the same words for ‘with fruit.’

2:126:4 and 14:41:2 present the same basic themes, though using different words. Both speak of believers in Allah at the Judgment Day. Concerning believers, 2:126:4 speaks indefinitely of them as ‘whosoever will believe.’ 14:41:2 speaks simply of ‘the believers.’ Concerning the Judgment Day, 2:126 uses the phrase, ‘the last day,’ whereas 14:41:2 uses ‘the day when the reckoning takes place,’ both verses speaking of different facets of the Day of Judgment in the Qur’ān.

The options that seem to present themselves from this situation are:

- 1) That 2:126 is using written material taken from S. 14 and refashioning it for a different written literary context;
- 2) That 2:126 records a different oral performance of the nascent Islamic Ibrāhīm story reusing some stock themes in a summary fashion.

- 3) That things are the other way around, S. 2:126 is the prior passage and S. 14 is using the material, either written or oral, in a new and expanded retelling of the story.

The simple themes being used could support any of these scenarios, but 1) seems the most likely to this writer for the following reasons:

- 1) The precision of the Arabic being repeated. In a strictly oral retelling, or the recording of an oral performance variant, one would expect more variation on all of the basic themes. A way to describe this would be as if all of the verses demonstrated a similar degree of flexible handling of the theme as do S. 41:2 and S. 2:126:4 concerning the Judgment Day.
- 2) The content of the story in S. 14 seems the more complete telling of the story with S. 2 presenting a summary recollection. S. 2:126 uses basic themes from throughout the longer story in S. 14 compacting them in a summary fashion into one verse. It does so in an explicit manner of calling the audience to remember the longer story. Also, 2:126 is in the midst of a pericope (2:124-130) concerning Abraham where each verse recalls a vignette in his life. 2:126 recalls the vignette told in the longer and more basic form in S. 14:35-41.
- 3) S. 2 is held to have been revealed later than S. 14 in Muslim tradition, and all Western commentators consulted confirmed this (see chart below).

S. 14:35-41 may have earlier material than other later passages in the Qur'ān use as well. One concerns the issue of Ibrāhīm praying for the forgiveness of his idolatrous parents.

If in S. 14:41:1 the autographic text-form was 'والدي', (pronounced with the *alif* even if not written), then this would be an important verse for establishing the order of development within the Qur'ān of Allah's dealings with Ibrāhīm on the issue of praying for unbelievers. The theme of Ibrāhīm praying for the forgiveness of his parents occurs in five places in the

Qur'ān: 9:114; 14:41; 19:47; 26:86 and 60:4. These verses fall into a natural order when they are viewed according to established schemes of the order of the revelation of their surahs. Here is a table showing the various orders assigned to these surahs, together with the proposed order of revelation within the Qur'ān in parentheses.¹¹⁹ Surah 2 has been included to help understand the context of the remarks concerning its relation to 14 as a background to 14's relationship to these other passages.

Egyptian	Muir	Nöldeke	Grimme	Bell	Watt
19 (44)	26 (61)	26 (56)	14 (50)	14 (late Mec.)	26 (late Mec.)
26 (47)	19 (68)	19 (58)	26 (71)	26 (early Med.)	19 (late Mec./ early Med.)
14 (72)	14 (80)	14 (76)	19 (78)	2 (early Med.)	14 (late Mec./ early Med.)
2 (87)	2 (94)	2 (91)	2 (93)	19 (early Med.)	2 (early Med.)
60 (91)	60 (111)	60 (110)	60 (105)	60 (late Med.)	60 (late Med.)
9 (113)	9 (114)	9 (113)	9 (114)	9 (late Med.)	9 (late Med.)

Note the general consensus on the position of S. 14, especially for it preceding S. 2. The exceptions are Grimme and Bell, and Bell considers 14:36-37 to be a Medinan insertion in Meccan material. Bell does not place the portions of surahs in an overall order and neither does Watt, so there can be some flexibility in their categories, especially for 14, 26, 2, and 19. For instance, with Bell's dating, he views especially 14, 26, 2, and 19 as having mixtures of either Meccan and Medinan material, or Medinan material which was refashioned from a Meccan version. This order and description is based on the general tenor of his comments of each surah, and it is fair to infer that, at the least, he viewed 14:35-41 as preceding 2:126. Watt does not go into this

¹¹⁹ Compiled from Watt and Bell, *Introduction*, 206-209; W. M. Watt, *Companion to the Qur'ān*, Revised edn., Oxford: Oneworld, 1994; and Richard Bell, *The Qur'ān*.

degree of detail. There is complete unanimity that 60 and 9 are very late Medinan.

These orders also mirror the general chronological order that can be assigned to the events from Ibrāhīm's life. Surahs 19 and 26 give versions of the story of Ibrāhīm as a lad confronting his father and his people concerning their idolatry. Surah 14 presents an event from Ibrāhīm's adult years when he settled Hagar and Ismā'īl at Mecca. Surahs 2, 60, and 9 are all recollections back to these events in Ibrāhīm's life: S. 2:126 to the time in Mecca, and Surahs 60 and 9 to his confrontation with his father. His prayer requests for his parents' forgiveness can be listed in this chronological order:

- 1) 26:86 'And forgive my father...' (واغفر لابی)
- 2) 19:47 '...I shall ask pardon for thee of my Lord;...' (just his father is in view in the context.) (ساستغبر لك ربی)
- 3) 14:41:1 'O our Lord, forgive me and my parents,' (ربنا اغفر لی ولوالدی)
- 4) 60:4 'Verily, I will ask forgiveness for you...' (لاستغفرن لك)
- 5) 9:114 'Abraham's praying for pardon for his father...' (وما كان استغفار) (ابرھیم)

14:41 uses the same verb form as 26:86 (Form I, imperative اغفر)
60:4 and 9:114 use the same basic verb form as 19:47 (Form X, indicative استغفر)

S. 14:35-41 exhibits two significant features. In relation to 2:126, it provides the written scriptural material that 2:126 then reuses in a refashioned form. In relation to 26:86, it may have the opposite relation; that it refashions or at the least alludes to earlier material for use in this context of a later period in Ibrāhīm's life. Neuwirth documents the phenomenon of narrative Meccan texts that were repeated and recast in Medinan passages by means of the

insertion or addition of commentary that updated the earlier material for a new situation. She states,¹²⁰

This is particularly fruitful with the Medinan texts where narratives are no longer meant primarily to “remind” the community of Biblical historical precedents as may have been the case with the Meccan narratives, but which much more frequently serve to comment on earlier related accounts reviewing them in light of new discourses.

Using S. 14:35-41 as a reminder to the community from their shared religious and ethnic heritage of descent from Abraham and Ishmael, and a shared pool of stories concerning them, S. 2:126 recasts many of these words and ideas in ways amenable to a later setting of religious exhortation in the developing community. And S. 14:41:1 recasts or alludes to a phrase from an earlier story in S. 26, but this time including Ibrāhīm’s mother in his prayer for forgiveness. S. 14:35-41 uses prior religious literature, and also becomes the literature that is later re-used or referred back to, both within the Qur’ān itself. This would also confirm in a small measure Bell’s conclusion concerning his own analysis of this kind of phenomenon in the Qur’ān that,¹²¹

As to phraseology, the analysis has brought out a few cases in which the wording of a later passage was influenced by that of an earlier one, and this may have happened oftener than we can detect owing to the use of the Qur’ān in pious recitation.

A Complication Raised by Textual Criticism

There is a complication with S. 14:41:1, though. If ‘parents’ (والدي) is not the autographic text-form at this point, but instead it is ‘children’ (ولدي), then 14:41:1 would not be recasting or alluding to an earlier story. Instead, it would be adding a new dimension to the saga of Ibrāhīm, that he prayed for his children’s and possibly descendants’ forgiveness. This is an attractive view for a number of reasons. First, if this were ‘children’ it would solve the minor

¹²⁰ Angelika Neuwirth, ‘Meccan Texts- Medinan Additions? Politics and Re-reading of Liturgical Communications’, R. Arnzen and J. Thielmann, *Words, Texts, and Concepts Cruising the Mediterranean Sea*, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterse Studies, 2004, 139, 75-76.

¹²¹ Bell, *Qur’ān*, 2:690.

anomaly that this was the only Qur'ān verse that has Ibrāhīm praying for his parents, not just his father. All other accounts have him praying for the forgiveness of his father.¹²² Also, contextually, it fits the complete story in 14:35-41 better than 'parents.' Ibrāhīm's two sons were mentioned in 14:39, not his parents. In 14:41 Ibrāhīm prays for his forgiveness first and ends with the forgiveness of believers in general. If this is taken as him praying with what was then future to him in his mind, having his sons in view between praying for himself and then believers makes sense. This makes more sense then praying for himself, then hearkening back to and repeating earlier prayers for his parents, and then turning forward again to consider the forgiveness of believers.

In the wider context of the Qur'ān there is a complete lack of other prayers concerning both of Ibrāhīm's parents. This, taken together with the argument from the immediate context of 14:35-41 that Ibrāhīm's sons are in view, provides a sound basis for considering *ولدى* understood as 'children' the autographic form of the word in 14:41:1.

Conclusions Concerning the Use of Prior Religious Texts

S. 14:35-41 gives a glimpse of three phenomena of the Qur'ān's use of prior scriptural material. First, on the broad scale of intertextual borrowing from other religious traditions, the Qur'ān alludes to prior scriptural stories in a way that acknowledges their existence, yet uses the material in a way that bears testimony to a wide corpus of tradition and the flexibility of text and themes that can arise in oral tradition and storytelling. It does not quote directly from any known prior scriptural or literary source, though loose connections can be drawn to known traditions, in the case of this story, to Jewish traditions concerning Abraham's visits to Ishmael, and to known convictions of Arabian ethnic descent to Abraham through Ishmael. This material, however, is put in the service of augmented stories of an unknown provenance which contain distinctive emphases of Abraham visiting Mecca personally. The wider Qur'ānic corpus has Ibrāhīm establishing Islamic-style

¹²² S. 9:114; 19:47; 26:86; 60:4.

worship in Mecca and building the Ka'ba with Ismā'īl's assistance. This story serves this wider story in providing the initial establishment of Ismā'īl in Mecca, and that partly for the purpose of establishing ritual prayer.

The second phenomenon is that of use of scriptural material within the Qur'ān itself. S. 14:35-41 seems to be a prior text that S. 2:126 alludes to and borrows from. S. 2:126 appears to borrow small portions directly from the entire story, even from part which some Western scholars believe to be a later Medinan interpolation, verses 36 and 37.¹²³ 2:126 refashions this borrowed material in a summary form in recounting this part of Ibrāhīm's life during a retelling of the various stories concerning Ibrāhīm contained in the Qur'ān. 2:126 can be taken as a direct reference back to S. 14:35-41, and no other known literary source is referred to.

The third phenomenon is that S. 14:41:1 alludes to another portion of the Qur'ān, Surah 26:86, and possibly borrowed from it as a written text. The words involved are general enough that they could have been an allusion from memory of the story, rather than being a quotation from a written literary precedent, but quotation from a written precedent cannot be ruled out either. It is a more general reference than that in 2:126, and if it were an allusion to a remembered oral story, than S. 14:35-41 might bear testimony from two directions to the transition from reliance on oral transmission to written transmission of Qur'ānic material that some scholars believe occurred as early as the late Meccan period.¹²⁴

This view just mentioned is dependent on the autographic text-form having the reading of one word in 14:41:1 as والدى , 'parents.' If the autographic text-form had ولدى , understood as 'children,' then 14:41:1's relationship to 26:86 is not one of allusion or borrowing, but rather it provides a different and additional incident to augment the various events in the Qur'ānic account of Ibrāhīm. This would restrict the testimony of S. 14:35-41 to just one part of the transition from oral to written transmission. Only the

¹²³ These are verses 39 and 40 in Bell's translation. Bell, *Qur'ān*, 1:239-240.

¹²⁴ Angelika Neuwirth, 'Structure and the Emergence of Community', A. Rippin, *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān*, London: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, 140-158, citing 152.

relationship between 14:35-41 and 2:126 would then provide a window into early intertextuality within the Qur'ān.

The Use of Prior Religious Texts

The stories found in the Qur'ān concerning Abraham that were crafted in the seventh/first century Arabian environment are what have remained in Islamic tradition and historiography, not the Jewish traditions and other stories that preceded them. Instead of using texts from a prior religious book, stories from prior religious traditions were reworked and recorded in new versions in a new religious text. Their fixation in a text is what preserved them and gave the Muslims an enduring sense of a special religious identity directly related to Abraham; an identity related to scriptural forbears, yet also quite independent of how they were presented in earlier religious literature.

Within this new text, there was then further development of that newly fixed textual material. There was allusion back to earlier material as well as quotation and summarisation. There is the possibility that within the Qur'ān itself are the signs of transition from an oral literature mindset to a written literature mindset. The oral literary mindset is one where stories are flexible and change with every performance depending on the audience and situation. The written mindset comes in when a particular performance of the story is committed to writing and takes on an authoritative identity which then comes to be viewed as the true or autographic text-form of the story. Then that text of the story is what is used for further reference.

Use of Prior Scriptural Texts in Both Scriptural Traditions

It was demonstrated that the writer of Acts made extensive use of prior scriptural texts in shaping the narrative of Stephen's encounter with the Jewish authorities. Additionally, it is significant to note that even with the potential discrepancies mentioned in the account, as well as the textual changes made for the purposes of Stephen's speech, the scriptural references referred to are clearly recognisable.

It is also significant to note that there were no recorded textual variants that sought to reconcile the potential discrepancies. Instead, the quotations and allusions, together with their modifications were preserved faithfully in the New Testament manuscript tradition rather than a scribe seeking to change them to make them conform even more to the Old Testament text. The only possible example of this kind of change is at 7.3.4 where E, 1505 and 2495 add ‘and from your father’s house’ (καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου/τοῦ πατρὸς σου) and 7.4.6 in codices D and E, which add ‘and your father’s house’ (καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οἱ προ ἡμῶν/καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν) These additions make their respective quotations conform more closely to the texts in Genesis in the LXX. But, though these make their respective quotations closer to the LXX text, they still are not attempts to solve the apparent discrepancies. This presents a strong contrast to the use of prior religious material in the Qur’ān.

The Qur’ānic story recounted in S. 14:35-41 seems to have been based on a story known to Muḥammad’s audience but with no written antecedent known to contemporary scholarship. The Qur’ān story in S. 14:35-41 stands in a clearly plausible relationship to stories known from oral and written literary precedents. It does not quote from or allude directly to an earlier literature, but it demonstrates an evolutionary relationship from stories and texts that are known.

With this background, since it has been observed that a defining feature of oral literature is its expansion and contraction across multiple performances,¹²⁵ it is significant that textual variants were not found expanding the story even further to either fill in the areas of ambiguity or make the account a longer and more detailed story. This might be a way of describing the relationship of this account in S. 14:35-41 to the one in S. 2:2:126:1-3, but this kind of relationship is not found across manuscripts containing the account in S. 14:35-41. The few variants that were found, especially with the intentional grammatical variants, seem to have been attempts to make the story more internally consistent. These details were not

¹²⁵ Michael Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978, 10.

further expanded, like the small expansions and additions observed for the New Testament story in Acts 7:1-8.

The variants observed in Qur'ān palimpsests are of a degree that could perhaps exhibit small additions comparable to the New Testament's, but more narrative material would have to be analysed in order to make a definitive statement on this. It can be said, though, that the content so far observed in the palimpsests is of the same nature as the existing Qur'ān material. It does not demonstrate the larger degree of fluidity characteristic of oral literature. Also, it does not show any different affinities to written literary antecedents.

These observations, taken together, demonstrate that the Qur'ān's text at the earliest point in time available, was not left to the dynamics of that oral culture to continue expanding, even though it was apparently generated originally in that oral culture. It was also not allowed to expand within the limited allowances that were permitted in the New Testament tradition of its time. Instead, if the manuscripts used here are dated accurately, within 100 years of its genesis in an oral culture, at least part of the Qur'ān text had reached a state of written standardisation in transmission that surpassed the surveyed portion of the New Testament, at this point at least 600 years into its transmission. This is a phenomenal transformation by any standard of measure. This is further evidence for an early major written editorial project, and one arising from an impetus strong enough and focused enough to overcome the oral conventions that had been in place in Arabia for centuries.

The most important issue this raises is the fundamental difference of the cultures in which these books were produced in regard to the dynamics of written and oral tradition. With the New Testament, the culture emphasised written literature, even in the oral performance of texts. With the Qur'ān this emphasis was inverted. Oral literature dynamics were the more foundational for the transmission of religious and cultural knowledge. These different cultural situations produced two different kinds of texts. However, the Qur'ān itself, followed by the Islamic conquests, started a transformation of its culture which within two centuries saw written literature ascendant in Islamic domains. The form and text of the Qur'ān had to be changed more in its culture's transition than the New Testament did, since the New Testament originated and remained for centuries in cultures that were dominated by conventions of written literature. The text of the Qur'ān had to be

improved and its inherent oral flexibility stabilised. These things were achieved through almost Herculean efforts at editing and the devising of systems that could express with economy and precision all of the phonetic and semantic information necessary for the Qur'ān to be a complete piece of written literature and a source for religious law, theology, and devotion.

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