

**Arabic Scribal Practices in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th Centuries:
Normative Sources and Manuscript Evidence**

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Declaration of Independent work:

I hereby declare that this dissertation was written and prepared by me independently. Furthermore, no sources and aids other than those indicated have been used. Intellectual property of other authors has been marked accordingly. I also declare that I have not submitted the dissertation in this or any other form to any other institution as a dissertation.

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Note on transliteration and dates

Table of transliteration

ء	’	ض	d
ا	ā	ط	t
ب	b	ظ	z
ت	t	ع	’
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	هـ	h
س	s	ة	ah /at
ش	sh	و	ū, w
ص	ṣ	ي/ى	ī, y

Note on Dates

The dates and the centuries are given according to both the Hijrī and the Gregorian calendar.

Abstract (English)

It is incumbent on scholars of Arabic studies and Islamic studies who deal with manuscripts to understand pre-modern Arabic scribal practices. This thesis aims to improve our understanding of two aspects of Arabic scribal practices from the third/ninth-fourth/tenth centuries: the paratexts of manuscripts and the elements that help establish clarity and correctness. The study of the paratexts includes the title page, the introductory section, and the colophon. Regarding elements that help establish clarity and correctness, this thesis pays attention to the use of diacritical points and vowels, the cancellation of dittographies, the insertion of omissions, and the methods of preventing and correcting text mistakes. This thesis also analyzes the collation process and how it is marked in the manuscripts. The methodology of this study is to synthesize the normative sources that discuss these elements of scribal practice and then use the findings of this analysis on a selection of manuscripts.

Abstract (German)

Wer sich mit den Handschriften befasst, muss die vormoderne arabische Schreibpraxis verstehen. Diese Arbeit zielt darauf ab, unser Verständnis von zwei Aspekten der arabischen Schreibpraxis zu verbessern: den Paratexten der Manuskripte und den Elementen, welche einen klaren und korrekten Text garantieren sollen. Jahrhunderte ermöglichen. Die Analyse der Paratexte umfasst das Titelblatt, den Einleitungsteil und den Kolophon. Im Bezug auf die Etablierung eines klaren und korrekten Textes befasst sich die Untersuchung mit der Traditionen der bestimmten Konstruktionen, wie z.B. der Genitivkonstruktion.

Die Forschung umfasst auch eine Analyse des Kollationierungsprozesses und seiner Markierungen, der diakritischen Punkten und Vokalzeichen, der Aufhebung von Dittographien, dem Einfügen von Auslassungen und der Methoden zur Vermeidung und Korrektur von Textfehlern.

Die Methode dieser Studie besteht darin, die normativen Quellen, die über die Schreibpraxis sprechen, und die Ergebnisse der Analyse der tatsächlichen Manuskripte in einem vergleichenden Sinne zu synthetisieren, um die Aspekte der untersuchten Schreibpraxis besser zu verstehen. Die normativen Quellen informieren uns jedoch über einige Elemente nicht genau; daher ist in diesen Fällen die intensive Analyse der handschriftlichen Dokumente der einzige Weg, solche Elemente zu verstehen.

Abbreviations

Az = al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah

BA = Baladiyyat al-Iskandariyyah

BNF = Bibliothèque nationale de France

BDK = Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi

Ch. B. = Chester Beatty

DK = Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah

Fazil= Fazil Ahmed Paşa

GAS = *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*

HAWT = *History of the Arabic written Tradition*

IUL. Ar. = Istanbul University Library Arabic

Lal. = Laleli

LSCM = The Library of Saint Catherine's Monastery

MAW = Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭaniyyah

MDSK Ar. = Maktabat Dayr Sant Katrin Arabic Manuscripts

MI = Maktabat al-Iskandariyyah

MMA = Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyyah

MMMI = al-Maktabah al-Markaziyyah li-l-Makhtūṭāt al-Islāmiyyah

MRT = Maktabat Rifā'ah al-Ṭaḥṭāwī

Qar. = Maktabat al-Qarawiyyīn

Reis = Reisulkuttab

Saib = Ismail Saib

SBB = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Şehid = Şehid Ali Paşa

SL = Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi

UL = Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden

Vat. Ar. = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arabic

Vel. Ef. = Veliyeddin Efendi

1. Introduction

Despite a great dependence upon the oral transmission of knowledge, Arabic-Islamic civilization, particularly at its early time, is a “civilization of the written word.”¹ As early as the third/ninth century, the manuscript book became the predominant medium of knowledge transmission.² Hence, extant Arabic manuscripts are the testimonies of this civilization and one of the main primary sources of research in Arabic and Islamic studies.

The third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries witnessed a flourishing in Arabic-Islamic written knowledge production. Since the second/eighth century, numerous factors motivated book production, including the widespread use of paper,³ the translation of foreign books into Arabic,⁴ and the development of various fields of scholarship. Moreover, writing books in various fields started in the second/eighth century and continued to the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries and well beyond.⁵ Furthermore, this was a time of significant development in scholarship for the four *Sunnī madhhabs*.⁶ At the beginning of the second half of the second/eighth century, foreign texts, such as the Greek scientific ones, were rendered into Arabic. It was also the period that witnessed the appearance of eminent belles-lettres.⁷ Many manuscripts from this period are extant and found in various modern-day libraries worldwide.⁸

Thus, the extant manuscripts of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries are valuable. These manuscripts are the “vehicles of thought”⁹ of an important period of Arabic civilization. Therefore, the scholars of the Arabic and Islamic studies who focus on the third/ninth and

¹ Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 6. On being a written and oral civilization, see Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written; Genesis*; Gruendler, *Book Culture Before Print*; “Aspects of craft”; *The Rise*.

² On the spread of the Arabic book in the third/ninth century, see Gruendler, *The Rise*.

³ On the introduction and the widespread of paper in the Islamic world, see Bloom, *Paper Before Print*, 42-89. For more literature on paper issues, see Gruendler, *The Rise*, 177-8, note 47.

⁴ On the translation movement in general, see Gutas, *Greek Thought*; Saliba, *Islamic science*, see particularly pp. 2-129.

⁵ On the book production’s circumstances in this period, see Gruendler, *The Rise* (more on the third/ninth century); al-Ḥalwājī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī* (on both the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries).

⁶ On the developing of the *Sunnī* legal schools, see Melchert, *The Formation*. On the formation of the Shāfi‘ī school in particular, see El Shamsy, “From Tradition to Law.”

⁷ On this in general, see Ashtiany et. al., *Abbasid Belles-Lettres*.

⁸ To get an idea about the spread of the Arabic manuscripts until the fifth/eleventh century in the libraries of the world, see ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 77-239.

⁹ Gacek, *Vademecum*, X.

fourth/tenth centuries, use manuscripts that date back to these centuries. Consequently, the analysis of the codicological aspects that facilitates the use of these manuscripts is essential.

So far, third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century manuscripts have received little scholarly attention concerning their scribal practices. Studying scribal practices includes analyzing the paratexts, the page layout, the elements of clarity and correctness of text, such as the insertions of omissions, and the script. Covering all these elements requires more than one study. The present contribution is dedicated to two important aspects of scribal practice: the paratexts and the elements of clarity and correctness. The paratexts and the elements of clarity and correctness are essential to everyone who deals with manuscripts. The paratexts inform the reader of details such as: what a particular text is, who the author, is how the text is transmitted from the author, who the copyist of a book is, when, where and for whom a particular text was copied, and the book's theme and methodology.¹⁰ The elements of clarity and correctness are simply the aspects of a manuscript that establish clarity and correctness. Thus, it is essential that a manuscript reader is aware of them. For example, the manuscript user needs to know whether a manuscript is collated or not, and hence if it is reliable or not. Recognising the occurrence of the collation process, requires a familiarity with collation symbols and statements. Moreover, the reader has to know the process of cancelling text to prevent confusion between a cancelled text and an uncanceled one.

The current study is limited to non- Qur'ānic manuscripts. Qur'ānic manuscripts have already received much scholarly attention.¹¹ In addition, scribal practices in the Qur'ānic manuscripts are different from those in non- Qur'ānic manuscripts. This contribution is important for our understanding of the history of the Arabic book. This study broadens our knowledge of book writing in the early period. In my research, I analyze the presentation of written material to the reader focusing on two elements that support this presentation, the paratexts and the elements of clarity and correctness.

To what extent can we understand scribal practices of non-Qur'ānic manuscripts from the normative sources and through an investigation of manuscripts? That is the question that this dissertation attempts to answer. Thus, the current study is divided into two main sections. The first

¹⁰ On paratexts, see section 3.

¹¹ See for example, Whelan, "The Writing of the Word of God"; Dutton, "Red Dots, Part 1, ""Red Dots, Part 2"; Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*"; Witkam, "Twenty-Nine Rules."

section deals with the elements of the paratext. This section discusses the “liminal devices” or “paratextual elements” “that mediate the relation between the text and the reader” in the front and end positions of the manuscript.¹² These paratextual elements are the title page, the introductory section (including the *basmalah*, the *isnād*, and the preface), and the colophon. The second section focusses on the elements that relate to clarity and correctness. Here I focus on the elements that help establish a clear and correct text. These elements aim at preventing confusion (*mā yamna‘u al-ilbās/al-iltibās*, “which prevents the confusion”).¹³ These include keeping the words of particular constructions in one single line, the collation, providing diacritical points to letters and distinguishing the unpointed letters, vocalization, the cancellation of dittographies, the insertion of omitted elements, and the measures utilized in avoiding or correcting erroneous parts of the text. The discussion is based upon a comparative analysis of the normative sources and the main corpus’s manuscript specimens. The study begins with an introduction and presentation of the corpus used in this study. Finally, a conclusion of the whole thesis is given at the end.

Considering the aim of the current study, previous studies that overlap with it are categorized and reviewed under the following broad categories: studies dealing with the normative sources, studies on the history of the early Arabic book, and studies referring to the scribal elements under examination.

For the studies dealing with the normative source(s), an essential contribution is Franz Rosenthal’s translation and commentary of the tenth/sixteenth manual of al-‘Almawī, *al-Mu‘īd*, which covers many of the scribal elements discussed in our study, but as practiced in tenth/sixteenth century. Another contribution is Adam Gacek’s work which presents elements of the copying tradition by pre-modern scholars in the fields of *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth* and *adab al-‘ālim wa-l-muta‘allim*.¹⁴ In this study, Gacek covers various sources from the fourth/tenth century up until the tenth/sixteenth century. He attempts to collect, organize, and scrutinize elements of Arabic scribal practices of codices as depicted in a range of normative sources until the tenth/sixteenth century. Gacek mainly relies on al-Ghazzī’s manual *al-Durr al-naḍīd*. However,

¹² Macksey, “Foreword,” XI- XII.

¹³ The function of “preventing confusion” is mentioned explicitly in al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 164; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 196.

¹⁴ Gacek, “Technical Practices.”

the focus of Gacek's paper is broader than the focus of this current study. Furthermore, Gacek only discusses the scribal traditions through the sources.

Regarding previous works on the history of the Arabic book, some works are dedicated to the early history of the Arabic book. The studies of Schoeler and Gruendler (2012, 2016, 2020) shed light on the history of Arabic knowledge transmission and book production until the third/ninth century.¹⁵ While both Schoeler and Gruendler depend on the narrative sources, Gruendler (2020) also analyzes a corpus of third/ninth-century manuscripts.¹⁶ In addition, we have al-Ḥalwajī's work (2011) which focuses on the history of scribal practices of the Arabic manuscripts up until the fourth/tenth century.¹⁷ Besides studying the narrative sources, he also analyzes a corpus of specimens, primarily from the Egyptian National Library. The present research complements these previous studies with its investigation on practical aspects of the scribal traditions. It seeks to give broader insights into Arabic book history in the early centuries relating to the practical aspects of the writing process.

Concerning works that refer to the scribal elements under examination, some of the studies mentioned above also deal with these issues. These works give separate but brief treatments of some of these scribal elements. Research relevant to the present dissertation is reviewed according to each element under discussion.

1.1. Studies on the elements of the paratext

Little attention has generally been given to the title page as a unit of the manuscript. Şeşen (1997) wrote about the significance of the title page as a source that provides us with much information about the manuscript.¹⁸ He gave examples of title pages that go back to different centuries, among them the fourth/tenth-century MS Fazil 1507 and MS Fazil 1508,¹⁹ both of which are under examination in the present research. However, Şeşen's work does not offer an intensive analysis

¹⁵ Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written; Genesis*; Gruendler, *Book Culture, Aspects of Craft, The Rise*.

¹⁶ Gruendler, *The Rise*.

¹⁷ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makḥṭūṭ al-'Arabī*. This book was originally a PhD thesis (1967): al-Ḥalwajī, "al-Makḥṭūṭ al-'Arabī mundhu ilā ākhir al-qarn al-rābi' al-Hijrī," then abridged in an article (1967): al-Ḥalwajī, "al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-makḥṭūṭ fī nash'atihi." It was previously published as a monograph: Jiddah, Maktabat Mişbāh, 1989. Hereafter I quote the latest edition: Cairo: al-Dār al-Mişriyyah al-Lubnāniyyah, 2011.

¹⁸ Şeşen, "Ahamiyyat şafḥat al-'unwān."

¹⁹ But Şeşen refers to these volumes as Köprülü 1507 and Köprülü 1508, see Şeşen, "Ahamiyyat şafḥat al-'unwān," 180, 185, 188, 193.

of the title pages but rather presents preliminary notes on them.²⁰ The title page is also not discussed in al-Ḥalwajī's study, mentioned above. In his work he argues that Arabic copyists did not execute title pages at the outset of the Arabic book production.²¹

The title itself was been the focus of independent studies from those previously mentioned. Arḥīlah (2015) wrote a book dealing with the Arabic book's title from different perspectives.²² He begins by discussing the concept of the *'unwān* (the title/address) in Arabic-Islamic culture.²³ He then discusses the significance, indication, function, and formulation of Arabic book titles in general.²⁴ Identifying the title to catalogue the manuscripts, and text criticism are also discussed in a general sense in Arḥīlah's book.²⁵

The structure of Arabic titles has also been the focus of attention in western scholarship. Ambros analyzed titles which contain one or more noun phrases and were linked with the conjunction *wa* (and). These titles often included a prepositional phrase.²⁶ Unlike the present study, Ambros limited his research to the fifth/eleventh and twelfth/the eighteenth century since rhyming titles only became popular from the fourth/tenth century.²⁷ Ambros examines the "lexicon and the syntax" of 1690 titles listed in Brockelmann's GAL.²⁸ In his survey, Ambros observed that titles tend to be short.²⁹ He also argues that Arabic titles tended to adopt a formula which is made up of two noun phrases: the first intended to motivate a positive attitude to the reader, and the second plays the role of a subtitle.³⁰ According to Ambros, the titles in this form frequently include certain keywords to create a positive impression; the most frequent words being *durr* (pearl) and *tuhfah* (gem).³¹ Ambros limits himself to titles in the form of rhymed prose, i.e., titles that include at least one rhyme, so-called "*saj'* titles."³² He does not take into account other variant titles, such as the

²⁰ See section 2.2.2.6 below.

²¹ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-'Arabī*, 157. On al-Ḥalwajī's view, see section 3.1.6.

²² Arḥīlah, *al-'Unwān*.

²³ Arḥīlah, *al-'Unwān*, 5-43.

²⁴ Arḥīlah, *al-'Unwān*, 45-88.

²⁵ Arḥīlah, *al-'Unwān*, for cataloguing, see 89-97, for text criticism, see 99-193.

²⁶ EI², s. v. "Unwān"; Ambros, "Beobachtungen," 13.

²⁷ Ambros, "Beobachtungen," 15.

²⁸ Ambros, "Beobachtungen," 14. In my research I use the English version of GAL (Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols. and 3 suppl. vols. Leiden: Brill, 1996), abbreviated HAWT.

²⁹ EI², s. v. "Unwān."

³⁰ Ambros, "Beobachtungen," 13-57. Ambros wrote a helpful short article summarizing the main findings of this study in EI. s. v. "Unwān."

³¹ Ambros, "Beobachtungen," 29.

³² Ambros, "Beobachtungen," 14-16.

Manāqib al-Imān al-Shāfi‘ī (“The Virtues of al-Imam al-Shāfi‘ī”).³³ These kinds of titles are a prominent object of analysis in the current study.

Relying on Brockelmann without working on the actual manuscripts can be problematic in dating such titles. The ascription of a given title to a particular century needs to be assessed not only by tracing the title in a dated manuscript but also by exploring if the title was written at the time the manuscript was copied. This cannot be achieved by solely depending on collected titles from GAL. The present study takes a step towards accomplishing what Ambros’s important work lacks, but by focussing on third/ninth -fourth/ninth-tenth century titles. The titles are studied directly from the actual manuscripts.

Ambros deals with the titles on their own as a literary text which aims at “making the title memorable” and “generating a positive impression among the readers” about a particular work.³⁴ Similar to Ambros’s work, González has also contributed to the structure of the Arabic book title.³⁵ He analyzes a hundred Arabic book titles to determine the traditional structure of Arabic book titles.³⁶ He establishes a division between the titles that directly state the book’s subject “without a search for stylistic resources, namely the titles without ornament” and the titles that are embellished with ornamentation.³⁷ Like Ambros, his focus on the embellished titles is restricted to titles in *saj‘*.³⁸

The title has also been given attention in the field of Arabic literary studies. Unlike the contribution by Muḥammad ‘Uways (1988), which is focused on the title of the Arabic *qaṣīdah* (poem),³⁹ the present research deals with the title, not as a literary text, but as a codicological element of the manuscript which facilitates the use of the book. Ḥamadāwī (1997) has looked at the title in Arabic literature through the approach of semiotics.⁴⁰ However, he mainly relies on Genette’s *Paratexts*.

³³ Ambros, “Beobachtungen,” 14-15.

³⁴ Ambros, “Beobachtungen,” 14.

³⁵ González, “La Estructura del Título.”

³⁶ González, “La Estructura del Título,” 181.

³⁷ González, “La Estructura del Título,” 181.

³⁸ González, “La Estructura del Título,” 181-2.

³⁹ ‘Uways, *al-‘Unwān fī al-adab al-‘Arabī*.

⁴⁰ Jamīl Ḥamadāwī, “al-Sīmiyūṭīqā wa-l-‘Anwanah.”

The preface section as a codicological part of manuscripts has been given little attention. Gacek (2009) discusses the preface in Arabic manuscripts but without a focus on a particular period.⁴¹ Al-Ḥalwajī (2011) also analyzes the introductory section,⁴² but not in detail. Other studies have also focussed on the introductions of the Arabic book in a general sense but without focusing on the actual manuscripts. These are the works of Freimark (1967),⁴³ al-‘Amad (1987),⁴⁴ and Arḥīlah (2017).⁴⁵

The *isnād* as a chain of transmitters given before the *matn* (“text”) of a prophetic tradition or a historical report has received much scholarly attention. In this regard, over the twentieth century, theories about the origin and chronology of the *isnād* have been prominent. Here, mention should be made of Schacht (1949),⁴⁶ Sezgin (1984),⁴⁷ Horovitz (2004),⁴⁸ and Robson (2004).⁴⁹ Al-A‘zamī (1977) has also discussed the origin and use of the *isnād* in *ḥadīth*.⁵⁰ These theories about the *isnād*’s origin were recently reviewed by Pavlovitch (2018).⁵¹ Furthermore, Gruendler (2020) has broached upon the *isnād* as being a part of the prophetic traditions in *ḥadīth* books or of reports in books of history until the fourth/tenth century.⁵²

Few studies have showed an interest with the practice of the *isnād* of a whole book. Gacek (1989) briefly discusses the writing of the *isnād* in the introductory section of manuscripts from normative sources in the fourth/tenth century up until the tenth/sixteenth century.⁵³ He also includes a lemma on the *isnād* of a book in the manuscripts with an example from the seventh/thirteenth century (2009).⁵⁴ Furthermore, Witkam (2011) has focused on the “high” and the “low” *isnāds*, as was theorized in *ḥadīth* terminology, and in particular by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d.

⁴¹ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 200-3.

⁴² Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 157-9.

⁴³ Freimark, “Das Vorwort.”

⁴⁴ al-‘Amad, *Muḡawwimāt*.

⁴⁵ Arḥīlah, *Hājis al-ibdā’*.

⁴⁶ Schacht, “A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions.”

⁴⁷ Sezgin, “Ahamiyyat *al-isnād*.”

⁴⁸ Horovitz, “The Antiquity and the Origin of the *Isnād*,” “Further on the Origin of the *isnād*.”

⁴⁹ Robson, “The *Isnād* in Muslim Tradition.”

⁵⁰ Al-A‘zamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth*, 32-45.

⁵¹ Pavlovitch, “The Origin of the *Isnād*.”

⁵² Gruendler, *The Rise*, 28-9.

⁵³ Gacek, “Technical practices,” 53.

⁵⁴ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 20-22.

643/1245). Witkam discusses the *isnād* written on the title page of a sixth/twelfth-century manuscript.⁵⁵

The colophon has been broadly dealt with. Şeşen (1997) analyzes the development of the colophon from its inception in correspondence through its development with a sample of Qur'ānic and non-Qur'ānic manuscripts until the tenth/sixteenth century.⁵⁶ Similarly, Quiring-Zoche (2013) analyzes a broad range of colophons from the third/ninth century up until the fourteenth/twentieth century.⁵⁷ The writer of this present thesis has also written on this topic (2021),⁵⁸ by focussing on the colophon from the early period up until the beginning of printed books in the Arabic-Islamic world.

Other studies have focussed on colophons of a specific library. Troupeau (1997) analyzes a corpus of Christian-Arabic manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁵⁹ John O. Hunwick (2002) has published two articles. In the first, he analyzes a tenth/sixteenth-century colophon from the Kattānī collection.⁶⁰ In the second, he studies tenth/sixteenth-century colophons of *al-Muḥkam* of Ibn Sīdah.⁶¹ Similar to the present study, al-Ḥalwajī (2011) has also examined colophons up until the fourth/tenth century, which he terms as the *nihāyat al-makhṭūṭ* (literally, “the end of the manuscript”).⁶²

⁵⁵ Witkam, “High and low.”

⁵⁶ Şeşen, “Esquisse.”

⁵⁷ Quiring-Zoche, “The Colophon.”

⁵⁸ Elseadawy, *Ḥard al-matn*.

⁵⁹ Troupeau, “Les Colophons.”

⁶⁰ Hunwick, “West African Arabic Manuscript Colophons: I: Askiya Muḥammad Bāni’s Copy of Risāla of Ibn Abī Zayd.”

⁶¹ Hunwick, John O. “West African Arabic Manuscript Colophons: II: A Sixteenth-Century Timbuktu Copy of the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sīdah.”

⁶² Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 173-4.

1.2. Studies on the elements of clarity and correctness

As for keeping particular constructions together, such as the genitive construction containing the name of Allāh, the earliest scholar to discuss it was Rosenthal (1947), with his translation of al-‘Almawī’s section on it.⁶³ Then, Gacek (1989, 2009) discussed this issue.⁶⁴ However both Gacek and Rosenthal discuss the practice in relation to a period later than the period of focus in the present thesis.

The collation and its remarks and symbols are also discussed in some studies. Rosenthal (1947) (based on al-‘Almawī’s *al-Mu‘īd*) and Gacek (1989) base their research purely on normative sources from periods after the fourth/tenth century.⁶⁵ On the other hand, al-Mashūkhī (1994) and Gacek (2007, 2009) rely intensively on the manuscript evidence from the period after the fourth/tenth century when discussing the collation.⁶⁶

Studies have also been carried out on the diacritical points of letters (the *naqt*). Abbott (1939) analyzes diacritical points from the outset of the North Arabic script through to its development in early Qur’ānic manuscripts.⁶⁷ Rosenthal (1947) and Gacek (1989), based on a more comprehensive range of normative sources, also discuss the *naqt*, but not in detail.⁶⁸ In addition, Grohmann (1971) and Endress (1982) briefly discuss diacritics in early writings on papyrus and in inscriptions.⁶⁹ Déroche (1992) and Gruendler (1993) discussed the *naqt* in their palaeographical analyses of early Arabic scripts.

François Déroche et al. (2006) briefly deal with the *naqt* but with a specific focus on Qur’ānic manuscripts.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Kaplony (2008) has published a study of the *naqt* on a corpus from the first/seventh century.⁷¹ Gacek (2009) has written a lemma where he addresses the topic in general. He also gives an example of an eighth/fourteenth-century non-Qur’ānic manuscript that contains partially dotted text.⁷²

⁶³ Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 14 (al-‘Almawī, *al-Mu‘īd*, 134-5).

⁶⁴ Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 55; *Vademecum*, 146.

⁶⁵ Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 14-5; Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 56-7.

⁶⁶ Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 218-9; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 65-68; al-Mashūkhī, *Anmāt*, 47-59.

⁶⁷ Abbott, *The Rise*.

⁶⁸ Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 14-5; Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 57.

⁶⁹ Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie II. Teil*, 41-2; Endress, “Die arabische Schrift,” 174-6.

⁷⁰ Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 220-1.

⁷¹ Kaplony, “What Are Those Few Dots.”

⁷² Gacek, *Vademecum*, 144-5.

Distinguishing the unpointed letters (*ihmāl*) has been given little attention. Grohmann (1971) and Endress (1982) briefly discuss the development of the *ihmāl* sign in the Arabic script.⁷³ In a survey of scribal practices presented in the normative sources that range from the fourth/tenth to tenth/sixteenth century, Gacek (1989) lists some *ihmāl* signs.⁷⁴ He (2009) then further wrote a lemma in his *Vademecum* on the topic, pointing out some *ihmāl* signs in a twelfth/eighteenth-century manuscript. François Déroche et al. (2006) briefly discuss the *ihmāl* by examples from actual manuscripts.⁷⁵ Finally, Witkam (2015) has written a paper analyzing the *ihmāl* in normative sources and in manuscripts but without a temporal focus.⁷⁶

Vocalization in the non-Qur'ānic manuscripts has received less attention than in the Qur'ānic manuscripts. Abbott (1939) dealt with vocalization while discussing the development of early Qur'ānic manuscripts.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Rosenthal (1947), following al-'Almawī, and Gacek (1989) scan a more comprehensive range of normative sources that provide knowledge about vocalization, but both studies do not go into much detail.⁷⁸ Grohmann (1971), focusing on papyri and inscriptions, and Endress (1982), focusing on normative and historical sources, briefly discuss the Arabic script's vocalization signs.⁷⁹ François Déroche et al. (2006) also analyze the vocalization in Qur'ānic manuscripts. He does however also provide one non-Qur'ānic example.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Gacek (2009) has written a lemma on vocalization in Arabic in general.⁸¹ In contrast to these works, the present research analyzes vocalization in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century non-Qur'ānic manuscripts based on both the normative and manuscript evidence.

Analyzing the cancellation of dittographies has received little attention. Rosenthal (1947), following al-'Almawī, and Gacek (1989) scan a comprehensive range of normative sources, and study cancellation.⁸² Al-Mashūkhī (1994) discusses cancellation primarily from manuscript evidence in the ninth/fifteenth century.⁸³ Gacek (2007, 2009), has also published some work on

⁷³ Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie II. Teil*, 42-6; Endress, "Die arabische Schrift," 176.

⁷⁴ Gacek, "Technical Practices," 57.

⁷⁵ Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 221-2.

⁷⁶ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 286; Witkam, "The Neglect Neglected."

⁷⁷ Abbott, *The Rise*, in particular 39.

⁷⁸ Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 14-5; Gacek, "Technical Practices," 57.

⁷⁹ Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie II. Teil*, 46-8; Endress, "Die arabische Schrift," 178-81.

⁸⁰ Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 222-4. The non-Qur'ānic example is MS Vel. Ef. 3139 which is analyzed in the current thesis as well, See section 2.2.1.2 below.

⁸¹ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 288-90.

⁸² Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 15-6 (al-'Almawī, al-Mu'īd, 137-8).

⁸³ Al-Mashūkhī, *Anmāf*, 65-8.

cancellation from manuscript evidence.⁸⁴ We also have al-Ḥalwajī (2011) who analyzes cancellation in Arabic manuscripts up till the fourth/tenth century. He bases his study on normative sources as well as manuscripts from the Egyptian National Library. However, his study is not conducted in a detailed or systematic way.⁸⁵

Like the cancellation, studies on the insertion of omission in Arabic manuscripts are based either on normative sources or on manuscript evidence. Gacek (1989) analyzes a comprehensive range of normative sources and discusses the insertion of the omitted elements.⁸⁶ Furthermore, al-Mashūkhī (1994), in a study on ninth/fifteenth-century manuscripts, based mainly on the manuscript evidence, provides a treatment on the insertion of omitted elements.⁸⁷ Again, Gacek (2007, 2009) analyzes the insertion of omitted elements based on some manuscripts dated after the fourth/tenth century.⁸⁸ Al-Ḥalwajī (2011) analyzes the cancellation of Arabic manuscripts up until the fourth/tenth century based on certain normative sources and manuscripts from the Egyptian National Library.⁸⁹

Like the two previous elements, studies on measures undertaken to correct mistakes and prevent misinterpretation in Arabic manuscripts focus either on the normative sources or on manuscript evidence. Rosenthal (1947), following al-‘Almawī, and Gacek (1989) analyzes some of these measures from on a comprehensive range of normative sources.⁹⁰ In al-Mashūkhī’s (1994) study of ninth/fifteenth-century manuscripts, he also discusses some of the measures used in correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation which he encountered in his corpus.⁹¹ Again, Gacek (2007, 2009) also analyzes some measures from manuscripts after the fourth/tenth century.⁹² Finally, al-Ḥalwajī (2011) also briefly discussed this issue by looking at Arabic manuscripts up until the fourth/tenth century, alongside other elements from normative sources. However, this is not in any detailed or systematic way as is the case with the present research.⁹³

⁸⁴ Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 244; *Vademecum*, 48.

⁸⁵ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 168-70.

⁸⁶ Gacek, “Technical practices,” 57-9. The insertion of omitted elements was not dealt with in al-‘Almawī, *al-Mu‘īd*, and consequently not in Rosenthal, *The Technique*.

⁸⁷ Al-Mashūkhī, *Anmāṭ*, 69-70.

⁸⁸ Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 223-4; *Vademecum*, 170-1.

⁸⁹ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 170, 172-3.

⁹⁰ Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 15; Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 57-8.

⁹¹ Al-Mashūkhī, *Anmāṭ*, 70-3.

⁹² Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 219, 225-7; *Vademecum*, 266, 80, 81.

⁹³ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 168-9, 171-2.

The present study aims to improve our understanding of the paratexts and the elements of clarity and correctness in early Arabic books by investigating both the normative sources and the manuscript evidence, and whenever possible, in a comparative sense. So far, no sustained study has tried to bring together manuscripts and the rules that can be extracted from normative sources. In doing this, this thesis shows how this approach may offer us a different picture from the one we have based on only one of these two sources. The research undertaken on scribal traditions involves a three-stage approach. The first stage involves an extensive investigation of the relevant normative sources, i.e., instructions and anecdotes about writing Arabic texts in the manuscript age.⁹⁴ The second stage involves a meticulous examination of the manuscript evidence. The research findings from the normative sources and the manuscript evidence are then systematically compared in the final stage. In other words, the “narrative/normative-sources approach” and “the corpus- approach” are combined in the present thesis.⁹⁵ This three-stage approach is intended to lead to a better understanding of Arabic scribal practices in the period under discussion.

2. Corpus

The sources of this study are manuscripts and normative sources that contain information on writing practices. The manuscript corpus is limited to the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries. Thus, the focus on the normative sources will also be from this period. The reason for the focus on these centuries is because this period witnessed a flourishing in book production. As mentioned, certain factors motivated book writing, such as the wide use of paper and the development of various fields of scholarship like the Arabic language. Other factors that led to an increase in book production were the translation of Greek knowledge into Arabic and the appearance of belles-lettres. Extant manuscripts which are testimonies of this information revolution in third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries deserve scholarly treatment.

2.1. Normative sources

These sources provide norms and instructions on scribal practice. From the third/ninth century onwards we can start to identify treatises that deal with correspondence, i. e. *adab al-kātib* (“rules

⁹⁴ On the normative sources, see section 2.1 below.

⁹⁵ On the development of these two approaches, see Hirschler, *Monument*, 5-8.

of conduct of the scribes”). From the fourth/tenth century, we can extract information on writing practices from manuals of *ḥadīth* terminology and *adab al-‘ālim wa-l-muta‘allim* (“rules of conduct for the scholar and the student”). In these sources, “the attitude of the scribe came to be governed by a well-defined set of rules, the *ādāb*, or religious etiquette.”¹ However, more importantly, these sources provide crucial information on some of the practical aspects of writing. The current study focuses on information relating to the practical information of writing which can help us understand scribal practices. The normative sources are investigated as material for “primitive codicology.”² Then the knowledge elicited from these sources is combined with a thorough investigation into the manuscript evidence.

As mentioned, our focus on the normative sources will also be from this period of the study, i. e. third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries. However, some sources written after the fourth/tenth century are also employed. The reason for this is given under the review of these sources below.

2.1.1. Adab al-kātib sources

Bureaucracy and administration have existed since the very early Islamic state. The writing of letters and documents was carried out by state-appointed secretaries (*kuttāb*).³ The *kuttāb* had to set rules and instructions while carrying out such writing. As a result, *adab al-kātib* came to be a literary genre.⁴ The manuals of *adab al-kātib* can be traced back as early as the third/ninth century. However, they reached a degree of comprehensiveness and intensity in the ninth/fourteenth century. The manual *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā* by al-Qalqashandī being representative of this.⁵ Although the manuals of *adab al-kātib* are material for scholars of administrative texts, they are considered in this thesis for several reasons. These secretaries were also copyists of the manuscript codices from the very outset of writing in Islam.⁶ Hence aspects of writing are shared by the scribal practices of both codices and documents. For instance, adding diacritical marks and the *ihmāl* (unpointing) signs concerns both the of writing administrative documents and codices. Writing the *‘unwān* (the

¹ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 236.

² Gacek, *Vademecum*, 204-7.

³ For the *kuttāb*, see EI², s.v. “Kātib”; Schoeler, *The Genesis*, 56-60.

⁴ For a list of the pre-modern authors of *adab al-kātib*, see ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, “Muqaddimah,” 8-15; For diplomatic and writing letters, see EI², s. v. “Diplomatic”; “Inshā”; “Kātib”; Khan, “The Literary and Social Role of the Arab Amanuenses”; Sadan, “Nouveau documents sur scribes et copistes”; For a presentation of the domain of *adab al-kātib* and a special focus on the organization and the structure of *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, see Van Berkel, “The Attitude Towards Knowledge.”

⁵ Van Berkel, “the Attitude Towards Knowledge,” 159-68; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, “Muqaddimah.”

⁶ Gacek, ‘Technical Practices,’ 51; “Scribes, Copyists,” 704; *Vademecum*, 238.

judge and vizier for the Abbasid dynasty.¹⁵ His work deals with grammatical and philological issues that concern the scribe. It has a preface that includes general advice about the rules of conduct and the knowledge required for those who wish to pursue a career as a state secretary.¹⁶ As the book's title indicates, it contains useful information on scribal practice that is to be discussed in the present research. However, it does not discuss any of the practical issues that are dealt with in the current thesis.

Furthermore, an epistle is also ascribed to Ibn Qutaybah entitled *Risālat al-Khaṭṭ wa-l-qalam* ("The Epistle of Calligraphy and Pen").¹⁷ Like *Kitāb al-Kuttāb wa-ṣīfat al-dawāt*,¹⁸ this epistle is based on the terminologies related to writing. It treats the terms such as the *maṭṭ* ("the elongation")¹⁹ and the *'unwān*.²⁰

Al-Risālah al-'Adhrā' ("The Virgin Epistle") by Abū al-Yusr Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 298/911) includes instructions on writing prose, and in particular, writing correspondence. It was written for Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 279/892-3).²¹ In an earlier edition, *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'* was ascribed to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbir, as the editor confused the person *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'* is written for with the author.²² Al-Shaybānī, the actual author of *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, was a man of letters and poet from Baghdād. He moved to Kairouan where he worked as the head of *Dīwān al-Inshā'* ("the Office of Writing") first for the Aghlabid dynasty, and then for the Fāṭimid dynasty. His work *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'* is therefore particularly useful since it includes knowledge in the field of writing based on the author's own experience, and not merely on theoretical knowledge. What concerns us is his discussion on writing the beginning of letters,

¹⁵ On Ibn Qutaybah, see EI², s. v. "Ibn Qutayba"; GAS, 3: 376-7; Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*; Şaqr, "Muqaddimah," in *Ta'wīl Mushkil al-Qur'ān*, ed. Şaqr, 2-76; Kunitzsch, "Ibn Qutayba." On Ibn Qutaybah as a popularizer, see Montgomery, "Of Models and Amanuenses," 36-40; Gruendler, "Aspects of Craft in the Arabic Book Revolution," 57-60.

¹⁶ In the edition by al-Dālī and the edition by Fāghūr, the title of this book is *Adab al-kātib*, but MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1r, a fourth/tenth-century copy of this work, indicates that the title is *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, see section 2.2.2.18 below.

¹⁷ I use the edition by al-Ḍāmin: Ibn Qutaybah, *Risālat al-Khaṭṭ wa-l-qalam*, ed. al-Ḍāmin.

¹⁸ See 2.1.12 above.

¹⁹ The elongation is executed when writing, for instance, the *basmalah*, see section 3.2.1. The elongation is used also when highlighting text, of its occurrence in the manuscripts, see layout under 2.3 below.

²⁰ Ibn Qutaybah, *Risālat al-Khaṭṭ wa-l-qalam*, the *maṭṭ*: 24, the *'unwān*: 27.

²¹ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. On al-Shaybānī, see al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 1: 60; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 1: 64; 'Abd al-Wahhāb, "Muqaddimah," in al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, 6-8. On Ibn al-Mudabbir, see EI², s. v. "Ibn al-Mudabbir"; HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 148.

²² Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbir, *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, ed. Mubārak (Cairo, Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1931). For a list of editions of *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, see 'Abd al-Wahhāb, "Muqaddimah," in al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, 18-22.

i. e. the ‘*unwān*.²³ In this part, he explains the method of writing the epistle’s address and its etiquette. This is particularly useful for our discussion on manuscript titles. Al-Shaybānī also discusses the practice of writing an epistle’s opening and recommends that scribes aim for *barā‘at al-istihlāl* (“a skillful opening”).²⁴ He also discusses other scribal elements under discussion in the present thesis including, pointing (*naqt*),²⁵ vocalization (*shakl*),²⁶ and writing the date.²⁷

Ibn al-Sarrāj’s *Risālat al-Naqt wa-l-shakl* (“The Epistle of Providing the Diacritical Pointing and Vocalization”)²⁸ is, as its title and introduction show, dedicated to “the subject of the diacritical pointing and vocalization.”²⁹ Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/929) was a grammarian from Baghdad.³⁰ The first part of the book is on pointing and distinguishing the unpointed letters. Ibn al-Sarrāj begins by explaining how pointing in the Arabic alphabet is due to the use of the same grapheme for different letters.³¹ He then introduces a detailed presentation of the Arabic alphabet showing the pointing of the pointed letters, and how the unpointed letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muḥmalah*) are distinguished from the pointed ones.³² The second part is on vocalization, in which he discusses the vocalization of *al-dafātir* (“notebooks”) and *al-maṣāḥif* (the Qur’ānic manuscripts),³³ What is relevant to the current study is the vocalization of *al-dafātir*.³⁴ This work is intensively relied upon in the current thesis, in particular when discussing the pointing and distinguishing of the unpointed letters,³⁵ and vocalization.³⁶

The book *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb* (“The Craft of the Scribes”) discusses the kinds of knowledge a state scribe would need to do their job. It was composed by the Egyptian philologist Abū Ja‘far Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), who, besides being a grammarian, made important contributions in

²³ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 41-4; see section 3.1 below.

²⁴ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘adhrā’*, 48-9. On the concept of the skillful opening, see EI², s. v. “Ibtidā’”; see section 3.2.3.1 below.

²⁵ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 52; see sections 4.2.1.1 below.

²⁶ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 52; see sections 4.2.2 below.

²⁷ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 53-4; see section 3.3.6 below.

²⁸ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” ed. Mustafīd. This critical edition includes, besides the edited Arabic text, the reproduction of the manuscript and a Persian translation (Based on this edition, Witkam translated into English the part on the *naqt* and *ihmāl* of this work, see Witkam, “The Neglect Neglected,” 391-5).

²⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālat al-Naqt wa-l-shakl,” 8-9.

³⁰ On Ibn al-Sarrāj see EI², s. v. “Ibn al-Sarrāj”; HAWT, vol. 1: 100, suppl. vol. 1: 170; GAS, 9: 82-5.

³¹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 8-10.

³² Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 8-19.

³³ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 18-9.

³⁴ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 18-29.

³⁵ See section 4.2.1 below.

³⁶ See section 4.2.2 below.

Islamic studies, and particularly Qur’ānic studies.³⁷ What concerns us in his book is his discussion of the *basmalah*.³⁸ He also discusses some of the terminology around the days of the week in Arabic³⁹ and the months of the *Hijrī* year.⁴⁰ He explains how to express the day and year when writing the date.⁴¹ His discussion on the term the *‘unwān*, and his discussion on the methodological developments of writing the *‘unwān* in correspondence, is essential to our discussion on manuscript titles.⁴² Abū Ja‘far al-Naḥḥās also discusses the concept of *ḥusn taqdīr al-kitāb* (“the well-estimation of writing”),⁴³ which deals with the aesthetic aspect of writing. He makes suggestions such as keeping the words of a particular constructions, such as the genitive construction, together.⁴⁴ Information such as this is particularly useful when discussing cases of improper splitting of constructions in the manuscripts. He also discusses vocalization⁴⁵ and the writing of *ammā ba ‘d* (“to proceed.”),⁴⁶ which are also of interest to the present dissertation.

*Al-Kuttāb*⁴⁷ by Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/958) is an *adab al-kātib* manual.⁴⁸ *Al-Kuttāb* contains knowledge for scribes of the state, but what concerns us are particular chapters, such as chapter 8, where Ibn Durustawayh discusses letters that receive points and the method of marking unpointed letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muḥmalah*).⁴⁹ Also relevant is chapter 9, where he discusses the signs of vocalization. Furthermore, chapter 12 discusses the writing of the *basmalah*⁵⁰ and *ammā ba ‘d*.⁵¹ Like al-Sūlī and Ibn al-Naḥḥās, in chapter 12, Ibn Durustawayh, also gives information on writing

³⁷ On al-Naḥḥās, see EI², s. v. “Ibn al-Naḥḥās”; HAWT, vol. 1: 120-1; Sup. 1: 198; GAS, 9: 207-9; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 15: 401.

³⁸ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 63-6.

³⁹ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 77-81.

⁴⁰ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 81-6.

⁴¹ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 137-40.

⁴² Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 112-115, 172-6.

⁴³ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 116-7. According to Ibn Durustawayh, exercising *ḥusn al-taqdīr* includes the proper shaping of letters and the alignment of the lines, see Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 73-4.

⁴⁴ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 116-7.

⁴⁵ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 154.

⁴⁶ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 176.

⁴⁷ I use the edition of Cheikho.

⁴⁸ On Ibn Durustawayh, see EI², s. v. “Ibn Durustawayh”; GAS, 9: 96-8; HAWT, vol. 1: 100, suppl. vol. 1: 170; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 68-9, ed. Sayyid, vol. 1, part 1: 185-7; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzḥah*, 213-4; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3: 44-5; al-Suyūfī, *Bughyah*, 2: 36.

⁴⁹ Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, 51-4.

⁵⁰ Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, 74-6.

⁵¹ Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, 76-7.

the date.⁵² Like the *adab al-kātib* books mentioned above, Ibn Durustawayh also shows an interest in the *‘unwān* of the letters.⁵³

Adab al-kuttāb (“Rules of Conduct of the Scribes”) is a treatise of *adab al-kātib* by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 355/947). Al-Ṣūlī was a scholar, tutor, courtier for the Abbasid dynasty, and a bibliophile.⁵⁴ Like Ibn al-Naḥḥās’s work, this book deals with the knowledge needed for a *kātib*. Furthermore, like al-Naḥḥās, al-Ṣūlī also deals with the writing the *basmalah*⁵⁵, and *ammā ba ‘d*.⁵⁶ Moreover, he discusses the writing of the beginning of letters.⁵⁷ Al-Ṣūlī also presents anecdotes about diacritical points and vocalization.⁵⁸ As usual in *adab al-kātib* works, al-Ṣūlī also discusses the *‘unwān*.⁵⁹ Furthermore, like al-Naḥḥās, he gives information about a date’s component, such as the day, month, and year.⁶⁰

Another important *adab al-kātib* book is *Mawādd al-bayān* (“The Substances of Clear Exposition”)⁶¹ by ‘Alī Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib (fl. 437/1046-7) who was a *kātib* for the Fāṭimids in Egypt;⁶² thus, his manual is likely to have been based on experience in writing administrative texts. Despite being a fifth/eleventh *adab al-kātib* manual, *Mawādd al-bayān* helps study some issues of the scribal practices of the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries. I find the information presented in the *Mawādd al-bayān* beneficial to our understanding of issues such as the *‘anwanah* (“writing address/title”)⁶³ and the improper splitting of particular constructions in the manuscripts.⁶⁴ In addition, Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib gives details about *ḥusn al-tadbīr fī qaṭ‘ al-kalām wa-waṣlihi fī awākhir al-suṭūr wa-awā’ilihā* (“the proper organization when splitting and connecting the text at the beginnings and endings of lines”),⁶⁵ which is relevant to discussing the

⁵² Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, 77- 91.

⁵³ Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, 96-7.

⁵⁴ On him, see GAS, 1: 330-1; EI², s. v. “al-Ṣūlī”; EAL, s. v. “al-Ṣūlī”; see the contributions of Osti, for instance, Osti, “Al-Ṣūlī and the Caliph: Norms, Practices and Frames,” 167-80.

⁵⁵ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 31-6.

⁵⁶ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 36-9.

⁵⁷ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 39-41.

⁵⁸ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 57-61.

⁵⁹ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 143-7.

⁶⁰ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 178-86.

⁶¹ The translation of the title is taken from EI³, s. v. “‘Alī b. Khalaf al-Kātib.”

⁶² On Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib and his book, see EI², s.v. “Ibn Kḥalaf”; EI³, s. v. “‘Alī b. Khalaf al-Kātib”; Saleh, “Une Source”; al-Ḍāmin, “Muqaddimah,” in Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*.

⁶³ See section 3.1 below.

⁶⁴ See section 4.1 below.

⁶⁵ Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 321.

improper splitting of particular constructions in the manuscripts.⁶⁶ Moreover, as usual in *adab al-kātib* literature, Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib treats writing the introduction of letters, including the formulas of the *basmalah*, *‘unwān*, and *ammā ba ‘d*.⁶⁷ Furthermore, he addresses the definition of the *‘unwān* of the letters and the method of writing it.⁶⁸ He also explains the method of writing the date in the letters.⁶⁹

2.1.2. *Ḥadīth* terminology

There is a debate on precisely when *ḥadīth* came to be written.⁷⁰ Putting aside such questions, what is pertinent for our purpose is the fact that dealing with written prophetic traditions required a set of rules. Consequently, many treatises were composed which lay out the rules of studying prophetic traditions.⁷¹ Some books in this field discuss issues around the actual writing of the text. Although these rules were created for *ḥadīth* manuscripts, they were also applied to manuscript codices in other disciplines such as grammar and jurisprudence. These rules continued to be practiced throughout the manuscript age, even as late as the twentieth century.⁷² This can be clearly observed in the actual manuscripts, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters of this thesis.

To the best of my knowledge, al-Rāmāhurmuzī (d. 360/971)⁷³ is the earliest author who composed a manual on *ḥadīth* terminology containing practical knowledge on writing. The title of this work was *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna al-rāwī wa-l-wā ‘ī* (“The Transmitter of the Prophetic Traditions distinguishing between the Narrator and the Recipient”).⁷⁴ Al-Rāmāhurmuzī did not only contribute in the field of *ḥadīth* terminology but also to literature, especially poetry.⁷⁵ He was

⁶⁶ See section 4.1 below.

⁶⁷ Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 327.

⁶⁸ Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 330-3.

⁶⁹ Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 337-9.

⁷⁰ EI², s.v. “*Ḥadīth*”; Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written*, 111-141.

⁷¹ On collecting *ḥadīth* and establishing the *ḥadīth* terminology field, see Ṣiddīqī, *Ḥadīth Literature*; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, particularly 9-76.

⁷² Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 51.

⁷³ On al-Rāmāhurmuzī, see GAS, 1: 193-4; EI², s. v. “al-Rāmāhurmuzī”; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 172, ed. Sayyid, vol. 1, part 3: 478; al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 3: 490-5.

⁷⁴ I use the critical edition of al-Khaṭīb.

⁷⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 172, ed. Sayyid, vol. 1, part 3: 478; al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 3: 490-5.

also a judge and was associated with some of the most important statesmen of his time, such as Ibn al-‘Amīd,⁷⁶ with whom al-Rāmahurmuzī also shared an interest in literature.⁷⁷

As he was alive in the third/ninth century,⁷⁸ al-Rāmahurmuzī’s manual is useful for our understanding of scribal practice in the third/ninth century. More significantly, due to the fact he lived most of his life in the fourth/tenth century, his book is an excellent source for understanding scribal practices in that period. The rules of the scribal practices in any given century are not likely to have changed drastically in the beginning of the next century. Therefore, manuals from the fourth/tenth century are still valid, to a certain extent, in understanding scribal practices from the previous century.

Al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil contains many details on the issues of *ḥadīth* transmission, but what concerns us more specifically are the anecdotes al-Rāmahurmuzī gives on drawing the text divider or *al-dā’irah bayna al-ḥadīthayn* (“the circle between two hadiths”).⁷⁹ Equally pertinent are the sections where he speaks about the techniques of deletion (including *al-ḥakk*, “rubbing out”, and striking through, *ḍarb*),⁸⁰ the insertion of omissions in the margins (*al-takhrīj ‘alā al-ḥawāshī*),⁸¹ and other issues such as when he indicates which word is to be deleted when dittography occurs.⁸² Furthermore, he also pays attention to the *naqṭ* and the *shakl*.⁸³ Finally, *tabwīb* (chapter division) is also mentioned in the book which is also of relevance for our purposes.⁸⁴

Al-Ilmā’ ilā ma’rifat uṣūl al-riwāyah wa-taqyīd al-samā’ (“The Indication of the Knowledge of the Fundamentals of Transmission and of Recording the Audition”)⁸⁵ by the Maghribī *ḥadīth* scholar al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (476/1088-544/1149) is the earliest Maghribī work on *ḥadīth* terminology.⁸⁶ Despite being a sixth/twelfth-century book, *al-Ilmā’* is still a valuable source for studying third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century scribal practices. It includes details that do not occur in the

⁷⁶ On him, see EI², s. v. “Ibn al-‘Amīd.”

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 172, ed. Sayyid, vol. 1, part 3: 478; al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 3: 490-5.

⁷⁸ EI², s. v. “al-Rāmahurmuzī”; al-Khaṭīb, “Tarjamat al-Muṣannif,” in al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 9-35.

⁷⁹ al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606.

⁸⁰ al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606.

⁸¹ al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606-7.

⁸² al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 607.

⁸³ al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 608-9.

⁸⁴ al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 609.

⁸⁵ I use the edition of Ṣaqr which is based on three manuscripts.

⁸⁶ On al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, see EI², s. v. “‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā”; HAWT, vol. 1: 396-7, suppl. vol. 1: 650-2; Ṣaqr, “‘Iyāḍ al-Muḥaddith,” in al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 3-31.

earlier sources. Furthermore, we can actually trace some of the practices *al-Ilmā'* states in earlier manuscripts. Therefore, it improves our understanding of various elements related to clarity and correctness in third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century manuscripts, especially the cancellation,⁸⁷ the insertion of the omitted elements,⁸⁸ and the measures of correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation.⁸⁹

In his book, al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ relies on earlier *ḥadīth* scholars such as al-Rāmahurmuzī and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī⁹⁰ but also comments and provides new details. In contrast to al-Rāmahurmuzī's *al-Muḥaddith*, which depends on anecdotes of various issues, al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ states the rule in his own words before recounting any anecdotes that supports this rule.

Al-Ilmā' provides essential details that do not appear in *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*. For example, for the *ihmāl*, al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ notes that in the Eastern Islamic world and al-Andalus, the *ihmāl* mark consisted of writing a miniature version of the unpointed letter underneath it.⁹¹ Moreover, he writes with regards to words that are unclear, that that scribe should rewrite this word in the margin, providing that version with vocalization, *naqt* or *ihmāl*.⁹² Concerning collation, al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ mentions two styles. First, the copyist collates with another person; thus, one reads from a *Vorlage* (the model in Gacek's terms),⁹³ and the other looks at and corrects the new copy. Interestingly, in this style, the "collation is a combination of hearing and reading, i.e. a written-oral practice."⁹⁴ The second style is that the copyist does the collation himself without the help of another.⁹⁵ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ emphasizes that any new copy of a book should be collated. A person should not trust any copying, even if it be from the most excellent copyist. Neither should one completely trust a copy done for oneself, because everyone is prone to losing focus and making mistakes.⁹⁶ For the insertion of omissions, al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ disapproves of al-Rāmahurmuzī's method and suggests another practice. It is this practice which is identified in the manuscripts under examination.⁹⁷ He

⁸⁷ See section 4.4 below.

⁸⁸ See section 4.5 below.

⁸⁹ See section 4.6 below.

⁹⁰ On him, see 2.1.3 below.

⁹¹ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 157.

⁹² Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 157.

⁹³ The *Vorlage* in this context is the manuscript from which another manuscript is copied, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 65, 128, 170, 208, 215.

⁹⁴ A comment by prof. Beatrice Gruendler on the first complete draft of the current thesis.

⁹⁵ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 159.

⁹⁶ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 159-60.

⁹⁷ See section 4.5 below.

also provides essential details about the organization of insertions in the margins which are not laid out in *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*. Again, to a certain extent, it is his suggestions that are found in the manuscripts under examination.⁹⁸

Al-Ilmā' states certain measures to be undertaken in correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation which can be traced to the manuscript specimens. However, these measures are not discussed in the sources prior to the sixth/twelfth century.⁹⁹ Similarly, the methods of cancelling an extra part of the text written by mistake are discussed more extensively by al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ when compared to al-Rāmahurmuzī's *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*. Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's discussion is more useful to us in our examination of cancellation in the actual manuscripts.¹⁰⁰

2.1.3. *Adab al- 'ālim wa-l-muta'allim*

This genre provides knowledge that helps students, particularly students of *ḥadīth*, in their learning process. In books of this genre, we encounter instructions and narratives about writing and copying books. Such information is useful in helping us understand many of the elements of the scribal practice under consideration.

As far as I know, the earliest manual of *adab al- 'ālim wa-l-muta'allim* is the fifth/tenth-century *al-Jāmi' fi akhlāq al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmi'* ("The Compendium on the Ethics of the Transmitter and Rules of Conduct of the Listener") by the Baghdadi *ḥadīth* scholar and historian al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071).¹⁰¹ The book is dedicated to the ethics and etiquettes required, according to al-Khaṭīb, for a scholar of *ḥadīth*. As for the organization of the book, al-Khaṭīb gathers the anecdotes of a specific theme under a note that summarizes the general theme or a specific piece of advice.

What concerns us is the chapter on the *adab* of writing *ḥadīth*, which contains useful anecdotes and instructions on points under discussion in this thesis.¹⁰² Essential details on writing

⁹⁸ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 162-4; see section 4.5 below.

⁹⁹ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 165-9; see section 4.6 below.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 170-3; see section 4.4 below.

¹⁰¹ On al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, see EI², s.v. "al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī"; HAWT, vol. 1: 348, suppl. vol. 1: 580-2; al-'Ushsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*; al-Taḥḥān, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*.

¹⁰² al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi'*, 1: 259-270.

the *basmalah* are presented in different anecdotes.¹⁰³ Al-Khaṭīb also instructs students on the method of writing the *isnād*¹⁰⁴ and the certificate of audition.¹⁰⁵ He also gives two anecdotes about the improper splitting of particular constructions.¹⁰⁶ Vocalization and the dotting of names of the transmitters also receives attention in this chapter.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, al-Khaṭīb emphasizes the importance of drawing a text divider in the form of a circle at the end of each *ḥadīth*. Later, that circle is provided with a dot, or a stroke, to indicate the text before the circle is collated.¹⁰⁸ The collation of a new manuscript with its exemplar is also given attention.¹⁰⁹ In his *ḥadīth* terminology manual *al-Kifāyah fī ma‘rifat uṣūl al-riwāyah* (“Sufficiency in Knowing the Fundamentals of [*ḥadīth*] Transmission”), al-Khaṭīb mentions further anecdotes on the importance of collation aside from what he mentions in his *Jāmi‘*.¹¹⁰ Under the collation theme, the following issues are also dealt with: the pointing, the vocalization,¹¹¹ the cancellation of the dittographies,¹¹² and the omissions’ insertion.¹¹³

Despite being a fifth/eleventh-century source, *al-Jāmi‘* is used in the present investigation for third/ninth and fourth/tenth century scribal practices. This is because Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was aware of these earlier scribal practices as he was dealing with manuscripts that were copied at an earlier time. He explicitly discusses scribal practices of manuscripts written by scholars who lived before the fifth/eleventh century. For instance, he mentions that he saw manuscripts written by the hand of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (213/828- 290/309), the son of the eponymous founder of the *Ḥanbalī* school.¹¹⁴

Many practices before the fifth/eleventh century are supposed to have continued in the fifth/eleventh century. For example, al-Khaṭīb transmits from earlier scholars about earlier practices without making any additional comments. However, we can understand a change in

¹⁰³ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 263-8.

¹⁰⁴ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 268.

¹⁰⁵ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 268-9.

¹⁰⁶ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 268.

¹⁰⁷ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 268-270.

¹⁰⁸ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 272-4.

¹⁰⁹ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 275-6.

¹¹⁰ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 2: 104-8.

¹¹¹ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 276-7.

¹¹² al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 276-80.

¹¹³ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 279-80.

¹¹⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 270, 273. On ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 11: 116-7; Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 5-50.

practice in places where al-Khaṭīb does actually make a comment. This will be further elucidated when discussing elements of scribal practices in the course of this thesis.

The Andalusī scholar, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070),¹¹⁵ a contemporary of al-Khaṭīb, wrote on the same subject in his book *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm wa-faḍlihi wa-mā yanbaghī fī riwāyatihī wa-ḥamlīh* (“Compendium Exposing the Nature of Knowledge and its Immense Merit and What Is Required in Transmitting and Conveying It”)¹¹⁶ which is limited in its relevance to the present study. However, what concerns us in this book is his knowledge of collation, which does not contain anything new from what is mentioned by al-Rāmahurmuzī or al-Khāṭīb, except the anecdote of Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid (d. 154/770),¹¹⁷ who believed that even if the collation were exercised a hundred times, a book would still include mistakes (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān*, 338). That anecdote stresses the significance of the collation and explains that leaving it will result in a text full of mistakes.

2.2. The manuscript specimens

Third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century manuscripts are generally sparse around the world. For my research, I limited my archival work to the libraries of Cairo, Alexandria, and Istanbul. I also accessed digital copies and microfilm copies of manuscripts. In the interest of feasibility and practicality, I rely on a core corpus of 23 manuscripts. I present the items of the core corpus chronologically below. I provide a synopsis for each item that includes the shelf mark, title, author, how and in which form (original, digital copy, or microfilm) the item was accessed, how the manuscript was dated, and other relevant information. Additionally, I chart the specimens in a table that summarizes the data (see appendix 1). The table provides a short description of the manuscripts regarding any corrections and notes, the layout, and the script. However, aside from the core corpus, I also refer to other specimens not included in the core corpus (see appendix 2). I do this when it is necessary to expand my examination to get a broader picture of certain areas in my research, especially with phenomena that are not well covered by the core corpus, such as the title page, which is missing from many of the core corpus manuscripts. Illustrations of these are

¹¹⁵ On him, see EI², s.v. “Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr”; HAWT, vol. 1: 394-5, suppl. vol. 1: 648-9.

¹¹⁶ The translation is taken from Abbas [sic], *al-Ittibaa‘* [sic], 145, footnote 2.

¹¹⁷ On him, see GAS, 1: 290. EI³, s. v. “Ma‘mar b. Rāshid.”

then provided as well. I selected the specimens in my corpus primarily based on the date given in the manuscript and not stylistic criteria.

2.2.1. Third/ninth-century manuscripts

2.2.1.1. MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh

This is a manuscript of *al-Risālah* (“The Epistle”) by Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820), the eponymous founder of the *Shāfi‘ī* school of law.¹¹⁸ The manuscript was formerly preserved in the Egyptian National Library under the shelf mark 41 Uṣūl Fiqh but is now unfortunately lost. Hence, I could get only use a digital copy in my research. This codex can be dated to the third/ninth century, based on the date given in the *ijāzat naskh* (“the copying permission”) at the end. It must have been written before the last day of Dhū al-Qa‘dah in the year 265/24 July 879.¹¹⁹ This certificate shows that the copyist is al-Rabī‘ ibn Sulaymān, a direct student of the author.¹²⁰ The manuscript is written in an early *naskh* script.¹²¹

The many certificates provided by different hands, at the beginning of the manuscript, show that many pre-modern users used the manuscript. These various users corrected and inserted omissions and the expression *balagha* (“he reached”) in different places in the manuscript. When *balagha* is written by a hand that is different from the rest of the manuscript, it is likely a reading mark, unlike *balagha* written by the same hand of the manuscript, which is likely a collation mark written by the scribe.¹²² However, these additional notes sometimes make it challenging to find when a particular correction or insertion was made. The comments of Aḥmad Shākir in his critical edition of the work were an essential guide in distinguishing between the corrections and the notes of al-Rabī‘, from those of later users of the manuscript.¹²³

As far as I know, the earliest modern scholar who dealt with this manuscript was Moritz (1905) in his album on Arabic paleography. However, he wrongly dates it to the fourth/tenth century.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ On al-Shāfi‘ī and his school of law, see HAWT, vol. 1: 163-6, see GAS, 1: 484-502; Ali, *Imām Shafi‘ī*; Lowry, “Introduction,” xviii-xx; El Shamsy, “From Tradition to law.”

¹¹⁹ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 75r; see illus. 38.

¹²⁰ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 75r. On al-Rabī‘ ibn Sulaymān as a direct student and a transmitter of al-Shāfi‘ī, see Shākir, “Muqaddimah,” in al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risālah*, 12, 17-23; GAS, 1:488, 494; Lowry, “Introduction,” xx.

¹²¹ On *naskh* script, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 162-5.

¹²² See section 4.3.

¹²³ Al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risālah*, ed. Shākir.

¹²⁴ Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, 117-8.

This manuscript is also listed in biographical works.¹²⁵ Shākir’s (1940) edition of *al-Risālah* was based on this manuscript.¹²⁶ Furthermore, Khadduri (1961) has published an English translation of *al-Risālah* in which he mentions the present manuscript and discusses its dating. However, he does not reach a definitive conclusion.¹²⁷ Lowry has also made an edition of the work with an English translation.¹²⁸ Sayyid (1996, 1997) mentions this manuscript in his book about Dār al-Kutub and in another book on Arabic manuscript studies.¹²⁹ Al-Ḥalwajī (2011), in his research on the history of the Arabic book in the first four Hijrī centuries, analyzes this manuscript in the codicological part of his study.¹³⁰ Recently, Gruendler (2020) also discusses the manuscript in her study of Arabic book history in the third/ninth century.¹³¹

2.2.1.2. MS Vel. Ef. 3139

This is a manuscript of *al-Ma’tḥūr fīmā ittafaqa lafẓuhu wa-ikhtalafa ma’nāhu* (“The Transmitted [book] on Homonyms”), a dictionary on polysemic words by the poet and the secretary of the Tāhirids, Abū al-‘Amaythal ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khulayd (d. 240/854).¹³² I attempted to access the original at Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi (Beyazıt State Library) in Istanbul, but the manuscript was in restoration,¹³³ so I used a digital copy.¹³⁴ This codex can be dated to the third/ninth century, based on the date of copying given in its colophon, in Rabī‘ al-Ākhar in the year of 280 [June-July 893].¹³⁵ According to the colophon, the copyist is one Abū al-Jahm.¹³⁶

¹²⁵ ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 137; Déroche, “Les manuscrits arabes datés,” 346; al-Hay’ah, *Nawādir*, 78-9; Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*, 102; Sayyid, *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī Dār*, 134-5.

¹²⁶ Al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risālah*, ed. Shākir.

¹²⁷ Al-Shāfi‘ī, *Islamic Jurisprudence Shāfi‘ī’s Risāla*, trans. Khadduri, on the date see the introduction, 48-51.

¹²⁸ Al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risālah*, ed. Shākir. Lowry did not base his edition on manuscripts, but on printed editions, amongst them Shākir’s edition, which was taken as a basis, see al-Shāfi‘ī, *The Epistle on Legal Theory*, ed. and trans. Lowry, esp. xxx-xxxiii.

¹²⁹ Sayyid, *Dār*, 31, Sayyid, *al-Kitāb*, 2: 566, 578.

¹³⁰ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 157, 160-1, 169-72, 174, 176, 178-9.

¹³¹ Gruendler, *The Rise*, 13, 124, 126-7.

¹³² On Abū al-‘Amaythal and his book, see EI², s.v. “Abu’l-‘Amaythal”; GAS, 8: 189-90.

¹³³ During my archival work journey October-November 2019.

¹³⁴ Thanks to prof. Gruendler for sharing her copy. A digital copy is also available through the local database of Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.

¹³⁵ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v; See illus. 45.

¹³⁶ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v; See illus. 45. As only the copyist’s *kunya* is given, it is difficult to identify him.

Some bibliographical works list this manuscript,¹³⁷ and editors use this manuscript.¹³⁸ Şeşen mentions it in his orthographical and palaeographical study of four early manuscripts and cites its colophon in his study on the colophon's history.¹³⁹ Furthermore, Sayyid mentions it in his book on the Arabic codicology.¹⁴⁰ Déroche et al. (2006) mention this manuscript.¹⁴¹ Recently, Gruendler (2020) has examined this manuscript in her research on Arabic book history in the third/ninth century.¹⁴²

2.2.1.3. MS MMMI 44, part 1 and 3

This manuscript contains two parts of the *Ikhtilāf 'ulamā' al-amṣār* ("The Disagreement among the Scholars of the Capital Cities"), composed by Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923).¹⁴³ The manuscript is preserved under the shelf mark 44 in al-Maktabah al-Markaziyyah li-l-Makḥṭūṭāt al-Islāmiyyah (The Central Library of the Islamic Manuscripts), which is affiliated with Wizārat al-Awqāf (The Ministry of Endowments), Cairo, Egypt. My analysis is based on a digital copy since I could not access the original manuscript when I visited the library.¹⁴⁴

These parts can be dated to the third/the (beginning of) fourth century based on a reading certificate found in three places in the manuscript. These reading notes show that the volume was read to its author in 294/906.¹⁴⁵ The copyist's name is not given at any place in the manuscript.

A user of the manuscript at al-Azhar Library noted on a *ṭayyārah* (slip of paper),¹⁴⁶ that "he has seen in Egypt parts of the [book entitled] *Ikhtilāf 'Ulamā' al-Amṣār* composed by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī...written in an old script in the lifetime of the author and it was read to him. [This reading to the author] was heard by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-

¹³⁷ 'Awwād, *Aqdam*, 137, 199; GAS, 8: 189-90; Déroche, "Les Manuscrits arabes datés," 348; Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt*, 238; Zaydān, "al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-'ālam," 99; Şeşen, "al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah," 150, 153-4.

¹³⁸ Abū al-'Amaythal, *Kitāb al-Ma'thūr*, ed. Krenkow; ed. 'Attā.

¹³⁹ Şeşen, "Les caractéristiques," 45, Fig. 1, A, pl. IV, A; Şeşen, "Esquisse," 193-4.

¹⁴⁰ Sayyid, *al-Kitāb*, 2: 401, 566.

¹⁴¹ Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 221, 224.

¹⁴² Gruendler, *The Rise*, 13-4, 22, 46-7, 133, 178-9.

¹⁴³ On him, see EI², s. v. "Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd."; HAWT, vol. 1:128-9; GAS, 1: 323-8.

¹⁴⁴ I tried the first time on March 2019 and the second time on September 2019. The manager of the library promised to grant me access to the manuscript, but urged me to carry out some complicated procedures including ridiculous security issues which are still in process.

¹⁴⁵ MS MMMI 44 part 1, fol. 1r and v (in the outer margin), part 3, fol. v (in the outer margin).

¹⁴⁶ On the term *ṭayyārah*, see AMT, 95.

‘Allāf and the reading of it [the book] was to him [the author] in the year 294/[906]. He [the author] did not mention Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal but referred extensively to al-Shāfi‘ī, Abū Ḥanīfah, and [his students] Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad.’¹⁴⁷ This user wrote his note on 23 Ṣafar 1273/23 October 1856.¹⁴⁸ Ṣāliḥ al-Azharī argues that the parts mentioned in this note are the parts 1 and 3 of MMMI 44, which are the parts under discussion.¹⁴⁹

These MMMI parts seem to have been part of a larger work that has another title, *Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā*, by al-Ṭabarī (thus, we have two different titles for the same book) of which Dār al-Kutub preserves a fragment.¹⁵⁰ I examined the original copy of this Dar al-Kutub fragment, but it is without a date, and I could not date it. Moritz dates it to the fourth/tenth century on stylistic criteria.¹⁵¹ Dār al-Kutub’s part was also used in some critical editions.¹⁵²

2.2.2. The fourth/tenth-century manuscripts

2.2.2.1. MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khāṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth

This is a fragment of *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (“The Rare Vocabulary of Ḥadīth”) by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224/838).¹⁵³ According to the colophon, it is dated to al-Muḥarram 311/April-May 923.¹⁵⁴ The colophon shows that the copyist is Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Umar al-‘Aydī.¹⁵⁵ My analysis is based on an examination of the original copy.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ MS AZ ‘Āmm10638, Khāṣṣ 57 Fiqh Ḥanbalī, fol. 132r.

¹⁴⁸ MS AZ ‘Āmm 10638, Khāṣṣ 57 Fiqh Ḥanbalī, fol. 132r.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Azharī, *al-Taḥqīqāt*, 53-6.

¹⁵⁰ MS DK 645 Fiqh Ḥanafī, mentioned by Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, 123-5; listed in Zaydān, “al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam,” 101.

¹⁵¹ Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, 123-5.

¹⁵² Al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb Iḥṭelāf* [sic] *al-fuqahā*, part. ed. Friedrich Kern (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Mawsū‘āt wa-l-Taraqqī, 1902), has not been accessible to me but see EI², s. v. “Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd. In 1933, Schacht published another fragment, see Schacht, *Das Konstantinopler Fragment*. In 1999, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah published the Dār al-Kutub’s fragment by an anonymous editor, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1999).

¹⁵³ On him, see EI², s. v. “Abū ‘Ubayd al-Kāsim b. Sallām”; HAWT, 1:92-4; GAS, 1: 48; 8: 81-7; Gruendler, *The Rise*, 66-76.

¹⁵⁴ MS AZ 9028 ‘Āmm 926 Khāṣṣ, fol. 146r.

¹⁵⁵ MS AZ 9028 ‘Āmm 926 Khāṣṣ, fol. 146r. I was not able to identify Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Umar al-‘Aydī, but seems to have been a scholar of *ḥadīth*, see section 3.3.2.

¹⁵⁶ For a third/ninth-century manuscript of the same work, see MS UL Or. 298, illus. 3.10 and 3.43.

2.2.2.2. MS DK 19598 Bā'

This is a manuscript of *Ma'rifat al-majrūhīn min al-muḥaddithīn* ("The Knowledge of the Impugned Transmitters of Prophetic Traditions") by Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965).¹⁵⁷ This manuscript is analyzed based on both its original and a digital copy. According to the colophon, the manuscript is dated to Sha'bān 324/May-June 936.¹⁵⁸ The name of the copyist is not given in the colophon.¹⁵⁹

At the beginning of my examination, I doubted this dating because the manuscript shows rubrication using red ink.¹⁶⁰ However, this is also attested in other manuscripts dated to the fourth/tenth century.¹⁶¹ Thus, the red ink's rubrication attested in some Umayyad Qur'anic manuscripts seems to have also been used in fourth/tenth century non-Qur'anic manuscripts.¹⁶²

This manuscript is listed in some biographical works.¹⁶³ In a critical edition, Zayid (1992) relies on this manuscript.¹⁶⁴ In his Ph.D. thesis on Ibn Ḥibbān, Bin Muhammad Yusoff mentions this manuscript.¹⁶⁵

2.2.2.3. MS Car. Ef. 1508

This is a manuscript of *Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā 'ilm aḥkām al-nujūm* ("The Book of the Introduction to the Science of the Decrees of the Stars") by Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī (d. 272/886).¹⁶⁶ I was not allowed to inspect its original, so I used a digital copy. According to the colophon, it is dated to Ṣafar 327 /November-December 938.¹⁶⁷ The copyist, as mentioned in the colophon, is Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq.¹⁶⁸

¹⁵⁷ On him, see EI², s. v. "Ibn Ḥibbān"; HAWT, 1:148-9; GAS, 1: 189-91; Bin Muhammad Yusoff, "Ibn Ḥibbān"; Bin Muhammad Yusoff, "The Mashāhīr"; Bin Muhammad Yusoff, "Ḥadīth Scholar."

¹⁵⁸ MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 183v.

¹⁵⁹ MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 183v.

¹⁶⁰ On rubrication, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 227-9.

¹⁶¹ For other manuscripts, see MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, fol. 105v; MS IUL Ar. 1434; MS Şehid 1842.

¹⁶² On Rubrication with red ink in some Umayyad Qur'anic MSS, see Déroche, "New Evidence," 634.

¹⁶³ GAS, 1: 190; 'Awwād, *Aqdam*, 222; Zaydān, "al-Nusakh al-alfiyah fī maktabāt al-'ālam," 105.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Majrūhīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa-l-ḍu'afā' wa-l-matrūkīn*.

¹⁶⁵ Bin Muhammad Yusoff, "Ibn Ḥibbān," 133.

¹⁶⁶ On Abū Ma'shar, see EI², s.v. "Abū Ma'shar Dja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Balkhī"; HAWT, Vol. 1: 218-9; GAS, 7: 139-151; Şalība, *Islamic Science*, 35-141.

¹⁶⁷ MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 244v.

¹⁶⁸ I was not able to identify him.

This manuscript has received the attention of many scholars. Some bibliographical works list it.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, Sezgin et al. (1985) published it in facsimile.¹⁷⁰ Şeşen (1989) has analyzed this manuscript in his study of the orthography and palaeography of four specimens from the fourth/tenth century.¹⁷¹ Moreover, many studies on the history of Astrology mention this manuscript: Saliba (1992) in his investigation on the role astrologers played in medieval Muslim societies.¹⁷² Hübner (1994, 1996),¹⁷³ Burnett (2002)¹⁷⁴ and Thomann (2008) also use this manuscript in their research on horoscope diagrams.¹⁷⁵ Additionally, Déroche et al. (2006) mention this manuscript.¹⁷⁶ Unlike earlier editions,¹⁷⁷ the edition of Yamamoto and Burnett (2019) is based on this manuscript alongside other manuscripts.¹⁷⁸ Recently, Thomann (2020) also mentions this manuscript in his article on the “tables of contents, chapter headings and the hierarchical text structures in fourth/tenth-century scientific books.”¹⁷⁹

2.2.2.4. MS Şehid 2552

This is a manuscript of *Kitāb Daqā’iq al-taṣrīf* (“Details of Morphology”) by al-Qāsim Muhammad Ibn Sa’īd al-Mu’addib (fl. 338/949).¹⁸⁰ I was not granted access to its original, so I used a digital copy. It is likely an autograph. The manuscript does not begin with an expression that introduces the book to the readers, such as *qāla* Abū al-Qāsim or the like. The copyist usually gives such expressions. Instead, the manuscript starts directly with an introductory section in which the author speaks.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, the colophon underscores that it is the author who wrote the book.¹⁸² The colophon shows that it was finished in *ṣabīḥat* (“the morning of”) the Thursday, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 338/30 May 950.¹⁸³

¹⁶⁹ HAWT, supp. vol. 1: 402; Krause, “Stambuler”, 450; GAS, 7: 141; Zaydān, “*al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*,” 99; Şeşen, “*al-Makḥūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah*,” 150, 155.

¹⁷⁰ Abū Ma’shar, *The Great*.

¹⁷¹ Şeşen, “Les Caractéristiques,” 45-6.

¹⁷² Saliba, “The Role,” 45.

¹⁷³ Hübner, “Teukros,” 50, “Nereide,” 121.

¹⁷⁴ Burnett, “The Certitude,” 207.

¹⁷⁵ Thomann, “Chapter five,” 108-9.

¹⁷⁶ Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 221.

¹⁷⁷ On a survey of earlier editions, see Yamamoto and Burnett, *The Great*, 5-7; Savage-Smith, “Keiji Yamamoto,” 521-2.

¹⁷⁸ Yamamoto and Burnett, *The Great*, 30.

¹⁷⁹ Thomann, “From Serial Access to Random Access,” 212, 224.

¹⁸⁰ On him, see GAS, 9: 190. On his book *Daqā’iq*, see Baalbaki, “Unfamiliar.”

¹⁸¹ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3r.

¹⁸² See section 3.5.9.3 below.

¹⁸³ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146v.

This manuscript is listed in some bibliographical works.¹⁸⁴ Baalbaki (2006) discusses this manuscript in his study on morphological terminology.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, the critical edition of al-Ḍāmin (2004) is based on this manuscript.¹⁸⁶

2.2.2.5. MS DK 852 Tawḥīd

This is a manuscript of *Kitāb al-Intiṣār wa-l-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Rāwandī al-mulḥid mā qaṣada bihi min al-kadhib ‘alā al-Muslimīn wa-l-ṭa‘n ‘alayhim* (“The Book of the Triumph and the Refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī the Heretic Concerning the Lies He Aimed at Muslims and Attacking Them”) by Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad al-Khayyāt (d. ca. 300/913). It is a refutation (*radd*) to the discourse of Ibn al-Rāwandī regarding the Mu‘tazilites.¹⁸⁷ I was granted access to the original. According to its colophon,¹⁸⁸ it was completed in Jumādā I 347/ [April-May 976]. Besides being an early manuscript, there are other reasons for the significance of this copy. It is the only known manuscript of *al-Intiṣār*.¹⁸⁹

Sezgin (1967) lists this manuscript.¹⁹⁰ Nyberg (1925) has published a critical edition of the text, based on the manuscript.¹⁹¹ In addition, in his study of the *Faḍīḥat al-Mu‘tazilah*, al-A‘sam (1975-1977) uses this manuscript.¹⁹² Al-Ḥalwajī (2011) deals with it in his book on Arabic manuscript history.¹⁹³ Larsson (2018) wrote a paper on Nyberg’s work on this manuscript.¹⁹⁴ Finally, it should be mentioned that Weaver is currently preparing an edition and English translation of *al-Intiṣār* that will be published soon.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁴ GAS, 9: 190; Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt*, 666; Zaydān, “*al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*,” 94; Şeşen, “*al-Makḥūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah*,” 150, 155-6.

¹⁸⁵ Baalbaki, “Unfamiliar,” esp. 21-2.

¹⁸⁶ Al-Mu‘addib, *Daqā‘iq*, ed. al-Ḍāmin, esp. 21, 23. This edition is a revised version of an earlier edition of the book by al-Qaysī, al-Ḍāmin and Tural (1987), see al-Mu‘addib, *Daqā‘iq*, ed. al-Ḍāmin and Tural.

¹⁸⁷ On al-Khayyāt, see EI², s. v. “al-Khayyāt;” HAWT, supp. vol. 1: 343-4; GAS, 1: 621. Van Ess relied on al-Khayyāt’s *al-Intiṣār* in many places in his *Theology and society*. On Ibn al-Rāwandī, see EI², s. v. “Ibn al-Rāwandī or al-Rēwendī.” On Ibn al-Rāwandī’s argumentation with Mu‘tazilites and al-Khayyāt’s refutation to his views, see Van Ess, *Theology and Society*, vol. 4: 333-92.

¹⁸⁸ MS Dār al-Kutub 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 62v.

¹⁸⁹ Nyberg, “Muqaddimat al-nāshir,” 14.

¹⁹⁰ GAS, 1: 621.

¹⁹¹ Al-Khayyāt al-Mu‘tazilī, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg (translated into French: *Al-Khayyāt al-Mu‘tazilī, Kitāb al-Intiṣār. Le Livre du triomphe*, trans. Albert).

¹⁹² Al-A‘sam, *Ibn Ar-riwandī’s Kitāb*, see in particular, 65, 67, 70-5. Many thanks to James Weaver for drawing my attention and sharing his copy of this study.

¹⁹³ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makḥūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 156-7.

¹⁹⁴ Larsson, “H. S. Nyberg’s Encounter.” Many thanks to James Weaver for drawing my attention to this article.

¹⁹⁵ James Weaver, email, through personal correspondence, February 25, 2021.

2.2.2.6. MS Fazil 1507, 1508

These two volumes are manuscripts that contain four parts of the *Muqtaḍab fī al-naḥw* (“The Epitome on Grammar”)¹⁹⁶ by al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898).¹⁹⁷ I was granted limited access to the original, so my analysis is mainly based on a digital copy.

As noted on the title page, Abū Sa‘īd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979) emended and corrected the book.¹⁹⁸ The title page also shows that the manuscript was written for Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Alawī.¹⁹⁹ According to the colophon, the manuscript is dated 347/358-9.²⁰⁰ The copyist, as given in the colophon, is Muḥalhil ibn Aḥmad.²⁰¹

Some bibliographical works list these volumes.²⁰² Ritter (1953) discusses this manuscript in his article on autographs in Istanbul’s libraries.²⁰³ Ramaḍān ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (1985) also mentions this manuscript.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, in a study on the orthography and the palaeography of four specimens from the fourth/tenth century, Şeşen (1989) discusses this manuscript.²⁰⁵ Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Khālīq ‘Uḍaymah (1994) has published a critical edition of *al-Muqtaḍab* based on the Egyptian National Library’s scanned copy of this manuscript.²⁰⁶ Additionally, Sayyid mentions this manuscript in his study on the history of the Arabic manuscript (1997),²⁰⁷ and Şeşen (1997) has studied its colophon in his study on the colophon’s history.²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁶ Following Ritter, “Autographs,” 67, I rendered *al-Muqtaḍab* to “The Improvised.”

¹⁹⁷ On al-Mubarrad, see EI², s. v. “al-Mubarrad”; HAWT, 1:95-6, suppl. vol. 1: 163-4; GAS, 9:78-80. On al-Mubarrad and his book *al-Muqtaḍab*, see Ritter, “Autographs,” 66-8; ‘Abd al-Qādir, “al-Muqtaḍab. Dirāṣah wa-taḥlīl.”

¹⁹⁸ On al-Sīrāfī, see EI², s. v. “al-Sīrāfī”; HAWT, vol. 1: 100-1, vol. 2: 170-1; GAS, 9: 98-101.

¹⁹⁹ I was not able to identify him.

²⁰⁰ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 143v, 311r; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r.

²⁰¹ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 143v; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r. On Muḥalhil, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 8:173.

²⁰² Rescher, O. “Mitteilungen aus Stambuler Bibliotheken. I,” 197-207; HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 164; Şeşen, *Fihrist*, 2:172-3; Zaydān, “al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam,” 100; Sayyid, “al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī Dār,” 133; Şeşen, “al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah,” 150, 156-7.

²⁰³ Ritter, “Autographs,” 67-8, plate III.

²⁰⁴ Al-Mubarrad, *al-Balāghah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb, see the introduction, p. 86.

²⁰⁵ Şeşen, “Les Caractéristiques,” 46, pl. IV, B.

²⁰⁶ Al-Mubarrad, *al-Muqtaḍab*, ed. ‘Uḍaymah, see in particular pp. 77-78 from the introduction.

²⁰⁷ MS 1507 mentioned in Sayyid, *al-Kitāb*, 2: 572, 579, 583; MS Fazil 1507 mentioned in Sayyid, *al-Kitāb*, 2: 402.

²⁰⁸ Şeşen, “Esquisse,” 194-5.

2.2.2.7. MS DK 149 Naḥw

I base my research on the original copy of this manuscript. As mentioned in the reading statement found at the end, the manuscript is dated before Şafar 351/March-April 962.²⁰⁹ According to its colophon, it is the book of *Mā yanşarifu wa-mā lā yanşarifu* (“Triptotically and Diptotically Inflected Nouns”).²¹⁰ The book is, according to its transmission chain, authored by Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923).²¹¹ Other sources also ascribe the book to al-Zajjāj.²¹² The copyist’s name is not given at any place in the manuscript.

Some bibliographical works list this manuscript.²¹³ Moreover, some scholars of palaeography and codicology have used it: Moritz (1905),²¹⁴ Sayyid (1997),²¹⁵ and al-Ḥalwajī (2011).²¹⁶ Qurā‘ah (1971) has published a critical edition based on this manuscript.²¹⁷

2.2.2.8. MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3

This volume includes the third part of *Kitāb Sībawayh* (“The Book of Sībawayh”) composed by ‘Amr ibn ‘Uthmān Sībawayh.²¹⁸ This is the third part of a larger manuscript consisting of three parts. The first two parts of the manuscript are preserved under the same shelf mark in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah in one volume: MS DK 139 Naḥw, parts 1 and 2. However, these parts are not dated and written in an entirely different script, hence it is not considered for this study. I was granted access to its original. The manuscript is in terrible condition. Many pages are repaired, which affects the text. In its colophon, the manuscript is dated 351/962-3.²¹⁹ The copyist, according

²⁰⁹ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r.

²¹⁰ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r.

²¹¹ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 2r. On al-Zajjāj, see EI², s. v. “al-Zadjjādj”; HAWT, 1:98, suppl. vol. 1: 165; GAS, 9: 81-2. He is also the author of *Ma ‘ānī al-Qur’ān*, extant in an early manuscript as well (MS Fazil 43, see 2.2.2.17 below).

²¹² Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 66, ed. Sayyid, vol. 1, part 2: 178; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, 1: 63; al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāh*, 1:200.

²¹³ HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 65; GAS, 9: 82; ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 146; Zaydān, “*al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*,” 103; Sayyid, “*al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī Dār*,” 136.

²¹⁴ Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, pl. 122.

²¹⁵ Sayyid, *al-Kitāb*, 2: 405, 567.

²¹⁶ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-‘Arabī*, 165. It was mentioned entitled: *Sirr al-Naḥw*.

²¹⁷ Al-Zajjāj, *Mā Yanşarifu*, ed. Qurā‘ah, see esp. the introduction, pp. 30-8.

²¹⁸ On him see, EI², s. v. “Sībawayhi;” HAWT, 1:87-8, suppl. vol. 1: 155-6; GAS, 9: 51. On his *Kitāb*, in particular, see Humbert, *Les voies*; Bernards, *Changing Traditions*, 3-18; Druel, “The Kitāb.”

²¹⁹ MS DK, 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r.

to the colophon, is Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn Khalaf al-Qaṣṣār, who is most likely a scholar of Arabic grammar.²²⁰

The first volume of the manuscript was used by Hartwig Derenbourg (1881),²²¹ the book’s earliest editor. However, he did not use the second volume, including part 3, which I examine in this thesis. Later, ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn (1988-1996) partially used this part of the manuscript in his edition.²²²

This manuscript is listed in some bibliographical works.²²³ Studies that treat the manuscript include, Moritz (1905),²²⁴ Humbert (1995),²²⁵ Sayyid (1997).²²⁶ Recently, Druel (2020) also mentions it in his paper on Sībawayh’s *Kitāb*.²²⁷

2.2.2.9. MS Fazil 1541

This is a manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Jamharah* (“The Book of the Multitude”), the monumental Arabic dictionary by Ibn Durayd (321/933-4).²²⁸ I could not get access to its original, so I used a digital copy. In the colophon, it is dated to the year 353/[964-5].²²⁹ The copyist’s name is not given.

This manuscript is listed in some biographical works.²³⁰ However, both of the critical editions of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Mūsawī and Fritz Krenkow (1925/6-1932/3),²³¹ and Ba‘labakī (1987),²³² did not take this manuscript into consideration.

²²⁰ On him, see 3.3.2.

²²¹ Sībawayh, *Kitāb Sībawayh = Le livre de Sībawaihi*, ed. Derenbourg, vol. 1, see introduction, XVII-XVIII.

²²² Sībawayh, *al-Kitāb. Kitāb Sībawayh*, ed. Hārūn, see introduction, vol. 1, p. 58.

²²³ GAS, 9: 55; ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 189; Zaydān, “*al-Nusakh al-alfīyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*,” 104; Sayyid, “*al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfīyah fī Dār*,” 136.

²²⁴ Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, 121.

²²⁵ Humbert, *Les Voies*, 203-206.

²²⁶ Sayyid, *al-Kitāb*, 2: 567.

²²⁷ Druel, “The *Kitāb*,” 203.

²²⁸ On him, see EI², s. v. “Ibn Durayd;” HAWT, 1:99-100, suppl. vol. 1: 167-8; GAS, 8: 101-5. On his work *al-Jamharah* in particular, see Krenkow, “The Beginnings,” 261-8; Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 338-47.

²²⁹ MS Fazil 1541, fol. 376r.

²³⁰ HAWT, 1: 100; GAS, 8: 102; Şeşen, *Fihrist*, 2:188-9; Zaydān, “*al-Nusakh al-alfīyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*,” 93; Şeşen, “*al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfīyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah*,” 157-8.

²³¹ Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb Jamharat*.

²³² Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb Jamharat*.

2.2.2.10. MS BA 233

This manuscript is a fragment of the *Tafsīr* of Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl Abū Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Bustī (d. 307/919-20).²³³ It is preserved at the Library of Alexandria, Egypt, under the shelf mark 233. Prior to that, it was kept at Baladiyyat al-Iskandariyyah.²³⁴ I refer to it as MS Baladiyyat al-Iskandariyyah 233. I was not granted access to the original copy. Thus, I work with the digital copy.

In its colophon, the manuscript is dated to Ṣafar 358/December 968-January 969.²³⁵ The copyist, as the colophon shows, is Khalaf ibn Ḥakam.²³⁶ However, an examination of the digital copy shows there to be two hands responsible for the manuscript.²³⁷

This manuscript is listed in a few bibliographical works.²³⁸ Two parts of *Tafsīr al-Bustī* (“Commentary of al-Bustī”) are edited based on this manuscript by al-‘Umarī (1992)²³⁹ and Shaykh ‘Alī (1995).²⁴⁰ Zaydān (2006) mentions it in his survey of millenary manuscripts (*al-makhṭūṭāt al-alfiyyah*)²⁴¹ in the Library of Alexandria.²⁴²

Zaydān incorrectly catalogued it as part 13 of the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.²⁴³ It is clear that Zaydān only relied on the title page’s information, which does not belong to the manuscript, but was glued to the beginning of the text block by mistake. If he had read through the manuscript, he would have recognized that the manuscript is not a *ḥadīth* collection but a book of Qur’ānic exegesis. Later, a user of Alexandria Library by the name of Akram notified Zaydān that the manuscript could not

²³³ On his bio-bibliography with a special attention to his book of *Tafsīr*, see Alī, *Tafsīr*, PhD diss., 11-50. He was also mentioned in Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 8: 122.

²³⁴ Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī Maktabat al-Iskandariyyah*, 341.

²³⁵ MS BA 233, fol. 233r.

²³⁶ MS BA 233, fol. 233r. On Khalaf ibn Ḥakam, see 3.3.9.3.

²³⁷ See section 3.3.9.3.

²³⁸ ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 165: listed it as part 13 of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; Zaydān, *Nawādir*, namūdhaj raqam 20; Zaydān, “al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam,” 102.

²³⁹ Al-‘Umarī, “*Tafsīr Abī Muḥammad Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bustī*,” see in particular, pp. 60-1.

²⁴⁰ Shaykh Alī, “*Tafsīr Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bustī*,” see particularly, *al-mabḥath al-thālith*, pp. 47-54.

²⁴¹ The millenary manuscripts are the manuscripts which were copied before 1000 years or more. On this term, see Zaydān, “*Maḥmūm al-makhṭūṭah al-alfiyyah*,” 7-18.

²⁴² Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī Maktabat al-Iskandariyyah*, 343-6.

²⁴³ Zaydān, *Nawādir*, no. 20.

be a part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* as he noticed that the manuscript includes transmitters who never transmitted *ḥadīth* from Muslim.²⁴⁴

Zaydān then argued that the manuscript is a part of *Tafsīr al-Bustī* based on the name of the one who dictated it (*al-mumli*) given at the beginning of the book: Abū Muḥammad Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm preceded by the expression *ḥaddathanā* (“he transmitted to us”).²⁴⁵ He bases his argument on the *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (“The Glossary of the Countries”), where the name of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl Abū Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Bustī (d. 307/919) is mentioned.²⁴⁶ His identification of Abū Muḥammad – the one dictating the work – with the person mentioned in *Mu‘jam al-buldān* remains uncertain as there is no indication in *Mu‘jam al-buldān* that Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl Abū Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Bustī also wrote a commentary on the Qur’ān or that he is a Qur’ān commentator.²⁴⁷ This fragment of *Tafsīr* can be attributed to Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl Abū Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Bustī only based on the version of his name in another *isnād* in which his name including the *nisbah* al-Bustī is given (see illus. 2.3).²⁴⁸

2.2.2.11. MS Reis 904²⁴⁹

That is a manuscript of the *Marāthī wa-ash‘ār fī ghayr dhālika wa-akhbār wa-lughah* (“Dirges and Poems on Other Themes, Accounts, and Lexicon”), transmitted from Ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310/922).²⁵⁰ I was not granted access to its original, so I used a digital copy. As the colophon indicates, this manuscript’s copying was completed in Ramaḍān 370/March-April 981.²⁵¹ Once I had seen this manuscript, I realized that its script is very similar to that of the Qur’ān copied by Ibn al-Bawwāb, which is preserved in Chester Beatty Library.²⁵² This particular manuscript was written by Muḥammad ibn Asad ibn ‘Alī al-Qāri’(d. 410/1019),²⁵³ as we can learn from a note on

²⁴⁴ Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī Maktabat al-Iskandariyyah*, 343-5. On Muslim, see EI², s. v. “Muslim b. al-Ḥadjjāj”; HAWT, vol. 1: 144-5, suppl. vol. 1: 263-5; GAS, 1:136-43.

²⁴⁵ Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī Maktabat al-Iskandariyyah*, 344- 6; MS BA 233, fol. 1v.

²⁴⁶ Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī Maktabat al-Iskandariyyah*, 345-346; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 1: 415.

²⁴⁷ Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī Maktabat al-Iskandariyyah*, 345-346; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1: 415.

²⁴⁸ MS BA 233, fol. 15r. I have noticed this *isnād* thanks to Shaykh Alī, *Tafsīr*, PhD diss., 89, transmission 231.

²⁴⁹ Some sources referred to it as ‘Āšir Efendi 904, e. g. Brockelmann gives its shelf mark as ‘Āšir Ef. 904, see HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 165.

²⁵⁰ On him, see EI², s. v. “al-Yazīdī;” see under the 2. the descendants; HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 165; GAS, 2: 84.

²⁵¹ MS Reis 904, fol. 96v.

²⁵² Ibn al-Bawwāb’s Qur’ānic manuscript: MS Ch. B. Is 1431 . On Ibn al-Bawwāb and his manuscript, see Rice, *The unique*. On the script of Ibn al-Bawwāb’s manuscript, see in particular, p. 3, 11-13; EI², s. v. “Ibn al-Bawwāb.”

²⁵³ On al-Qāri’, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 430; Rice, *The unique*, 7.

the title page.²⁵⁴ Al-Qāri' was the teacher of Ibn al-Bawwāb, which explains why the hand is similar to the hand of Ibn al-Bawwāb.²⁵⁵

The manuscript is listed in some bibliographical works.²⁵⁶ A critical edition was published in 1948 based on this manuscript entitled *Kitāb al-Amālī 'an Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Yazīdī al-mutawaffā 350 H* ("The Book of the Dictations from Abū 'Abd Allāh... died 350H"),²⁵⁷ which is different from the title given on the title page of the current manuscript.²⁵⁸ Helmut Ritter (1952) has written a short review about this edition.²⁵⁹ Two modern scholars also mention this manuscript in their works. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid mentions it in his study on the history of Arabic manuscripts.²⁶⁰ Ghānim (2006) wrote an article on it focusing on the paratexts, the organization of the book, and the manuscript notes.²⁶¹

2.2.2.12. MS Fazil 948²⁶²

This manuscript contains three texts by Thābit ibn Qurrah (d. 288/901).²⁶³ The titles of these texts are *Kitāb Abī al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah fī ālāt al-sā'āt allatī tusammā rukhāmāt* ("The Book of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah Timekeeping Machines that Are Called Sundials"),²⁶⁴ *'Amal shakl mujassam dhī arba'a 'ashrata qā'idah fī kurah ma'lūmah* ("The Construction of a Solid Figure with Fourteen Faces Inscribed into a Given Sphere"),²⁶⁵ *Qawluh fī idāḥ al-wajh alladhī dhakara Baṭlaymūs anna bi-hi istakhraja man taqaddamahu masīrāt al-qamar al-dawriyyah wa-*

²⁵⁴ MS Reis 904, fol. 1r.

²⁵⁵ There is a note on the title page highlights this fact, see MS Reis 904, fol. 1r.

²⁵⁶ HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 165; GAS, 284; Sayyid, "*al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī Dār*," 133; Şeşen, "*al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah*," 151, 161.

²⁵⁷ Al-Yazīdī, *Kitāb al-Amālī*, ed. al-Ḥaḍramī and Krenkow, see particularly, pp. ٣٤-٣٥. This work seems similar to a collection of Marāthī by al-Khansā' collected by al-Mubarrad, see Seeger, "Mubarrad's Version of Two Poems by al-Khansā'." The thesis and the book by Muḥammad al-Ṭarīfī (*Marāthī wa-ash'ār wa-akhbār 'an Abī 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās al-Yazīdī*, Diploma diss., Kuliyyat al-Ādāb wa-l-'Ulūm al-Insāniyyah bi-Fās, 1985 and al-Yazīdī, *al-Marāthī. Marāthī wa-ash'ār fī ḡhayr dhālika wa-akhbār wa-lughah*, ed. Ṭarīfī; intro. 'Azzah Ḥasan, Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1991) have not been accessible to me (but see EI², s. v. "al-Yazīdī"; Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyyah, *Akhbār al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, 25 [May-June 1986]: 21).

²⁵⁸ Aḥmad Ghānim discussed the changing of the title of the manuscript in the critical edition, see Ghanim, "*Marāthī wa-ash'ār*," 326-8.

²⁵⁹ Ritter, "*Kitāb al-Amālī*."

²⁶⁰ Sayyid, *al-Kitāb*, 2: 403, 572.

²⁶¹ Ghanim, "*Marāthī wa-ash'ār*," 315-34.

²⁶² The shelf mark of this manuscript is given in the sources as Köprülü 948.

²⁶³ On him, see EI², s. v. "*Thābit b. Qurrah*," HAWT, vol. 1: 210-2, suppl. vol. 1: 389-91; GAS, 6: 163-70.

²⁶⁴ MS Fazil 948, fol. 1r.

²⁶⁵ MS Fazil 948, fol. 1r. The translation is taken from Hisarligil and Hisarligil. "The Geometry of Cuboctahedra," 127.

hiya al-mustawiyah (“His Utterance about the Explanation of the Way that Ptolemy mentioned That by It His Predecessor Worked out the Regular Cycles of the Moon and They Are Similar”).

²⁶⁶ I was not granted access to its original. In its colophon, the manuscript is dated to Dhū al-Ḥijjah 370/June-July 981.²⁶⁷ The copyist, as stated in the colophon, is Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn al-Ṣābi’ al-Ḥarrānī (d. 384/994).²⁶⁸

Some bibliographical works refer to the manuscript.²⁶⁹ Bessel-Hagen and Spies (1931) present the texts included in this manuscript from a photocopy of this manuscript brought by Helmut Ritter to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (preserved under Simulate Orient. 19) from the original in Istanbul.²⁷⁰ Garbers (1936) has edited and translated into German the text of Thābit ibn Qurrah on *ālāt al-sā’āt* (“the timekeeping machines”), based on the current manuscript.²⁷¹ This text in this manuscript is on folios 1v-45v of the manuscript. Furthermore, in a study on the orthography and the paleography of four specimens from the fourth/tenth century, Şeşen (1989) also discusses this manuscript.²⁷² What is more, Şeşen (1997) includes its colophon in his study on the colophon’s history.²⁷³ Finally, Rashid (2009) and Assela (2009) mention this manuscript in their articles on Thābit ibn Qurrah.²⁷⁴

2.2.2.13. MS IUL. Ar. 1434

This is a manuscript of the second volume of the *Dīwān al-adab* (“The Diwan of Literature”) by Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (d. 350/961).²⁷⁵ I was granted limited access to its original. Its

²⁶⁶ MS Fazil 948, fol. 1r.

²⁶⁷ MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v, 58v.

²⁶⁸ MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v, 58v. On Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn, see HAWT, 1: 83-4; EI², s. v. “Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi’”; al-Tha’alibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 2: 287-368.

²⁶⁹ GAS, 6: 187; ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 171, 183; Şeşen, *Fihris*, 1: 481-2; Morelon, “Majmū’ al-makhtūṭāt,” 179, 184, 188-192; Morelon, “Le Corpus,” 124-6, 128-30; Zaydān, “al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam,” 96, 98, 100, 104; Şeşen, “al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah,” 150, 159-60.

²⁷⁰ Bessel-Hagen and Spies. “Tābit b. Qurra’s Abhandlung,” on bringing a photocopy to Berlin, see p. 218.

²⁷¹ Tābit b. Qurra, *Ein Werk*.

²⁷² Şeşen, “Les Caractéristiques,” 46, pl. VI, A-C.

²⁷³ Şeşen, “Esquisse,” 195-6.

²⁷⁴ Rashid, “From Ḥarrān to Baghdad,” 23; Asselah, “Construction d’une polyèdre,” 317.

²⁷⁵ On al-Fārābī, see EI², s. v. “al-Fārābī, Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm;” HAWT, vol. 1: 115-6, suppl. vol. 1: 192-3; GAS, 8: 197-9. On al-Fārābī as a lexicographer, see Kraemer, J. “Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie,” 212; Kelly, “A Closer Look.”

colophon shows that it was copied in Šafar 372/July-August 982.²⁷⁶ The copyist, according to the colophon, is Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bāqillānī.²⁷⁷

The manuscript is listed in some bibliographical works.²⁷⁸ ‘Umar (1974-1979) has published a critical edition of the *Dīwān al-adab*. This has been further revised by Anīs with the addition of other manuscripts alongside it.²⁷⁹ Kelly (1979-80) unaware of the present manuscript and the existence of others, erroneously lists MS Pococke 227 in the Bodleian Library “as a single copy.”²⁸⁰

2.2.2.14. MS Lal. 1728

That manuscript includes *al-Juz’ al-thālith/al-rābi’ min shi’r Abī al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mu’tazz* (“The Third and Fourth Parts of The Poetry of...Ibn al-Mu’tazz [(d. 296/998)]”), who was besides being poet, also a prince.²⁸¹ The diwan was collected by his friend Abū Bakr al-Šūlī, the author of *Adab al-kuttāb*.²⁸² I was not granted access to its original, so I looked at a digital copy. Its colophon shows that it was copied in Dhū al-Qa’dah 372/April-May 983.²⁸³ The colophon also states that the copyist is one ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad.²⁸⁴

Some bibliographical works list this manuscript.²⁸⁵ Based on this manuscript, Lewin (1945-1950) has published a critical edition for parts 3 and 4 of Ibn al-Mu’tazz’s poetry.²⁸⁶

²⁷⁶ MS IUL Arabic 1434, fol. 178r.

²⁷⁷ I was not able to identify him, but he seems to have been a professional copyist as the layout and script of this manuscript show.

²⁷⁸ GAS, 8: 198; Zaydān, “*al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*,” 94; Şeşen, “*al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah*,” 168.

²⁷⁹ Al-Fārābī, *Dīwān al-adab*, ed. ‘Umar, rev. Anīs, see his mention of this manuscript in the introduction, p. 58.

²⁸⁰ Kelly, “A Closer look,” 498.

²⁸¹ On him, see EI², s. v. “Ibn al-Mu’tazz;” HAWT, vol. 1: 71, suppl. vol. 1: 126-8; GAS, 2: 569-71.

²⁸² See section 2.1.1.8 above.

²⁸³ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 202v.

²⁸⁴ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 202v. I was not able to identify him.

²⁸⁵ HAWT, vol. 1: suppl. vol. 1: 127; Rescher, “*Mitteilungen aus Stambuler Bibliotheken. II*,” 515; GAS, 2: 570; Zaydān, “*al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*,” 94; Şeşen, “*al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah*,” 150, 161-2.

²⁸⁶ Ibn al-Mu’tazz. *Al-Juz’ al-Thālith*, ed. Lewin, see his mention of this manuscript on pp. ج-د; Ibn al-Mu’tazz. *Al-Juz’ al-Rābi’*, ed. Lewin, see his mention of this manuscript, see his mention of this manuscript on pp. ب-ه.

Blachère has written a review on the German-English edition of this diwan.²⁸⁷ Recently, Bauden (2020) has also mentioned this manuscript in his article on libraries in Islam.²⁸⁸

2.2.2.15. MS Şehid 27

This manuscript includes parts 21-33 of the *Kitāb al-Ḥujjah li-l-a'imma al-sab'ah min qurrā' al-amṣār* (“The Book of Evidence for The Seven Most Eminent [Qur’ān] Readers of the Capital Cities”) by al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī (d. 377/987).²⁸⁹ I was not granted access to its original, so I worked with a digital copy. Its colophon shows that it was copied in Sha‘bān 374/December 984-January 985.²⁹⁰ The copyist, as stated in the colophon, is al-‘Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib (d. 401/1010-11).²⁹¹ Besides being a *ḥadīth* scholar, Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib was also a state secretary and a copyist of books.²⁹²

This copy is important, as it was written during the lifetime of the author. However, it has not received much attention from modern scholars. Two bibliographical works mentioned the manuscript.²⁹³ However, the critical edition of Qahwajī and Juwayjānī (1984), revised by al-Daqqāq, do not take this manuscript into account.²⁹⁴

2.2.2.16. MS DK 663 Tafsīr

This is a manuscript of *Mushkil al-Qur’ān* (“Difficulties in the Qur’ān”) by Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), the author of *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*.²⁹⁵ I was granted access to its original. Its colophon shows that it was copied in Rabī‘ II 379/July-August 989.²⁹⁶ As mentioned in the colophon, the copyist is one Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā.²⁹⁷

²⁸⁷ Blachère, “Ibn al-Mu‘tazz.”

²⁸⁸ Bauden, “Bibliothèques en Islam”, 16.

²⁸⁹ On him, see HAWT, vol. 1: 101-2, suppl. vol. 1: 171-2; GAS, 9: 101-10.

²⁹⁰ MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r.

²⁹¹ MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r; On Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib and other copyists identified, see section 3.3.2.

²⁹² On Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib and other copyists identified, see section 3.3.2.

²⁹³ HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 172; Zaydān, “al-Nusakh al-alfiyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam,” 94.

²⁹⁴ Al-Fārisī, *al-Ḥujjah*.

²⁹⁵ MS Lal. 1905, see section 2.2.2.18. On the book al-Mushkil, see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 276-301; Samad, *Ibn Qutaybah's contribution*.

²⁹⁶ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165.

²⁹⁷ I was not able to identify him.

The manuscript is listed in some bibliographical works.²⁹⁸ Şaqr (1973) has published a critical edition of the book based on this manuscript and two others.²⁹⁹ Al-Ḥalwajī (2011) has analyzed it in his research on Arabic manuscript history up until the fourth/tenth century.³⁰⁰ Furthermore, Samad (2011) mentions this manuscript in his thesis on *Mushkil al-Qur’ān* when discussing the manuscripts used in Şaqr’s edition.³⁰¹

2.2.2.17. MS Fazil 43

This is a manuscript of part 2 of *Ma’ānī al-Qur’ān* (“Meanings of the Qur’ān”), by the author of the work contained in MS DK 149 Naḥw, mentioned above, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923).³⁰² I was granted limited access to the original, so I relied on its digital copy for my research.³⁰³ Its colophon shows that it was copied in Jumādā I 395/March-April 1005.³⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the copyist’s name is not mentioned in the colophon.

Some bibliographical works list this manuscript.³⁰⁵ Shalabī (1988) has made an edition of the *Ma’ānī al-Qur’ān* based on this manuscript along with others.³⁰⁶ Şeşen (1997) studies its colophon in his research on the colophon’s history.³⁰⁷ Quiring-Zoche (2013) also quotes and analyzes this manuscript’s colophon from Şeşen (1997) it in her study.³⁰⁸

2.2.2.18. MS Lal. 1905

This is a manuscript of *Kitāb al-Kuttāb* (“The Book of the Scribes”), also known as *Adab-al-Kātib* (“The Rules of Conduct of the Scribe”)³⁰⁹ by Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), the author of *Mushkil al-Qur’ān* mentioned above (section 2.2.2.16). I was not granted access to its original. Its colophon shows that it was copied in Jumādā I 396/March-April 1006.³¹⁰ The copyist is al-‘Abbās ibn

²⁹⁸ ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 102, 215; Zaydān, “al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam,” 102, 104; Sayyid, “al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī Dār,” 136; al-Hay’ah, *Nawādir*, 82-3.

²⁹⁹ Ibn Qutaybah. *Ta’wīl*, ed. Şaqr, see his mention of the manuscript in the introduction, p. 86.

³⁰⁰ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makḥṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 156-7, 158, 170, 173.

³⁰¹ Samad, *Ibn Qutaybah’s contribution*, 1.

³⁰² On al-Zajjāj, see EI², s. v. “al-Zadjjādj”; HAWT, 1:98, supp. vol. 1: 165; GAS, 8: 99-101; 9: 81-2.

³⁰³ I was allowed to look at the manuscript for only 15 minutes.

³⁰⁴ MS Fazil 43, fol. 335r.

³⁰⁵ Şeşen, *Fihrist*, 1: 45-6. Zaydān, *al-Nusakh al-alfiyyah fī maktabāt al-‘ālam*, 100; Şeşen, *al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-alfiyyah fī al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah*, 169-70.

³⁰⁶ Al-Zajjāj, *Ma’ānī*, ed. Shalabī, see his mention of this manuscript in the introduction, 1: ج.

³⁰⁷ Şeşen, “Esquisse,” 195, 197.

³⁰⁸ Quiring-Zoche, “The Colophon,” 51-3.

³⁰⁹ see section 2.1.1.

³¹⁰ MS Lal. 1905, fol. 314r.

Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib (d. 401/1010-11),³¹¹ who is also the copyist of MS Şehid 27 (section 2.2.2.15).

Some bibliographical works list this manuscript.³¹² However, Gruenert (1900) does not consider this manuscript in his edition of the text.³¹³ Al-Dālī (1981), who relied on Gruenert's edition to produce a new edition, also does not use this manuscript.³¹⁴ Bonebakker (1960) uses this manuscript for his work on manuscripts of three *adab al-kātib* books.³¹⁵ Finally, Bonmariage (2016) mentions this manuscript in his collection of ownership statements.³¹⁶

2.2.2.19. MS MRT 37³¹⁷

This is a manuscript of *Sharḥ Faṣīḥ Tha‘lab* (“Commentary of The Eloquent of Tha‘lab”) by Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Jabbān (fl. 416/1025).³¹⁸ I was granted access to its original, and I was allowed to take some photos with my camera.³¹⁹ Its colophon shows that this manuscript was copied in 398/1007-8.³²⁰ As stated in the colophon, the copyist is one Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭālibānī.³²¹

Examining the original copy, it seems that there are different hands responsible for writing the manuscript. The hand of a few pages is different from the rest of the manuscript pages (see illus. 2.4).³²² Perhaps these pages had gone missing and then written and added later by someone who imitated the original hand.

³¹¹ MS Lal. 1905, fol. 314r; MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r; On Abū Mawwās al-Kātib, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14: 56-7.

³¹² Rescher, Oskar. “Über arabische Manuskripte der Lāleli-Moschee,” 102; Zaydān, “al-Nusakh al-alfiyah fi maktabāt al-‘ālam,” 93; Şeşen, “al-Makhtūṭāt al-alfiyah fi al-maktabāt al-Turkiyyah,” 170-1.

³¹³ Ibn Qutaybah, *Ibn Kutaiba’s adab al-kātib*.

³¹⁴ Ibn Qutaybah, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. al-Dālī, on the benefit of al-Dālī from Gruenert’s edition, see the introduction, 3 mīm-4 mīm.

³¹⁵ Bonebakker, “Notes,” 160-1.

³¹⁶ Bonmariage, “Ottoman Manuscripts Owners.”

³¹⁷ The shelf mark in GAS, 8: 229 is Sohag, Lughā 37.

³¹⁸ On him, see GAS, 8: 228-9.

³¹⁹ Many thanks to my friend, the *Sohāgī* journalist Muṭafa Dunqul who introduced me to Mr. Khalaf, the librarian who facilitated my access to the manuscript.

³²⁰ MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 242r.

³²¹ MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 242r. I was not able to identify al-Ṭālibānī, but he seems to have been a professional copyist as the script shows.

³²² The folios in different hand are 3r-6v.

This manuscript is listed in two bibliographical works.³²³ Al-Qazzāz wrote his master thesis in Bagdād on *Sharḥ Faṣīḥ Tha‘lab* in 1974.³²⁴ Subsequently, Qazzāz also published a critical edition of the *Sharḥ Faṣīḥ Tha‘lab* in 1991, in which he relied on the current manuscript along with others.³²⁵

³²³ GAS, 8: 229; ‘Awwād, *Aqdam*, 156.

³²⁴ Al-Marzūk, “Al-Lughah,” 264.

³²⁵ Abū Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Jabbān. *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ*, ed. al-Qazzāz, on treating the present manuscript, see pp. 74-9.

3. Paratexts¹

This chapter discusses the “liminal devices” or “paratextual elements” “that mediate the relation between the text and the reader” in the front and end positions of the manuscript.² These paratextual elements in the examined manuscripts are the title page, the introductory section (including the *basmalah*, the *isnād* of the book, and the preface), and the colophon. This discussion relies on a thorough examination of both the normative sources and manuscripts. The examination of manuscript evidence only covers paratextual elements that are likely to have been composed in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Paratextual elements that seem to have been composed later (for example, elements that are composed in a different hand from the main text), are not scrutinized.

3.1. Title page

3.1.1. *al-‘Anwanah*, title page, *al-ḡahriyyah*

The normative sources do not discuss the title page. However, in modern Arabic codicology, the title page is designated, and with various terms. For instance, it is called the *ḡahriyyah* or *ḡahr*.³ It is likely that both terms link to the definition of the *‘unwān* in *adab al-kātib* as *mā ḡahara*, as will be explained below. The title page is also termed *ṣafḡat al-‘unwān*⁴ or *ṣafḡat al-ḡhulāf* in the modern Arabic codicology.⁵

Adab al-kātib treatises are mainly concerned with writing correspondence (such as through letters) and documents.⁶ These treatises speak about the linguistic meaning of the *‘unwān*, in the sense of a recipient’s address, and its various elements. The address introduces the letter and includes the sender and the addressee: *min fulān ilā fulān* (“from so to so”).⁷ The “titular situation

¹ Genette, *Paratexts*.

² Macksey, “Foreword,” XI- XII.

³ For the terms *ḡahriyyah* or *ḡahr* see, EI², s. v. “‘Unwān”; Şeşen, “Ahamiyyat ṣafḡat al-‘unwān,” 179, Sayyid, *al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī al-makhḡūṭ*, 1: 2.

⁴ Al-Halwajī, *al-Makhḡūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 157; al-Sāmīrā’ī, *‘Ilm al-iktināh*, 205-10; al-Nashshār, *Fī al-Makhḡūṭ al-‘Arabiyyah*, 23-5.

⁵ Sayyid, *al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī al-makhḡūṭ*, 1: 2.

⁶ On the genre including a basic list of its works, see EI², s. v. “Kātib.”

⁷ On this, EI², s. v. “‘Unwān”, “Diplomatic”; Cook, *Early*, 53 (Cook calls the *‘unwān* “the proem”, or *praescriptino*); AMT, 103.

of communication”⁸ in the context of correspondence has two elements: the sender and the addressee.⁹ In Jakobson’s model,¹⁰ a message is delivered through the title, i.e. an indication of the theme, the sender (the author or the copyist), the addressee (the readers, the patron, or the copyist himself). The third/ninth-century *adab al-kātib* sources define the ‘*unwān* in this sense. According to an epistle attributed to Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889)¹¹ and another to Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Baghdādī (d. after 255/869),¹² the title is an *athar* (the sign/mark/clue).¹³ Thus, the address is a mark that indicates a message. The title of a codex acts similarly. ‘Abbās Arḥīlah defines the book’s title as a ‘mark’ using the Arabic terms ‘*alāmah*, *simah*, and *mu’ashshir*.¹⁴ We can see that in the field of Arabic literature, the title is also dealt with as a mark.¹⁵ Furthermore, al-Shaybānī (d. 298/911),¹⁶ in *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, refers to the ‘*unwān* incidentally while discussing the sealing of the letters. However, he does not deal with it independently.¹⁷

The *adab al-kātib* treatises in the fourth/tenth century, besides providing a definition of the ‘*unwān*, also discuss its place and its formulation. For example, Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/958)¹⁸ writes a chapter entitled: “The mention of the address and its interpretation.” In this chapter, he describes the ‘*unwān* as *mā zahara* (“what appears”).¹⁹ This definition probably draws upon the lexical meaning of the root ‘-n-w, which means “appearing.”²⁰ Ibn Durustawayh illustrates that a letter’s address is to be placed in its outer part, at the beginning (*‘alā zāhirihi wa-awwalihī*) to

⁸ Genette, *Paratexts*, 73.

⁹ On diplomatic and writing the epistles, see EI², s. v. “Diplomatic,” “Inshā’,” “Kātib”; Muid, “The Literary and social Role of the Arab Amanuenses”; Sadan, “Nouveaux documents sur scribes et copistes.”

¹⁰ Jakobson, “Linguistics and Poetics,” 66, see also Genette, *Paratexts*, 73.

¹¹ On Ibn Qutaybah, see footnote 110 above.

¹² For him, see HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 184; al-Ṣafādī, *Nukat al-himyan*, 182; al-Suyūfī, *Bughyah*, 2: 49.

¹³ Pseudo-Ibn Qutaybah, *Risālat al-Khaṭṭ wa-l-qalam*, 27; Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Baghdādī, “*al-Kuttāb wa-ṣifāt al-dawāh*,” 54-5. Al-Ṣūlī mentioned the same meaning in the next century (al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 143). He also transmitted this meaning from Abū Dhakwān, who, in turn, transmitted from al-Tanūkhī, see al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 147. Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, in the 5th/11th century, stated that “the title is like the sign” (*al-‘unwān ka-l-‘alāmah*), see Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 330. On the meaning of the ‘*unwān* as a mark/trace/sign is used, see Lane, *Arabic English lexicon*, 5: 2179; EI², s. v. “‘Unwān.”

¹⁴ Arḥīlah, *al-‘Unwān*, 5.

¹⁵ See for instance: Jamīl Ḥamadāwī, “al-Sīmiyūfīqā wa-l-‘anwanah.”

¹⁶ On him, see al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 1: 60; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn*, 1: 64.

¹⁷ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 55. *Al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’* is attributed to Ibn al-Mudabbir in the edition of Zakī Mubārak.

¹⁸ On Ibn Durustawayh, see footnote 143 above.

¹⁹ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 96. Later, in the fifth/eleventh century, Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib put it: *khaṭṭ zāhir ‘alā al-kitāb* (“a distinct writing on the top of the message”), see Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 330.

²⁰ al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, 2: 145; Arḥīlah, *al-‘Unwān*, 17-8.

explain who the letter is from and who it is for.²¹ Similarly, the title page comes before the book's composition to show the text's sender (the author) and addressee (the readership). A title that indicates the subject determines the readership and those who are interested in a particular field. However, it should be stated that a title is not always indicative of the contents of a book. Examples of this includes *al-Risālah*²² and *Kitāb Sībawayh*.²³

The title page is often the first folio.²⁴ Thus, when a manuscripts reader begins reading, the title page appears (this is *mā zahara*, as shown above). Designating the title page with *zahriyyah* or *zahr* in modern Arabic scholarship is likely to be an extension of the above-mentioned linguistic definition used of title – '*alā zāhirihi, mā zahara*. The title page of non-Qur'ānic manuscripts contain the proper title, which sometimes signals the content, in the sense of the title as a 'mark' mentioned above. The title page often entails the author's name (from whom), and sometimes shows for whom the manuscript was copied (for a patron, or for the copyist himself).²⁵ Hence, the title page fulfils the address's function, in other words to identify the sender and addressee.

Al-Ṣūlī points out that "declaration" is a function of the '*unwān*, by which the writer declares the matter of the message (*a' lana bihi amr al-kitāb*).²⁶ Similarly, the title page of a book 'declares' some kind of knowledge about the book.²⁷

With regards to the writing of the '*unwān*, al-Ṣūlī reports that the scribes of letters used to write the *basmalah* as a part of the '*unwān* but that this tradition ended.²⁸ We can see this from manuscript codices as well; the *basmalah* does not occur on any title pages under scrutiny. Instead, the *basmalah* only appears in the introductory section, as will be elaborated upon below (see section 3.2.1).

²¹ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 96. For more details about which comes first "to whom" or "from whom" in the title of a given letter, see Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 96-7 and al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 144-7.

²² For the title on title pages of *al-Risālah*, see MS DK 41 Uṣūl fiqh, fol. 6r, 30r, 52r, and the title is also given in the copying permission as *Kitāb al-Risālah*, see fol. 75v.

²³ MS DK 139 Naḥw, fol. 1r, 120r.

²⁴ See section 3.1.2 below.

²⁵ See section 3.1.11.3, note (4); section 3.1.11.6, note (3).

²⁶ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 143.

²⁷ For the analysis of title page examples, see section 3.1.4 below.

²⁸ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 144.

In the fifth/eleventh century, Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib²⁹ gave a more comprehensive definition for the *'unwān*:

العنوان كالعلامة، وهو دالٌّ على مرتبة الكاتب من المكاتب فالأصل فيه الإخبار عن اسمي الكاتب والمكتوب إليه حتى لا يكون الكتاب مجهولاً.

The address is like the sign. It indicates the writer from the addressee. The main purpose is to state the names of the sender and the addressee in order to prevent the letter from being anonymous.³⁰

This comprehensive definition includes (besides the characteristics of the *'unwān* that were mentioned earlier), the function of clarifying the message's purpose; without it, we do not know the direction of the message, nor from whom the message is from and to whom it is for. This function is fulfilled in non-Qur'ānic manuscripts by the information on the title page. If the book's title page is not provided, the book will become anonymous, unless a perusal of the entire manuscript reveals the book's identity.

The above-presented theoretical data from the *adab al-kātib* treatises on the components of the *'unwān* can be seen in extant early letters. For example, Qurrah's epistles dated to the first/seventh century. They open with *'unwān*'s such as: *hādhā kitāb min Qurrah ibn Sharīk li-ahl Hurūs Abayarmayūtus* ("this is An Epistle from Qurrah... to the People of Hurūs..."),³¹ and *hādhā kitāb min Qurrah ibn Sharīk li-ahl Shubrā Ājiyyah Bi[nūt]iyyah* ("this is an Epistle from Qurrah... to the People of Shubrā ...").³² The theoretical details of the *'unwān* discussed above also appear in practice in MS Vat. Ar. 13.³³ This manuscript contains the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles. However, the manuscript is not dated in any place. Scholars who have dealt with the manuscript have suggested various dates for its composition. Graf dates it to the third/ninth century,³⁴ after

²⁹ On Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, see EI², s.v. "Ibn K̅halaf"; Saleh, "Une Source de Qalqašandī."

³⁰ Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 330.

³¹ MS DK Inv. No. 334; Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 3: 54-5.

³² MS DK Inv. No. 663; Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 3: 50-2.

³³ Available at: digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.13, [accessed May 4, 2020]. Many thanks to Prof. Gruendler for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

³⁴ GCAL, I: 147, 150; Monferrer-Sala, "The Pauline Epistle," 341; Monferrer-Sala, "An Early Fragmentary Christian Palestinian Rendition of the Gospels," 70.

originally dating it to the second/eighth century.³⁵ Its dating to the third/ninth century is also agreed upon by others.³⁶ However, some scholars such as Kashouh, even date it to the first/seventh century.³⁷ The epistles of St. Paul contain an *'unwān* in the beginning, just like the pattern mentioned in *adab al-kātib* treatises.³⁸ For instance, the title: *al-Risālah min Būlus al-Rasūl ilā Rūmiyyah* (the Epistle from Paul the Apostle to the Romans), explicitly includes the sender (St. Paul) and the addressee (the Romans).³⁹

The sources on *adab al-‘ālim wa-l-muta‘allim* and *ḥadīth* terminology up until the fifth/eleventh century are silent on the title page and the title itself. Later, Ibn Jamā‘ah (d. 733/1333)⁴⁰ discusses writing the title on the bottom of the leaves’s edge to facilitate recognition when stacked with other books.⁴¹ This practice is only first mentioned in the eighth/fourteenth century with its first source being Ibn Jamā‘ah’s *Tadhkirah*. I could not trace this practice in any of the actual manuscripts from the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries and it only seems to have been initiated after the fourth/tenth century.

Considering the above findings, we can think of the *'unwān* as follows: its practice in letters is equivalent to the title page in the manuscripts. In letters and documents, the *unwān* includes the sender and the addressee. This is like the title page in codices, which include the author’s/copyist’s name (“from whom”) and the title (explains “to whom”). It should be noted that the “to whom” may also be the patron in certain cases, as will be explained below.

In simple terms, a non-Qur’ānic manuscript title is a name given to a book and there are various terms used to designate this name. One of those is the *'unwān*.⁴² Using the term the *'unwān* for

³⁵ Graf, *Die Christlich-Arabische Literatur bis zur Frankish Zeit*, 10; Monferrer-Sala, “The Pauline Epistle,” 341; Monferrer-Sala, “An Early Fragmentary Christian Palestinian Rendition of the Gospels,” 69.

³⁶ Monferrer-Sala, “The Pauline Epistle,” 341.

³⁷ Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, 153-171, 147-9.

³⁸ For all titles of St. Paul’s Epistles, see MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 87v, 103r, 121r, 131r, 141r, 149v, 153r, 155v, 160v, 164r, 166r, 167r.

³⁹ MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 87v.

⁴⁰ On him, see HAWT, vol. 2: 74-5; Khalaf, *al-Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn ibn Jamā‘ah*; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyyah*, 9: 139-46; al-Barzālī, *Mashyakhat qāḍī al-quḍāh Shaykh al-Islām Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamā‘ah*; al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, 2: 15-17.

⁴¹ Ibn Jamā‘ah, *Tadhkirah*, 127.

⁴² EI², s. v. “Unwān.” The term *'unwān* is also used to designate the illuminated upper margin of the first leaf’s verso in the text block, is also termed frontispiece or headpiece in English, see EI², s. v. “Unwān”; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 37, 110-11; Déroche et. al., *Islamic Codicology*, 225. Moreover, The term *'unwān* is used as a synonym to the *sarlawḥa* to denote ‘the illuminated title piece or headpiece’ provided at the ‘opening text page,’ i. e. the verso of the first folio (see The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture, II: 189, III: 127). However, Akimushkin and Ivanov

both the book's title and the letter's address is likely because of the similarity of both of their functions as explained previously.

Another term for the book title is *al-tarjamah*.⁴³ The use of this term can be traced to the fourth/tenth century, and more specifically to al-Washshā' (d. 325/937).⁴⁴ In a chapter on flowers, he refers to the title of his book: *Wa-tarjamtuhi bi-kitāb al-'Aqd* ("and I entitled it the "Book of the contract").⁴⁵ The verb *tarjama* is a synonym of *'anwana*, i.e., to entitle. Later, Ibn Jamā'ah (d. 733/1333), al-'Almawī (d. 981/1573), and al-Ghazzī (d. 984/1577) use the term *al-tarjamah* for the title of a book.⁴⁶ Rosenthal translates the word *tarjamah* in the text of al-'Almawī as "chapter heading,"⁴⁷ which is one meaning of the word. However, in this context it should rather be "book title." The term *tarjamah* occurs in the text of al-'Almawī as a synonym of *ism al-kitāb*, which also means the book title.⁴⁸ As a result of Rosenthal's translation,⁴⁹ it was deduced by mistake that al-'Almawī recommended devising a table of contents at the beginning of books.⁵⁰

In the following section, specific elements of the title page are considered, such as the title itself and the author's name. The title is discussed in detail, elaborating on the place where the title occurs, not only on the title page, but also other places in the manuscript. In addition, the script used for writing the title page is examined. The structure of the title is also discussed. Furthermore, I discuss the author's name when it occurs both in the title page and other places in the manuscript. The author's name is usually preceded by terms such as *ta'līf* (composition) and *taṣnīf* (compilation) which are analyzed. The discussion of the title page ends with remarks on exceptions to these previous points.

use the term *'unwān* for the illumination provided to the upper half of the fol. 1v., and *sarlawḥa* for illumination applied for the whole page (fol. 1r.) or even stretched to include the opposite page (fol. 2r.) (see Akimushkin and A.A. Ivanov, "The art of illumination," 36-7). Different form B.W. Robinson who employs the term *'unwān* for an illuminated single (fol. 1v) or for double-pages (fol. 1v and fol. 2r.) at the beginning of a fine manuscript, and *sarlawḥa* for only the illuminated upper part, see Robinson, *Islamic painting*, 277; EI², s. v. "Unwān."

⁴³ Al-Najdī, *Manhaj al-baḥth al-adabī 'ind al-'Arab*, 76-7; Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, 17.

According to Ibn Shīth al-Qurashī (d. 577/1181), the term *tarjamah* can also mean the sender in the *'unwān* of messages which was placed above the *basmalah*, see Ibn Shīth al-Qurashī, *Ma'ālim*, 32; AMT, 17. For more meanings of *al-tarjamah* including chapter headings, see AMT, 17.

⁴⁴ On al-Washshā', see EI², s. v. "al-Washshā'"; HAWT, vol. 1: 112, suppl. 1: 185-6; GAS, 8: 175, 9: 164-5.

⁴⁵ Al-Washshā', *al-Muwashshā*, 180.

⁴⁶ Ibn Jamā'ah, *Tadhkirah*, 127; al-'Almawī, *al-Mu'īd*, 132; al-Ghazzī, *al-Durr*, 426.

⁴⁷ Fr. Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 11.

⁴⁸ Ibn Jamā'ah, *Tadhkirah*, 127; al-'Almawī, *al-Mu'īd*, 132; al-Ghazzī, *al-Durr*, 426.

⁴⁹ Fr. Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 11.

⁵⁰ Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 318.

3.1.2. Frontal place

The title page is the first informative part of the manuscript that a manuscript user encounters. It is the first scribal element that draws the reader's attention.⁵¹ With regards to the third/ninth century manuscripts under examination, the title page is usually on the recto side of the first leaf.⁵² This practice continues in fourth/tenth-century manuscripts.⁵³ We can see examples of this in MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, which dates to the third/ninth century. It has its original title page on the recto of the sixth leaf preceded by pages written after the copying of the manuscript. We know this since these pages are written in a different hand. Some of these pages also have certificates of audition dated after the third/ninth century. With regards to MS MDSK Ar. 580,⁵⁴ the original title page is also fol. 2r. Its first folio also includes a title page but seems to have been added later. Further examples can be seen with MS Lal. 1728⁵⁵ and MS Şehid 2552, where their title page is fol. 2r.

Due to its position, the title page is particularly vulnerable and prone to getting lost or being replaced. I noticed with two manuscripts that the title page had been replaced. In the first case, the title page was replaced with another manuscript's title page (see illus. 3.1).⁵⁶ The title page's script is completely different from the body's script. Although the title page states that the manuscript is part 13 of *Şahīḥ Muslim*, which is a collection of *ḥadīth*, an examination of content of the manuscript reveals that it is actually a book of Qur'ānic exegesis.⁵⁷ I did not see this occur in any of the other manuscripts I examined (see section 2.2.2.10). The second case is MS IUL A1434. Its title page is also not original as an examination of the manuscript's paper and script with its title page shows discrepancies. Like MS BA 233, the display script on the title page is completely different from the text body. Furthermore, the paper of the first folio is not as dark as the paper of

⁵¹ Arḥīlah, *al-'Unwān*, 5.

⁵² MS BNF arabe 2859; MS MMMI 44 part 1 and 3, MS UL Or. 298; MS MAW 1125.

⁵³ MS MDSK Ar. 2; MS Car. Ef. 1508; MS DK 852 Tawḥīd; MS Fazil 1507; MS Fazil 1508; MS DK149 Naḥw; MS DK 139 Naḥw; MS Reis 904; MS Fazil 948, MS Şehid 1842; MS DK 663 Tafsīr; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 2), 65; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 4), 066; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 8), 066; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 36), 067 (as the digital copy shows, all the above-mentioned al-Qarawīyyīn manuscripts have a blank folio before the title page. It is not clear whether the copyist intentionally left it or it was added later to the manuscript); MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 42), 067 (this al-Qarawīyyīn manuscript does not have a blank page before the title page); MS Lal. 1905.

⁵⁴ MS MDSK Ar. 580.

⁵⁵ The manuscript consists of two parts. Each part has a title page. I refer here to the first title page.

⁵⁶ MS BA 233, fol. 233r.

⁵⁷ This case is discussed under section 2.2.2.10.

the rest folios of the manuscript. Hence, it is evident that the first folio was glued on later to the manuscript (compare illus. 3.4-3.6).

3.1.3. Other places of title

The title can occur in various places in the paratexts aside from the title page. It can be present in more than one paratext at the same time. Furthermore, the form of the title can differ according to its position in the manuscript. An observation of the manuscripts shows variances in this regard.

Aside from the title page, the title can also be stated in the colophon (or in a certificate at the end of the manuscript in some of the examined third/ninth-century manuscripts). In one case, the title as stated on the title page is *Kitāb al-Fāḍil Jālinūs fī al-‘ilal wa-l-amrāḍ* (“The Book of the excellent Galen on the Diseases and Symptoms”).⁵⁸ This title is formulated differently in one of the colophons with the addition of further details:⁵⁹ *Kitāb al-Fāḍil Jālinūs fī al-ashyā’ al-khārijah ‘an al-ṭabī‘ah al-ma‘rūf bi-Kitāb al-‘Ilal wa-l-amrāḍ allatī dhakara fihā aṣnāf al-amrāḍ* (“The Book of the Excellent Galen on the Unusual Things is Known as the Book of the Diseases and Symptoms in Which He Mentioned the Types of the Diseases”).⁶⁰ This is different from another colophon in the manuscript which does not include *allatī yadhkuru fihā aṣnāf al-amrāḍ*.⁶¹ In yet another colophon,⁶² the title is stated as *Kitāb al-Fāḍil Jālinūs fī al-ashyā’ al-khārijah ‘an al-ṭabī‘ah* (“The Book of the Excellent Galen on the Unusual Things”).⁶³ In this manuscript, with its multiple colophons, the title in the colophon is not only different from the title page but also from one colophon to another. Likewise, in another manuscript, which has three titles, the title on the title page is stated as *al-Risālah* (“The Epistle”) but in the colophon and the copying permission at the end of the manuscript, it is formulated as *Kitāb al-Risālah* (“The Book of the Epistle”). The addition of the word *kitāb*, does not occur in any of the other three title pages.⁶⁴ Unlike MS MAW 1125 Ḥadīth 334,⁶⁵ in another manuscript, the title is shortened in the colophon as *al-Masā’il* (the Questions).⁶⁶ On the title page however it is stated in its complete form as *Masā’il Abī ‘Abd Allāh*

⁵⁸ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 12r.

⁵⁹ This manuscript contains several parts. Each part ends with a colophon.

⁶⁰ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 23r.

⁶¹ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 33r, 43v, 65v, 71v.

⁶² The manuscript is divided into sections and each section has a colophon.

⁶³ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 86v.

⁶⁴ For the title pages, MS DK 41 Uṣūl fiqh, fol. 6r, 30r, 52r. For the certificate of the copying permission, see fol. 75v.

⁶⁵ Many thanks to Said Aljoumani for sharing the microfilm copy and for his help to identify the shelfmark.

⁶⁶ MS MAW 1125 (previous shelfmark: al-Maktabah al-Zāhiriyyah 334 Ḥadīth), fol. 86r.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (The Questions of Abū ‘Abd Allāh...).⁶⁷ The author’s name is included in the title but left out in the colophon. A reason for this may lie with the book being more widely known by its concise title *al-Masā’il*.

Looking closely at some specimens from the fourth century, the title’s formulation differs according to its place from one paratext to another. In one manuscript, the title occurs on the title page and in the text’s opening, after the *basmalah*, in two different forms. The title on the title page is:

أخبار النحوين البصريين ومراتبهم وأخذ بعضهم عن بعض.

Accounts of the Basran grammarians, their classes, and their transmission from each other.⁶⁸

On the other hand, the title at the opening reads:

كتاب فيه ذكر مشاهير النحوين وطرف من أخبارهم، وذكر أخذ بعضهم عن بعض، والسابق منهم إلى علم النحو.

A book which mentions the eminent grammarians, some of their accounts, their transmission from each other, and their pioneers in grammar.⁶⁹

This latter title includes more details than the one on the title page. It is an expanded version which presents the book’s content in a way that makes it seem like a summary. In another manuscript, the title on the title page is stated as *Mushkil al-Qur’ān* (“Difficulties in the Qur’ān”) but shortened in the colophon as *al-Mushkil* (“The Difficulties”).⁷⁰ In contrast, the title of MS Fazil 1541 is shortened on the title page as *Kitāb al-Jamharah* (“The Book of the Multitude”),⁷¹ but elongated in the colophon (fol. 375r) as *al-Kitāb al-Murtajal al-mansūb ilā jamharat kalām al-‘Arab* (“The Book that Was Produced without Premeditation and Ascribed to the Multitude the Arabic Language”).

MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, 02, 03 is an interesting case with regards to the differences between the title on the title page and the colophon. This manuscript consists of three volumes.

⁶⁷ MS MAW 1125, fol. 1r.

⁶⁸ MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1r.

⁶⁹ MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1v.

⁷⁰ MS DK 663, the title page, and p.165.

⁷¹ MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1r.

Each volume includes a collection of poetry by a different poet. On the title page of the first part, the titles are given as follows: *Shi‘r Abī Ṭālib ‘amm rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayh wa-sallama* (the Poetry of Abū Ṭālib the Uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad May Allāh Bless Him and Grant Him Peace),⁷² *Shi‘r Abī al-Aswad al-Dīlī*⁷³ (The Poetry of Abū al-Aswad), and *Shi‘r Suḥaym ‘Abd Banī al-Ḥashās* (the Poetry of Suḥaym).⁷⁴ These titles indicate the content of each volume. However, in the colophon of the first part, the title is different from the one stated on the title page. It reads *Shi‘r Abī Ṭālib ‘Abd Manāf ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Ḥāshim*. The name of the poet (Abū Ṭālib), on the title page is defined in relation to the prophet. However, in the colophon we read the poet’s *kunyah* (Abū Ṭālib), his name (‘Abd Manāf), and two patronymics (ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Ḥāshim). Identifying the poet in the title page with his relation to the prophet is, perhaps, intended to attract the reader.⁷⁵ Part 2 does not have an independent title page, but it does have a colophon. Here, the title reads *Shi‘r Abī al-Aswad*.⁷⁶ Here, the poet’s name is only indicated as his *kunyah* (Abū al-Aswad). This is different from the form given on the title page (*Shi‘r Abī al-Aswad al-Dīlī*), in which the name of the author includes both the *kunyah* (Abū al-Aswad) and the *nisbah* (al-Dīlī).⁷⁷ While part 3 has a title on an independent title page, there is no colophon.⁷⁸

However, as some specimens from the fourth/tenth century show, the title is sometimes in the same formulation in more than one place in the paratexts. For example, in MS Fazil 1508, which consists of two parts, each part has a title page. Part one also has a colophon, while a colophon is missing for part two. In this example the title is consistent throughout as *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍab*.⁷⁹ Likewise, the title of MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3 – *Kitāb Sībawayh*, is the same both on the title page and in the colophon.⁸⁰ In MS Qar. 874/62, the title on the title page⁸¹ and colophon⁸² is also the same: *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ‘ab Ahmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī* (Synopsis of Abū Muṣ‘ab). MS MDSK Ar. 580 has the title on the title page and at the book’s opening directly after the *basmalah*.

⁷² On Abū Ṭālib, see EI², s. v. “Abū Ṭālib”; GAS, 2: 273-4.

⁷³ Al-Dīlī is an alternative for al-Du‘alī. On Abū al-Aswad, see EI², s. v. “Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī”; EI³, s. v. “Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī”; HAWT, vol. 1: 34-5, suppl. vol. 1: 69-70, 151; GAS, 9: 31-2; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4: 81-6.

⁷⁴ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 1r. On Suḥaym, see EI², s. v. “Suḥaym”; HAWT, vol. 1: 34; GAS, 2: 288-9.

⁷⁵ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r.

⁷⁶ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-02, fol. 55v.

⁷⁷ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 1r.

⁷⁸ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-03, fol. 56r.

⁷⁹ MS Fazil 1508, title pages: fol. 1r, 172r, the colophon of the first part: 171r. The second part has no colophon.

⁸⁰ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 1r, 120 r.

⁸¹ MS Qar. 874/62, p.1.

⁸² MS Qar. 874/62, p. 347.

It is the same in both places as, *Kitāb al-Tārīkh* (The Book of History).⁸³ In MS DK 149 Naḥw, the title is found in the preface and the colophon. In both places it is in the same form: *Mā yanṣarifu wa-mā lā yanṣarifu*.⁸⁴

However, there are examples of specimens from the third/ninth and fourth/tenth century where the title occurs only in the colophon. In such cases, we do not know if the manuscript ever had a title page. The extant title pages that are attached to these manuscripts are written differently from the rest of the manuscript. Furthermore, the book hands in these cases are atypical of book hands from the third/ninth and fourth/tenth century. Examples include the third/ninth century manuscript Vel. Ef. 3139 where the title is only given in the colophon as *al-Kitāb al-Ma'thūr 'an Abī al-'Amaythal al-A'rābī* (the Book Transmitted from Abū al-'Amaythal).⁸⁵ Likewise, in two fourth/tenth-century manuscripts, the title is also only found in the colophon. In MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, we only learn of its original title from the colophon: *al-Badī'* ("The Unprecedented").⁸⁶ Similarly MS Fazil 43, which is part 2 of a larger work, its title, *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, is also only found in the colophon.⁸⁷

⁸³ MS MDSK Ar. 580, the title page, fol. 2r, and the preface, fol. 2v.

⁸⁴ MS DK 149. fol. 1v, 99r. This manuscript has a title on the title page, but it is not original but written by a modern pen and different in wording from the one in the introductory section and the colophon. The title page's title: *Sirr al-naḥw* (the Secret of grammar) in a very modern pen (probably by an employee of Dār al-Kutub). See MS DK 149. fol. 1r, see illus. 3.8.

⁸⁵ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v. The extant title page of this manuscript is perhaps written later as it is in a different hand, see MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 1r.

⁸⁶ MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, fol. 105v. However, the manuscript has a title page written later (as it is in a hand that is different from the hand of the manuscript and the typical hands of time of its copying) contains the title: *Kitāb al-Badī' fī al-qirā'āt al-sab' wa-iḍāfat qirā'ah thāminah hiya qirā'at Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī* ("The Unprecedented on the Seven Readings of the Qur'ān with the Addition of an Eighth Reading, the reading of Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī"). This title seems to have been added by a manuscript user to make the original short title given in the colophon more indicative of the manuscript's content. see MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, fol. 1r.

⁸⁷ MS Fazil 43, fol. 335r. The extant title page of this manuscript is probably written later as it is in a hand that is different from the hand of the manuscript and the typical hands of time of its copying, see MS Fazil 43, fol. 1r.

3.1.4. No title

MS Şehid 2552 does not seem to contain an original title. However, the manuscript is likely an autograph copy,⁸⁸ when we observe its colophon⁸⁹ and its incipit.⁹⁰ Firstly, the entire manuscript is written in one hand. The introductory section of the manuscript is not introduced with the expression *qāla* followed by the author's name.⁹¹ Furthermore, there is also a manuscript note on the title page that indicates that it is an autograph. It is clear that title page was written later since its hand is entirely different from the hand of the book. It is also written in a script that is different from the types of script employed in the fourth/ninth century. The note reads:

دقائق التصريف لأبي القاسم محمد بن سعيد المؤدّب بخطه في ٣٣٨.

Details of morphology by Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Mu'addib [which is written] in his hand in 338/[950].⁹²

I consider this note to be authentic and not a forgery. Caution is of course warranted since the note was added later on. And this note is the only source that tells that the book is an autograph. However, such a book on this particular topic of language is likely to have been used and owned by scholars in the field. Thus, their knowledge of titles and authors, which appears in their notes on title pages such as this, should be seriously considered as essential sources on the book's history.

However, the author did not write the title in either the preface or the colophon. We do however see the title stated in a note in the manuscript as *Daqā'iq al-taṣrīf*. It is likely that this was added later on since its hand is quite different from the hand of the main text.⁹³ The note reads:

كتاب فيه علل التصريف ودقائقه حكاه عن الأئمة مصنفها القاسم بن محمد بن سعيد المؤدّب أعزه الله.

⁸⁸ Such manuscripts are very rare in the first four centuries, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 14-6.

⁸⁹ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146v; see section 3.3.9.2.

⁹⁰ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3: neither chain of transmission nor transmitting the text by the expression *qāla* plus the author's name at the beginning (see section 3.2.2 below). Moreover, the author directly speaks of himself.

⁹¹ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3r, 3v.

⁹² Şehid 2552, fol. 2r.

⁹³ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 2r.

A Book that contains the reasons and details of morphology and it is transmitted from the authorities by its author al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd al-Mu’addib may Allāh grant him power.⁹⁴

The writer of this note perhaps intended to clarify the content of the book for his personal use.

3.1.5. Time

With regards to the practice of writing title pages, we have two questions. When did this practice begin and at what stage in writing the manuscript was the title page composed?

We have five examples of manuscripts that contain the title page from the third/ninth century.⁹⁵ The title and the author’s names are in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. Therefore, the practice of producing title pages can be safely dated back as early as the third/ninth century. Al-Ḥalwajī in his study on the history of the Arabic manuscript in the first four centuries argues that the copyist did not compose the title page from the ‘outset’ of their book production (*fī awwal ‘ahdihim bi-ṣinā‘at al-kitāb*). Hence the title is given in the introductory section and at the end of the manuscripts.⁹⁶ Al-Ḥalwajī does not precisely define what he means by the ‘outset’ of the book production, but we can extrapolate that he means the first four centuries, which is the scope of his study. However, we have examples of actual manuscripts that are older, dated to the third/ninth, which challenges his view. The third/ninth century MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, and all the fourth/tenth-century manuscripts of Dār al-Kutub taken into account in the current study, were also at al-Ḥalwajī’s disposal.⁹⁷ However, he most likely considered that their title pages were not produced at the time of copying the manuscripts.⁹⁸ However, we argue that many of them do date to the time of copying the manuscript, as their hands are the same as the whole manuscript.⁹⁹

The absence of instructions about the title page in the normative sources makes it difficult to know precisely when the title page was composed in the copying process. Hence, at the time being, this remains unclear; whether this was before the actual copying process or after its completion.

⁹⁴ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 2r.

⁹⁵ BNF Arabe 2859, 1r, 12; MS UL Or. 29, fol. 1r, 21r, 34r, 54r, 108r, 135r, 155r, 166r, 204r, 207r, 221r; MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6r, 30r, 54r; MS MAW 1125, fol. 1r; MS MMMI, part 1, fol. 1r, part 3, fol. 1r.

⁹⁶ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 157.

⁹⁷ Al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makhṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 156, footnote 25.

⁹⁸ Al-Ḥalwajī’s view was discussed in: al-Sāmīrā’ī, *‘Ilm al-iktināh*, 206-8.

⁹⁹ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh; MS DK 663 Tafsīr; MS DK 139 Naḥw part 3; MS DK 19598 Bā’; MS DK 852 Tawḥīd.

3.1.6. Display script

As far as the title page's presentation is concerned, the form of the pages appears modest and straightforward. The title itself is often in bold and enlarged with no ornamentation.¹⁰⁰ That is usually the case for copies prepared for "ordinary use."¹⁰¹ These kinds of copies are indicative of the vast majority of the corpus, barring two cases. The first case is the voluminous manuscript of *al-Muqtaḍab* which has four title pages, one for each of its four parts. On each title page, the title, the author's name, and the copyist are written inside a rectangular panel and surrounded with ornamentation. The title page information of this manuscript is also contained in a rectangular panel (see illus. 3.9).¹⁰² The second case is a fourth/tenth-century copy of *Kitāb Abī al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah* (see illus. 3.7).¹⁰³ The rectangular panels in these two manuscripts are likely to have been added later to the title pages. The illumination of the title page in more luxurious manuscripts, with decorative features such as rectangular panels and medallions, is used more commonly in Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and Iran between the seventh/thirteenth to the ninth/fifteenth century.¹⁰⁴

The title pages under examination show its components, and in particular the title, the author and the copyist, as being displayed in a larger size. However, there are exceptions to this. For example, the title and author of MS UL Or. 298 is written in same size as the text body, except the word *al-juz'*, which is stretched (see illus. 3.10).¹⁰⁵ In one case, only the title's first two words are large, but the rest of the information is written in the same smaller size of the text body (see illus.

¹⁰⁰ Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology*, 316.

¹⁰¹ Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology*, 316.

¹⁰² MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r., 144r., Fazil 11508, fol. 1r., 173r.

¹⁰³ MS Fazil 948, fol. 1r.

¹⁰⁴ Gaceck, *Vademecum*, 279; Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 316. For illustrations see al-Munajjid, *al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-makḥṭūṭ*, section: *al-makḥṭūṭāt al-khazā'iniyyah*, illus. 65, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, section: *al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-muzawwaqah*, illus. 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90. On illuminations in general, see for instance EI², s. v. "Unwān"; Oleg F. Akimushkin, "The Art of Illumination," 35-56, for the illumination of the title page in particular, see 35-6; waley, "Illumination and its Functions in Islamic Manuscripts," 87-112; Baer, *Islamic Ornament*.

¹⁰⁵ MS UL Or. 298, fol. 1r, 21r, 34r, 54r, 108r, 135r, 155r, 166r, 204r, 207r, 221r. The script of the title pages of further manuscripts are also small like the body of the text, see MS MAW 1125, fol. 1r; MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 1r, fol. 1r; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 1r; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-03, fol. 56r; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 2), 65, p.1; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 8), 066, p. 1.

3.11).¹⁰⁶ Similarly, only four words of the title of MS Reis 904 are enlarged. The rest of the words are small like the text body.¹⁰⁷ With MS Şehid 1842, only three words are in larger script.¹⁰⁸

The practice of enlarging the scripts of the title page can be traced in the early writing on correspondence. Al-Şūlī writes: “The best practice when writing the *‘unwān* of a message to the leader (*al-ra’īs*)¹⁰⁹ is to make the script enlarged, and bold (*yu’azzīma al-khaṭṭ wa-yufakkkhimahu*), particularly for his *kunyah* and *nisbah*, and giving the name and the father’s name of the scribe of the message in a fine and contracted script (*tulaṭṭifa al-khaṭṭ wa-tajma’ahu*).”¹¹⁰ Here the enlarging of the script was perhaps an intended “graphic presentation” to “attract the attention” of the reader or to achieve some sort of “signal illustration,” similar to that of the jacket in modern printed books.¹¹¹

Concerning the “display script” of the title page, our examination shows that the “New Style”¹¹² was used as a “display script”¹¹³ in the examined third/ninth-century manuscripts.¹¹⁴ This continued to be used in some of fourth/tenth-century manuscripts.¹¹⁵ A noticeable characteristic of this script is its angularity, its elongated *alif* with a serif or a wavy shape and pronounced diagonal elements. The “display script” used in many of the fourth/tenth-century specimens under examination is rounded,¹¹⁶ probably an early *naskh*, similar to the one used in Ibn al-Bawwāb’s Qur’ān manuscript.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁶ MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 1r.

¹⁰⁷ MS Reis 904, fol. 1r.

¹⁰⁸ MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1r.

¹⁰⁹ On *al-ra’īs*, see Diem, *Glossar zur arabischen Epistolographie*, 189.

¹¹⁰ Al-Şūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 144.

¹¹¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 28.

¹¹² On the “New Style”, see Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 132-83.

¹¹³ On display script, see Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts*, 38.

¹¹⁴ MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh, fol. 6r, 30r, 54r; MS UL Or. 298, fol. 1r, 21r, 34r, 54r, 108r, 135r, 155r, 166r, 204r, 207r, 221r; MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 1r, 12r; MS MAW 1125, fol. 1r.

¹¹⁵ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, the title page; MS DK 139 Naḥw part 3, fol. 1r; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1r; MS Lal. 1728, fol. 2r, 55r, 99r, 119r, 148r, 180r; MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1r; MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 1r.

¹¹⁶ MS Şehid 27, fol. 1r, 31r, 61r, 91r, 121r, 151r, 181r, 211r, 241r, 271r, 301r, 331r; MS Lal.1905; fol. 1r; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1r; MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r, 144r; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1r, 112r; MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 1r; MS Fazil 948, fol. 1r; MS Reis 904, fol. 1r; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 1r; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 1r; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-03, fol. 56r; MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 2r.

¹¹⁷ See section 2.2.2.11 above.

The “display script” of some specimens’ title page is *Maghribī*.¹¹⁸ With two of the specimens, the title pages are displayed in *Andalusī* script.¹¹⁹ Both the *Maghribī* script and the *Andalusī* script are similar to the “New Style” script. However, the scripts of the manuscripts under examination in the present study need a separate analysis.

3.1.7. The structure of the title

Most of the titles of third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination are relatively simple. Many of these titles are in the genitive construction.¹²⁰ Two titles from the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries are simply structured in the form of a noun phrase that includes a prepositional phrase.¹²¹

Other titles found in our sample of third/ninth-century manuscripts, are formulated simply. On the title page of a third/ninth-century manuscript, we find a title that consists of a genitive construction and two nouns joint by a preposition: *Kitāb al-Fāḍil Jālinūs fī al-‘ilal wa-l-amrād*.¹²² On another title page in the same third/ninth-century manuscript, which contains two works, we find the formulation of another title that consists of a genitive construction plus two prepositional phrases: *Kitāb al-Fāḍil Jālinūs fī firaq al-ṭibb li-l-muta‘allimīn*.¹²³ The title structure containing a

¹¹⁸ MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 1r; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 2), 65, p. 1; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 4), 066, p. 1; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 8), 066, p. 1; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 36), 067, p. 1; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 42), 067, p. 1. On the *Maghribī* script, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 147-50.

¹¹⁹ MS Qar. 874/62, p. 1; MS Saib 2164, fol. 10r, 16r, 25r, 35r, 46r, 56r, 70r. On the *Andalusī* script Gacek, *Vademecum*, 8-9.

¹²⁰ Third/ninth century: *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (MS UL Or. 29, fol. 1r, 21r, 34r, 54r, 108r, 135r, 155r, 166r, 204r, 207r, 221r, *Kitāb al-Risālah* (This title is only formulated so in the colophon and the copying permission at the end of the manuscript, see MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 75r, but formulated on the title pages as only one word: *al-Risālah*, see MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6r, 30r, 54r), *Masā’il Abī ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (MS ANL, fol. 1r); fourth/tenth century: *Kitāb Sībawayh* (MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 1r), *Kitāb al-Jamharah* (MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1r), *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ’ad Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī* (MS Qar, 874, 062, p. 1.), *Ash’ār al-Quṭāmī* (MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r), *Jāmi’ Ma’mar ibn Rāshid* (MS Saib 2164, fol. 10r, 16r, 25r, 35r, 46r, 56r, 70r), *Shi’r Abī al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mu’tazz bi-Allāh* (MS Lal. 1728, the title pages: fol. 2r, 99v; the last two title pages, fol. 148r, 180r, contain plus the main title: *Shi’r Abī al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mu’tazz bi-Allāh* some nouns indicate the poetic theme, for instance *al-Marāthī wa-mu’atabāt min Shi’r Abī al-‘Abbās*, “The Dirges and Reproach from the Poems of Abī al-‘Abbās”, on fol. 148r, the title is also encountered in the colophons: fol. 54v, 97v, 202r), *Kitāb al-Tārīkh* (MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 2r), *Shi’r Abī Ṭālib ‘amm al-rasūl* (MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 1r), *Kitāb al-Kuttāb* (MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1r).

¹²¹ *Al-Ma’thūr ‘an Abī al-‘Amaythal al-A’rābī* (MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v), *al-Muqtaḍab fī al-Naḥw* (MS Fazil 1507, fol. r. This manuscript consists of two vols: MS Fazil 1507, 1508. Each volume has two parts with a title page for each one. The title appears on part 1 and part 2: *al-Muqtaḍab fī al-naḥw*, but for Part 3 and 4, the title is shorted to be: *al-Muqtaḍab*. The prepositional phrase *fī al-naḥw* was left out, probably because the scribe thought no need for the repetition of the full title, which is already known from the first two parts).

¹²² MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 12r.

¹²³ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 1r.

genitive construction plus two prepositional phrases was still in use in the fourth/tenth century as it is also used in a title found on the title pages of a fourth/tenth-century manuscript: *Kitāb al-Ḥujjah li-l-a'imma al-sab'ah min qirā'āt*.¹²⁴ In the fourth/tenth century, we also encounter the title *Mā yanṣarifu wa-mā lā yanṣarif* which consists of two verbal phrases joined together with *wa*.¹²⁵ Another simple formulation of the title in the fourth/tenth century is the formulation of four nouns and prepositional phrase connected with *wa* (and) attested in the *Marāthī wa-ash'ār fi ghayr dhālika wa-akhbār wa-lughah*.¹²⁶

In fourth/tenth century manuscripts, some elongated titles summarize the manuscript's content.¹²⁷ Those titles are formulated as a “reminder of the volume.”¹²⁸ To quote Genette, these titles “constituted a veritable description of the book, a summary of its action, a definition of its subject.”¹²⁹ Or, as Genette puts it, they are “long synopsis-titles.”¹³⁰

As shown above, most titles are formulated clumsily.¹³¹ They seem to have been working titles of books, especially when compared to the well-formulated and embellished titles which began to gain prominence since the last decade of the fourth/tenth century.¹³² Writing the titles in such a simple formulation, perhaps, indicates that they were not for publication but for personal use or meant as aides mémoire.¹³³ Thus, the copyists of such manuscripts found no need to embellish their titles and made them practical and straightforward.

¹²⁴ MS Şehid 27, fol. 1r.

¹²⁵ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 1v, 99r.

¹²⁶ MS Reis 904, fol. 1r.

¹²⁷ *Al-Madkhal fi 'ilm aḥkām al-nujūm wa-'ilalihā wa-kayfiyyātihā wa-mā ikhtalafa fi-hī al-nās wa-l-radd 'alayhim 'alā man khālaḥā ḥādḥā wa-mā rifat al-sihām bi-'ilalihā* (MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1r), *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-marāthihim wa-akhdh ba'dihim 'an ba'd* (“Accounts of the Basran Grammarians, their Classes, and their Transmission from Each Other”) (MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1r), and its version in the preface: *Kitāb fihi Dhikr mashāhīr al-naḥwiyyīn wa-tarfun min akhbārihim wa-dhikr akhdh ba'dihim 'an ba'd wa-l-sābiq minhum ilā 'ilm al-naḥw* (“A Book Mentions the Eminent Grammarians, Some of Their Accounts, Their Transmission from Each Other, and Their Pioneers in Grammar”) (MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1v), *Kitāb Abī al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah fi ālāt al-sā'āt allatī tusammā rukhāmāt, 'Amal shakl mujassam dhī arba'a 'ashrata qā'idah fi kurah ma'lūmah, Qawluh fi idāḥ al-wajh alladhī dhakara Baṭlaymūs anna bi-hi istakhraja man taqaddamahu masīrāt al-qamar al-dawriyyah wa-hiya al-mustawiyah* (MS Fazil 948, fol. 1r), *Kitāb al-Inṣāf wa-l-radd 'alā Ibn al-Rāwandī al-mulḥid mā qaṣada bi-hi min al-kadhib 'alā al-Muslimīn wa-l-ṭa'n 'alayhim* (MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 1r).

¹²⁸ Arberry, “Two Rare Manuscripts,” 109.

¹²⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 33.

¹³⁰ Genette, *Paratexts*, 71-2.

¹³¹ On being written clumsily, see EI. s. v. “Unwān.”

¹³² On the beginning of fourth/tenth century onwards, see EI², s. v. “Unwān”; Ambros, “Beobachtungen,” 15. This style of titles continued over the next centuries until nowadays, see González, “La Estructura del título,” 185.

¹³³ Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written*; Schoeler, *Genesis*.

The clumsiness of these titles also shows that they are probably not by the authors of the works. Author's titles are more skilfully formulated. I found only one embellished rhyming title, i. e. *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*.¹³⁴ This title is probably formulated by the author of the work, al-Ṭabarī. The scarcity of embellished titles links with the fact that most early manuscripts were not for publication but for personal use.

The title *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, which occurred in the beginning of the last decade of the fourth/tenth-century manuscript, follows the pattern of “the dichotomous title”; in this style, the title involves two noun phrases, the second of which is characterized with a preposition, in the present case *'an* (here means on).¹³⁵ This structure takes the shape of “noun phrase + preposition + noun phrase.”¹³⁶ Here the preposition plays the role of the hinge between the two noun phrases.¹³⁷ In this pattern, the two noun phrases are not semantically and syntactically connected.¹³⁸ The first noun phrase, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, alludes to the comprehensiveness of the book. It was likely to offer a positive image of the book.¹³⁹ The second phrase, *'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, plays the role of the subtitle and indicates the subject, namely the exegesis of the Qur'ān.¹⁴⁰

In conclusion, the titles of the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination are mainly formulated simply. It is in the fourth/tenth century, that the embellishment of the titles began to appear.

3.1.8. The author's name

The normative sources do not deal with the writing of the author's name. Thus, I have only analyzed the manuscripts on this issue.

3.1.9. The author's name place

The author's name is on the title page for all the manuscripts with their original title pages. However, the author's name is also given in other places. When the copyist is a transmitter, he also gives the author's name in the introductory section of the manuscript. When the author's name

¹³⁴ MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 2), 65, p. 1; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 4), 066, p. 1; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 8), 066, p. 1; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 36), 067, p. 1; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 42), 067, p. 1.

¹³⁵ Ambros, “Beobachtungen,” 19, 41; González, “La Estructura del Título,” 184-5.

¹³⁶ Ambros, “Beobachtungen,” 41.

¹³⁷ González, “La Estructura del Título,” 182.

¹³⁸ EI. s. v. “Unwān.” New edition, vol. x: 871-2.

¹³⁹ EI. s. v. “Unwān.” New edition, vol. x: 871-2; Ambros, “Beobachtungen,” 13.

¹⁴⁰ González, “La estructura del título,” 183.

occurs both on the title page and the colophon, the author's name is usually formulated as part of the title. This can be observed in some fourth/tenth-century specimens.

For example, in the Christian-Arabic manuscript MS Vat. Ar. 13, St Paul's Epistles, the author, St Paul, is stated in both the introductory section¹⁴¹ and the colophon of each epistle.¹⁴² Similarly, in a fourth/tenth-century multi-text manuscript,¹⁴³ the author's name is stated on the title page,¹⁴⁴ the opening,¹⁴⁵ and the colophon.¹⁴⁶ The author's name also occurs in the colophon and the title page of some of the other examined manuscripts.¹⁴⁷

Some fourth/tenth-century manuscripts demonstrate that when the copyist transmits the book, the author's name is mentioned in the introductory section. The author's name is often mentioned in the context of showing the transmission of the text from the author. For example, the copyist of MS Car. Ef. 1508 introduces the author to the audience: *Hādhā kitāb allafahu Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-ma'rūf bi-Abī Ma'shar al-Khurasānī al-Balkhī* ("This is a book which Abū Ja'far... composed").¹⁴⁸ In another case, a copyist gave the name of the author in the context of identifying the book: *Hādhā Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq allafahu Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Sikkīt* ("This is 'The Book of the Correction of the Speech' Composed by Abū Yūsuf...").¹⁴⁹ In a similar way, the MS Lal. 1905, states: *Qāla 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah ... ('Abd Allāh... said...)*.¹⁵⁰ In these cases, the copyist is also the transmitter.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, in two fourth/tenth-century manuscripts, the author's name accompanies the title given at the text's opening.¹⁵²

Some manuscripts in which the author's name occurs on the title page and colophon share the common feature of the author's name being a part of the title. An example of this is, *Kitāb*

¹⁴¹ For the openings of St. Paul's Epistles, see MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 87v, 103r, 121r, 131r, 141r, 149v, 153r, 155v, 160v, 164r, 166r, 167r.

¹⁴² For the explicits of St. Paul's Epistles, see MS Vat. Ar. 13, see fol. 102v, 120r, 131r, 141v, 145r, 149r, 153r, 155r, 160r, 164r, 166r, 167r, 179r.

¹⁴³ MS Fazil 948.

¹⁴⁴ MS Fazil 948, fol. 1r.

¹⁴⁵ MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v, 46v, 55r.

¹⁴⁶ MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v, 54v, 58v.

¹⁴⁷ MS 139 Naḥw, part 3, the title page fol. 1r, the colophon, fol. 120r; and MS Lal. 1728, the title pages, fol. 2r, 55r, 99r, 119r, 147r, 180r, the colophons, fol. 54v, 97v, 202r; MS Saib 2164, the title pages, 10r, 16r, 25r, 35r, 46r, 56r, 70r, the colophons: 2164, fol. 9r, 15r, 24r; MS Qar. 874/62, the title page, p. 1, the colophon, p. 347; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, the title page, fol. 1r, colophon, fol. 76r.

¹⁴⁸ MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1v.

¹⁴⁹ MS DK 6155 hā', fol. 1v.

¹⁵⁰ MS Lal. 1905, vol. 1v.

¹⁵¹ On the copyists who are transmitters, see Gruendler, *The Rise*, 121-8.

¹⁵² MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v, 17v, 46v, 55r; MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 1v.

*Sībawayh, Shi‘r Abī al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mu‘tazz bi-Allāh, Jāmi‘ Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid.*¹⁵³ Another example is MS Leipzig Vollers 505 which consists of three parts. The first part, which is marked MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, has the author’s name as part of the title on the title page of section 1 (fol. 2r) as *Shi‘r Abī Ṭālib ‘amm rasūl Allāh*. In the colophon it is written as, *Shi‘r Abī Ṭālib ‘Abd Manāf Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim.*¹⁵⁴ Here the name is mentioned in different forms according to its place in the manuscript.¹⁵⁵ The second part, marked MS Leipzig Vollers 505-02, has the author’s name on the title page at the beginning of the manuscript (there is no title page for this part). This title is combined with the author’s name: *Shi‘r Abī al-Aswad al-Dīlī.*¹⁵⁶ Thus, it contains the *kunyah* and the *nisbah*. However, the name is shortened in the colophon as *Shi‘r Abī al-Aswad*. It only includes the *kunyah*, in order to perhaps avoid repetition.¹⁵⁷ For part 3, Vollers 505-03, we find on the title page at the beginning of the manuscript,¹⁵⁸ and on a separate title page for part 3,¹⁵⁹ the name as *Shi‘r Suḥaym ‘Abd Banī al-Ḥashās*. The name contains the personal name (Suḥaym) and a designation of the author being the slave of the family of al-Ḥashās. In addition, the name occurs in the *isnād* at the opening.¹⁶⁰ This part does not have a colophon. Similarly, in MS Qar. 874/62, the author’s name is stated as a part of the title, on the title page,¹⁶¹ and in the colophon as¹⁶² *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ‘ab Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī*. Furthermore, the author’s name is mentioned in the *isnād*.¹⁶³

MS Şehid 2552 is an exception to the cases presented above. We know of the author’s name from the colophon: Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd al-Mu‘addib.¹⁶⁴ The extant title page (fol. 2r) also informs us of the author. However, this title page was produced later as its hand is entirely different from the text’s hand. Thus, the title page is not our primary source for the author’s name, but the colophon.

¹⁵³ On Ma‘mar, see GAS, 1: 290. EI³, s. v. “Ma‘mar b. Rāshid.”

¹⁵⁴ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r.

¹⁵⁵ On the reason of this, see section 3.1.3.

¹⁵⁶ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 2r.

¹⁵⁷ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-02, fol. 55v.

¹⁵⁸ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 2r

¹⁵⁹ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-03, fol. 56r.

¹⁶⁰ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-03, fol. 56v.

¹⁶¹ MS Qar. 874/62, p. 1.

¹⁶² MS Qar. 874/62, p. 347.

¹⁶³ MS Qar. 874/62, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146r.

In conclusion, based as the examined specimens, we can see the variances in how the author's name can appear in places aside from the title page. Alongside this we have also seen how author's name can be formulated according to its place in the manuscript.

3.1.10. Terms before the author's name

An examination of our corpus shows that the copyist sometimes wrote a particular term linked to either the transmission, or the treatment of the material in the book before the author's name. However, as far as I know, these terms are not discussed in the normative sources.

A term that often precedes the author's name is *'an*.¹⁶⁵ It occurs in three third/ninth-century specimens. In MS UL Or. 298,¹⁶⁶ *'an* was given before the author's name on the title page: *'An Abī 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallam al-Harawī* (“[transmitted] from Abū 'Ubayd...”). At first glance, it seems that the unknown copyist of this manuscript uses *'an* to indicate transmission from Abū 'Ubayd (d. 224/383).¹⁶⁷ However, direct transmission from Abū 'Ubayd is impossible because the copyist finished copying in 252/867, which was 28 years after of the death of Abū 'Ubayd. The preposition *'an* before the author's name also occurs in another third/ninth-century manuscript, but this time in the colophon: *Tamma al-Kitāb al-Ma'thūr 'an Abī al-'Amaythal al-A'rābī* (The Book Transmitted from Abū al-'Amathal... completed).¹⁶⁸ Here the preposition comes after the word *al-ma'thūr*. The expression *al-ma'thūr 'an* (“transmitted from”) indicates that a transmitter transmitted the book from the author, Abū al-'Amaythal. It is not possible for the transmitter to be the copyist Abū al-Jahm.¹⁶⁹ Abū al-Jahm finished copying in 280/894,¹⁷⁰ and the author died in 240/854. Thus, Abū al-Jahm copied this manuscript from that unidentified transmitter, not directly from the author. The preposition *'an* occurs before the author's name in the manuscript: *Riwāyat al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān 'an Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī* (“the transmission of al-Rabī'... from Muḥammad ibn Idrīs...”). However, in this case, we know that the copyist is a direct student of the author. Thus, he directly transmitted from the author and so used *'an* before the author's

¹⁶⁵ The preposition *'an* can come before the name of a transmitter in the chain of the transmitters given at the beginning of a prophetic tradition. Likewise, *'an* can come before a transmitter in an *isnād* a book (see *isnād* under section 3.2.2).

¹⁶⁶ MS UL Or.298, fol. 1r, 21r, 34r, 54r, 108r, 135r, 155r, 166r, 204r, 207r, 221r.

¹⁶⁷ Eİ², s. v. “Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḳāsim ibn Sallām”; HAWT, vol. 1: 92-4, sup. 1: 161-2.

¹⁶⁸ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v.

¹⁶⁹ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v.

¹⁷⁰ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v.

name.¹⁷¹ Considering these three cases together, we can conclude that when copyists use the preposition ‘*an*’ before the author’s name, it can be, but not definitively, an indication that the copyist is directly transmitting from the author.

The term *ta’līf* (composition) also occurs before the author’s name in some manuscripts. These works often include discussions, and not just collected or organized material.¹⁷² The term *ta’līf* precedes the author’s name on the title page of MS MMMI 44 part 1, part 3.¹⁷³ This makes sense since this manuscript discusses legal issues from different perspectives. The term *ta’līf* also precedes the author’s name of MS Car. Ef. 1508, in which the author discusses “the decrees of the stars, their causes and qualities, and the disagreement of people about them and the refutation of those opposed to this and the knowledge of the lots and their causes.”¹⁷⁴ Thus the term *ta’līf* indicates there to be the discussion in the work.¹⁷⁵ Similar to this is MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, which includes various discussions on Ibn al-Rāwandī’s theological opinions.¹⁷⁶ Another example is MS Fazil 154 which is the dictionary of Ibn Durayd. In this dictionary, the author explains the meaning of the words based on Arabic poetry. The dictionary is organized systematically. The author collects various materials for the dictionary, and then treats such material in a sophisticated manner.¹⁷⁷ MS DK 663 Tafsīr is dedicated to discussing difficulties in the Qur’ān. This work naturally also includes explanations. Hence the author’s name is preceded by *ta’līf*.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, MS Lal. 1905 contains discussions of some writing issues in the third/ninth century. Again, *ta’līf* is given before the author’s name on the title page. The term *ta’līf* indicates a more sophisticated dealing with the collected material. This involves making the material comprehensive and includes analysis and critique. Copyists of the third/ninth-fourth/tenth centuries were aware of the nature of *ta’līf*, and so indicated this by writing this term before the author’s name on the title.

¹⁷¹ MS DK, 41 Uṣūl fiqh, 6r.

¹⁷² On *ta’līf*, see Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf*, 1: 35-9; Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written*, 52, 81, 151, 158: here we can find contexts of book production in which *allafa* or one of its derivatives is used; Gruendler, *Book culture*, 23-4; Nabhān, ‘*Abqariyyat*, 5-14: here, there is more discussion on the term *ta’līf* from the early sense of the term until its modern sense, and the difference between *taṣnīf* and *ta’līf*. Gacek gives both the English words composition and compilation for *ta’līf*, but the word compilation would be better for *taṣnīf*, and only composition for *ta’līf*, see Gacek, AMT, 8.

¹⁷³ MS MMMI 44 part 1, fol. 1r, part 3, fol. 1r.

¹⁷⁴ MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1r.

¹⁷⁵ MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1r.

¹⁷⁶ MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, 1r.

¹⁷⁷ MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1r.

¹⁷⁸ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, the title page.

Unlike *ta'liḥ*, *taṣnīf* (compilation) mainly includes organizing scattered pieces of knowledge under thematic chapters.¹⁷⁹ The *taṣnīf* was practiced in the field of *ḥadīth* as early as the middle of the second/eighth century, forming the so-called “*taṣnīf* movement.”¹⁸⁰ The expression *taṣnīf* precedes the author’s name in the following manuscript under examination: *Kitāb Ma‘rifat al-majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn min taṣnīf al-ḥāfiẓ Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad al-Tamīmī* (“The Criticized of the transmitters of prophetic traditions”).¹⁸¹ This work collects biographical information on a class of *ḥadīth* transmitters. Hence, it makes sense that the term *taṣnīf* precedes the author’s name on the title page.

The term *ṣan‘at* (“work of”) is used before the author’s name on the title page of a few fourth/tenth-century specimens under examination.¹⁸² Like *taṣnīf*, the term *ṣan‘at* indicates that the author’s work is mainly based on collecting material on a particular theme. In MS Lal. 1728, it is stated on the title page that the book is *ṣan‘at Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī*.¹⁸³ The term *ṣan‘at* is not written before the poet’s name (the poet here is the author), Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, but al-Ṣūlī who collected and organized the poetry. Similar is MS Şehid 27, which is on the various readings of the Qur’ān according to the seven main authorities. The author’s name, Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī, is provided on the title page preceded by *ṣan‘at*.¹⁸⁴ *Ṣan‘at* here is used to indicate that Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī’s work is a collection on the views of the seven authorities.¹⁸⁵ Similarly, to emphasize that MS Şehid 1842 is based on collected accounts of the grammarians of Basra, the copyist writes the term *ṣan‘at* before the name of the author, Abū Sa‘īd al-Sīrāfī, on the title page.¹⁸⁶

Interestingly, all three terms *ṣan‘at*, *taṣnīf*, and *ta'liḥ* are used together in unison before the author’s name in one particular manuscript, the fourth/tenth century manuscript of *al-Muqtaḍab* by al-Mubarrad. In the first part, we find *ṣan‘at* al-Mubarrad,¹⁸⁷ in the second and fourth, *taṣnīf* al-

¹⁷⁹ On *taṣnīf*, see Schoeler, *Genesis*, 4-6, 60-3, 68-81.

¹⁸⁰ Schoeler, *Genesis*, 60, 68-81; Beeston et al., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, 271-288; EI², s. v. “Muṣannaf.”

¹⁸¹ MS DK bā’ 19598, fol. 1r.

¹⁸² Gacek, besides, “work”, gives the English term “composition” also to *ṣan‘at*, which I do not agree with. He also used “composition” for *ta'liḥ*, so it would be confusing to use “composition” for both *ṣan‘at* and *ta'liḥ*, see Gacek, AMT, 8, see footnote 635 above.

¹⁸³ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 2r.

¹⁸⁴ MS Şehid 27, fol. 1r, 31r, 61r, 91r, 121r, 151r, 181r, 211r, 241r, 271r, 301r, 331r.

¹⁸⁵ MS Şehid 27, fol. 1r, 31r, 61r, 91r, 121r, 151r, 181r, 211r, 241r, 271r, 301r, 331r.

¹⁸⁶ MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1r.

¹⁸⁷ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r.

Mubarrad,¹⁸⁸ and the third *ta'lif* al-Mubarrad.¹⁸⁹ The copyist may not have been aware of the differences between the three terms. Alternatively, the differentiation between these terms may have been less clear than what I have suggested, or it may not have been strictly taken into account by the end of the fourth/tenth century.

The expression *naql* is employed before the translator's name on the title page of a third/ninth-century manuscript, *naql Abī Zayd Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-Mutaṭabbib*.¹⁹⁰ In this context, *naql* means translation, while it can also mean copying, transmission, and quoting in other contexts.¹⁹¹

The author's name on the title page or in the colophon can be preceded by one of several terms. As used in three third/ninth-century manuscripts, the preposition *'an* can indicate the direct transmission from author to copyist. Moreover, the term *ta'lif* preceding the author's name indicates that the work is not merely collected material but also contains discussion and deals with that material. The terms *taṣnīf* and *ṣan'at* indicate that the work is primarily collected material on a particular subject. Finally, the term *naql* is used before the translator's name in a third/ninth-century manuscript.

3.1.11. Title page: Examples

So far, I have analyzed the title and author's name as written on the title page. In this section, I present some title pages in their entirety. These examples are atypical and include elements that are not usually given on title pages. I first transcribe the title page into the Arabic script and provide an English translation. I then focus on distinctive elements, such as the patron and copyist's name. The title and the author's name are only discussed when they differ from the practices described earlier.

¹⁸⁸ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 144r, MS Fazil 1508, fol. 172r.

¹⁸⁹ MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1r.

¹⁹⁰ MS BNF Arabe 2859, fol. 1r, 1r, 11r, 12r, 23r, 33r, 65v, 71v.

¹⁹¹ AMT, 144.

3.1.11.1. MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh

This manuscript consists of three parts (*ajzā'*). Each part has an original title page, written in the new Abbasid style. The only difference between the three title pages is the part number. I will focus on the title page of the first part as representative of the others.¹⁹²

On the title page of part one,¹⁹³ the title and the names of the transmitter and author are written in the new Abbasid style script, which became common in the third/ninth century (see section 3.1.6 above). This confirms the dating of the manuscript to the third/ninth century and is consistent with the *ijāzat naskh* at the end.¹⁹⁴ The title page reads:

[1] الجزء الأول من الرسالة

[2] رواية الربيع بن سليمان عن محمد بن إدريس الشافعي

[1] The first part of “The Epistle.”

[2] In the transmission of al-Rabī‘ ibn Sulaymān from Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī.¹⁹⁵

[1] The title is only one word. That seems to be a continuation of a tradition from the second/eighth century. An example of this is the title *al-Muwaṭṭa'* (“The Well-trodden path”) of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/796).¹⁹⁶

An important question arises. To what extent does the title *al-Risālah* relate to the actual content and organization of the text?¹⁹⁷ The title *al-Risālah* indicates that this work is an epistle, but does it include any elements of an epistolary nature? A general examination of its structure shows that the *Risālah* is organized as a scholarly book. It includes three parts; each part is divided into sections and each section has a heading. Its introduction is also of a scholarly nature. Hence it would seem that the title *al-Risālah* does not fit with the book’s content echoing Michael Cook’s

¹⁹² MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6r; see illus. 3. 16.

¹⁹³ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6r.

¹⁹⁴ I consulted Prof. François Déroche about this title page. His opinion is that it was produced in the time of copying the manuscript, or in no more than fifty years after copying the manuscript.

¹⁹⁵ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6r; see illus. 3. 16.

¹⁹⁶ On *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, see Schoeler, *Genesis*, 72-73.

¹⁹⁷ On this, see Cook, *Early*, 52; Lowry, “Introduction,” xxix-xxx.

claim that “Shāfi‘ī’s *Risālah* is a misnomer.”¹⁹⁸ Perhaps, this title was given since it was originally an epistle in response to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī (d. 198/813). Ibn Maḥdī asked al-Shāfi‘ī to compose a book for him on *ma‘ānī al-Qur’ān* (“the meanings of the Qur’ān”), containing *qabūl al-akḥbār* (“the acceptance of the transmissions”), *ḥujjat al-ijmā‘* (“the argument of consensus”) and an explanation of *al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* (“the abrogator and the abrogated”) in the Qur’ān and prophetic traditions.¹⁹⁹ Ḥājji Khalīfah also gives this work the title *al-Risālah*, with a remark adducing Ibn Maḥdī’s story.²⁰⁰

The title *al-Risālah* does not seem to have been given by al-Shāfi‘ī himself. According to Shākir, al-Shāfi‘ī refers to his work in this manuscript multiple times by *al-Kitāb*, not *al-Risālah*.²⁰¹ Therefore, it is likely that this title was given by al-Rabī‘, the copyist.

[2] This is a remark from the transmitter. Such remarks also occur in other third/ninth-century manuscripts.²⁰² This tradition also extends to the fourth/tenth century, as we can observe from the title page of a fourth/tenth-century manuscript.²⁰³ Writing a remark on transmission on the title page was established in the third/ninth century and continued in the following century. In this remark, the author’s name is preceded by ‘*an*’ indicating that the copyist is directly transmitting from the author. However, as we have previously shown the term ‘*an*’ before the author’s name does not always indicate direct transmission from the author (see section 3.1.10 above).

3.1.11.2. MS MMMI, part 1 and 3

The title page of part 1 reads:²⁰⁴

[1] هذا كتاب اختلاف علماء الأمصار

[2] وهو الأول كتاب النكاح

¹⁹⁸ Cook, *Early*, 52-3.

¹⁹⁹ On *al-Risālah* as a response to Ibn Maḥdī, see al-Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfi‘ī*, 232; Ibn ‘Abd al-Bar, *al-Intiqā’*, 122-3; Shākir, “Muqaddimah,” in al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risālah*, 12; GAS, 1: 488; Also, Majid Khadduri discussed this anecdote, see Al-Shāfi‘ī. *Islamic Jurisprudence Shāfi‘ī’s Risāla*, trans. Majid Khadduri, 19-25. On Ibn Maḥdī, see Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 299; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, part 2, vol. 2: 290; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 11: 512-23.

²⁰⁰ Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf*, 1: 840.

²⁰¹ Shākir, “Muqaddimah,” in al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risālah*, ed. Shākir, 12.

²⁰² MS UL Or. 298, fol. 1r; MS MAW 1125, fol. 1r; see section 3.2.2.2 below.

²⁰³ MS Reis 904, fol. 1r; see illus. 3.19; see note 2 under section 3.1.11.5 below.

²⁰⁴ MMMI 44, part 1, fol. 1r, see illus. 3.12.

[3] تأليف أبي جعفر محمد بن جرير الطبري

[4] سماع لأبي بكر محمد بن الحسن العلاف

[5] هذا المجلد قُريء على مصنفه أبي جعفر بن جرير الطبري سنة أربع وتسعين ومائتين

[1] This is “The book about the Disagreement among the Scholars of the Capital Cities.”

[2] This is the first: the book on marriage.

[3] Composed by Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī.

[4] Listened by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-‘Allāf [d. 318-9/931].²⁰⁵

[5] This volume was read to its author Abū Ja‘far ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī in the year 294/[904].²⁰⁶

[1] The hand of the words *hādhā* and *kitāb* seem different to the hand of the other words of the title (compare the word *kitāb* in the first line to the same word in the second line in illus. 3.12-3.13). Perhaps this indicates that both were written later. It may be that the word *kitāb* was not originally a part of the title and was added later.

[2] The title includes the book’s part and its number: *Al-awwal kitāb al-nikāḥ*. It is written as a subtitle. In this subtitle, the word *kitāb* here means “chapter,” which is synonymous to *bāb*.²⁰⁷

[1] & [2] The title is written as a “reminder of the volume,”²⁰⁸ thereby summarizing the book’s content.

[3] The term *ta’līf* (“the composition of”) occurs before the author’s name. Unlike the term *taṣnīf* (compilation),²⁰⁹ *ta’līf* implies that the book does not only contain collected material, but also the author’s reflections on this material (see section 3.1.10 above). This manuscript contains

²⁰⁵ On him, see EI², s.v. “Ibn al-‘Allāf.”; GAS, 2: 589-90; Farrūkh, *Tārīkh al-adab al-‘Arabī al-a‘ṣur al-‘Abbāsiyyah*, 394-7.

²⁰⁶ MS MMMI 44, part 1, fol. 1r, see illus. 3.12.

²⁰⁷ AMT, 15, 123.

²⁰⁸ Arberry, “Two Rare Manuscripts,” 109.

²⁰⁹ On *taṣnīf*, see Schoeler, *Genesis*, 4-6, 60-3, 68-81.

material in the sense of *ta'līf* since the author compares and discusses the views of different scholars. Thus, the term *ta'līf* before the name of the author makes sense.

[4] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-‘Allāf (d. 318/930), who was an eminent poet, transmitter of poetry, traditionist, and courtier of al-Mu‘taḍid (r. 279/893-289/902), heard the transmission of the manuscript. As noted on its title page, the manuscript was also read out to its author (see the following remark) in addition to noting that al-‘Allāf had heard the book. It is possible that al-‘Allāf heard the text in the author’s presence as al-‘Allāf was contemporary to the author, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). Besides being a traditionist, poet, and transmitter of poetry, the audition certificate reveals that Ibn al-‘Allāf was also interested in jurisprudence, since he personally audited the book’s transmission.

[5] For the term *mujallad* (volume), this is the first time I have the use of this term in a manuscript of the third/ninth-fourth/tenth centuries.

The reading certificate shows that the book was read to its author and hence the author corrected any potential mistakes. However, the reader is not identified. It should be mentioned that there are also two other reading notes: the first is in part 1, fol. 1v (it is very blurry and not easy to read from the digital copy, see illus. 3.14), and seems to provide the same information recorded in the second reading certificate in part 3, fol. 1v (see illus. 3.15). That the reading certificate is noted in the margin of this manuscript echoes al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī where he advises the scribe to write the audition certificate (which is very similar to the current reading certificate) in the margin of the first folio.²¹⁰ Here I discuss both of these certificates.

[1] جعفر ... بن جرير ... ربيع الأول ... ومائتين.²¹¹

[2] قُرِيءَ عَلَى أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ جَرِيرٍ ... [ومحمد حضر] وذلك بشهر ربيع الأول والآخر بتاريخ ... وتسعين ومائتين.²¹²

[1] Ja‘far ... Ibn Jarīr ... Rabī‘ al-Awwal ... and two hundred.

²¹⁰ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 268.

²¹¹ MS MMMI 44, part 1, fol. 1v; see illus. 3.14. I checked my reading here with Sa‘īd al-Jūmānī.

²¹² MS MMMI 44, part 3, fol. 1v; see illus. 3.15. I checked my reading with Sa‘īd al-Jūmānī, thanks to him I could decipher, in particular the first and the second words and the words in the square brackets. At the beginning, the words between the brackets were read as *Muḥammad Khidr*, but, thanks to Regula Forster, I corrected them to *Muḥammad ḥadara* (“Muḥammad was present”).

[2] It was read to Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ... [Muḥammad was present] and that was in the months of Rabī' I and [Rabī'] II/ [January and February] in the date of 29[?, last number illegible]/90[?].

Together with the reading certificate from the title page, these two certificates indicate that the manuscript was read to its author, al-Ṭabarī. The first reading certificate is almost unreadable from the digital copy. However, the deciphered words reveal that the manuscript was read to al-Ṭabarī in the month of Rabī' I in a year of the third/ninth century. The second certificate also shows that the manuscript was read to al-Ṭabarī. A part of someone's name appears within the certificate. This unidentifiable person might have been either the one who read the book to al-Ṭabarī or someone who heard the text with al-'Allāf, whose name appears on both title pages. The second certificate also refers to the year the manuscript was read, namely 29[4]/[906].

This third/ninth-century manuscript includes an *ijāzat samā'* (audition certificate), which indicates that al-'Allāf heard the transmission of the book. It also contains an *ijāzat al-qirā'ah* (reading certificate), which indicates that a student read the book to the author, al-Ṭabarī.²¹³ Thus, the tradition of writing both the *ijāzat al-samā'* and *ijāzat al-qirā'ah* within the paratexts of the Arabic manuscripts can be dated as early as to the third/ninth century.

The title page of part three is identical to part one, except for the part number. The title page of part three also does not contain a reading certificate.

3.1.11.3. MS Fazil 1507 and Fazil 1508

This voluminous manuscript of *al-Muqtaḍab* ("Improvised") preserved in the Süleymaniye has four title pages, a title page for each of its four parts. The author's and the copyist's names are written inside a rectangular panel surrounded by ornamentation.²¹⁴ The four title pages are identical, except for the number of that particular part. Unlike the other three parts, the title of part

²¹³ On the certificates of audition which includes *ijāzāt al-samā'* and *ijāzāt al-qirā'ah*, see al-Munajjid, "Ijāzāt al-samā'", 232-51; Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission*; Pederson, *the Arabic Book*, 31-6; Witkam, "The Human element," 123-36; al-Mashūkhī, *Anmāṭ*, 81-110; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 52-6; Quiring-Zoche, "Der jemenitische Diplomat," 45-85, 190-1; Leder, "Understanding a Text Through its Transmission," 59-72, 192-5; Hirschler, "Reading Certificates a Prosopographical Source," 73- 92; Boris Liebrecht, "Lese- und Besitzervermerke in der Leipziger Rifā'īya-Bibliothek," 141-62; Hirschler, *The Written Word*; Seidensticker, "Audience Certificates," 75-91; Aljoumani, "Ṣuwar al-ijāzāt al-manqūlah," 100-72; Aljoumani, "Qayd tafriḡh al-kutub," 268-245[sic]; Aljoumani, "Dilālāt al-muṣṭalahāt al-wāridah fī majālis al-samā'," 132-106.

²¹⁴ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r., 144r; Fazil 1508, fol. 1r., 173r; see section 3.1.6 above; see illus. 3.9.

1 includes the addition of *fī al-naḥw* (on grammar). I offer analysis for the first title page as a representative case.

The information on this page reads:

[1] الجزء الأول من كتاب المُتَّصِبِ فِي النُّحُو

[2] صنعة أبي العباس مُحَمَّد بن يزيد المبرِّد

[3] كَتَبَهُ مَهْلَهْل بن أحمد

[4] لأبي الحسن محمد بن الحسين العلوي

[5] قرأتُ هذا الجزء من أوله إلى آخره وأصلحت ما فيه وصحَّحته فما كان فيه من إصلاحٍ وتخرُّجٍ بغير خطِّ الكتاب فهو بخطِّي وكتب الحسن بن عبد الله السيرافي.

[1] The first part of the “The Book of the Compendium on Grammar”

[2] Work of Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad

[3] Muhalhal ibn Aḥmad wrote it

[4] For Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Alawī

[5] I read this part from its beginning to its end. I amended what it contained and corrected it. Any emendation and any insertion of an omission in the margin in a hand different from the hand of the book is in my hand. Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Sīrāfī wrote.²¹⁵

The first two elements [1&2] indicate the title and the author’s names, similar to the previously presented examples in sections 3.1.11.1 and 3.1.11.2 above.

[3] Like MS DK 663 Tafsīr, the copyist writes his name on the title page besides writing the name in the colophon at the end of the manuscript.²¹⁶ However, aside from MS DK 663,²¹⁷ noting

²¹⁵ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r; see illus. 3.9.

²¹⁶ See note (3) under section 3.1.11.6 below.

²¹⁷ See note (3) under section 3.1.11.6 below.

the copyist's name on the title page does not occur in any other specimen in my corpus. Instead, the copyist's name is usually mentioned in the colophon.²¹⁸

[4] This manuscript is commissioned.²¹⁹ Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Alawī, who I have not been able to identify and whose name is preceded with *li-* is likely to have been the patron. The particle *li-* here is similar to *li-khizānah* (for the library [of this or that person]), which often precedes the name of a patron.²²⁰

[5] This correction note indicates that al-Sīrāfī amended and corrected the book.²²¹ I should mention here that al-Sīrāfī was accused of writing notes indicating that he corrected a book, when he had not.²²² In the current case, to distinguish his notes from the text, al-Sīrāfī states that his corrections and emendations are in a different hand from the text's hand. Interestingly enough, his hand, by which he wrote this notation on the title page, is, indeed, attested in different places in the manuscript (see illus. 3.20-3.23). This case shows that al-Sīrāfī did indeed correct a manuscript when stated to have done so on the title page. However, this is only one case, so we need other cases to confirm it.

3.1.11.4. MS DK 139 Naḥw part 3

The information on the title page reads:²²³

[1] الجزء الثالث من كتاب سيبويه وهو عمرو بن عثمان... الحارثي.

[2] عن نسخة أبي العباس محمد بن يزيد التَّحوي عن أبي عمر الجرمي وأبو عثمان المازني.

[1] Part three of “The Book” of Sībawayh, and he is ‘Amr ibn ‘Uthmān... al-Ḥārithī.’²²⁴

[2] Copied from the copy of Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Naḥwī [transmitted] from Abū ‘Umar al-Jarmī and Abū ‘Uthmān al-Māzinī.²²⁵

²¹⁸ See section 3.3.2 below.

²¹⁹ On commissioned manuscripts, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 78.

²²⁰ On the expression *li-khizānah* and other expressions that usually precedes the patron's name, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 197.

²²¹ On al-Sīrāfī, see EI², s. v. “al-Sīrāfī”; HAWT, vol. 1: 100-1, vol. 2: 170-1; GAS, 9: 98-101.

²²² Ritter, “Autographs,” 67-8.

²²³ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 1r; see illus. 3.17.

²²⁴ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 1r. The missed part seems to have been Qanbar. On Sībawayh, see GAS, 9: 51, HAWT, vol. 1: 87-8, EI², s. v. “Sībawayhi.”

²²⁵ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 1r; see illus. 3.17.

[1]&[2] This remark is about the *Vorlage* the copyist used to produce the present manuscript. The *Vorlage* is not usually mentioned on the title page but in the colophon.²²⁶ By writing this remark, the copyist indicates that he used the copy (*nuskhah*) of Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Naḥwī [al-Mubarrad] (d. 285/898)²²⁷ which, in turn, was transmitted from Abū ‘Umar al-Jarmī (d. 225/839)²²⁸ and Abū ‘Uthmān al-Māzinī (d. 248/862).²²⁹ This remark shows that when the copyist writes ‘*an nuskhah*, he indicates that he used a written *Vorlage* to copy from. However, the formula ‘*an* and the person’s name is less clear, as we cannot be sure whether he wrote the manuscript by dictation (*imlā’*) from that person or if he used a copy written by that person (see section 3.1.10 above).²³⁰

3.1.11.5 MS Reis 904

The information on the title page of this manuscript reads:²³¹

[1] مرث وأشعار في غير ذلك وأخبار ولغة

[2] عن أبي عبدالله محمد بن العباس اليزيدي عن ابن حبيب وعن عمه الفضل عن اسحاق بن ابراهيم المؤصلي وغيره

[3] وقد سمعت ذلك أجمع من أبي عبدالله وصحّته والمحمد لله

[4] وفيه جميع ما سمعه أبو عبدالله بن أبي حرب المهلبي وعدة قسايد من اختيار المفضل والاصمعي

[5] ذكر ذلك أبو عبد الله بن مقلّة ونقلته من أصله بخطه

[6] وكتب محمد بن أسد بن عليّ القاري سنة ثمانٍ وستين وثلاثمائة

[1] “Dirges and Poems on Other Themes, Accounts, and Language.”

²²⁶ On the mention of the *Vorlage* in the colophon, see section 3.3.3 below.

²²⁷ On al-Mubarrad, see EI², s. v. “al-Mubarrad”; HAWT, 1:95-6, suppl. vol. 1: 163-4; GAS, 9:78-80. On al-Mubarrad and his book *al-Muqtaḍab*, see Ritter, “Autographs”, 66-8; ‘Abd al-Qādir, “al-Muqtaḍab: Dirāsah wa-taḥlīl.”

²²⁸ On al-Jarmī, see HAWT, vol. 1: 94; GAS, 9: 72-3.

²²⁹ On al-Māzinī, see EI², s. v. “al-Māzinī”; HAWT, vol. 1: 95, suppl. 1: 163; GAS, 9: 75-6.

²³⁰ On the transmission of *Kitāb Sibawayh*, see Humbert, *Les voies de la transmission du Kitāb de Sibawayh*.

²³¹ MS Reis 904, fol. 1r; see illus. 3.19.

[2] On the authority of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī on the authority of Ibn Ḥabīb and his uncle al-Faḍl on the authority of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and others.

[3] I audited it all from Abū ‘Abd Allāh and corrected it, and praise be to Allāh.

[4] It [the manuscript] contains all the auditions of Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥarb al-Muhallabī and a number of odes selected by al-Mufaḍḍal and al-Aṣma‘ī.

[5] ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muqlah mentioned this, and I copied it from his autograph copy.

[6] Muḥammad ibn Asad ibn ‘Alī al-Qārī’ wrote [this] in the year 368 [996-7].²³²

This is the most informative title page among the manuscripts under examination.

[1] The title summarizes the book’s content.²³³ It is similar to the third/ninth-century MS MMMI 44 parts 1 and 3 discussed above. The title is in the style of “the reminder of the volume.”²³⁴

[2], [3], [5], and [6]: Like other third/ninth-century manuscripts under examination,²³⁵ this fourth/tenth-century title page also contains a remark on transmission. Considering notes [2], [3], [5], and [6], we can understand the transmission of the present manuscript to be as follows: Muḥammad ibn Asad ibn ‘Alī al-Qārī’ (d. 410/1019) wrote this manuscript based on a *Vorlage* written by Ibn Muqlah (d. 328/940).²³⁶ In this *Vorlage*, Ibn Muqlah wrote a remark that shows that he had his text from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310/922),²³⁷ hearing and correcting it. Al-Yazīdī, in turn, transmits on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb²³⁸ and his uncle al-Faḍl al-Yazīdī (d. 278/891-2).²³⁹ Both Ibn Ḥabīb and al-Faḍl transmit on the authority of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804) and others.²⁴⁰

²³² MS Reis 904, fol. 1r; see illus. 3.19.

²³³ On this structure of the title, see section 3.1.7.

²³⁴ Arberry, “Two Rare Manuscripts,” 109.

²³⁵ See note (2) under section 3.1.11.1 above.

²³⁶ On Ibn Muqlah, see EI², s. v. “Ibn Muqla”; HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 441-2. Al-Qārī’ also mentioned in the colophon that he used a *Vorlage* written by Ibn Muqlah, see MS Reis 904, fol. 96v.

²³⁷ On him see, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 4: 192; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4: 361; he is also mentioned in HAWT, vol. 1: 16; suppl. vol. 1: 83; GAS, 2: 66, 84, 89, 214, 265, 319-20, 375, 420, 427.

²³⁸ On Ibn Ḥabīb, see EI², s. v. “Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb”; HAWT, vol. 1: 92, suppl. vol. 1: 160-1.

²³⁹ On al-Faḍl, see *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14: 340-1.

²⁴⁰ On al-Mawṣilī, see EI³, s. v. “Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī.”

As we understand from note [2], both Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb and al-Faḍl transmit this book; thus, one of them was reading, and the other was hearing (or perhaps they exchanged roles). What confirms this is that Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī writes a certificate of audition in the right margin of fol. 1v that he once attended a session in which his uncle al-Faḍl was reading to Ibn Ḥabīb:

قال أبو عبد الله: حضرت عمي عبد الله وهو يقرؤها على ابن حبيب وأنا أسمع.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh [Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī] said: “I was present with my uncle ‘Abd Allāh [al-Faḍl al-Yazīdī] while he was reading to Ibn Ḥabīb, and I listened.”²⁴¹

Note [4] shows that the material that Ibn Muqlah heard from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī and contained in the present manuscript, includes all the knowledge that Abū Ḥarb al-Muhallabī (not identified) heard, and some odes selected by al-Mufaḍḍal (d. around 170/786)²⁴² and al-Aṣma‘ī (d. 213/928).²⁴³

[6] The copyist’s name and the date of copying, usually written in the colophon,²⁴⁴ appear on this title page.

3.1.11.6. MS DK 663 Tafsīr

The information on the title page of this manuscript reads:²⁴⁵

[1] الجزء الأول من كتاب مُشْكِلِ الْقُرْآنِ

[2] تأليف أبي محمد عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة رحمه الله

[3] لمحمد بن أحمد بن يحيى نفعه الله به وزاده علماً نافعاً وقيماً صادقاً وقلباً خاشعاً وختم له بالسعادة والمغفرة آمين رب العالمين.

²⁴¹ MS Reis 904, fol. 1v; see illus. 3.66.

²⁴² On al-Mufaḍḍal, see EI², s. v. “al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya‘lā ibn ‘Āmir ibn Sālim ibn al-Rammāl al-Ḍabbī”; HAWT, vol. 1: 104, suppl. vol. 1: 174-5; GAS, 2: 53-5.

²⁴³ On him, see EI², s. v. “al-Aṣma‘ī”; HAWT, vol. 1: 91; suppl. vol. 1: 158-60; GAS, 8: -71-6; Gruendler, *The Rise*, 36-51.

²⁴⁴ See sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.6 below.

²⁴⁵ See illus. 3.18.

[1] The first part of “The Book of the Problematic Issues of the Qur’ān.”²⁴⁶

[2] Composed by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah, the mercy of Allāh may be upon him.”²⁴⁷

[3] [Copied] for Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā may Allāh make it [the book] beneficial for him and may Allāh grant him more useful knowledge, sincere certainty, and a devout heart, and may Allāh grant him an end with happiness and forgiveness, amen, the Lord of the worlds.”²⁴⁸

[1] This statement indicates that this is the first part of *The Book of the Problematic Issues in the Qur’ān*, which indicates that this manuscript is part of a larger book. However, the word *al-awwal* (“the first”) seems to have been written by mistake. Indeed, the manuscript contains the complete work and not only its first part. The colophon reads *tamma kitāb al-Mushkil* (“The Book of the Problematic Issues [when understanding the Qur’ān] was completed”), without referring to a part of the book. This indicates that the manuscript contains the complete work; otherwise, it would have mentioned that this is only the completion of the first part.²⁴⁹

The title given on the title page, *Mushkil al-Qur’ān*, is different from the title given by its author. The author, Ibn Qutaybah, gives a different title for this book in the preface of his book *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*²⁵⁰ Here the title also contains the word *ta’wīl* (interpretation) i. e. *Ta’wīl mushkil al-Qur’ān*.²⁵¹ Therefore, this case shows that the title that appears on the title page, which the copyist gives, can differ from the title given by the author.

[2] The expression *ta’līf* precedes the author’s name, which is in accord with the author’s aim for the book. The author aims at clarifying the different positions on some problematic aspects of the Qur’ān (see section 3.1.10 above).

²⁴⁶ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, the title page.

²⁴⁷ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, title page (without numbering).

²⁴⁸ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, title page (without numbering); see illus. 3.18.

²⁴⁹ Moreover, I examined the manuscript in its original and found that it is a complete book. The editor of the critical edition mentioned that this copy of the manuscript, among others, is a copy of the whole book, see Şaqr, “Muqaddimah,” in Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta’wīl mushkil al-Qur’ān*, ed. Şaqr, 86.

²⁵⁰ MS Lal. 1905, fol. 10v. This is the manuscript of *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, which is known, and its editions refer to it as *Adab al-kātib*. MS Lal. 1905 is of my corpus, see section 2.2.2.18.

²⁵¹ MS Lal. 1905, fol. 10v.

The invocation *rahimahu Allāh* (may Allah grant him mercy) is provided after the author's name. This invocation, called *al-tarḥīm*, is usually used with dead people.²⁵² This emphasizes that the manuscript was copied after the author's death, which is obvious when comparing the author's death date (276/889) with the copying date (379/989). Thus, the manuscript was copied around one century after the death of its author.

[3] This note indicates that the current manuscript is a copy produced for (*li-*) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā. We then learn from the colophon that this person is in fact the copyist himself. The expression *li-naḥsih*, which usually precedes the copyist's name in such cases, is missing. Instead, *li-* is used before the copyist's name.²⁵³

The copyist writes a long *du'ā'* (invocation) after his name. He prays that the manuscript be beneficial for him, for more knowledge, certainty, and a good death. This *du'ā'* indicates that the copyist copied the book "as an act of worship."²⁵⁴ It also shows a "structure that reflects the Muslim piety,"²⁵⁵ which characterizes pre-modern Arabic-Islamic books.²⁵⁶ The attitude of copying the book as '*ibādah* (worship) was regulated by *ādāb* (determined set of rules) and Islamic etiquette. For instance, these *ādāb* and etiquette instruct the copyist to have a *niyyah* (intention), i.e., the aim of copying must be to please Allāh.

There are two pieces of poetry on the title page, each consisting of two verses and introduced by *anshada* (he recited) (see illus. 3.18). The first one reads:

وَإِذَا الْكَرِيمُ أَتَيْتَهُ لِحَدِيْعَةٍ فَرَأَيْتَهُ فِيمَا أَتَيْتَ يُخَادِعُ
وَاعْلَمْ بِأَنَّكَ لَنْ تُخَادِعَ جَاهِلًا إِنْ الْكَرِيمَ بِفَضْلِهِ مُتَخَادِعُ

If you come to a noble one to deceive [him], you see him deceiving about what you came up.

²⁵² For *tarḥīm*, see Gacek, *Vademecum*. 116.

²⁵³ *Li-* is usually used before the patron's name, see section 3.1.11.3, (4) above; see Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 316-7.

²⁵⁴ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 235.

²⁵⁵ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 235.

²⁵⁶ Gacek, "scribes, Copyists"; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 235-6. This attitude of copying the manuscripts as a sort of '*ibādah* is still alive among the community of 'Alawī Bohra in Baroda (India) who still reproduce the manuscripts by copying them by hand as a kind of jihad (see Akkerman, *The Bohra Dark Archive*, 43).

So know that you will not deceive an ignorant, but the noble is, by his precedence, deceived.²⁵⁷

These verses are similar, with a slightly different wording and vocalization, to two verses in the poetry collection of Muḥammad ibn Ḥazim al-Bāhili (fl. 2nd/8th-3rd/9th century).²⁵⁸

وَإِذَا الْكَرِيمُ أَتَيْتَهُ بِخَدِيعَةٍ فَرَأَيْتَهُ فِيمَا تَرُومُ يُسَارِعُ
فَأَعْلَمَ بِأَنَّكَ لَمْ تُخَادِعْ جَاهِلًا إِنَّ الْكَرِيمَ بَغْيَاهُ يَتَخَادِعُ

If you come to a noble one with deception, you see him hastening about what you wish.

So know that you have not deceived an ignorant, but the noble is by his action is deceived.²⁵⁹

The other two verses on the title page are:

الْقِي الْعَدُوَّ وَلَا قُطُوبَ بِهِ تَكَادُ تَقْطُرُ مَاءً مِنْ بَشَاشَاتِ
فَأَخْزَمُ <كَذَا> النَّاسِ مِنْ يَلْقَى أَعَادِيَهُ بِجَسْمِ حَقْدٍ وَثُوبٍ مِنْ مَوَدَّاتِ

Meet the foe without scowling, almost dripping with the water of smiles.

[The best-attacker? of] the people [is who] meets his foes in a body of hatred and a guise of love.²⁶⁰

Again, these verses are similar to two lines by the well-known author al-Tanūkhī (d. 278/892):²⁶¹

إِلْقِ الْعَدُوَّ بَوَجْهِ لَا قُطُوبَ بِهِ يَكَادُ يَقْطُرُ مِنْ مَاءِ الْبَشَاشَاتِ
فَأَخْزَمُ النَّاسِ مِنْ يَلْقَى أَعَادِيَهُ فِي جَسْمِ حَقْدٍ وَثُوبٍ مِنْ مَوَدَّاتِ

²⁵⁷ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, the title page (without numbering).

²⁵⁸ On him, see EI², s. v. “Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim b. ‘Amr al-Bāhili’”; GAS, 2: 517.

²⁵⁹ Al-Bāhili, *Dīwān*, 70.

²⁶⁰ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, the title page (without numbering).

²⁶¹ On him, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 13: 550, 5; Farrūkh, *Tārīkh al-adab al-‘Arabī al-‘aṣur al-‘Abbāsiyyah*, 446-8.

Meet the foe with a face unscowling, almost dripping from the water of smiles.

The most resolute of people [is who] meets his foes in a body of hatred and a guise of love.²⁶²

The verses are unrelated to the subject of the book. In this case, the copyist seems to have used the free space on the title page to write some verses of poetry he knew. He probably wrote these verses from memory, producing new versions of the verses. This is an early example of a copyist using the free space from the title page for a topic that is different from the book, and more specifically, for noting down verses of poetry. The present case shows that this tradition started as early as the fourth/tenth century and then continued in the following centuries, as we can trace other unrelated notes by different hands on the same title page.²⁶³

²⁶² Al-Tanūkhī, “Dīwān,” 50.

²⁶³ On the unrelated texts, see Rosenthal, *Technique*, 20-1. Some Arabic scholars attempted to compile such texts in independent books, see for example, Yūsuf, *al-Ghurar*; al-‘Aẓm, *al-Ṣabābāt*. Bibliotheca Arabica project works on collecting and organizing such notes: <https://www.saw-leipzig.de/de/projekte/bibliotheca-arabica/intro>, [accessed July 11, 2022].

3.2. Introductory section

An examination of the actual manuscripts shows that they are usually opened with a “doxological formula”²⁶⁴ that usually entails the *basmalah*, the *ḥamdalah*, and the *ṣalwalah*. After the *basmalah*, the *isnād* of the book is occasionally given.²⁶⁵ These formulas are occasionally followed by the *ammā ba ‘d* “to proceed” expression. However, I noticed this in only two of my specimens.²⁶⁶ This is then followed by the preface proper, which can include introductory information such as the reasons for writing a book, the methodology, and (more rarely) the book’s chapters.²⁶⁷ However, not every manuscript in the corpus has all these elements together.

In the following, I discuss the components of the introductory section that relate to scribal practice and are dealt with in the normative sources. I analyze the *basmalah*, the *isnād*, and the opening (including the Islamic formulas). The preface proper does not relate to the scribal practice and is also not discussed in the normative sources. Hence, it is not discussed.

3.2.1. *Basmalah*

In this section, I focus on the *basmalah*. I present how the *basmalah* is written and according to the normative sources and actual manuscripts which specific topics begin with the *basmalah*.

The *basmalah* is a form of the invocation of Allāh. With the *basmalah*, Muslims begin various actions in their daily life. The writing of manuscript codices is among them.²⁶⁸ According to the normative sources,²⁶⁹ the use of *basmalah* dates back to the prophet Muḥammad who developed its formula according to the gradual revelation of *sūrahs* of the Qur’ān until it reached its complete form. Later, the letters of the seventh Abbasid caliph al-Ma’mūn (r. 198/813-218/833) were prefaced with the *basmalah* before the address.²⁷⁰ In the actual manuscripts, when the *basmalah* occurs, it is given in the form of *bi-ism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*. However, in one case it is

²⁶⁴ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 131.

²⁶⁵ For studies on the *isnād*, see p. 24.

²⁶⁶ MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 1v; MS Lal, 1905, fol. 1v.

²⁶⁷ For studies on the opening and preface, see p. 23.

²⁶⁸ For the *basmalah* in manuscripts, see Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 52-3; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 80, 99, 131, 236, 270; for the *basmalah* as a verse of the Qur’ān see, EQ, s. v. “Basmalah.”

²⁶⁹ ‘Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī, “Kitāb al-kuttāb,” 50; Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 74-5; al-Šūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 31-2; al-Naḥḥās, *Šinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 63-64; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, 4:158.

²⁷⁰ Al-Naḥḥās, *Šinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 172.

formulated without Allāh as *bi-ism al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* (see illus. 3.24).²⁷¹ This could however be an error from the copyist as I have not seen this in any other manuscript.

In some of the manuscripts under examination, the *basmalah* is occasionally accompanied by other Islamic formulas. In a third/ninth-century manuscript, the invocation: *rabbī yassir wa-a‘in* (“my Lord, make [this] easy and help [me]”) is given after the *basmalah*.²⁷² At the opening of a fourth/tenth-century manuscript containing the poetry collection of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, the *basmalah* is followed by the expression: *dhikr Allāh akbar* (“the mention of ‘Allāh is the greatest’”).²⁷³ This expression is probably a “skillful opening” indicating the topic of the work, which is on piety issues.²⁷⁴ In another fourth/tenth century manuscript, the *basmalah* is accompanied with the *ḥawqalah*: *Wa-lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwah illā bi-Allāh al-‘aliyy al-‘aẓīm* (“there is no power and no strength save in Allāh the Supreme the Great”).²⁷⁵

With regards to *adab al-kātib* manuals from the third/ninth century such as the work of ‘Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī, we have limited information on the *basmalah*.²⁷⁶ However, we do have more details from *adab al-kātib* sources of the fourth/tenth century. Ibn Durustawayh for example illustrates that the *basmalah* “has to be written in a separate line and not combined with other lines.”²⁷⁷ In most of the specimens under examination, the *basmalah* is written on a separate line. However, there are two exceptions. In one case, the *basmalah* and the *ṣalwalah* are given together on the same line.²⁷⁸ In the second case, the *basmalah* is written with the *ḥawqalah* in the same line (see illus. 3.25).²⁷⁹

In a similar way, the trinitarian formula is also given on a separate line, as is attested in two third/ninth-century Christian-Arabic manuscripts.²⁸⁰

The *basmalah* in most of the examined manuscripts is written on one line. One exception is MS Şehid 1842, in which the *basmalah* takes up more than one line because the font is very

²⁷¹ MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 1v.

²⁷² MS BNF Arabe 2859, fol. 1v.

²⁷³ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 180v.

²⁷⁴ EI², s. v. “Ibtidā’.”

²⁷⁵ MS Reis 904, fol. 1v.

²⁷⁶ ‘Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī, “Kitāb al-Kuttāb,” 50.

²⁷⁷ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 75.

²⁷⁸ MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 1v.

²⁷⁹ MS Reis 904, fol. 1v. For the *ḥawqalah*, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2, 270.

²⁸⁰ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 3r; MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol.

thick.²⁸¹ In a similar way, in a Christian-Arabic manuscripts, the trinitarian formula is written over three lines.²⁸²

Ibn Durustawayh mentions that writing the word “Allāh” in a small script was a disapproved act in his time.²⁸³ However, it is not clear what is considered as small script. Is “small” being compared with the other words of the *basmalah* or the manuscript’s main text? In the manuscripts I have observed I have not seen the “Allāh” written in a font smaller than the other words of the *basmalah* or the main text. In fact, in three fourth/tenth-century manuscripts, the entire font of the *basmalah* is thicker than the book’s main text, as if it were a chapter heading.²⁸⁴

In the fourth/tenth century, Ibn Durustawayh elaborates that embodying the shape of the *sīn* into the shape of the *bā’* in the *basmalah* (*tudghamu minhā šūrat al-bā’ wa-l-sīn*) was also disapproved.²⁸⁵ This embodying would occur when the *sīn* of *bi-ism* is written without denticles;²⁸⁶ and hence it would appear as if it were embodied into the *bā’*.²⁸⁷ Embodying the *sīn* into the *bā’* in *bi-ism* is not attested in any specimens, probably because of the disapproval of this practice.

Ibn Durustawayh states the rule that the *basmalah* should be written clearly, and its *alifs* should have a complete shape (*tatmīm alifātihā*). Furthermore, its *lāms* should have a straight shape (*taqwīm lāmātihā*).²⁸⁸ In the manuscripts under examination, the *basmalah* is always written in a clear and straight shape.²⁸⁹

In the fifth/eleventh century, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī transmits accounts on the practice of writing the *basmalah*.²⁹⁰ He transmits through an *isnād* from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ (the student and the scribe of al-Layth ibn Sa‘d)²⁹¹ that he [‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ṣāliḥ] had elongated the “denticle” of the *bā’* of *bi-ism*: *بسم* which made it seemed like the *lām*: *لسم* which was disapproved and refused

²⁸¹ MS Ṣehid 1842, fol. 1v; see illus. 3.26.

²⁸² MS MDSK Ar. 116, fol. 2r.

²⁸³ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 75.

²⁸⁴ MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS Ṣehid 1842, fol. 1v.

²⁸⁵ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 75.

²⁸⁶ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 75.

²⁸⁷ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 265.

²⁸⁸ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 75.

²⁸⁹ For example, see MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 1v, see illus. 3.27.

²⁹⁰ The writing of the *basmalah* was also discussed in the tenth/eleventh century by al-‘Almawī, see al-‘Almawī, *al-Mu‘d*; Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 13-4.

²⁹¹ On ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ, see GAS, 1: 104; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūḥīn*, ed. Zāyid, 40-3; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, vol. part 2, 86-7; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 11: 155-9. On al-Layth ibn Sa‘d, see EI², s. v. “al-Layth ibn Sa‘d”; GAS, 1: 520.

by al-Layth as the meaning was changed. Against this preference of al-Layth, the “denticle” of the *bā’* was elongated in some third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century specimens under examination.²⁹²

Regarding the word *bi-ism*, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī advises the copyists:

فينبغي أن يُجْعَلَ بين طول الباء وحروف السين فرق يسير للتمييز بينها، ويجمع بين الباء والسين ثم يُمدَّ مَدَّةً إلى الميم، ولا يجوز أن يُمدَّ ما بين الباء والميم ويُسْقَطَ السين، كما يفعل كثير من الكتّاب، فإنَّ غير واحدٍ من السلف قد كره ذلك.

The ligature between the *bā’* and the *sīn* should be slightly elongated in a way that makes both letters distinct from each other. This ligature connects the *bā’* and the *sīn*. Then, it [the ligature] is stretched to the *mīm* but stretching what is between the *bā’* and the *mīm* and the omission of the [‘denticles’] of the *sīn* is not allowed, as is practiced by many copyists and more than one of the forebears disliked this.²⁹³

To support his point, al-Khaṭīb transmits different accounts. Among the many transmitters mentioned is Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn.²⁹⁴ These accounts focus on practical issues concerning the writing of the word *bi-ism*.

For the ligature between the *bā’* and the *sīn*, this does not occur in any of the manuscripts under examination— there is never any noticeable space between the *bā’* and *sīn*. On the contrary, the denticle of the *bā’* seems to be linked to the denticle of the *sīn*. The copyists drew the denticle of the *bā’* longer than the denticles of the *sīn*, most likely, to distinguish it from the denticles of the *sīn* in *bi-ism*, despite al-Layth ibn Sa‘d’s dislike of this practice (see illus. 3.28).²⁹⁵ The MS Şehid 1842 shows a different practice in this regard.²⁹⁶ The denticle of the *bā’* is longer than the denticles of the *sīn*. However, the denticles of the *sīn* itself are unequal, and they follow a uniform

²⁹² MS MMMI 44 part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 1v; MS Vat. Ar.13, fol. 1r; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1v; MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3r; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1v, 173v; ; MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 1v; MS Reis 904, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v; ; MS Şehid 27, fol. 1v, 31v, 91v, 121v, 151v, 181v, 211v, 241v, 271v, 301v, 331v; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. v, Vollers 505-03, fol. 56v; MS Fazil 43, fol. 1v; MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v; MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 1v.

²⁹³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi’*, 1: 265.

²⁹⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi’*, 1: 265-6.

²⁹⁵ This was executed in the following specimens: MS MMMI 44 part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 1v; MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 1v; MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 1v; MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1v; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1r, 144v, MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1v, 173v; MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v; MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3r; MS Fazil 43, fol. 1v; MS Reis 904, fol. 1v; MS Şehid 27, fol. MS Şehid 27, fol. 1v, 31v, 91v, 121v, 151v, 181v, 211v, 241v, 271v, 301v, 331v, MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 1v; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. v, Vollers 505-03, fol. 56v; MS Vat.ar.13, fol. 1r.

²⁹⁶ MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1v.

pattern by descending in size. The first denticle being the longest, followed by the middle and then the last (see illus. 3.26).²⁹⁷

As mentioned above, concerning the ductus of the letters of *bi-ism*, al-Khaṭīb recommends the combination of the *bā'* and *sīn* and the elongation of the line that connects them to the *mīm*. The combination of the *bā'* and *sīn* occurs in all the specimens under examination. The elongation occurs in most of the manuscripts under examination, except for nine specimens from the core and the secondary corpus.²⁹⁸

Al-Khaṭīb discusses the disapproval of the “elongation” (*madd*) of the script in the *basmalah*.²⁹⁹ He transmitted through an *isnād* that al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742)³⁰⁰ transmitted that “the prophet Muḥammad rejected the elongation” of the *basmalah*. Al-Khaṭīb also transmits through an *isnād* from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Baṭṭah (d. 387/997):³⁰¹

وفي الناس من يكتب "بسم الله" فيمد بين السين والميم. وهذا ما لا ينبغي، لأن ما لا يجوز مده في اللفظ، لا يجوز مده في الخط. وأجمعوا أنّ الله لا يمد في اللفظ ولا في الخط. وجائز أن يمد "الرحمن الرحيم" في اللفظ والخط [...] أما اسم الله تعالى، فقد جرت العادة بالجمع بين حروفه في الخط. وأما "الرحمن الرحيم" فأكثر الناس يجمعون بين حروفها أيضاً. وفيهم من يفرق بينهما. وكل ذلك مباح أيّه استحسّن الكاتب فعله. وما روي من الكراهة والاستحباب وإنما هو على وجه الاستحسان لا غير.

Some people, when writing *bi-ism Allāh* they execute an elongation between the *sīn* and the *mīm*, which should not be done for what is not to be elongated in the pronunciation is also not allowed to be elongated in writing. They agree that [the word] *Allāh* should be elongated neither in pronunciation nor in writing, but it is allowed to elongate *al-rahmān al-rahīm* in both pronunciation and writing.

²⁹⁷ MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1v.

²⁹⁸ MS MAW 1125, fol. 1v; MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 1v; MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 1v; MS BA 233, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1v; MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 2v; MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 3v; Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 1v; MS Qar. 874/62, fol. 1v.

²⁹⁹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi'*, 1: 266-8. For the term “elongation”, see Gacek, AMT, 133. The elongation can also be termed *al-mashq*, see Gacek, AMT, 135.

³⁰⁰ On al-Zuhrī, see EI², s. v. “al-Zuhrī”; GAS, 1: 280-3; HAWT, vol. 1:59, suppl. 1: 101-2.

³⁰¹ On Ibn Baṭṭah, see EI², “Ibn Baṭṭah, ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ukbarī”; GAS, 1: 514.

[...]

The convention is exercising contraction when writing the name of Allāh the sublime, and concerning *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, most people write it in contracted letters as well. However, some people exercise the “elongation” between them [the letters of the two words]. All of these [practices] are allowed. The scribe can do what he thinks best. Moreover, all of what has been transmitted [from other scholars] about the disapproval or approval is a matter of taste, nothing more.³⁰²

Thus, there was no strict rule on the contraction and the elongation of the words *Allāh*, *al-raḥmān*, and *al-raḥīm* in the *basmalah*. This is, according to al-Khaṭīb, a matter of style and the choice of the copyist. Let us turn to see how this was exercised in the examined manuscripts.

The letters of the word “Allāh” in the *basmalah* are contracted in all of the manuscripts under examination that contain the *basmalah*. Furthermore, the word *al-raḥmān* is contracted in most of the manuscripts under examination. However, the ligature of the *ḥā’* and *mīm* is elongated in some cases.³⁰³ Similarly, the ligature of *ḥā’* and *yā’* in the word *al-raḥīm* is elongated in some cases.³⁰⁴ This is coherent with what al-Khaṭīb states that there are no strict rules with regarding to the contraction and the elongation in the words “Allāh,” “al-raḥmān” and “al-raḥīm”, but rather a matter of taste.

With regards to whether any text should precede the *basmalah*, the normative sources of the fourth/tenth and the fifth/eleventh centuries tend to support the position that the *basmalah* should precede all the texts.³⁰⁵ Ibn Durustawayh states that “every saying and every action has to begin with the *basmalah* because thus is following to Allāh and the prophet.”³⁰⁶ However, he mentions

³⁰² Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi’*, 1: 266-7.

³⁰³ The elongation of the ligature between the *ḥā’* and the *mīm*: MS UL Or. 298, fol. 21v, 135v (however, in this manuscript, the word *al-Raḥmān* is contracted in fol. 34v, 54v, 108v, 155v, 166v, 204v, 207v, 221v); MS MAW 1125, fol. v; MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 1v; MS MMMI 44 part 3, fol. 1v; MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3r; Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS BA 233, fol. 1v; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 1v; MS DK 663, p. 1.

³⁰⁴ MS BNF Arabe 2859, fol. 1v; MS UL Or. 298, fol. 135v, 155v, 207v, 221v (however, this manuscript which consists of nine parts, all parts begin with *basmalah*, but the elongation between the *ḥā’* and the *yā’* in the word *al-raḥīm* occurs only four times); Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 1v; MS MMMI 44 part 1, fol. 1v; MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 2r, 141v; MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3r; MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1v, 144v; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1v, 172v; MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 1v; MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 3v; MS Lal. 1728, fol. 2v, 99v, 119v, 148v, 180v; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 1; MS Fazil 43, fol. 1v.

³⁰⁵ For the sorts of texts that should begin with the *basmalah*, see Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 52-3.

³⁰⁶ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 75.

that the writing of the *basmalah* at the beginning of poetry is disapproved.³⁰⁷ He does not give further opinions on this nor makes any additional comments. Abū Ja‘far al-Naḥḥās states that there is a disagreement among the scholars on the issue of writing the *basmalah* before poetry, but he seems to accept the practice of writing the *basmalah* before the poetry. Al-Naḥḥās cites Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib (13/634-94/713)³⁰⁸ and al-Zuhrī, as disapproving the writing of the *basmalah* before poetry.³⁰⁹ Al-Naḥḥās also refers to three others who adopt the writing of the *basmalah* at the beginning of any text, including poetry. Among them is his master al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr (d. 315/927).³¹⁰ He accepts the writing the *basmalah* before poetry since the phrase *qāla fulān* (“so said”) is inserted between the *basmalah* and the lines of poetry.³¹¹ Perhaps those who disapproved of writing the *basmalah* before poetry did not like to see any similarity between verses of poetry and verses of Qur’ān in which almost all sūras begin with the *basmalah*. The *basmalah* is considered part of the Qur’ān (it is only counted as a verse in *al-Fātiḥah*), thus al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr, according al-Naḥḥās, explains that the phrase *qāla fulān* differentiates poetry as the words of human beings from the words of Allāh.

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī states that scholarly books (*kutub al-‘ilm*) have to be opened with the *basmalah* in its complete form. He elaborates that there are different views on whether books of poetry should begin with the *basmalah*, but he supports the writing of the *basmalah*.³¹² To support his point, al-Khaṭīb transmits through a long *isnād* that Sa‘īd ibn Jubayr said:³¹³ “The writing is not sufficient without ‘in the name of Allāh, The All-Merciful, The Ever-Merciful’ at the beginning, even in the poetry.”³¹⁴ Al-Khaṭīb also transmits that the prophet said: “‘In the name of Allāh, The All-Merciful, The Ever-Merciful’ is the opener of every writing.”³¹⁵ In the actual manuscripts, I found that the *basmalah* is written at the beginning of various texts, including

³⁰⁷ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 75.

³⁰⁸ On him, see GAS, 1: 21, 89, 248, 254, 258; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 325-30, 7: 119-43.

³⁰⁹ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 64.

³¹⁰ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 64. On al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr, see EI², s. v. “al-Akhfash”; HAWT, vol. 1: 113, suppl. vol. 168.

³¹¹ Al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā‘at al-kuttāb*, 64.

³¹² Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 263-4.

³¹³ On Sa‘īd ibn Jubayr, see GAS, 1: 28-9.

³¹⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 264.

³¹⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 264.

poetry. This is coherent with al-Naḥḥās and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. All the manuscripts of poetry I have seen begin with the *basmalah*.³¹⁶

Just like the Arabic-Islamic manuscripts that start with the *basmalah*, the three Christian-Arabic manuscripts under examination begin with the Trinitarian formula.³¹⁷ Interestingly, the *basmalah* is also written by non-Muslim copyists in some manuscripts preserved in Maktabat Dayr Sant Katrin, instead of the trinitarian formula.³¹⁸ Similarly, Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl ibn Hārūn al-Ṣābi' al-Ḥarrānī, who was a Sabian, as his name indicates, also writes the *basmalah* at the beginning of a manuscript he copies.³¹⁹ That shows that some non-Muslim copyists in the Islamic milieu and in particular, Egypt and Iraq, adopted Islamic scribal traditions.

3.2.2. *Isnād*

The *isnād* (chain of transmitters) is a name or a sequence of names through which a particular *matn* ("text") is transmitted. Like the reports of the prophetic traditions, some books are provided with an *isnād* for the whole book.³²⁰ The science of the *isnād* originated in the transmission of prophetic traditions but can even be traced even earlier, to the pre-Islamic period in the transmission of poetry.³²¹ Just like *ḥadīth*, the *isnād* (also called *sanad* or *riwāyah*) of the book is a note that shows that a book is ascribed to a specific author. In most attested manuscripts, the first transmitter is the copyist who transmits on another transmitter's authority, who then transmits from another author directly and so on. Noting the transmission of books is attested in manuscripts as early as the third/ninth century.

In the third/ninth century, copyists, as three manuscripts under examination show, noted the transmitter on the title page.³²² That tradition also extends to the fourth/tenth century, as can

³¹⁶ *Ash'ār al-Quṭāmī* (MS Petermann II 589, fol. 1v), *Marāthī wa-ash'ār fī ghayr dhālika wa-akhbār wa-lughah* (MS Reis 904, fol. 1v), *Shi'r Ibn al-Mu'tazz* (MS Lal. 1728, fol. 2v), *Shi'r Abī Ṭālib 'amm al-rasūl* (MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 2v), *Shi'r Suḥaym 'Abd Banī al-Hashās* (MS Leipzig Vollers 505-03, fol. 56v).

³¹⁷ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 3r; MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 1r; MS MDSK Ar.116, fol. 2r.

³¹⁸ MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 2r, 141v; 'Aṭīyyah, *al-Fahāris al-tahlīliyyah*, 20-23; MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 3v; 'Aṭīyyah, *al-Fahāris al-tahlīliyyah*, 76-7; MS MDSK Ar.580, fol. 2v.

³¹⁹ MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v, 42v, 45v, 46v.

³²⁰ For studies on the *isnād*, see, p. 24.

³²¹ On the *isnād* in the pre-Islamic period, see al-Asad, *Maṣādir*, 255-83.

³²² MS UL Or. 298, fol. 1r; MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6r; see section 3.1.11.1, note (2) above; MS MAW 1125, fol. 1r; see section 3.2.2.2, note (1) below.

be observed in one manuscript under examination.³²³ However, none of the normative sources under scrutiny make any remarks on writing the transmitter on the title page.

In the fifth/eleventh century, al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī suggests writing the *isnād* in the introductory section of the book after the *basmalah*.³²⁴ According to al-Khaṭīb, the name of the teacher from whom the copyist transmits the text is to be given in the form that contains his name (*ism*), his *kunya*, the patronymic (*nasab*), and his *nisbah*. The formula suggested by al-Khaṭīb is:

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو فُلَانٍ فُلَانُ بْنُ فُلَانِ بْنِ فُلَانٍ الْفُلَانِيُّ

Father of NN, NN, son of NN the so and so told us.³²⁵

The *isnād* in the actual manuscripts is different from the above suggestion of al-Khaṭīb.³²⁶ In the third/ninth century, as one manuscript shows, instead of *ḥaddathanā*, the expression *akhbaranā* is used.³²⁷

In the fourth/tenth century, as some specimens show, copyists noted the transmission of the manuscript using the expression *qāla* at the beginning of the book either directly after the *basmalah*, following the *ḥamdalah* and *ṣalwalah*, or after the heading of the first chapter.³²⁸ An example of the latter is MS DK 6155 Hā' where the copyist notes the transmission of the book after the heading of the first chapter:³²⁹ *qāla Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim sami 'tu abā Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq [ibn al-Sikkīt] yaqūl* (Abū Muḥammad...said: I heard Abū Yūsuf... saying:).³³⁰ The expression *qāla* indicates that the copyist most likely copied the text from the copy of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim (who heard from the author) without direct communication from the author (Ibn al-Sikkīt) himself. The expression *qāla* is also used in *ḥadīth* transmission when a student

³²³ MS Reis 904, fol. 1r, see section 3.1.11.5, note (2).

³²⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī, *al-Jāmi'*, 1: 268.

³²⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī, *al-Jāmi'*, 1: 268.

³²⁶ I analyze all the *isnāds* I found at the end of this section.

³²⁷ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol.6v; see section 3.2.2.1 below. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī, in his manual on *ḥadīth* terminology, explained that *akhbaranā* indicates a direct connection with the author, see al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, 160-3.

³²⁸ Later, after the fourth/tenth century, other formulas containing *qāla* came up, for example, *qāla al-muṣannif* (the compiler said) or *qāla al-shaykh* ("the master said"), see al-Ghazzī, *al-Durr*, 427-8; Gacek, "Technical Practices," 53.

³²⁹ After an introductory section (consists of the *basmalah*, the statement: *hādhā Kitāb Iṣlāḥ almanṭiq allafahu Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Sikkīt*, i.e. that is "The Book of Rectification of Speech" composed by Abū Yūsuf...), and the heading of the first chapter, see MS DK 6155 Hā', fol. 1v.

³³⁰ MS DK 6155 Hā', fol. 1v.

transmits from a copy. In such cases, students were allowed to transmit from a copy given to them as a part of the certificates of the transmission (*ijāzāt*) system.³³¹ Likewise, in MS Lal. 1905, the copyist notes the transmission after the *basmalah*: *Qāla ‘Abd Allāh Muslim Ibn Qutaybah*.³³² *Qāla* here obviously indicates the indirect transmission from the author, as the manuscript is copied more than a century after the author’s death.³³³ Here, *qāla*, as in *ḥadīth* terminology, is likely to indicate transmission based on a *Vorlage*.³³⁴ In MS MRT 37 Lughah, the copyist states the transmission after the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah*: *Qāla Abū Maṣūūr Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Jabbān* [the author]. He then begins the text of the author.³³⁵ Considering the indication of *qāla* in *ḥadīth* terminology and its usage in the two cases previously discussed, *qāla* here is also likely to indicate transmission based on a *Vorlage*.³³⁶

The transmission for poetry collections is noted both in the introductory section and in the text body. For example, in MS Petermann II 589, which contains the poetry of al-Quṭāmī and a commentary on it, the copyists note the transmission of the manuscript by writing *qāla* followed by the poet’s name (includes the *ism* and thirteen patronymics), in the introductory section after the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah*.³³⁷ In addition to this, throughout the manuscript, each of the poems of al-Quṭāmī is also preceded by *qāla* (e.g. fol. 11r) or *wa-qāla al-Quṭāmī* (e. g. fol. 17r). This is similar to MS Lal. 1728, which is a volume of poetry attributed to Ibn al-Mu‘tazz. Each part of the work contains a different theme. The copyist states the transmission in the beginning after the *basmalah*: *Qāla Abū al-‘Abbās... Ibn al-Mu‘tazz*. He then gives the heading of the first poem in the manuscript.³³⁸ The same occurs at the beginning of each part of the manuscript.³³⁹ On top of this, the expression *wa-qāla* (“and he [Ibn al-Mu‘tazz] said”) is given before every block of verse throughout the book.

³³¹ On *qāla*, see al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, 162. On the *ijāzāt* system, see Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission*; Pederson, *the Arabic book*, 31-6; al-Mashūkhī, *Anmāf*, 103-134; Witkam, “The Human Element,” 123-36; al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, 152-60; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 52-6; Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, “Der jemenitische Diplomat,” 45-85; Saïd Aljoumani, “Ṣuwar al-ijāzāt al-manqūlah,” 100-72; “Qayd tafrīgh al-kutub,” 268-245[sic].

³³² MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v.

³³³ See my comment on note (2) under section 3.1.11.6 above.

³³⁴ On *qāla*, see al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, 162.

³³⁵ MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 1v.

³³⁶ On *qāla*, see al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, 162.

³³⁷ MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 1v.

³³⁸ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 1v.

³³⁹ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 55v, 99v, 119v, 148v, 180v.

Likewise, we have MS Vollers 505-01, 02, 03, which consists of three poetry collections. The first collection is the poetry of Abū Ṭālib.³⁴⁰ The copyist, ‘Afīf ibn As‘ad,³⁴¹ notes the transmission after the *basmalah*, as being from Abū Hiffān ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Mihzamī (died between 255/869 and 257/871).³⁴² He uses *qāla* before Abū Hiffān’s name. The expression *qāla* before Abū Hiffān’s name indicates that the copyist transmits from a *Vorlage*. In fact, ‘Afīf ibn As‘ad mentions the *Vorlage* in the colophon of the manuscript.³⁴³ Going further, Abū Hiffān, in turn, transmits from Abū Ṭālib. The word *qāla* is also stated before Abū Ṭālib’s name.³⁴⁴ Considering the use of *qāla* in the above-mentioned cases, Abū Hiffān also is likely to have transmitted from a *Vorlage*. Furthermore, *qāla* is also stated before every block of poetry. *Qāla* here is used to indicate transmission from Abū Ṭālib through Abū Hiffān, the transmitter of the collection, who is likely to have also transmitted from a *Vorlage*, as mentioned above. Unfortunately, there are no transmission details at the beginning of the second collection,³⁴⁵ which contains the poetry of Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī.³⁴⁶ However, like the previous poetry collection, the expression *qāla Abū al-Aswad* is given before every block of verse throughout the book. In the third collection, which contains the poetry of Suḥaym, also known as ‘Abd Banī al-Ḥaṣḥās (d. 40/660),³⁴⁷ the copyist notes the transmission after the *basmalah*: *Qāla ‘Abd Banī al-Ḥaṣḥās...* Like the first collection, *qāla* here also indicates that the copyist transmits from a *Vorlage*.³⁴⁸

In some cases, there is no *isnād* in the introductory section. In such cases, the thematic discussion or the book’s opening begins directly after the *basmalah*.³⁴⁹ Amongst these cases is the third/ninth-century MS MMMI 44 Part 1, part 3.³⁵⁰ No *isnād* is given in its introductory section, probably because the manuscript is provided with a reading statement that fulfills the function of ascribing the book to its author.

³⁴⁰ On Abū Ṭālib, see EI², s. v. “Abū Ṭālib”; GAS, 2: 273-4.

³⁴¹ On him, see section 3.3.5 below.

³⁴² On him, see EI², s. v. “Abū Hiffān”; GAS, 2: 43.

³⁴³ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-1, fol. 32r.

³⁴⁴ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-1, fol. 2v.

³⁴⁵ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-2, fol. 43r.

³⁴⁶ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-2, fol. 55v.

³⁴⁷ On Suḥaym, see EI², s. v. “Suḥaym”; HAWT, vol. 1: 34; GAS, 2: 288-9.

³⁴⁸ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-3, fol. 56v.

³⁴⁹ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 1v; MS MMMI 44 part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 1v; MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 1v: after the *basmalah*, the opening including the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah*, and *ammā ba’d*, comes, then the thematic discussion starts; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1v, 144v; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1v, 172v; Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v, 42v, 45v, 46v; MS Şehid 27, fol. 1v, Şehid 1842, fol. 1v; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 1.

³⁵⁰ MS MMMI 44 Part 1, fol. 1v, Part 3, fol. 1v.

Finally, I present *isnāds* I have found.

3.2.2.1. MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh

In this third/ninth century manuscript, aside from the transmission note on the title page,³⁵¹ the copyist, al-Rabīʿ ibn Sulaymān, who was a direct student to al-Shāfiʿī, introduces the text by an *isnād*.³⁵² The *isnād* reads: *Akhbaranā [Abū ʿAbd Allāh³⁵³] Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿUthmān ibn Shāfiʿ ibn al-Sāʿib ibn ʿUbayd ibn ʿAbd Yazīd ibn Hāshim ibn [ʿAbd³⁵⁴] Manāf [al-Muṭṭalabī ibn ʿamm rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ʿalayh wa-sallama]* (Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs... told us).³⁵⁵ When compared with the author’s name on the title page, the author’s name in the *isnād* is elongated; it includes the *kunyah*, the *ism*, and the *nasab* (consisting of ten patronymics) (see section 3.1.11.1 above, see illus. 3.29).

3.2.2.2. MS MAW 1125

On the title page,³⁵⁶ we find this remark:

رواية أبي داود سليمان بن الأشعث السجستاني رضي الله عنه.

The transmission of Abū Dāwūd ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī may Allāh be pleased with him.³⁵⁷

That shows that the manuscript was copied from Abū Dāwūd. However, the question remains as to how it was transmitted. The answer is found in the *isnād* given after the *basmalah* and linked to the first chapter of the manuscript (see illus. 3.31):

سمعتُ أبا داود سليمان بن الأشعث السجستاني قال: قلت لأبي عبد الله أحمد بن حنبل: استقبل القبلة بالغانط والبول ...

³⁵¹ See section 3.1.11.1, note (2) above.

³⁵² On al-Rabīʿ ibn Sulaymān as a direct student and a transmitter of al-Shāfiʿī, see Shākir, “Muqaddimah,” in al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risālah*, ed. Shākir, 12, 17-23; GAS, 1:488, 494; Lowry, “Introduction,” xx.

³⁵³ The *kunyah* seems to have been added later by a user of the manuscript interlines. The script of the addition is different from the main text.

³⁵⁴ This word was written and then crossed out.

³⁵⁵ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol.6v.

³⁵⁶ See illus. 3.30.

³⁵⁷ MS MAW 1125, fol. 1r.

I [the copyist] heard Abū Dāwūd ibn Sulaymān al-Ash‘ath al-Sijistānī say: “I said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: The facing of the qibla when defecating or urinating....”³⁵⁸

By using the expression *sami‘tu*, the copyist illustrates that he heard from Abū Dāwūd ibn al-Ash‘ath al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929).³⁵⁹ Thus, he seems to have written the book by dictation from Abū Dāwūd, who, in turn, heard it from Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855). The copyist, however, is anonymous. He does not record his name in the colophon nor in the book’s audition certificate.³⁶⁰ The certificate only indicates that the copyist, among others, heard the transmission of the book. We know there were others because of the phrase, *wa-sami‘nā* (“we heard”). The certificate also gives the date for the end of the audition, which is 266/900. Considering this, the anonymous copyist is likely to have been a student of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī.

3.2.2.3. MS DK 149 Naḥw

Here, the *isnād* after the *basmalah* is as follows: *Akhbaranā [Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn] Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Naḥḥās... Ibrāhīm al-Sarī al-Zajjāj* (“Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Naḥḥās told us [transmitting from] Ibrāhīm al-Sarī al-Zajjāj”). Not all of the words of the *isnād* are legible because the writing surface is partially damaged (see illus. 3.32).

This book’s transmission chain begins with the expression *akhbaranā*; meaning that the copyist who wrote this *isnād*, heard from Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950) or attended a session in which the book was read. Al-Naḥḥās was an Egyptian grammarian who travelled to Baghdad and heard the work from al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923) himself.³⁶¹ In other words, the copyist of the manuscript transmits this text from al-Naḥḥās, who is a direct student to the author of the book, al-Zajjāj.³⁶² The copyist is likely to be Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān ibn Ḥammād, the writer of the reading certificate given at the end of the manuscript:

³⁵⁸ MS MAW 1125, fol. 1v.

³⁵⁹ On Abū Dāwūd, see EI², s. v. “al-Sijistānī”; GAS, 1: 174-5.

³⁶⁰ MS MAW 1125, fol. 86r.

³⁶¹ On al-Naḥḥās, see EI², s. v. “Ibn al-Naḥḥās”; HAWT, vol. 1: 120-1; Sup. 1: 198; GAS, 9: 207-9; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 15: 401.

³⁶² On al-Zajjāj, see GAS, 9: 81-2.

قرأه عليّ أبو جعفر أحمد بن محمد بن مسمار في صفر من سنة إحدى وخمسين وثلاثمائة من أوله إلى آخره وحضر محمد بن أبي القاسم ذلك وكتب أحمد بن عبدالرحمن بن مروان بن حمّاد بيده.

Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mismār read it to me in Ṣafar in the year 351 [March-April 962] from its beginning to its end. Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Qāsim attended. And Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān ibn Ḥammād wrote with his hand.³⁶³

The certificate of reading underscores that the text was read out, it indicates the reader, the date of the reading’s completion, which part was read, (in this case the whole book), and the participant who attended the reading.

The certificate contains the name of the writer of the certificate, who is likely to have been the teacher and the copyist, because of the expression *bi-yadih* (with his hand). The hand of the book and explicit are similar to the hand of the reading certificate. Thus, they were written simultaneously and by the same person, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān ibn Ḥammād. We can extract from the certificate that Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān ibn Ḥammād was the teacher since it states at the beginning of the certificate: “He read it to me.”³⁶⁴

³⁶³ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r; see illus. 3.63.

³⁶⁴ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r; see illus. 3.63.

3.2.3. The preface

A classical Arabic book usually contains a preface in the beginning. The preface traditionally starts with an opening that includes Islamic formulas, such as the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah*. This is followed by the preface proper, which informs the reader about the topic of the book. The purpose of the book and its methodology are sometimes also mentioned here. The preface proper is sometimes preceded by the expression *ammā ba‘d* (“to proceed”). This section discusses the opening in third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century non-Qur’ānic manuscripts.³⁶⁵

3.2.3.1. The opening of the text

The normative sources do not provide specific information on the opening of the text. However, we can find some general principles. Al-Shaybānī gives this general piece of advice which focuses on correspondence and speeches (*khuṭab*):

وليكن في صدور كتابك دليل واضح على مُرادك، وافتتاح كلامك شاهدٌ على مقصدك حيثما جريت به من فنون العلم، ونزعت نحوه من مذاهب الخطبِ والبلاغات، فإن ذلك أجزل لمعناك وأحسن لاتساق كلامك، ولا تُطيلن كلامك إطالة تخرجه من حده ولا تقصر به عن حقه.

The opening of your writing must include a clear indication of your intention. Furthermore, the beginning of your speech must be a demonstration of your purpose wherever you circulated it [the speech] in whatsoever domain of knowledge and went towards it [the knowledge] through the methods of speeches and communications. Thus, this is more eloquent for your meaning and better for the consistency of your speech. Furthermore, do not elongate your speech in a way that takes it out of its limit or shortens it too much.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ On the introductory section in the manuscripts, see p. 20; On the introductory section in the modern European books, in particular French books, see Genette, *Paratexts*, 161-293.

³⁶⁶ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 48; Pseudo-Ibn al-Mudabbir, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, ed. Mubārak, 22. This is also mentioned in quite different words in: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd*, 4: 174.

This piece of advice is found in the context of written texts and speeches (*khuṭab*),³⁶⁷ which shows the similarity between “the oral and the written” in the opening of manuscripts up until the third/ninth century.³⁶⁸

Here al-Shaybānī indicates that the introductory matter is to be indicative of the subject under discussion and be of reasonable length. In the opening of some fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination, the *ḥamdalah* alludes to the topic of the book.³⁶⁹ This is coherent with al-Shaybānī’s advice.

Writing an opening seems does not seem to have been well standardized until the fifth/eleventh century. Before the fifth/tenth century, the normative sources do not instruct copyists on writing the opening, except for the previously cited remark by al-Shaybānī.³⁷⁰ Some manuscripts do not even include an opening but start immediately with the thematic discussion.³⁷¹ However, the copyists who do provide an opening include Islamic formulas, such as the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah*.

3.2.3.1.1. The *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah* in the opening

These are both doxological formulas used in the composition of the openings of both letters and books. Al-Ṣūlī explains that the openings of letters should include the *ḥamdalah* (without the *ṣalwalah*) in this epistolary form: *Fa-innī aḥmadu ilayka Allāh alladhī lā ilāha illā huwa* (“I praise you Allāh other than whom there is no God”). This would seem to be the practice until the period of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 150/768-193/809) who ordered the *ṣalwalah* to be added to it.³⁷² That is likely to have occurred in 797/180.³⁷³ We can observe in one of the examined

³⁶⁷ The *khuṭab* can be oral or written, but al-Shaybānī probably means both the oral and the written *khuṭab*, as he directs his advice to the reader at the beginning saying *fī ṣadr kitābik* (“in the opening of your writing”), then he says *wa-iftitāh kalāmik* (“the beginning of your speech”), see al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 48.

³⁶⁸ Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written*; Schoeler, *Genesis*.

³⁶⁹ See section 3.2.3.1.1 below.

³⁷⁰ Later, in the eighth/fourteenth century, Ibn Jamā‘ah instructed the copyists to write an opening including the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah*. According to Ibn Jamā‘ah, even if the *Vorlage* does not include an opening, the copyist should write this opening on his own, see Ibn Jamā‘ah, *Tadhkirah*, 130.

³⁷¹ MS BNF Arabe 2859, fol. 1v; MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 1v; MS MMMI 44 part 1, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1v, 144v; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1v, 172v; MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 1v; MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v; MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1v.

³⁷² Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 37; Sūrat Şād 38/20; for examples of *al-ḥamdalah* and *al-ṣalwalah* in the early epistles, see, Younes, *Joy and Sorrow*, see for example the texts on pages 86-88, 92-3, 104-5. On The addition of the *Ṣalwalah* on the time of Hārūn, see Goldziher, “Über die Eulogien der Muhammedaner,” 105.

³⁷³ EI², s. v. “Diplomatic.” On *ḥamdalah*, see EI², s. v. “Ḥamdala”; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 131, 200, 202, 236, 270. On *ṣalwalah*, see EI², s. v. “Taşliya”; Goldziher, “Über die Eulogien der Muhammedaner,” 97-108; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 88.

manuscripts that the opening only contains the *ḥamdalah* without the *ṣalwalah*.³⁷⁴ This may be due to the early practice of only writing the *ḥamdalah* in the opening of letters.

The formulation of the *ḥamdalah* is usually straightforward but is sometimes also more sophisticated. For example, the *ḥamdalah* is written simply in two manuscripts as, *al-ḥamd li-Allāh rabb al-‘ālamīn* (“Praise be to Allāh the Lord of the worlds”).³⁷⁵ However, two manuscripts, one from the third/ninth century and one from the fourth/tenth century are more sophisticated and elaborate.³⁷⁶ An example of this is:

الحمد لله الذي نهج لنا سبيل الرشاد وهدانا بنور الكتاب.

Praise be to Allāh, Who ruled for us the proper path and guided us with the light of the Book [i. e. the Qur’ān].³⁷⁷

In this *ḥamdalah*, the mention of the Qur’ān’s guidance combined with the *ḥamdalah* tells the reader that the following text is related to understanding the Qur’ān. This intentional linkage can be considered as a practice of *barā‘at al-istiḥlāl* (the skillful opening).³⁷⁸ The *ḥamdalah* is formulated to indicate the book’s content in four further fourth/tenth century manuscripts.³⁷⁹ This is coherent with al-Shaybānī’s advice mentioned above.

The *ṣalwalah*, in its simple form is merely, *wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā al-nabīy Muḥammad wa-‘ālihi ajma‘īn* (“Allāh bless the prophet Muḥammad and all his family”), as a fourth/tenth-century manuscript shows.³⁸⁰ However, in one third/ninth-century manuscript, two sophisticated forms are used. The first reads:

فصلى الله على نبينا محمد كلما ذكره التآكرون وغفل عن ذكره الغافلون. وصلى عليه في الأولين والآخرين أفضل وأكثر وأزكى ما صلى على أحد من خلقه. وزكنا وإياكم بالصلاة عليه، أفضل ما زكى أحداً من أمته بصلاته عليه. والسلام عليه ورحمة الله

³⁷⁴ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 2v.

³⁷⁵ MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 1v; MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 1v.

³⁷⁶ MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh, fol. 6v; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 1; MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v.

³⁷⁷ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 1; see illus. 3.33.

³⁷⁸ On *barā‘at al-istiḥlāl*, EI², s.v. “Ibtidā’.”

³⁷⁹ MS DK 19598 Bā, fol. 1v; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 1r; MS Qar. 874/62, p. 2; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 1.

³⁸⁰ MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 1v.

وبركاته. وجزاه الله عتاً أفضل ما جرى مُرسلاً عن من أرسل إليه؛ فإنه به أُنقذنا من الهلكة وجعلنا في خير أمة أُخرجت للناس...

May Allāh bless our prophet Muḥammad whenever he is mentioned by the devout or forgotten by the heedless. May He bless him more excellently, abundantly, and purely than any other of His creatures among the bygone generations and the generations to come. May He purify us and you by having us invoke blessings for him as excellently as He does for anyone from his community through such blessings. Peace be upon him and Allāh's mercy and blessings. May Allāh reward him on our behalf as excellently as He has done for any prophet whom He sent on behalf of the people to whom he was sent Allāh has rescued us from demise through him and placed us in "the best community brought forth for the people" (Q 3 [Āl 'Imrān]: 110)....³⁸¹

The second reads:

وصلّى الله على محمد وعلى آل محمد، كما صلّى على إبراهيم وآل إبراهيم إنه حميد مجيد.

May Allāh bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad like He blessed Ibrāhīm and the family of Ibrāhīm for He is All-praiseworthy All-Glorious.³⁸²

In addition to this, the introductory section of two fourth/tenth-century manuscripts also contain sophisticated *ṣalwalahs*.³⁸³ The *ṣalwalah* in one of those fourth/tenth-century manuscripts reads:

وأسأله أن يُصَلِّيَ على مُحَمَّدٍ بشير رحمته ونذير عقابه

I ask Him to bless Muḥammad, the messenger of His mercy and the warner of His punishment.³⁸⁴

The *ṣalwalah* in the second manuscript reads:

³⁸¹ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 7v. The translation is taken from Lowry, *al-Shāfi'ī. The Epistle*, 9, but I replaced the word God with Allāh.

³⁸² MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 7v. On this form of *ṣalwalah*, see Goldziher, "Über die Eulogien der Muhammedaner," 109. On the *tashahhud*, see EI, s. v. "Tashahhud."

³⁸³ MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v; MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v.

³⁸⁴ MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v.

The blessing be upon His chosen messenger, and His approved regent and his family.³⁸⁵

This *ṣalwalah* occurs after the manuscript is opened with *qāla ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah*.³⁸⁶ From this, we would expect the *ṣalwalah* to be part of Ibn Qutaybah’s work. However, this *ṣalwalah* subtly indicates the *Shī‘ī* background of its writer since it includes a blessing of *al-waṣiyy al-murtaḍā* (“his [i. e. the prophet’s] approved regent”) which is a conventional appellation used by *Shī‘ites* for ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.³⁸⁷ Thus, it seems unlikely that the *ṣalwalah* in this form was authored by Ibn Qutaybah who was a judge from a *Sunnī* background.³⁸⁸ The copyist, al-‘Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib (d. 401/1010-11),³⁸⁹ may have adapted this *ṣalwalah*. I do not have much information about his background; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī only mentions that he was a *ḥadīth* transmitter.³⁹⁰ This *ṣalwalah* seems to indicate that he had *Shī‘ī* sympathies.

Aside from the *ṣalwalah* and the *ḥamdalah*, a third/ninth-century manuscript and some fourth/tenth-century manuscripts show that the opening can also include other Islamic formulas.³⁹¹ For instance, the *shahādah* is given in the opening of one third/ninth-century manuscript and one fourth/tenth-century manuscript.³⁹² In a particular fourth/tenth century manuscript, the *ḥasbalah* is given in the opening:

حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل ونعم المولى ونعم النصير.

Allāh suffices me. He is the best supporter, the best lord, and the best helper.³⁹³

In another manuscript, the *isti‘ānah* (“seeking help”) is attested:

وأستعينه استعانة من لا حول له ولا قوة إلا به.

³⁸⁵ MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v; see illus. 3.38.

³⁸⁶ MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v; see illus. 3.38. On the remarks of transmission, see section 3.2.2 above.

³⁸⁷ Al-Māzindānī, *Manāqib*, 3: 321-323, 326, 330, 331, 333, 334.

³⁸⁸ On him, see footnote 110 above.

³⁸⁹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14: 56-7.

³⁹⁰ On Ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14: 56-7, see. 3.3.2.

³⁹¹ On the formulas in the opening, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 270.

³⁹² MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6v; MS DK 19598 Bā, fol. 1v. On the *shahādah*, see EI², “*Shahāda*”; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 200, 202.

³⁹³ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 2v. On the *ḥasbalah*, see Gacek, *vademecum*, 2, 80, 270.

I, a creature without power or strength, save through Him, seek His assistance.³⁹⁴

The *isti‘ānah* is also stated in the opening of another fourth/tenth-century manuscript.³⁹⁵

Another Islamic formula used in the opening is the *istihdā’* (seeking guidance). This can be seen in one third/ninth-century manuscript:

وأستهديه بهداه الذي لا يضل من أنعم به عليه.

I beseech Him for His guidance, through which none on whom He bestows it goes astray.³⁹⁶

The *istihdā’* is also attested in the opening of a fourth/tenth-century manuscript.³⁹⁷

Like Arabic-Islamic manuscripts, some of the Christian-Arabic manuscripts under examination also have openings that consist of doxological formulas. For example, in a fourth/tenth-century bi-lingual (Arabic-Greek) Christian manuscript, after the trinitarian formula, the Arabic text opens with *bi-‘awn al-Masīh naktubu bishārat Ḥannā* (“with the help of the Messiah we write the Gospel of John”).³⁹⁸ In another manuscript, we find the invocation: *nabtadi‘u bi-‘awn Allāh wa-naktubu awwal sifr min al-Tawrāh* (“we begin with the help of Allāh and write the first book of Mose.”)³⁹⁹ In three manuscripts, after the trinitarian formula, the text begins without an invocation, but with expressions such as *hādhā Injīl Mattāwis* (“this is the Gospel of Matthew”).⁴⁰⁰

3.2.3.1.2. *Ammā ba‘d*

Like in epistolography,⁴⁰¹ the expression *ammā/wa-ba‘d* (“to proceed”) is employed in the introductory section of non-Qur’ānic manuscripts.⁴⁰² According to al-Ṣūlī, it originated with the prophet Dāwūd who was the first to use this expression. This expression is supposedly referenced

³⁹⁴ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6v. The translation is taken from Lowry, *al-Shāfi‘ī. The Epistle*, 3.

³⁹⁵ MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 1v.

³⁹⁶ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6v. The translation is taken from Lowry, *al-Shāfi‘ī. The Epistle*, 3.

³⁹⁷ See also MS Ṣehid 2552, fol. 3r.

³⁹⁸ MS MDSK Ar. 116, fol. 2v.

³⁹⁹ MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 2r.

⁴⁰⁰ MS Var. ar. 13, fol. 1r. This is similar to: MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 3r, MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 3v.

⁴⁰¹ On *ammā ba‘d* in epistolography, see Diem, *Glossar zur arabischen Epistolographie*, 47.

⁴⁰² Gacek, *Vademecum*, 200, AMT, 110; for the grammatical aspects of *ammā ba‘d*, see Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 76-7.

in the Qur’ān as *faṣl al-khiṭāb* (“the separation of the speech”), given to the prophet Dāwūd (Q 38:20).⁴⁰³ It is likely to have been termed *faṣl al-khiṭāb* because it separates (*tafṣilu*) “the doxological and doctrinal formulas from the preface proper.”⁴⁰⁴ In connection to this, al-Ṣūlī quotes a comment of al-Sha‘bī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728)⁴⁰⁵ on the *faṣl al-khiṭāb*:

فصل الخطاب الذي أعطيه داود عليه السلام أمّا بعدُ. فمعنى فصل الخطاب على هذا أنّه يكون بعد حمد الله أو بعد الدعاء أو بعد قولهم من فلان بن فلان إلى فلان فيفصل بها بين الخطاب المتقدّم والخطاب الذي يليه بعدُ.

Faṣl al-khiṭāb, which as given to Dāwūd, peace be upon him, is *ammā ba‘d*. On this ground, the meaning of *faṣl al-khiṭāb* is that it comes after the “praise to Allāh,” after the invocation, or after they are saying “from NN to NN” and therewith separates the previous discourse from the one that comes afterward.⁴⁰⁶

Moreover, al-Ṣūlī suggests that *ammā ba‘d* has to be followed by *fa-*:

ولا بد من مجيء الفاء بعد أمّا لأن أمّا لا عمل لها إلا اقتضاء الفاء واكتسابها فإن الفاء تصل بعض الكلام ببعض وصلاً لا انفصال فيه بينه ولا محلة فيه. ولما كانت أمّا فاصلة أتيت بالفاء لترد الكلام على أوله.

By all means, the *fā’* after *ammā* must come because *ammā* has no importance but the requirement and the acquisition of the *fā’*. The *fā’* connects the parts of the utterance to each other so that it does not contain a separation. While *ammā* produces a separation, you come up with the *fā’* to relate the utterance to its beginning (to reconnect it).⁴⁰⁷

Therefore, the *ammā ba‘d* is a separation tool placed between the front matter and the text body. This separation, caused by *ammā*, may not connect well linguistically, thus, the *fa-* after *ammā* was used to fulfill this function.

⁴⁰³ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 37; Gacek, AMT, 110.

⁴⁰⁴ Gacek, AMT, 110.

⁴⁰⁵ On him, see EI², s. v. “al-Sha‘bī.”

⁴⁰⁶ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 37.

⁴⁰⁷ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 38.

An examination of the manuscripts shows that the *ammā ba 'd* occurs in two different patterns. The first pattern is in the following order: the Islamic formulas, *ammā ba 'du* (vocalized with *ḍammah*), and then the preface proper. An example of this is:

الحمد لله.. وأشهد أنّ لا إله إلا الله... وأشهد أنّ محمداً عبده ورسوله... فصلّى الله عليه وعلى آله الطيبين الأخيار أما بعد فإنّ أحسن ما يدخّر المرء الأجر في الدنيا حفظ ما يُعرف به الصحيح من الآثار...

Praise be to Allāh... I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh... and bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. Allāh bless the prophet Muḥammad and his good and most excellent family. To proceed, it is the best thing one can save in the present world to bear in mind the knowledge by which he can recognize the authentic traditions....⁴⁰⁸

However, the second pattern is the following order: *ammā ba 'da* (vocalized with *fathah*), the Islamic formulas, and then preface proper. This pattern occurs as follows:

قال عبدالله بن مسلم بن قتيبة: أما بعد حمد الله بجميع محامده، والثناء عليه بما هو أهله، فإنّي رأيت أكثر أهل زماننا عن سبيل الأدب ناكبين...

‘Abd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah said: To proceed after the praise to Allāh with all his commendable acts, and the praise be to Him as he deserves. So I noticed that the people of our time are refraining from the road of the etiquette...⁴⁰⁹

The meaning and the vocalization of *ammā ba 'd* in these two patterns are clarified in the following explanation quoted from Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 328/940):⁴¹⁰

قال اللغويون: معنى "أما بعد": أما بعد الكلام المتّقدّم. وأما بعد ما بلغنا من الخبر. فحذفوا ما كانت "بعد" مضافة إليه، فضمّت. ولو ترك الذي هي إليه مضافة، لفتحت ولم تُضم. كقولهم أما بعد حمد الله، والصلاة على نبيّه فإنّي أقول كذا وكذا. لا يجوز ضمّها في الكلام. فإن أُفردت ضمّت.

⁴⁰⁸ MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 1v.

⁴⁰⁹ MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v.

⁴¹⁰ On him, see EI², s. v. "al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr"; HAWT, vol. 1: 107, suppl. 1: 178-9; GAS, 9: 144-7.

The philologists said: The meaning of *ammā ba‘d* is after the previous words. Moreover, “to proceed” after what we have been informed from the given report. They omitted that to which *ba‘d* was annexed; therefore, it is vocalized with *ḍammah*. If what it is annexed to is left, it would have been vocalized with *fathāh*, not with *ḍammah*. As they say: “to proceed the praise of Allāh and the blessing upon His prophet, so I say so and so.” It is not allowed to vocalize it with *ḍammah* in this speech, but if it is isolated, it is vocalized with *ḍammah*.⁴¹¹

The opening are sometimes the words of the copyist; thus, it makes sense for it to be discussed as a part of scribal practice. The preface proper is a part of the author’s text and are his words and not the copyist’s.⁴¹² Thus, it is not discussed in this dissertation.

3.3. The colophon

From my observations, Arabic manuscripts from as early as the third/ninth century already contained a colophon, the final scribal touch.⁴¹³ Aside from indicating the completion of a manuscript, the colophon also provides bibliographical information. For example, it informs the reader about the copyist, the date, and the place of copying. The colophon can show us who the copy was written for, for a patron or the copyist himself. However, they rarely contain information about the context in which the manuscript was produced, such as the ruler at that time.⁴¹⁴ They are just like books in the printing age, in their final pages we have the printer’s colophon, which includes information such as the work’s completion, the printer’s name, and the completion date.⁴¹⁵ However, not all these bits of information are offered in every colophon. Furthermore, pious formulas such as the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah* are also often written in the colophon.

Despite its early practice, the normative sources do not provide instructions about the colophon as a scribal tradition. However, as I will explain below, the date, which is a part of the colophon, is dealt with on its own in *adab al-kātib* handbooks.

⁴¹¹ Ibn al-Anbārī, *al-Zāhir*, 2: 349.

⁴¹² Gacek, *Vademecum*, 202-3.

⁴¹³ For studies on the colophon, see p. 25. On the colophon in medieval German manuscripts, see “DFG Project: Kolophone in deutschsprachigen Handschriften des Mittelalters: Inhalte und Beispiele,” 2021 <https://www.germanistik.uni-kiel.de/de/lehrebereiche/aeltere-deutsche-literatur/forschung/dfg-projekt-kolophone/inhalte-und-beispiele>, [accessed July 20, 2022]; Dahm, “Auf den Spuren des Schreibers.”

⁴¹⁴ For a colophon that contains the name of the ruler, see section 3.3.9.2 below.

⁴¹⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, 33.

Like early Arabic printed books, the colophon in Arabic manuscripts played, to some extent, the role of the title page, conveying the title and author of a work.⁴¹⁶ This is not dissimilar to early European printed books, where the reader would find out the title and the author in the colophon rather than in the title page.⁴¹⁷

All the ten third/ninth-century manuscripts under examination contain colophons.⁴¹⁸ In five cases, the colophon only indicates the completion of copying.⁴¹⁹

We start with three third/ninth-century specimens with simple colophons that only indicate the completion of the manuscript, followed by a documentary note. The first is a copy of al-Shāfi‘ī’s *al-Risālah*, which after its simple colophon that only indicates its completion, is followed by an *ijāzat naskh*.⁴²⁰ The second is a third/ninth-century copy of *Masā’il al-Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, which contains after its colophon, again only indicating its completion, a certificate of audition that contains the date of its audition.⁴²¹ The third case is a third/ninth-century manuscript of a *ḥadīth* collection. As this is divided into parts, we would expect colophons from every single part.⁴²² Unfortunately, I could only find the colophon for two parts. The copyist writes a colophon after each of them, followed by audition notes.⁴²³ In these cases, the colophon only indicates its completion, and does not include the date and the copyist’s name. A reason for this simplicity in the colophon may lie with the fact that the notes after the colophon provide such information. Such simple, non-informative colophons have continued to the fourth/tenth century, but not as copiously. Among the fourth/tenth century manuscripts, I could only find one manuscript that ends in a non-informative colophon. In this example, a reading certificate is written after its colophon.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁶ On the colophon of Arabic incunabula, see Najlā’ Fathī ‘Uways, “Ḥard al-matn fi awā’il al-maṭbū‘āt al-‘Arabiyyah.”

⁴¹⁷ Genette, *Paratexts*, 64.

⁴¹⁸ MS BNF arabe 2889, fol. 11r, 86v; MS UL Or. 298, fol. 241v; MS MDSK Ar. 151, fol. 186v, 187r. MS DK 41Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 75r; MS MAW 1125, fol. 86r; MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth, p. 41, p.85; MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v; MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v; MS MMMI 44, part1, fol. 22r. MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 102v, 120, 131r, 141r, 145r, 149r, 153r, 155r, 160r, 166r, 167r, 179r.

⁴¹⁹ MS DK 41Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 75r; MS MAW 1125, fol. 86r; MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth, p. 41, p.85 MS MMMI 44, part1, fol. 22r. MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 102v, 120, 131r, 141r, 145r, 149r, 153r, 155r, 160r, 166r, 167r, 179r.

⁴²⁰ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 75r; see 3.5.9.2 below; see illus. 3.42.

⁴²¹ MS MAW 1125, fol. 86r.

⁴²² MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth. This manuscript is written on papyrus and preserved in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah. I tried to get access to its original, but it was not possible as the manuscript is in a bad condition, so it was in restoration. The digital copy I use in my research shows the bad state of the manuscript and, therefore, the difficulty in using it.

⁴²³ MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth, p. 41, p.85.

⁴²⁴ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r; see the comments on the colophon and the reading certificate of this manuscript under section 3.5.9.5 below.

Perhaps, the reason for these relatively simple colophons was because these manuscripts were not copied for publication, but as aides-memoir written by a scholar for his personal use.⁴²⁵ Thus, the colophon is only to indicate the end of the text. The important information about the manuscript would be known through the certificates provided after the colophon.

The indication of completion is a part of the colophon, which shows that the copyist has finished copying the book. When the manuscript is an autograph, the author would express that he himself has finished its composition.⁴²⁶ In cataloging, this part is usually termed the “explicit” and distinct from the beginning of the colophon.⁴²⁷ However, the term “explicit” is also sometimes used to refer to the beginning of the colophon, and “desinit” is used to indicate its completion.⁴²⁸ In my research, I consider the indication of completion as part of the colophon. For clarity, I use indication of completion, not explicit, in identifying this part of the colophon.

In the following part, I discuss each component of the colophon on its own.

3.3.1. Indication of completion

The normative sources do not provide any instructions on indicating the completion of copying in the earlier period. Later, namely in the eighth/fourteenth century, the copyist is instructed to end the book (or a section) with an expression that indicates its completion. This is with phrases such as *tamma al-kitāb al-fulānī* (the book xy is finished) or for a section, *ākhir al-juz’ al-awwal... wa-yatlūhu kadhā wa-kadhā* (“the end of the first part... and it is followed by so and so”).⁴²⁹ This would ensure that the reader is sure that he or she has a complete text. Moreover, the *ḥamdalah* and *ṣalwalah* are also stated as being required when closing the text.⁴³⁰ However, an examination of the manuscripts shows that the indication of the completion occurs from as early as the third/ninth century, with its use continuing into the fourth/tenth century.

In a third/ninth-century specimens, we find the indication of completion written simply as *ākhir Kitāb al-Risālah wa-l-ḥamdu li-Allāh wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā Muḥammad* “The end of the Book

⁴²⁵ Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written*; Schoeler, *Genesis*.

⁴²⁶ Like in MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146, see section 3.3.9.2 below.

⁴²⁷ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 101.

⁴²⁸ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 101.

⁴²⁹ Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 53; Ibn Jamā‘ah, *Tadhkirah*, 130.

⁴³⁰ Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 53; Ibn Jamā‘ah, *Tadhkirah*, 130.

of the Epistle. The praise be to Allāh and may Allāh bless Muhammad” (see illus. 3.42).⁴³¹ In this example, the copyist only indicates the completion, with the *ṣalwalah* and the *ḥamdalah* are also provided. The pattern in this example continued to be used in some fourth/tenth-century specimens.⁴³² The indication of completion also occurs in another two third/ninth-century manuscripts. However, they occur in a shorter form as *ākhir al-kitāb* (“the end of the book”)⁴³³ and *tammat al-Masā’il* (“The Questions are completed”).⁴³⁴

The practice of indicating the end of a section and defining the following section can be traced to the third/ninth century. An example of this is *yatlūhu ḥadīth al-nabīy annahu nahā ‘an ḥaṣād al-layl* (“It will be followed by the tradition of the prophet that he forbade the harvesting at night”).⁴³⁵ This third-century example only contains an indication of the next part of the text. Another third/ninth-century indication of completion at the end of a chapter is executed in a more detailed formulation:

تمت المقالة الأولى من كتاب الفاضل جالينوس في الأشياء الخارجة عن الطبيعة المعروف بكتاب العلل والأعراض التي ذكر فيها أصناف الأمراض ولله الحمد على عونه وإحسانه. نقل أبي زيد حنين بن إسحاق المتطبب والحمد لله حمد الشاكرين.

Here ends the first section of the book of the excellent Galen on the non-natural things known as “The Book of Diseases and Symptoms in Which He Mentioned the Types of the Illnesses.” Praise be to Allāh for His help and His beneficence. Translation by Abū Zayd Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, the physician. Praise of the grateful be to Allāh.⁴³⁶

Here the copyist defines which section has ended. He also mentions the title, author’s name, and translator’s name. Moreover, he writes the *ḥamdalah*, by which he expresses his praise to Allāh. To emphasize his gratitude to Allāh, the copyist repeated the *ḥamdalah*. This kind of indication of

⁴³¹ MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 75r.

⁴³² MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165, MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r; MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 183v; MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289; MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 62r; MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 242r; MS Lal. 1905, fol. 314r; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 376r; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 244v; MS Lal. 1728, fol. 202v; MS Reis 904, fol. 96v; Şehid 1842, fol. 105v. (but without *ṣalwalah*); MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, fol. 105v; MS DK 4580 Hā’, p. 647.

⁴³³ MS Leiden Uni. Or. 298, fol. 241v; see illus. 3.43.

⁴³⁴ MS MAW 1125, fol. 86r; See illus. 3.44.

⁴³⁵ MS Leiden Uni. Or. 298, fol. 20r. Similar indications occurs in this manuscript but including *ṣalwalah* on fol. 107r, 154r, 185r, 203r, 206r, 214r, 220r, 240r.

⁴³⁶ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 23r; see illus. 3.45. Such indication of completion also occurs in this manuscript on fol. 33r, fol. 43v, 65v, 71v.

completion also occurs at the end of every other section in this manuscript except for the last section. In the last section the indication to the completion overlaps with the completion of the book: *Tammāt al-maqālah al-sādisah... wa-bi-tamāmihā tamma al-kitāb bi-asrih* (“the section six completed, with its completion, the whole book completed”).⁴³⁷

This can be contrasted with a third/ninth-century manuscript which also consists of several parts. However, the colophon does not define when a section ends or when one begins:

تم الكتاب (والعون الله؟) على العون والإحسان ولا إله إلا الله محمدًا رسول الله ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العظيم.

The book was completed. Allāh is help (sic) for the support and beneficence. There is no god but Allāh, and that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh. There is no power and no strength save in Allāh the Great.⁴³⁸

The indication of completion, including defining the end of sections and the beginning of the next, continues to occur in the fourth/tenth century but with additional details. For example:

تمّ الجزء الأوّل يتلوه في الجزء الثاني هذا إعراب الأفعال... الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد النبي... وعلى آله وسلم تسليماً.

Part one completed. It will be followed by part two: “The declension of the verbs.” Praise be to Allāh the Lord of the worlds. May Allāh bless the prophet Muḥammad our master, and his family and grant them much peace.⁴³⁹

In this example, besides the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah*, the indication of completion includes a note of the completed part and the part to follow. In another manuscript from the fourth/tenth century, the same details are given, except for the indication of completing a given part.⁴⁴⁰

Similarly, in a multi-volume Maghribī manuscript, the copyist writes: *Tamma al-sifr bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-‘awnih yatlūhu tafsīr sūrat Maryam kāf hā yā ‘ayn ṣād* (“the book is completed with the praise of Allāh and His support. It follows the commentary on the *sūrah* of Maryam, [the first

⁴³⁷ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 86v.

⁴³⁸ MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth, p. 85; see illus. 3.46.

⁴³⁹ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 143v, see illus. 3.47. This pattern occurs in the same manuscript in fol. 311r, and in MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r; ; Fazil 948, 54v, 58v. (but without *ṣalwalah*); MS Lal. 1728, fol. 54v, 97v, 118r, 14v. (but here the *ṣalwalah* is missing), 179v; MS Qar. 791 (Jīm 31), 403, fol. 36r; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 2), 65, p. 203.

⁴⁴⁰ MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 150v, 180r, 240r, 270r, 300v, 330r, 360r.

verse] *kāf hā yā ‘ayn šād.*”)⁴⁴¹ Here the copyist indicates the completion of the volume, referred to with the term *sifr*.⁴⁴² Moreover, the copyist mentions the next *sūrah* to be commented upon and the first verse of that the *sūrah*.

The fourth/tenth century MS Saib 2164 is a collection of *ḥadīth*. The digital copy at my disposal shows that it consists of several parts. The digital copy shows that some parts are missing. A colophon is given at the end of four extant parts, indicating the end of the part and defining the first chapter in the part to follows. For example:

تم الجزء الثاني من جامع معمر بحمد الله المؤيد وذلك بمدينة طليطلة في صفر سنة أربع وستين وثلاثمائة يتلوه في أول الثالث
باب من قتل نفسه ومن قتل نفساً وكتب (كثير بن خالد؟).

Part two of the Compilation of Ma‘mar is completed with the praise of Allāh, who is the supporter. [That was] in Toledo city in Ṣafar in the year 364[/974]. It will be followed by the beginning of the third [part] “the chapter of who killed himself and who killed a human being.” (Kuthayr ibn Khālid?) wrote [it].⁴⁴³

This colophon consists of an expression of completion, the number of the part (part two), the title of the whole work (“Compilation of Ma‘mar”), praising Allāh, an indication of the next section, the city where the copying was finished, the month and year when copying part two was completed, defining the chapter at the beginning of the following part in the book, and the name of the copyist who wrote the part.

MS Fazil 948 should be mentioned here. It contains different sections on different topics. However, the indication of completion is not provided at the end of some sections (see fol. 13v, 17r, 42r, 44r. On fol. 45v). Only after one section (fol. 45v) and at the end of the entire manuscript (fol. 58v), is a colophon (including the indication of completion) provided.

The specimens shows that particular expressions are used to indicate the completion of a manuscript. Two expressions are more widely used than others. The first is *wa-kataba* (“he wrote”)

⁴⁴¹ MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 31), 067, 74r. Other occurrences of this pattern in the same manuscript: MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 4), 066, p. 294; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 8), 66, p. 199, MS Qar. 912(Jīm 42), 067, p. 299; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 47), 067, p. 259.

⁴⁴² On the term *sifr*, see AMT, 69.

⁴⁴³ MS Saib 2164, fol. 9r. This pattern continued in this manuscript: 15r, 24, 45r, 56r, 65r; See illus. 3.48.

or *wa-katabahu* (“he wrote it”).⁴⁴⁴ We see this in 23 fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination. The second is *tamma* (“completed”) with the addition of the book’s title, such as *tamma al-Kitāb al-Ma’tūr...*⁴⁴⁵ This expression is employed in five third/ninth century manuscripts.⁴⁴⁶ It also occurs in most of the fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination.⁴⁴⁷

The expression *ākhir* (“the end”), such as in *ākhir Kitāb al-Risālah* or *ākhir al-kitāb*, is occasionally used. This expression is attested in two third/ninth-century manuscripts⁴⁴⁸ and four fourth/tenth-century manuscripts.⁴⁴⁹

Another expression is *wa-kamala al-kitāb* (“the book is completed”),⁴⁵⁰ or *kamala al-sifr* (“the volume completed”).⁴⁵¹ In this expression, the title is indicated by the general word *al-kitāb*, “the book.” This expression is used in four fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination.⁴⁵²

Other expressions are also occasionally used such as *wa-faragha min nuskhatih* (“and he finished his copy”),⁴⁵³ *wa-faragha min kitābatih* (“he finished its writing”),⁴⁵⁴ and *wa-faragha*

⁴⁴⁴ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v; MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 246v; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 244v; Fazil 1507, fol. 143v, 311r; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r; MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 346r; MS BA 233, fol. 233r; MS Qar. 874/62, p. 247; MS Saib 2164, fol. 9r, 34r, 79r; MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 190r; MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, fol. 106v; MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v, 58v; MS IUL Ar. 1434, fol. 178; MS Lal.1728, fol. 98r, 202v; MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r; MS Şehid 1842, fol. 96r; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-02, fol. 55v; MS MDSK Ar.116, fol. 205v; MS Qar. 791(Jīm 31), 403, fol. 36r; MS Fazil 43, fol. 355r; MS Lal.1905, fol. 314r.

⁴⁴⁵ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v.

⁴⁴⁶ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 11r, 23r, 33r, 43v, 65v, 71v, 86v; MS MAW 1125, fol. 86r; MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth, p. 41; MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v; MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 102v, 120r, 131r, 141r, 145r, 149r, 153r, 155r, 160r, 163v, 166r, 167r, 179r.

⁴⁴⁷ MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 62r; MS Fazil 1507; fol. 143v, 310v; Fazil 1508, fol. 171r; MS DK 139 Naḥw part 3, fol. 99r; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 346r; MS BA 233, fol. 233r; MS Qar. 874/62, p. 347; MS Saib 2164, fol. 9r, 15r, 24r, 45r, 56r, 65r, 79r; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r; MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 190r; MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, fol. 106v; MS Reis 904, fol. 96v; MS Fazil 948, fol. 54v, 58v; MS DK 4580 Hā’, p. 647; MS Lal. 1728, 97v, 117r, 147v, 179v; MS Şehid 1842, fol. 96r; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165; MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 205v; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-02, fol. 55v; MS Qar. 791(Jīm 31), 403, fol. 36r; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 2), 65, p; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 4), 066, p. 294; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 31), 067, p.112; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 8), 66, p. 199; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 36), 067, p. 297; MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 47), 067, p. 259; MS Lal. 1905, 314r; MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 242r.

⁴⁴⁸ MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh, fol. 75r; MS Leiden Uni. Or. 298, fol. 141v.

⁴⁴⁹ MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289; MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146r; MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r; MS Fazil 43, fol. 335r.

⁴⁵⁰ MS Car. Ef.1508, fol. 244v; MS IUL A 1434, fol. 178r, see illus. 3.53.

⁴⁵¹ MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 81r, 141r, 178v, 216v, 246v; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 42), 067, p. 299.

⁴⁵² MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 81r, 141r, 178v, 216v, 246v; MS Car. Ef.1508, fol. 244v; MS Qar. 912(Jīm 42), 067, p. 299.

⁴⁵³ MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289.

⁴⁵⁴ MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 183v.

min katbih.⁴⁵⁵ We find this in four fourth/tenth-century manuscripts.⁴⁵⁶ In one case, the expression *faraghtu minhu* (“I finished it”) is likely to have been written by the book’s author, and not a copyist.⁴⁵⁷

We also have the rare use of *unjiza* (“was executed”), plus the title. This is attested in one fourth/tenth-century manuscript as *unjiza Kitāb Ma‘rifat al-majrūhīn*...⁴⁵⁸ Here *unjiza* is written in red ink, which also highlights the end of the book (see illus. 3.61). The active form *najaza* is also used in another fourth/tenth-century manuscript as *najaza Shi‘r Abī Ṭālib*...⁴⁵⁹

The expressions mentioned above, such as *kataba*, do not show whether the copyist wrote by dictation or copied the manuscript from an exemplar. There are expressions that are used in three fourth/tenth-century manuscripts that indicate more clearly that the book was copied from an exemplar. These expressions are *nusikha* (“it was copied”)⁴⁶⁰ and *nasakhtuhu min*,⁴⁶¹ *naqaltu jamī‘uh min aṣl Abī ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muqlah* (“I copied it from the exemplar of Abū ‘Abd Allāh...”),⁴⁶² *tamma naskh*,⁴⁶³ and *nasakhtuhu*.⁴⁶⁴

We find *wa-kataba* and the *wa-faragha min nuskhatihi* (“and he finished his copy”) used in one manuscript.⁴⁶⁵ *Wa-kataba* is used before the name of the copyist, and *wa-faragha min nuskhatihi* is used before the date of copying:

وكتب أبو الخطاب الحسين بن عمر العيادي وهو يشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له وأن محمداً صلى الله عليه وسلم عبده ورسوله. وفرغ من نسخته في المحرم من سنة إحدى عشرة وثلاثمائة.

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Umar al-‘Aydī wrote while bearing witness that there is no god but Allāh alone with no associate, and that Muḥammad, may Allāh bless him

⁴⁵⁵ MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 242r.

⁴⁵⁶ MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289; MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 183v; MS Ṣhid 2552, fol. 146v; MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 242r.

⁴⁵⁷ MS Ṣhid 2552, fol. 146v.

⁴⁵⁸ MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 183v.

⁴⁵⁹ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r.

⁴⁶⁰ MS DK 852 Tawhīd, fol. 62r.

⁴⁶¹ MS Fazil 948, fol. 54v, 58v.

⁴⁶² MS Reis 904, fol. 96v.

⁴⁶³ MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 205v.

⁴⁶⁴ MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v.

⁴⁶⁵ MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289.

and grant him peace, is his servant and messenger. He [Abū al-Khaṭṭāb] finished his copy in Muḥarram of the year 311/[April-May 923].⁴⁶⁶

The expression *faragha min nuskhathi* shows that the copyist was copying from an exemplar. That is supported by the following colophon, in which the expression *nasakhtu* was used when the copyist refers to the exemplar, and *kataba* is placed before the copyist's name:

نسختُ جميع ذلك من دستور أبي الحسن ثابت بن قرّة... وكتب ابراهيم بن هلال بن ابراهيم بن هارون...

All of that I copied from the exemplar of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah... Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn wrote [it].⁴⁶⁷

In the fourth/tenth century, the indication of completion is expressed with methods aside from written expressions. For example, a decoration band in a twisting pattern is provided at the end of a fourth/tenth-century Christian-Arabic manuscript (see illus. 3.58).⁴⁶⁸ In another case, a band is interspersed with crosses (see illus. 3.59).⁴⁶⁹ The use of a cross is similar to the use of Islamic formulas in the Arabic-Islamic manuscripts, and both are used to express the religious background of the copyist. Similar to the praise of Allāh in the explicit of the Arabic-Islamic manuscripts, one manuscript preserved in Maktabat Dayr Sant Katrin ends with the explicit:

تم الزبور الطاهر والتسابيح المقدّسة ولربنا والهنا السّبح دائماً.

The pure Psalms and the holy odes were completed. Praise be always to our Lord and God.⁴⁷⁰

What is more, interestingly, the completion indication in a Christian manuscript is combined with a formulation of the *ḥamdalah* which is usually used in the Arabic-Islamic manuscripts: *Wa-l-ḥamd li-Allāh kathīran kamā huwa ahluh wa-mustaḥaqquh* (“the praise be to Allāh as he the right

⁴⁶⁶ MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289; see illus. 3.62.

⁴⁶⁷ MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v. The expressions *kataba* and *nasakhtu* are also used in another colophon in this manuscript: fol. 58v.

⁴⁶⁸ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v.

⁴⁶⁹ MS MDSK Ar.116, fol. 205v.

⁴⁷⁰ MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 190r; see illus. 3.60.

and worthy of it”).⁴⁷¹ Perhaps this shows the influence of the Islamic scribal traditions on Christian copyists at that time.

3.3.2. The copyist⁴⁷²

In epistolography, according to al-Šulī, the forbearers (*al-mutaqaddimūn*) followed the tradition that goes back to the time of the prophet Muḥammad, in which the *kātib* (the scribe of the letters) gives his name at the end of the writing.⁴⁷³ Similarly, the copyists of books also provided their names in the colophon, as explained below.

From the specimens, it is evident that the names are given in various ways. A good example is the fourth/tenth-century MS Saib 2164. As its digital copy shows, it consists of several parts, in which the copyist wrote a colophon at the end of each of its extant parts. In one of the colophons, the copyist’s name was given in the form of the *ism* and a patronymic: Kuthayr ibn Khālid.⁴⁷⁴ However, in another colophon, this copyist’s name is only stated with the *ism*: Kuthayr.⁴⁷⁵ The name in the form of an *ism* plus a patronymic was already given before, and the reader is supposed to know that Kuthayr is Kuthayr ibn Khālid.

A copyist who copied two different manuscripts is given two different forms of the same name. The first contains the *ism*, three patronymics and the *nisbah*, al-‘Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib⁴⁷⁶ and the second is without the *nisbah* (al-Kātib): Al-‘Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās.⁴⁷⁷

We do not know much about the copyists whose names are recorded in the colophons. One reason is that the full version of names is not given. For example, Abū al-Jahm, whose name is only stated in the form of his *kunya*.⁴⁷⁸ Furthermore, many names cannot be identified with the help of biographical dictionaries. Perhaps writing about the copyists in the biographical dictionaries was not as attractive, when compared to rulers, judges, and eminent scholars.

⁴⁷¹ MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 205v. This *ḥamdalah* occurred in an Arabic-Islamic fourth/tenth century manuscript: MS Lal. 1905, fol. 314r. and in MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r.

⁴⁷² On the copyists, see Adam Gacek, “Scribes, Copyists”; François Déroche, “The Copyists Working Pace”; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 235-6; Gruendler, “Aspects of Craft in the Arabic Book revolution”; Gruendler, *The Rise*, 114-139.

⁴⁷³ Al-Šulī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 39.

⁴⁷⁴ MS Saib 2164, fol. 9r, 79r.

⁴⁷⁵ MS Saib 2164, fol. 34r.

⁴⁷⁶ MS Šehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r.

⁴⁷⁷ MS Lal. 1905, 314r.

⁴⁷⁸ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v.

Furthermore, it is difficult to associate scribes to names mentioned in dictionaries. For instance, when we consult biographical dictionaries to find the copyist Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā,⁴⁷⁹ we find multiple people with this name.

The copyist of MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn Khalaf al-Qaṣṣār,⁴⁸⁰ should be mentioned here. His family name indicates an occupation: al-Qaṣṣār, “the bleacher,” but this unlikely to have been his occupation, but rather an inherited family name, as he seems to have been a scholar. Al-Qaṣṣār elaborates that he wrote this copy for his personal use (*li-nafsihi*). Mentioning that the manuscript is by his hand (*bi-khaṭṭih*) stresses that he wrote the text himself and did not hire someone else.⁴⁸¹ Ismā‘īl al-Qaṣṣār⁴⁸² is likely to have been a scholar since he copied *Kitāb Sībawayh* for himself, which one of the most important treatises on Arabic grammar.⁴⁸³ An individual who has a copy of *Kitāb Sībawayh*, even in contemporary times, is likely to be a scholar of Arabic. This is compounded when we consider someone who puts time and effort into producing a copy of this important treatise.

A few copyists of the specimens under examination are identifiable. A copyist of two of the specimens under examination, al-‘Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib,⁴⁸⁴ was a *ḥadīth* transmitter and died in 401/1010-11.⁴⁸⁵ Abū Mawwās al-Kātib copied one of the specimens under examination in 374/[984-5]⁴⁸⁶ and another in 396/[1005-6].⁴⁸⁷ As his *nisbah* (*al-kātib*) in the colophon of MS Şehid 27 states,⁴⁸⁸ he was a professional scribe (*kātib*), probably working as a secretary.⁴⁸⁹ His copying of two books shows that he was also a copyist. Therefore, besides being a *ḥadīth* scholar, Abū Mawwās al-Kātib was likely earning his living from working as a state secretary and a copying books.

⁴⁷⁹ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165.

⁴⁸⁰ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r.

⁴⁸¹ MS DK, 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120 r.

⁴⁸² I was not able to identify him.

⁴⁸³ For more on *Kitāb Sībawayh*, see Versteegh, Kees, *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought III. The Arabic Linguistic Tradition*, 29-38.

⁴⁸⁴ MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r; MS Lal. 1905, 314r.

⁴⁸⁵ On him, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14: 56-7. On a shī‘ī ṣalwālāh probably was written by Ibn Abī Mawwās see, see also section 3.2.3.1.1.

⁴⁸⁶ MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r.

⁴⁸⁷ MS Lal. 1905, 314r.

⁴⁸⁸ MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r.

⁴⁸⁹ Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 51; Gacek, “Scribes, Copyists,” 704; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 238.

Muhalhil ibn Aḥmad who is the copyist of MS Fazil 1507 and Fazil 1508, which is a copy of *al-Muqtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad, is also identifiable.⁴⁹⁰ According to al-Dhahabī, his full name is Abū al-Ḥusayn Muhalhil ibn Aḥmad al-Warrāq al-Muqri’ ghuḷām Ibn Mujtahid. As we can learn from the *nisbahs* in his name he was a reciter of the Qur’ān, a servant, and a stationer. According to al-Dhahabī, he was also a *ḥadīth* scholar from whom different scholars transmitted *ḥadīth*. Al-Dhahabī also mentions that he copied books according to the ‘school of Ibn Muqlah’.⁴⁹¹ This makes the current copy of *al-Muqtaḍab* particularly valuable since it would seem to represent the writing style of the ‘school of Ibn Muqlah’. The accuracy of the copied text is supposedly high because a scholar wrote it. This manuscript is also a good source for Arabic palaeography in the fourth/tenth century.

The copyist of the multi-text manuscript MS Fazil 948 is Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn al-Ṣābi’ al-Ḥarrānī (d. 384/994). He was an eminent *kātib* and served in the chancery. He was also a poet and a writer of literary epistles. Some of his epistles and verses are preserved in al-Tha’ālibī’s *Yatīmat al-dahr*.⁴⁹²

‘Alī ibn Shādhān al-Rāzī who is the copyist of MS Ṣehid 1842 is identified from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s work.⁴⁹³ His full name is ‘Alī ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-‘Abbās ibn al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī al-Rāzī (d. 383/993-4). As his name (*al-Qāḍī*) indicates, he was a judge. He was also a *ḥadīth* scholar who traveled to Baghdād where he heard and transmitted *ḥadīth*.⁴⁹⁴ His execution of MS Ṣehid 1842 shows that he was also a professional scribe and a skillful calligrapher. It was not uncommon for judges to refuse money from their job of being a judge.⁴⁹⁵ It is possible that ‘Alī ibn Shādhān al-Rāzī earned his money from copying books, and not from his position as a judge.

The study of the manuscripts under examination reveals that the copyists of the non-Qur’ānic books in the fourth/tenth century were engaged with other activities besides copying books.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁰ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 143v; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r. On Muhalhil, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 8:173.

⁴⁹¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 8:173.

⁴⁹² On Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn, see HAWT, 1: 83-4; EI2, s. v. “Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi’”; al-Tha’ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 2: 287-368.

⁴⁹³ MS Ṣehid 1842, fol. 96r.

⁴⁹⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 13: 514-5.

⁴⁹⁵ For examples of judges who refused to earn money from their job as judges but from copying, see Sayyid, *al-Makḥṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 162; al-Ḥalwajī, *al-Makḥṭūṭ al-‘Arabī*, 126.

⁴⁹⁶ Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 51.

In contrast to third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century Arabic-Islamic manuscripts, the early Christian-Arabic copyists combined their names with expressions of modesty. Thus, we have for example, *al-khāṭi' al-miskīn al-ḍa'īf al-athīm* (“the mistaken, poor, weak, and sinful”),⁴⁹⁷ *al-ḍa'īf, al-khāṭi', al-miskīn* (“the weak, mistaken and poor”),⁴⁹⁸ and *al-khāṭi'* (“the mistaken”).⁴⁹⁹ Later on, such expressions of modesty were also used in the Arabic-Islamic manuscripts.⁵⁰⁰ Perhaps this was a way of making an impression on the reader, or as Genette writes, such expressions of modesty were for “coquetry.”⁵⁰¹

3.3.3. The exemplar

In a few cases the copyist mentions the exemplar he used. This probably occurs in cases where the exemplar is noteworthy, such as a copy of the actual author or a copy of an eminent scholar. For example, the copyist of a fourth/tenth manuscript, which is a collection of the poetry, mentions that he copied the manuscript from “a copy in the hand of al-Shaykh Abū al-Faḥ Ḥamīd Ibn Jinnī.”⁵⁰² The exemplar being written by the hand of Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002), an eminent philologist, would be important to mention since it makes the copy attractive.⁵⁰³

Similarly, the copyist of MS Fazil 948 also identifies the exemplar he uses in the colophons of this manuscript. He mentions that he copied some parts of the manuscript from *dustūr jaddinā Abī al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah... alladhī bi-khaṭṭih* (“the autograph of our grandfather Abū al-Ḥasan...”),⁵⁰⁴ and copied another part from a copy owned by Thābit ibn Qurrah (d. 288/901) but not in his hand (*min nuskhah li-Abī al-Ḥasan... lam takun bi-khaṭṭih*).⁵⁰⁵ Likewise, the copyist of MS Reis 904 also refers to the exemplar: *Naqaltu jamī'uh min aṣl Abī 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muqlah* (“I copied it from the copy of Abū 'Abd Allāh...”).⁵⁰⁶ Ibn Muqlah was an eminent calligrapher and developer of the “proportioned script”.⁵⁰⁷ Thus, a copy copied from a *Vorlage* in his hand would

⁴⁹⁷ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v.

⁴⁹⁸ MS MDSK Ar. 151, fol. 186v, 187r.

⁴⁹⁹ MS MDSK Ar. 116, fol. 205v.

⁵⁰⁰ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 239.

⁵⁰¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 44.

⁵⁰² MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r, Vollers 505-02, fol. 55v.

⁵⁰³ On Ibn Jinnī, see EI², s. v. “Ibn Djinnī”; HAWT, vol. 1: 114, suppl. vol. 1: 188-90; GAS, 9: 248.

⁵⁰⁴ MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v, 58v. On the *dustūr*, see AMT, 46; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 14-6.

⁵⁰⁵ MS Fazil 948, fol. 54v. On Thābit ibn Qurrah, see EI², s. v. “Thābit b. Qurrah”; HAWT, vol. 1: 210-12, suppl. vol. 1: 389-91; GAS, 3: 260-2, 5: 264-72.

⁵⁰⁶ MS Reis 904, fol. 96v. On the term *aṣl*, see AMT, 7.

⁵⁰⁷ On Ibn Muqlah, see EI², s. v. “Ibn Muqla”; HAWT, suppl. vol. 1: 441-2.

have been particularly noteworthy. As these cases show, copyists would mention the exemplar when written or owned by an eminent scholar, which in turn would make the reproduced copy valuable.

3.3.4. The place of copying

The place of copying is often not given in the colophon. However, a few colophons in the examined manuscripts do so. Only one manuscript (out of ten manuscripts) dated to the third/ninth-century manuscripts, state the place of copying (Damascus).⁵⁰⁸ On the other hand, seven (out of thirty-three manuscripts) dated to the fourth/tenth century mention the place of copying. These colophons that mention the place of copying show us we have extant manuscripts, traced back to the fourth/tenth century, that were copied in these places such as Baghdad,⁵⁰⁹ Toledo (*Ṭulayṭilah*),⁵¹⁰ Tashkent (*al-Shāsh*),⁵¹¹ Damascus,⁵¹² and the Sinai Peninsula.⁵¹³ Therefore, mentioning the place of copying was more common in the fourth/tenth century than the third/ninth century.

3.3.5. The addressee

Our examination shows that some of the examined specimens were copied for personal use. The copyists indicate this in the colophon with the expression *katabahu li-nafsih* (“he wrote it for himself”). An alternative to *katabahu li-nafsih* is that the copyist writes *li-* and his name. For instance, in MS DK 663 Tafsīr, the copyist writes on the title page *li-Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā*.⁵¹⁴ He then writes in the colophon: *Wa-kataba Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā* (Muḥammad ... wrote).⁵¹⁵

When the copyist writes for himself (*li-nafsih*), this may indicate that the manuscript is of inferior quality in terms of the text’s correctness and accuracy as a book composed for oneself is no more than personal notes or for studying.⁵¹⁶ However, in the cases under examination, copying for oneself does give the manuscript a superior value with regards to the text’s correctness and accuracy. For instance, the copyist of MS DK 663 Tafsīr (who wrote for himself) is likely to have

⁵⁰⁸ MS MDSK Ar. 151, fol. 186v, 187r.

⁵⁰⁹ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 143v, 311r; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r.

⁵¹⁰ MS Saib 2164, fol. 9r, 15r, 24, 45r, 56r, 65r, 79r.

⁵¹¹ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146v.

⁵¹² MS Fazil 43, fol. 335.

⁵¹³ MS MDSK Ar. 116, fol. 205v.

⁵¹⁴ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, title page (without numbering).

⁵¹⁵ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165.

⁵¹⁶ On “wrote for himself,” see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 197; Quiring-Zoche, “The Colophon,” 65.

been a scholar of *tafsīr*. In a similar way, the one who copied *Mushkil al-Qur'ān* of Ibn Qutaybah for personal use is likely to be a *tafsīr* scholar. We see this superior quality due to its vocalization and *ihmāl* signs. Likewise, is the case of the MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3:

كتب اسماعيل بن أحمد بن خلف القصار بخطه لنفسه

Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad ibn Khalaf al-Qaṣṣār wrote [this] in his hand for himself.⁵¹⁷

Al-Qaṣṣār elaborates that he wrote this copy of the manuscript for his personal use (*li-nafsih*). Mentioning that the manuscript is by his hand (*bi-khaṭṭih*) underscores that he wrote the text himself and did not hire someone else to do so for him.⁵¹⁸ As stated previously, the scribe, Isma'īl al-Qaṣṣār,⁵¹⁹ is most likely a scholar of Arabic since only a scholar would need a personal copy of *Kitāb Sībawayh*. This was even more so, if he took the time to copy the work himself.⁵²⁰

In a similar case, 'Afif ibn As'ad, the copyist of the MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01 and Vollers 505-02 mentions in the colophon that he copied the manuscript for himself from a copy owned by Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān Ibn Jinnī. He mentions that he collated and then read the manuscript to Ibn Jinnī. Therefore, 'Afif ibn As'ad is likely a direct student of Ibn Jinnī. As a result, this particular copy is particularly valuable.

Mention should be made of the copyist of a Gospels manuscript who mentions that he copied the manuscript for himself and for other users after his death. The colophon states that in exchange for using the manuscript, this copyist asks future users to make intercessory prayer for him.⁵²¹

A fourth/tenth-century colophon indicates that the manuscript was copied for a patron (see section 3.3.9.3 below). As another fourth/tenth-century manuscript shows,⁵²² the indication to the patron can be recorded on the title page.

⁵¹⁷ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r. See illus. 3.50.

⁵¹⁸ MS DK, 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120 r.

⁵¹⁹ I was not able to identify him.

⁵²⁰ For more on *Kitāb Sībawayh*, see: Versteegh, Kees, *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought III. The Arabic Linguistic Tradition*, 29-38.

⁵²¹ MS MDSK Ar. 116, fol. 205v. Asking the future users to do intercessory prayer for the copyist is typical in the colophons of pre-modern western Christian manuscripts, see “DFG project: Kolophone in deutschsprachigen Handschriften des Mittelalters: Inhalte und Beispiele.” <https://www.germanistik.uni-kiel.de/de/lehrbereiche/aeltere-deutsche-literatur/forschung/dfg-projekt-kolophone/inhalte-und-beispiele> [accessed July, 20, 2021]; Dahm, “Auf den Spuren des Schreibers,” 27.

⁵²² MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r., 144r; Fazil 1508, fol. 1r., 173r; see section 3.1.11.3 above.

3.3.6. Date and dating

Like pre-modern letters, which contain a date at the end,⁵²³ the colophon contains a date in most of the manuscripts under examination. However, in some letters, the date is given at the opening.⁵²⁴ Neither *ḥadīth* terminology nor *adab al-‘ālim wa-l-muta‘allim* manuals inform us about the dating practices in manuscripts. However, *adab al-kātib* handbooks, and in particular, those of al-Farrā’, al-Ṣūlī and Ibn Durustawayh, pay substantial attention to dating and dates.⁵²⁵ The *adab al-kātib* literature on dating will be presented below.⁵²⁶

Adab al-kātib treatises provide much information concerning dates and numbers. This branch of knowledge belongs to various domains, such as grammar, history, morphology, and poetry. However, what concerns us are the constituent elements of the date, mainly the day, month, and year. Moreover, the expressions and terms employed in writing the date is also of interest to our codicological study.

The third/ninth-century scholar al-Shaybānī advises the scribe not to leave out the date and reminds them of its significance. According to al-Shaybānī, “the date indicates the authentication of the accounts” (*yadullu ‘alā taḥqīq al-akḥbār*) and “[indicates how] near and far it was written to a timeframe” (*qurb ‘ahd al-kitāb wa-bu‘duh*).⁵²⁷ This passage underscores the importance given to dating as early as the third/ninth century.

What is more, *adab al-kātib* sources provide definitions of *al-ta’rīkh/al-tārīkh* in Arabic.⁵²⁸ What is important is that for them the “*tārīkh* of everything is its terminal point and the time it ends at.”⁵²⁹ It can be understood therefore that the *tārīkh* of copying a manuscript is the time when its copying ended.

3.3.6.1. Days of the week

⁵²³ Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 339.

⁵²⁴ Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 339.

⁵²⁵ For the dating in the normative sources, see also Gacek, “Technical Practices,” 53-54; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 82-9.

⁵²⁶ On date and dating in the Arabic manuscripts, see Grohmann, “Arabische Chronologie,” 1-48.

⁵²⁷ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 53-4. This advice and the importance of dation was given also later in: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd*, 4: 159; Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 337.

⁵²⁸ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Baghdādī, “al-Kuttāb,” 55-6; Pseudo-Ibn Qutaybah, “Risālat al-Kḥaṭṭ wa-l-qalam,” 31; al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 178-86; Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 78; ‘Alī ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 337.

⁵²⁹ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 178; a similar definition in ‘Alī ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 337.

Our examination shows that copyists did not often mention the day as a part of the date of copying. None of the third/ninth-century manuscripts I have examined has the day of the week as a part of the date and only two fourth/tenth manuscripts mention the day of the week.⁵³⁰ In a third case, the day of the week and the time of day are defined: *Laylat al-Khamīs* (“the night [before] Thursday”).⁵³¹ When days are mentioned in the colophons, they are named as they are now in common usage. Al-Farrā’ gave the Arabic appellations of the days of the week as: *al-Aḥad* (Sunday), *al-Ithnayn* (Monday), *al-Thulāthā’* (Tuesday), *al-Arbi‘ā’* (Wednesday), *al-Khamīs* (Thursday), *al-Jum‘ah/al-Jama‘ah* (Friday), *al-Sabt* (Saturday).⁵³² Al-Farrā’ also informs us that the days of the week are also given other names: *Awwal* (Sunday), *Ahwan* (Monday), *Jubār* (Tuesday), *Dubār* (Wednesday), *Mu’nis* (Thursday), *al-‘Arūbah* (Friday), and *Shiyār* (Saturday).⁵³³ However, none of these names are attested in the manuscripts under examination.

3.3.6.2. Days of the month

Some copyists give the day of the month as a part of the date of copying. Different expressions are used in this regard which I explain below. I then show how the way copyists expressed the days of the month compares with the normative sources.

Most months consist of thirty days. To understand precisely the *yawm* (day) of the month in the date, we need to first understand how the Arabs thought of the *yawm* in pre-modern times. The normative sources up until the fifth/eleventh century are not of much help in this regard. However, al-Qalqashandī’s fifth/eleventh century voluminous *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā* does have an extensive section on dating and its issues and offers extensive details on the various elements of the date.⁵³⁴

In pre-modern Arabic-Islamic culture, the day begins in the evening after sunset.⁵³⁵ Al-Qalqashandī informs us that the Arabs considered the day to consist of first the night (*al-layl*) and then the light part of the day (*al-nahār*).⁵³⁶ Al-Ṣūlī further informs us that “the Arabs put the night

⁵³⁰ MS Ṣehid 2552, fol. 146v; MS MDSK Ar. 4, fol. 281r.

⁵³¹ MS Saib 2164, fol. 55v.

⁵³² Al-Farrā’, *al-Ayyām*, 33-4.

⁵³³ Al-Farrā’, *al-Ayyām*, 37.

⁵³⁴ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 2: 329-429.

⁵³⁵ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 2: 329.

⁵³⁶ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 2: 329.

above the day while dating” (*wa-ghallabat al-‘Arab al-layālī ‘alā al-ayyām fī al-tārīkh*), meaning that the Arabs considered the day to begin with the night.⁵³⁷ Explaining the reasons for this, al-Ṣūlī elaborates “because the night of the month preceded its day and it [the day] did not bear it [the night], but it [the night] bear it [the day]” (*li-anna laylat al-shahr sabaqat yawmah wa-lam yalidhā wa-waladathu*).⁵³⁸ Al-Ṣūlī reasons “because the crescents are in the nights not in the days and in them [the nights] is the month’s beginning” (*li-anna al-ahillah li-l-layālī dūna al-ayyām wa-fīhā dukhūl al-shahr*).⁵³⁹ Or in other words, “because the Muslim months are connected to the movement of the moon, and their beginnings are estimated based on the watching of the crescent”⁵⁴⁰ and the crescent appears on the first night of the month. Hence, this is why the Arabs gave more attention to the nights (*al-layālī*) when providing the day of the month as a part of the date (*wa-ghallabat al-‘Arab al-layālī ‘alā al-ayyām fī al-tārīkh*).⁵⁴¹ The manuscripts under examination show that the copyists occasionally followed this rule. In one case, the copyist points to the night as *laylat al-Khamīs li-thamānin khalawna min Rabī‘ al-Awwal* (“the night of Thursday after the passing of eight days of Rabī‘ I”).⁵⁴² In this case, considering the expression *khalawna*, together with the word *laylata*, the copyist is likely to have finished the copying in the first hours of the ninth of the month. These first hours are at night, as explained above. In another case, the author points out that he finished the book on *ṣabīḥat yawm al-Khamīs li-thamānin khalawna min Dhī al-Ḥijjah* (“the morning of the Thursday after passing eight days of Dhī al-Ḥijjah”).⁵⁴³ Here the scribe finishes on the morning of the ninth of Dhī al-Ḥijjah. These two cases contrast with a case in which the scribe states that he finished copying on *yawm al-Jum‘ah li thalāthin khalawna min Rajab* (“On Friday after the passing of three days of Rajab”). The word *yawm* however does not tell whether it was at night or in the morning.⁵⁴⁴

Some of the expressions regarding the day of the month mentioned in the normative sources can be traced to some of the manuscripts under examination. For instance, expressions such as *li-laylatin khalat wa-laylatayn khalatā wa-li-thalāthin khalawna* are suggested when one night or

⁵³⁷ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 180.

⁵³⁸ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 180.

⁵³⁹ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 180.

⁵⁴⁰ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 2: 329.

⁵⁴¹ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 180.

⁵⁴² MS Saib 2164, fol. 55v.

⁵⁴³ MS Ṣehid 2552, fol. 146v.

⁵⁴⁴ MS MDSK Ar. 4, fol. 281r.

more has passed.⁵⁴⁵ Ibn Durustawayh instructs the *kuttāb* to use the expression: *Li-laylatin maḍat min kadhā* (“a night elapsed of so”).⁵⁴⁶ According to Ibn Durustawayh, the expression *li-laylatin maḍat* or *li-laylatin khalat* can also indicate that not only has the night passed but also the whole day.⁵⁴⁷ When half of the month has elapsed, it is expressed with *li-l-niṣf min kadhā* (half of so [month]), or *li-khamsa ‘ashrata laylatin khalat min kadhā* (“fifteen nights have passed of so”).⁵⁴⁸ However, according to Ibn Durustawayh, the expressions: *li-niṣf khalā* (a half passed) and (*li-niṣf baqiya*) are not allowed in this regard.⁵⁴⁹ This kind of expression is attested in two manuscripts under examination: *li-thamāni layālin khalawna min Dhī al-Ḥijjah* (“eight nights passed”),⁵⁵⁰ and *li-thalāth layālin khalawna* (“after the passing of three days”).⁵⁵¹

In expressing the last *yawm* or *laylah* of a month, some expressions are recommended. Ibn Durustawayh mentions these expressions as *salkh/sulūkh/insilākh/munsalakh kadhā* (“[the last day] passing of so and so”).⁵⁵² These expressions are based upon a saying of the Arabs: *Salakhnā al-shahr* (“we got out of it”).⁵⁵³ These expressions can be traced to three of the fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination: *Fī insilākh Ṣafar*,⁵⁵⁴ *fī salkh Jumādā al-Ākhirah*,⁵⁵⁵ *fī insilākh al-Muḥarram*.⁵⁵⁶

Adab al-kātib sources also inform us of other expressions for the day of the month. However, these expressions do not appear in the manuscripts under examination. For example, according to al-Farrā’, in the third/ninth century, the first day of the month can be expressed as *al-barā*.⁵⁵⁷ In the fourth/tenth century, according to Ibn Durustawayh, the first night of the month can be expressed as *li-mustahalli kadhā* or *istiḥlāliḥ*, when “the night of the crescent has not elapsed.”⁵⁵⁸ This expression connects the night with the appearance of the crescent. Another expression used for the first night in the fourth/tenth century is *ghurraṭ kadhā wa-li-ghurraṭ kadhā* (*gurrah* literary

⁵⁴⁵ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 79.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 79.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 79.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁵⁰ MS Ṣehid 2552, fol. 146v.

⁵⁵¹ MS MDSK Ar. 4, fol. 281r.

⁵⁵² Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁵³ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁵⁴ MS Saib 2164, fol. 24r.

⁵⁵⁵ MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 205v.

⁵⁵⁶ MS Qar. 791(Jīm 31), 403, fol. 36r.

⁵⁵⁷ Al-Farrā’, *al-Ayyām*, 54.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 78.

means the blaze), and the first three nights of the month are referred to as *ghurar*.⁵⁵⁹ Al-Ṣūlī lays out the expressions *ghurrat* and *mustahall* in this model: *Wa-kataba laylata al-Jum‘ah ghurrat kadhā wa-mustahall shahr kadhā wa-muhall shar kadhā* (“he wrote at the night of Friday, the blaze of so, and the appearance of the moon of the month so”).⁵⁶⁰

According to Ibn Durustawayh, up until the middle of the month (i.e. the 15th of the month), the day of the month can be expressed by both *yawm* or *laylah*.⁵⁶¹ It is worth noting that jurists (*al-fuqahā’*) used the term *al-yawm* only to indicate *al-nahār* (the daytime),⁵⁶² which is different from astronomers (*ahl al-hay‘ah*) who used the term *al-yawm* for *al-layl wa-l-nahār* (the night and the day).⁵⁶³ However, Ibn Durustawayh explains that the term *laylah* can express the whole day (from the sunset to the next sunset), when ‘*iddat al-ayyām wa-l-layāl sawā*’ (the length of the days and the nights are the same), but if they have a different length, the scribe has to express each of them separately. For instance, he says: *Li-laylatayn khalatā wa-yawm* (“two nights and one day passed”), or *li-yawmayn wa-thalāth layāl* (two days and three nights passed).⁵⁶⁴ In this context, the day (*al-yawm*) refers to daylight time as a part of the whole day.

Besides the elapsed days, the day is also expressed by referring to the remaining days (*mā baqiya minhu*).⁵⁶⁵ The copyist is free to decide which expression to use. The rule, as al-Shaybānī puts it:

فإن كان الماضي أقلّ من نصف الشهر، قلت: لكذا ليلة مضت من شهر كذا، وإن كان الباقي أقلّ من النصف قلت كذلك أيضاً بقيت.

If the elapsed of the month is less than the half, you would say: X nights passed of month y, and if was the remaining [days] of the month less than the half, you would say: X also remains.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁵⁹ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 78.

⁵⁶⁰ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 181.

⁵⁶¹ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-kuttāb*, 79.

⁵⁶² Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 2: 330.

⁵⁶³ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 2: 329.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-kuttāb*, 79.

⁵⁶⁵ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 53-4.

⁵⁶⁶ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 54. It was referred to this rule in the next century in: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd*, 4: 159.

However, this rule was not usually followed. According to al-Shaybānī, scribes preferred the expression by elapsed days over the remaining days because one could not be sure whether the month will be 30 days long.⁵⁶⁷

An example for the remaining days of the second half of the month is *li-arba* ‘*ashrata laylatan baqiyat* (“fourteen nights remains”), which is on the sixteenth of a 30-days month.⁵⁶⁸ For such case, Ibn Durustawayh puts the rule: *Hākadhā tārikh al-‘Arab abadan yadhkurūna al-aqalla fi ziyādat al-shahr wa-nuqṣānuh* (“so, in their dating, the Arabs always mention the less when the elapsing of [the days] of the month and approaching its end”).⁵⁶⁹ This, according to Ibn Durustawayh, is because the number ‘*asharah akhaffu min al-akthar* (“the [number] ten is easier than the larger [number]”).⁵⁷⁰ That means that the number ten and the numbers combined with it, such as fourteen, are easier to be mentioned than the number twenty and the numbers combined with it. Therefore, according to Ibn Durustawayh, the month is presumed to be thirty days when expressing the days after half of it.⁵⁷¹

Ibn Durustawayh instructs the copyist:

ولا تكتب: "الليلة بقيت" وأنت فيها. ولا "اليوم بقي" وأنت فيه. فإن كنت في آخر يوم بقي دون ليلته كتبت: "اليوم بقي."

Do not write: “for a night remains” when you are [now] in it [this night], nor “for a day remains” when you are [now] in it [this day]. [However,] if you were in the day, not at night, of the last day, you write “for a day remains.”⁵⁷²

In expressing the last *yawm* or *laylah* of a month, some expressions are recommended. Ibn Durustawayh mentions this expression as *ākhir yawm min kadhā* (“the last day of so”).⁵⁷³

An expression is used in one manuscript that is not mentioned in any of the normative sources under scrutiny. In one manuscript, the expression *fi ‘aqib/‘aqb Rabī’ al-Awwal* (“after [the

⁵⁶⁷ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 54; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd*, 4: 159.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁷¹ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁷² Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

⁵⁷³ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 80.

month's name, for example,] Rabī' I") is used (see illus. 3.55).⁵⁷⁴ This expression is not discussed in any of the normative sources. In Arabic, the word *'aqib/'aqb*, used before a month's name, indicates that some days remain in that month, for example ten days or less.⁵⁷⁵ Perhaps, the copyist here meant the last day of the Rabī' I.

To conclude, the day of the month is rarely stated with the date of copying in the manuscripts under examination. However, some expressions recommended in the fourth/tenth century by Ibn Durustawayh are attested in a few fourth/tenth-century manuscripts. These include the kinds of expressions that indicate the elapsed days of the month, such as *li-thamāni layālin khalawna min Dhī al-Ḥijjah*, which is attested in two manuscripts. In addition, we can trace expressions attested by Ibn Durustawayh that express the last day of the month, such as *fī salkh/insilākh Jumādā al-Ākhirah* in three fourth/tenth-century manuscripts. However, certain practices expressing the day of the month in third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century *adab al-kātib* sources do not appear in any of the manuscripts under examination. Finally, the expression *fī 'aqib/'aqb* preceding the month's name indicating either the elapsing of a month or one day in the last ten days of the month is used in a fourth/tenth-century manuscript but not discussed in any normative source.

3.3.6.3. Months

In our corpus, twenty-three manuscripts contain the month within the date of copying.⁵⁷⁶ In a further nine manuscripts only the year of copying is stated in the dating.⁵⁷⁷

In Christian-Arabic manuscripts reference is made to the month in two ways, from the Islamic calendar and its Syriac equivalent. For example:

⁵⁷⁴ MS Saib 2164, fol. 69r, 79r.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān*, 1: 612.

⁵⁷⁶ MS UL Or. 298, fol. 241v; MS MDSK Ar. 151, fol. 187r; MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v; MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289; MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 183v; MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 244v; MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146v; MS DK 852 Tawhīd, fol. 62r; MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r; MS MDSK Ar. 4, fol. 281r; MS BA 233, fol. 233r; MS Saib 2164, fol. 9r, 15r, 24r, 45r, 56r, 65r, 79r; MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051, fol. 105v; MS Reis 904, fol. 96v; MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v, 58v; MS IUL Arabic 1434, fol. 178r; MS Lal. 1728, fol. 202v; MS Şehid 27, fol. 30r, 60r, 90r, 120r, 180r, 210r, 240r, 270r, 300r, 330r, 360r; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165; MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 205v; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r; MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 55v; MS Fazil 43, fol. 335r; MS Lal. 1905, fol. 314r.

⁵⁷⁷ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 11r, 86v; MS MDSK Ar. 2, fol. 246v; MS Fazil 1507, fol. 143v, 311r; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r; MS Fazil 1541, fol. 346r; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r; MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 190r; MS St MDSK Ar.116, fol. 205v; MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 242r.

انقضى نسخها يوم الجمعة لثلاث ليالٍ خلون من رجب سنة ثلاث وخمسين وثلاثمائة وكان ذلك لليوم من تموز يوم عيد مار قراقوس.

Its copying was completed on Friday after three nights of Rajab had elapsed in the year of 353 [Rajab 4, 353/August 16, 964], and that day was in July, the day of the feast of St Quiriacus.⁵⁷⁸

In this case, the copyist mentions that the end of copying took place on the feast of St Quiriacus. However, the copyist does not elaborate what day the feast falls on since he seems to consider it as common knowledge. In the other case, the copyist gives the month as follows:

وكتب المسكين في شهر العجم في أول شهر آذار... ومن سني العرب في شهر المحرم...

The poor [copyist] wrote on the first non-Arabic month March..., in the Arabic calendar, it is Muḥarram....⁵⁷⁹

Al-Farrā' mentions the same contemporary common names for the months of the Islamic calendar,⁵⁸⁰ which are the same names used in our manuscript corpus, when the month is given. He also indicates other names for the months as: al-Mu'tamir (al-Muḥarram), Nājir (Ṣafar), Khuwān/Khuwwān (Rabī' al-Awwal), Buṣān/Wabṣān/Bawṣān (Rabī' al-Ākhar), al-Ḥanīn/al-Ḥunayn (Jumādā al-Ūlā), Warnah/Rinah (Jumādā al-Ākhirah), al-Aṣamm (Rajab), Wa'l (Sha'bān), Nātiq (Ramaḍān), 'Adhil (Shawwāl), Huwā' (Dhū al-Qa'dah), Burak (Dhū al-Ḥijjah).⁵⁸¹ However, none of these names are attested in the manuscripts under examination.

3.3.6.4. The year

The normative sources do not provide details on how to express the year of copying. However, an examination of our corpus reveals that the year is consistently written in most of the manuscripts. In one exceptional case, the year is given in Indian numerals.⁵⁸² Cryptographic dating, such as

⁵⁷⁸ MS MDSK Ar. 4, fol. 281r.

⁵⁷⁹ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v.

⁵⁸⁰ Al-Farrā', *al-Ayyām*, 41-54.

⁵⁸¹ Al-Farrā', *al-Ayyām*, 49-53.

⁵⁸² MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 62r. Gacek calls these numerals the Hindi-Arabic numerals, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 125.

hisāb al-jummal and dating by fractions, is neither mentioned in the normative sources nor found in the manuscript specimens of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.⁵⁸³

3.3.7. The pious formulas in the colophon

Besides bibliographical information, copyists often offered pious formulas in the colophons. For Arabic-Islamic manuscripts, our corpus includes one or more of these formulas: the *ḥamdalah*,⁵⁸⁴ the *ṣalwalah*,⁵⁸⁵ the *shahādah*,⁵⁸⁶ and the *ḥasbalah*.⁵⁸⁷

The *ḥamdalah* in the colophon is usually simple, such as *al-ḥamd li-Allāh kamā huwa ahluh* (“the praise be to Allāh as is his right”),⁵⁸⁸ or more simply such as *al-ḥamd li-Allāh*,⁵⁸⁹ *wa-l-ḥamd li-Allāh kathīran* (“much praise be to Allāh”).⁵⁹⁰ However, it is occasionally more sophisticated such as:

الحمد لله بجميع محامد الله ما علمنا منها وما لم نعلم على جميع نعم الله ما علمنا منها وما لم نعلم لى جميع خلق الله ما علمنا منها
وما لم نعلم.

Praise be to Allāh, the possessor of all commendable acts which we know and which we do not, for his graces, which we know and which we do not, granted to all the creatures of Allāh, whom we know and whom we do not.⁵⁹¹

Likewise, the *ṣalwalah* in the colophon is usually simple, such as *wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā rasūlih wa-ālih wa-sallama*,⁵⁹² or more embellished such as *wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā nabiyyih Muḥammad wa-ā[lihi] wa-sallama kathīran jazīlan* (“may Allāh bless His prophet Muḥammad and his family and grant them much peace”).⁵⁹³

⁵⁸³ On *hisāb al-jummal*, see EI², s. v. “Hisāb al-Djummal”; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 58-9. On dating by fractions, see Ritter, “Philologika. XII. Datierung durch Brüche”; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 88-9.

⁵⁸⁴ MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 11r, 86v; MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r.

⁵⁸⁵ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v; MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 86v; MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r.

⁵⁸⁶ MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v.

⁵⁸⁷ MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r; MS Lal.1905, fol. 314r; MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289; MS DK 852 Tawḥīd, fol. 62r.

⁵⁸⁸ MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r. This formula occurs but with the addition of *wa-mustahaquh* (“he is the worthy of it”) in MS MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 205v; MS Lal. 1905, fol. 314r.

⁵⁸⁹ MS IUL A1434, fol. 178r.

⁵⁹⁰ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r.

⁵⁹¹ MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165; See illus. 3.51.

⁵⁹² MS Berlin Petermann II 589, fol. 76r; MS IUL A 1434, fol. 178r, see illus. 3.53.

⁵⁹³ MS Qar. 874/62, p. 347.

In one manuscript, the *ḥamdalah* and the *ṣalwalah* are combined in rhymed prose:

الحمد لله كفاء أفضاله وصلّى الله على محمد وآله

Praise equivalent to His graces be to Allāh. Allāh bless Muḥammad and his family.⁵⁹⁴

Furthermore, formulas of invocation are also provided in the colophons. For instance, a formula of *tarḥīm* after a copyist's name is offered.⁵⁹⁵ In this formula, the copyist asks for God's mercy for himself and the Muslim readers,⁵⁹⁶ Another copyist writes an invocation for mercy and forgiveness for himself and Muḥammad's community.⁵⁹⁷ Other invocations occasionally occur such as:

نسأل الله علماً نافعاً وقلباً خاشعاً ولساناً صادقاً.

We ask Allāh for beneficial knowledge, a devout heart, and an honest tongue.⁵⁹⁸

Besides invoking Allāh for beneficial knowledge, the copyist invokes Allāh for a devout heart and an honest tongue.⁵⁹⁹ In one multi-text fourth/tenth-century manuscript, the copyist writes an invocation for the person in whose hand the exemplar is written:

وكتبه... من نسخة بخط الشيخ أبي الفتح عثمان بن جني أدام الله عزه

He wrote it [the manuscript] from the autograph of the master Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī may Allāh make his power permanent.⁶⁰⁰

In another colophon from the same manuscript, instead of using the formula *adāma Allāh 'izzah* ("may Allāh make his power permanent"), the copyist writes the invocation *ayyadahu Allāh* ("may Allāh support him").⁶⁰¹ This kind of invocation is also used for the patron of another manuscript under examination.⁶⁰² Similarly, an invocation is given by a copyist who seems to have been

⁵⁹⁴ MS Şehid 1842, fol. 96r.

⁵⁹⁵ MS DK 663 Tafsīr. p. 165; On *tarḥīm*, see Gacek, 116.

⁵⁹⁶ MS DK 663 Tafsīr. p. 165; On *tarḥīm*, see Gacek, 116.

⁵⁹⁷ MS Fazil 43, 335r.

⁵⁹⁸ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r. See illus. 3.50; similar invocation occurs in MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p. 165; See illus. 3.51.

⁵⁹⁹ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 120r.

⁶⁰⁰ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, fol. 32r.

⁶⁰¹ MS Leipzig Vollers 505-02, fol. 55v.

⁶⁰² MS BA 233, fol. 233r; see section 3.3.9.3 below.

working for the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, in particular during the time of al-Ḥakam II (d. 366/976).⁶⁰³ We can extract this from the copyist's name and the invocation to Allāh for the ruler:

وكتب حسين بن يوسف عبد الإمام الحكم المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين أطال الله بقاءه وأدام خلافته.

Ḥusayn ibn Yūsuf, the slave of al-Imām al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh the commander of the faithful may Allāh elongate his life and make his caliphate permanent, wrote [it].⁶⁰⁴

This copyist, al-Ḥusayn ibn Yūsuf, may have worked with a team of specialists on book production at the palace of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir. We learn from a narration from al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ that al-Ḥakam had an establishment specializing in book production next to his palace, a unit of which was called *Bayt al-Muqābalah wa-l-Naskh* (“the House of Collation and Copying”).⁶⁰⁵

Furthermore, two of the examined colophons include the *istighfār* (the invocation for forgiveness). The copyist of the fourth/tenth-century copy of *al-Muqtaḍab* writes:

وكتب مهلهل بن أحمد... وهو يسأل الله العفو والعافية والمعافاة له وجميع (المؤمنين؟) في الدنيا والآخرة إنه جواد كريم.

Muhalhal ibn Aḥmad wrote... he asks Allāh for forgiveness, well-being, and the excuse for himself and all the faithful in this life and the hereafter. For He is openhanded and generous.⁶⁰⁶

The copyist of the poetry of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz states the *istighfār* and *tarḥīm* after his name: *Wahuwa yastaghfiru Allāh wa-yas'aluhu al-rahmah* (“And he asks Allāh's forgiveness and mercy”).⁶⁰⁷

Writing the Islamic formulas seems to have been a way of declaring the pious background of the Muslim copyists.

⁶⁰³ On al-Ḥakam, see EI², s. v. “al-Ḥakam II”.

⁶⁰⁴ MS Qar. 874/62, p. 347.

⁶⁰⁵ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 165.

⁶⁰⁶ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 311r; MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r. The part of text: *fī al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirah innahu jawād karīm* (“in the worldly life and in the hereafter. He is openhanded and generous”) is only provided in the second volume.

⁶⁰⁷ MS Lal.1728, fol. 202v.

Similarly, in the Christian manuscripts I have examined, the Christian-Arabic copyists also offer pious formulas in the colophon. One colophon contains the *ḥamdalah* in Christian style:

والحمد لله الأب والابن وروح القدس إلى أبد الآبدين آمين.

Praise be to Allāh, is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever amen!⁶⁰⁸

Another example reads as:

الحمد لله المعين على الخير السابغ على عباده المسدين سؤله ونصائحه بقوة جبروته الذي أعان وسلم عبده نسطاس بن ليون بن أبي الوليد الضعيف.

Praise be to Allāh, the supporter of the right thing for His servants who are responsive to His requests and His tenets thanks to the power of His omnipotence. He who helped and granted salvation to His insignificant servant Niṣṭās ibn Liyūn ibn Abī al-Walīd.⁶⁰⁹

The Christian copyists also use invocations after their names. One copyist writes an invocation for Allāh and asks Him to grant mercy and forgiveness to the translator, the author, and the book owner.⁶¹⁰ A second one offers a *tarḍiyah* upon the author and *tarḥīm* upon the readership and the people to whom the book will be read:⁶¹¹

رضي الله عنه رضا أبراره وأحبائه ورحم من قرأ أو قُريء عليه فقال آمين آمين.

May Allāh be pleased with him as He is pleased with His faithful and beloved ones. And May He have mercy upon whoever reads, or to whom the [book] is read. And he said Amen Amen!⁶¹²

Furthermore, another Christian copyist writes an invocation for Allāh and asks Him to grant mercy to whoever reads and whoever wrote (the copyist himself) the manuscript. This copyist also offers an invocation to Allāh to “grant the owner the understanding and the memorization of commandments.”⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁸ MS MDSK Ar.151, fol. 186v, 187r.

⁶⁰⁹ MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 179r.

⁶¹⁰ MS MDSK Ar. 151, fol. 186v, 187r. On *tarḥīm*, see Gacek, 116.

⁶¹¹ On *tarḍiyah*, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 314.

⁶¹² MS MDSK Ar. 4, fol. 281r.

⁶¹³ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v.

In two of the Christian manuscripts, the copyists express their wish to be remembered, and one asks the reader to remember him:

إذا أنت قرأت يا أخي اذكرني ذكرك الله وأقامك عن يمينه وأسمعك الصوت البهي الشجي المحبوب... لا تنساني يا أخي لا نسيك الله.

My brother, if you read, remember me! May Allāh remember you, put you on his right and make you hear the magnificent, soul-stirring, and beloved voice... O brother! Do not forget me! May Allāh not forget you.⁶¹⁴

In the second manuscript, the copyist invokes Allāh to remember him:

يا رب اذكر عبدك الخاطيء يحنس القسيس بن بطقر (كذا)... الدمياطي بطور سيناء.

O Lord! Remember your mistaken slave Yuḥannas al-Qisīs ibn Baṭqar ... al-Dimyāṭī on Mount Sinai.⁶¹⁵

3.3.8. The shape of the colophon

The colophon is written as a continuous text in all the examined specimens. They differ from the triangle and circle forms that appear later on in the Arabic manuscript age.⁶¹⁶

3.3.9. Examples of colophons

Here I present one third/ninth century and two fourth/tenth-century colophons. These are different from the rest of the corpus in that they are more detailed and informative.

3.3.9.1. MS MDSK Ar. 151

ترجم هذه الرسائل وهي أربع عشرة من السريانية إلى العربية وشرح تفسيرها بما أمكنه من الاجتهاد الضعيف الخاطيء المسكين بسرير السري لأخيه الروحاني سليمان وأكمل ذلك في شهر رمضان من سنة ثلاث وخمسين ومائتين والمحمد لله الأب والابن وروح القدس إلى أبد الآبدين آمين رحم الله من دعا للمترجم والمؤلف والمقتني بالرحمة والمغفرة.

⁶¹⁴ MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v.

⁶¹⁵ MS MDSK Ar. 116, fol. 205v.

⁶¹⁶ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 74; Déroche et al, *Islamic Codicology*, 180-4.

The insignificant, the sinful, and the poor Bisrīn al-Sirrī translated these epistles, which are fourteen, from Syriac into Arabic and explained the commentary on them as best he could for his spiritual brother Sulaymān.⁶¹⁷ He completed this in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 253 [September/October 867].” Praise be to Allāh the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit forever and ever, amen! May Allāh have mercy upon who prays for the translator, the author, and the owner and forgive him.⁶¹⁸

Unlike the third/ninth-century colophons examined so far, this colophon, which was written by the book’s translator, is quite detailed. The colophon includes information on the translation, which includes an explanation of the translated text, the number of the translated epistles, the translator’s name, for whom the translation was carried out, and the date of writing.

The indication of completion is incorporated in the colophon, like most specimens under examination.

Concerning the formulas and expressions, this colophon includes a Christian *ḥamdalah* and *tarḥīm* upon those who will pray for the translator, the author, and the book owner. Moreover, an expression of modesty is provided before the translator’s name.

3.3.9.2. MS Şehid 2552

The colophon of this manuscript reads:

آخر الكتاب والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على خير الخلق محمد النبي وعلى آله وسلم كثيراً ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العظيم. اللهم اغفر لمؤلفيه أبي القاسم بن محمد بن سعيد المؤدّب مغفرة لا تغادر بعدها إثماً ولا خطيئة. فرغت منه صبيحة يوم الخميس لثمان ليالٍ خلون من ذي الحجة في ولاية الأمير أبي محمد نوح بن نصر مولى أمير المؤمنين سنة ثمان وثلاثين وثلاثمائة وكان الوالي بالشاش أبو العباس بن أبي بكر بن محتاج مولى أمير المؤمنين.

The end of the book. Praise be to Allāh the Lord of the worlds. May Allāh bless the best of the creatures, Muḥammad, the prophet, and his family and grant them much peace. There is no power and no strength save in Allāh the Great. O Allāh, forgive its author Abū al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd al-Mu’addib and grant him the

⁶¹⁷ Sulaymān, who asked for the translation, perhaps is a “patron.”

⁶¹⁸ MS MDSK Ar. 151, fol. 186v, 187r.

forgiveness that leaves no sin nor fault. I finished it in early on Thursday after eight nights of Dhū al-Ḥijjah had passed [Dhū al-Ḥijjah 9/May 29] during the reign of amir Abū Muḥammad Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, the client of the commander of the faithful in the year 338[/950]. The governor of Tashkent [at that time] was Abū al-‘Abbās ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥtāj, the client of the commander of the faithful.⁶¹⁹

The scribe is likely to be the author of the text. The indication of completion is combined with the *ḥamdalah* and *ṣalwalah*, the *ḥawqalah*, and an invocation to Allāh to forgive the author. Writing this invocation, the author perhaps asks forgiveness for the mistakes that might have occurred in the book or in his life. With the *ḥawqalah*, he admits his limitations as a human being. Moreover, the book’s completion is indicated with *faraghtu minhu* (“I finished it”), which indicates the end of its writing. This is different from expressions such as *nasakhtuh/nasakhahu*, or the like, which express the completion of copying (from an exemplar).

Unlike most of the examined colophons, this colophon contains a very detailed date. The date includes the time of day (here: the morning), the day of the week, the month, and the year.⁶²⁰

The scribe provides some historical context of his time. He states that he completed the book during the reign of Abū Muḥammad Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, who was the Sāmānid ruler of Transoxiana and Khurasan (r. 331-43/943-54).⁶²¹ He also mentions that Ibn Muḥtāj was the governor of Tashkent at that time.⁶²² Tashkent was likely where the author finished the book. He informs us that the ruler of Tashkent at that time was Abū al-‘Abbās Bakr ibn Muḥtāj.⁶²³ In the absence of other evidence, this colophon is an essential source in informing us who ruled Tashkent during this time.

3.3.9.3. MS BA 233

The manuscript ends with the colophon:

تمَّ الجزء بحمد الله وميَّه وقوته في شهر صفر من شهور سنة 358 [5] بخط خلف بن حكم كتبه للشيخ الجليل الفاضل أبو الحسن محمد بن ابراهيم أطال الله بقاؤه وأدام عزه ودولته آمين. يتلوه الجزء...

⁶¹⁹ MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146.

⁶²⁰ On writing the date in the colophon, see section 3.3.6 above.

⁶²¹ EI², s. v. “Sāmānids,” “Nūḥ”; al-Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, 137-8.

⁶²² On Shāsh, see EI², s. v. “Tashkent”, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 3: 308-9; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār*, 335. Neither Yāqūt nor al-Ḥimyarī mention the author of this book among the scholars Tashkent.

⁶²³ I was not able to identify Ibn Muḥtāj.

The part is completed with the praise of Allāh, his beneficence and his power in the month of Ṣafar in the year 3[5]8/[December 968 or January 969], in the hand of Khalaf ibn Ḥakam, he wrote it for the great and learned shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, may Allāh elongate his life and make his power and his dynasty permanent. Amen. [The part] will follow ...⁶²⁴

The indication of completion is combined with the *ḥamdalah* and mention of the next part of the text. The elements of the colophon are the copyist's name, reference to copyist writing by his hands, the patron, and the date of copying.

The date is given in words, not numbers, according to the Islamic calendar. Like most of the examined colophons, the date only includes the month and the year.

Regarding the Islamic formulas in the colophon, the copyist puts the praise of Allāh at the beginning of the colophon in the form *bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-mannih wa-ʿawnih wa-quwwatih* ("the praise to Allāh for his beneficence, his help, and his power"). However, no *ṣalwalah* is given. Hence a later manuscript user, and this is clear since the hand is different, writes the *ṣalwalah* under the colophon.

The copyist provides his name preceded by the expression *bi-khatti*, i.e., by his handwriting. This expression emphasizes that the copyist wrote the manuscript himself. The copyist's name includes his *ism* and *nasab* – Khalaf ibn Ḥakam.⁶²⁵

The copyist elaborates, explaining that he wrote this copy of the manuscript for al-shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. Copying for a patron is typical for a professional copyist, hence, the copyist of this manuscript, Khalaf ibn Ḥakam is likely to have been a professional copyist. This is further strengthened when we consider the writing itself. The lines of the manuscript are relatively straight, done by hand and without the *mistarāh*. Some effort seems to have been expended to draw the beginning and the ending of lines without a *mistarāh* as well.⁶²⁶

The patron of manuscript is al-shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm.⁶²⁷ As the copyist invokes Allāh to make his power and his dynasty permanent, he must have been a figure

⁶²⁴ MS BA 233, fol. 233r; See illus. 3.64.

⁶²⁵ I was not able to identify him.

⁶²⁶ On *mistarāh*, see Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 165-6; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 231-2.

⁶²⁷ I was not able to identify him.

in a position of power or belonged to a ruling dynasty. The name Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm is not uncommon and given to various figures, therefore, it is difficult to identify him. The same *kunya*, Abū al-Ḥasan, is also found in different audition certificates (*samā'āt*) of this manuscript:

سمع الجزء كله من أوله إلى آخره أبو الحسن بن إسحاق الداكتور.

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Ishāq al-Dāstūr heard the whole part from its beginning to end.⁶²⁸

وسمع الشيخ الجليل أبو الحسن أعزه الله وأبقاه.

The great master, Abū al-Ḥasan, may Allāh grant him power and elongate his life, heard.⁶²⁹

إلى هنا سمع أبو [الحسن بن] أبي إسحاق الدا[ستور] وأبو الحسن...

Until here, Abū [al-Ḥasan ibn] Abū Ishāq al-Dās[tūr] and Abū al-Ḥasan heard....⁶³⁰

Here, we are dealing with at least two, or perhaps three people with this common *kunya*. It is possible that the patron is identical with the teacher who heard the reading, i.e., whether Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm was Ibn Abī Ishāq al-Dāstūr. However, this remains open to question, and I have not been able to identify them and conclusively answer this.⁶³¹

It is worth noting that the last two pages, including the colophon, were written in a different hand from the hand of the central part of the manuscript. That means that the last two pages may have been written later on from the whole manuscript. However, the script is still an old script, i.e., the “New Style.”⁶³²

Even from a digital copy, it becomes clear that two different hands wrote the manuscript.⁶³³ The second hand appears on fol. 178r-fol. 218v. The first hand then re-appears again on fol. 219r-231r. On fol. 231v, the second hand takes over again until the end of the manuscript. This suggests

⁶²⁸ MS BA 233, fol. 2v.

⁶²⁹ MS BA 233, fol. 35v.

⁶³⁰ MS BA 233, fol. 40r.

⁶³¹I consulted: Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* ed. Tajaddud, ed. Sayyid; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*.

⁶³² On the “New Style”, see Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 132-83.

⁶³³ See for example: MS BA 233, fol.230v, 231r.

two possibilities. The first is that the manuscript is written by two different scribes, perhaps in different periods. Alternatively, the second hand is of a very late user (or owner) of the manuscript, who found folios missing and replaced them by producing text imitating the manuscript's original script (see illus. 3.65). The two hands seem to have been from the same period, as they are both written in the "New Style"⁶³⁴ and are more or less contemporary. The first possibility is perhaps more likely, namely that two copyists shared in this task of copying the manuscript. This can happen when an extensive work such as a Qur'ānic commentary (which is the content of this manuscript) is carried out.

4. The elements of clarity and correctness

In this chapter, I focus on the elements that help establish a clear and correct text. These elements aim at preventing confusion (*mā yamna'u al-iltibās/al-iltibās*, "which prevents the confusion").¹ These include keeping the words of particular constructions in a single line, the collation including providing the collation remarks and symbols, providing diacritical points, distinguishing the unpointed letters, vocalization, the cancellation of dittographies, the insertion of omitted elements, and the measures conducted in preventing and correcting the erroneous parts of the text.

4.1. Hyphenation²

The normative sources suggest keeping connected constructions together on the same line. One of these constructions are those that include the name of Allāh.³ Keeping such constructions together was considered exercising *ḥusn taqdīr al-kitāb* ("the beauty measuring in writing"), which supports the aesthetic aspects of writing.⁴ Al-Khaṭīb transmits from 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Baṭṭāh (d. 387/997) that he said:

وفي الكتاب من يكتب "عبد الله" فيكتب "عبد" في آخر السطر ويكتب "الله بن فلان" في أول السطر الآخر. أو "عبد" في سطر و"الرحمن" في سطر ويكتب بعده "ابن" وهذا كله غلط قبيح. ويجب على الكاتب أن يتوقاه ويتأمله ويتحفظ منه.

⁶³⁴ On the "New Style", see Déroche, *Abbasid tradition*, 132-83.

¹ The function of "preventing confusion" is mentioned explicitly in al-Qaḍī 'Iyād, *al-Ilmā'*, 164, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 196.

² For studies on this, see p. 26.

³ On such splitting, see al-'Almawī, *al-Mu'īd*, 134; Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 14.

⁴ On *ḥusn taqdīr al-kitāb*, see al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣinā'at al-kuttāb*, 116-7.

Some of the scribes [when] they write “‘Abd Allāh,” they write “‘Abd” at the end of the line and “Allāh, the son of NN” at the beginning of the next line.” Or [they] write “‘Abd” in a line and in another line, “al-Raḥmān,” and after that, they write “son.” This all is an awful wrong. The scribe must keep clear of it, think about it, and be cautious of it.⁵

That is an attempt to avoid any possible *iltibās* (confusion), that is, avoiding any improper meaning that might come across the reader’s mind if the reader reads the beginning of a line that is split from its connected construction. Perhaps the problem is mainly that reference to Allāh becomes a reference to someone’s son if the copyist splits ‘Abd and writes ‘it at the end of a line and ibn NN at the beginning of the next line.

Ibn Baṭṭāh elaborates his disapproval on what is considered an improper splitting and gives the example of *qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayh wa-sallama* (“the messenger, may Allāh bless him and grant him peace, said”) to be written *qāla rasūl* (“the messenger said”) at the end of a line and *Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayh wa-sallama* (“Allāh may Allāh bless him and grant him peace”) at the beginning of the following line.⁶ Perhaps Ibn Baṭṭāh does not want the reader to read this phrase at the beginning of a line: *Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayh wa-sallama*, which has a problematic meaning, namely the name of Allāh is in place of the prophet.

Different from Ibn Baṭṭāh, some copyists of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries do not seem to have considered splitting constructions that include the name of Allāh (even if the splitting leads to Allāh becoming someone’s son or writing the name of Allāh in the place of the prophet) as an improper or “ugly” practice. In the strict sense, splitting does not cause confusion in most cases of our corpus except for four occurrences. In the first case, we find a separation between the two parts of “‘Abd al-Raḥmān”; “‘Abd” is written at the end of a line and al-Raḥmān at the beginning of the following line (see case 1 below). The beginning of this next line reads: al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf (al-Raḥmān, which is a name of Allāh, becomes someone’s son). Similarly, in the second case, I found a separation between the two parts of “‘Abd al-A‘lā; “‘Abd” is written at

⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 268. On Ibn Baṭṭāh, see EI², s. v. “Ibn Baṭṭā ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ukbarī”; HAWT, Vol. 1: 168, suppl. 1: 313-4; GAS, 1: 514-5.

⁶ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 268. Later, al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) also stated, as quoted by al-‘Almawī, that the Muslim authorities disapproved of the separation of the first part (*ṣallā Allāh*) from the second part (*‘alayh wa-sallama*) in the *ṣalwalaḥ*, see al-‘Almawī, *al-Mu‘īd*, 133; Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 13.

the end of a line and “al-A‘lā” at the beginning of the next line (see case 3 below). The beginning of this next line reads: Al-A‘lā ibn ‘Abd al-A‘lā (al-A‘lā, which is a name of Allāh, becomes someone’s son). In the third case, we read in the beginning of a line the phrase: *Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd* (Allāh son of Ibn Mas‘ūd) (see case 14 below). These three cases of splitting follow one of the two patterns Ibn Baṭṭah gives examples of. Ibn Baṭṭah’s second pattern also occurs in the fourth case in which we read the phrase *Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayh wa-sallama* at the beginning of a line (see case 21 below). Here Allāh seems to be asked to bless himself rather than his messenger.

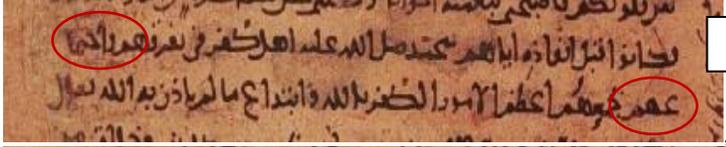
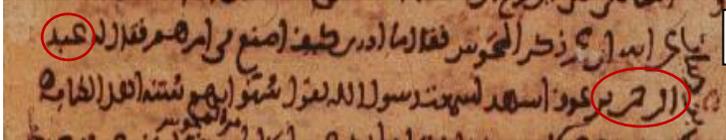
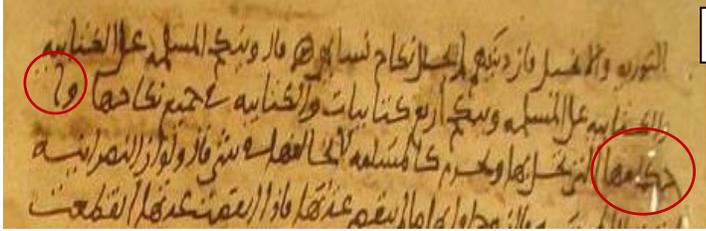
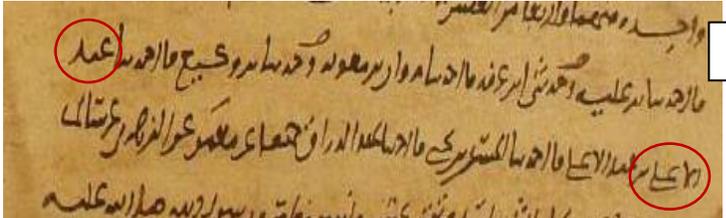
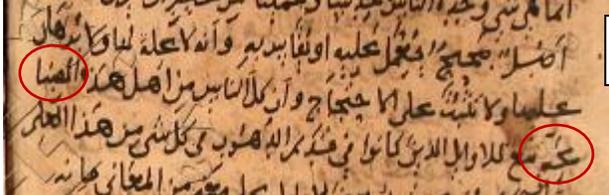
Furthermore, I noticed the separation of a *single* word into two lines, i.e. one part at the end of a line and the other at the beginning of the following line. I saw this in two third/ninth century manuscripts (see cases 2 and 3 below). In addition, some copyists of the fourth/tenth century also split single words. In three cases, the copyist splits the word at the end of the line into two parts and writes the second part at the beginning of the following line (see cases 6, 14, 20 below). It would be assumed that splitting one word into two parts is considered more improper than splitting the construction of two words; however, this was not unanimously considered so, as we see this occurring in the aforementioned manuscript (and some cases in the following). We also see no disapproval of this in the normative sources. However, it is important to bear in mind that this may have to do with the fact that this was apparent and did not need to be elaborated.

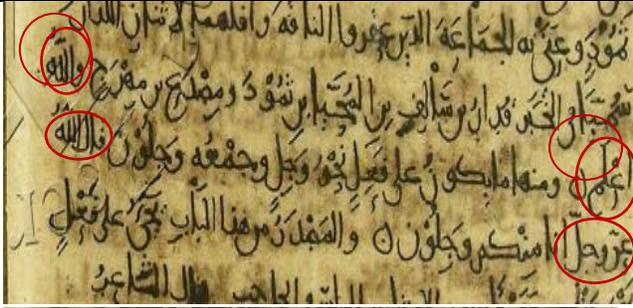
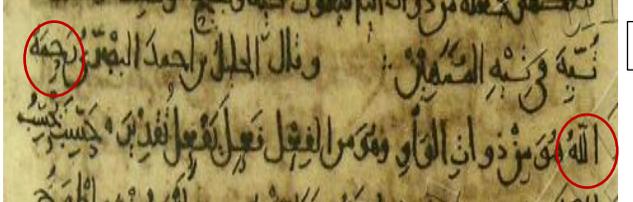
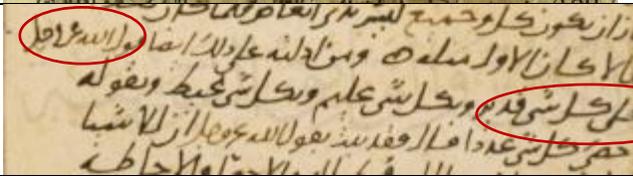
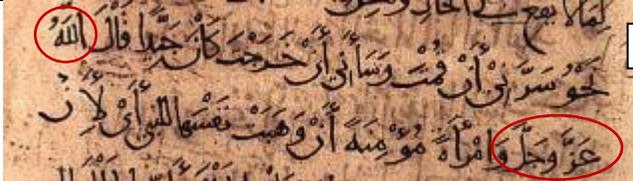
Another splitting that might be considered improper is found in a fourth/tenth-century manuscripts but not mentioned in the normative sources. That is splitting names that include *ibn* or *abū*. So, *abū* or *ibn* being written at the end of a line, and the rest of the name is written at the beginning of the following line. We can see this in cases 11, 14, and 22 below.

However, some fourth/tenth-century copyists do attempt to avoid improper splitting at the end of lines. In 7 cases, I did not find any improper splitting at the end of the lines (see cases 4, 5, 12, 16, 18, 19, and 23). In 5 of these cases, the copyist stretches some lines in the left margin, sacrificing the lines ending alignment (see cases 8, 17, 19, 22, and 23).

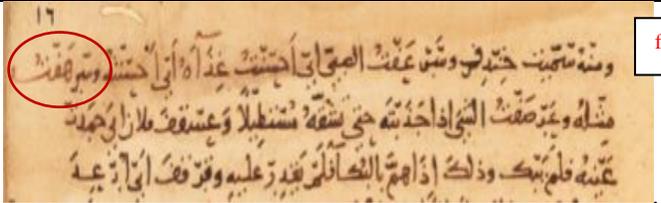
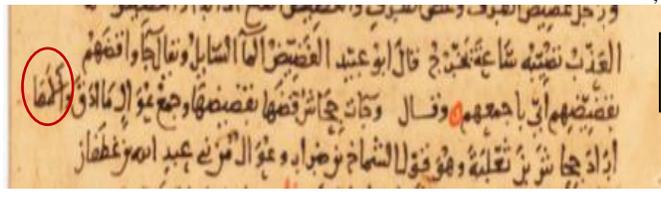
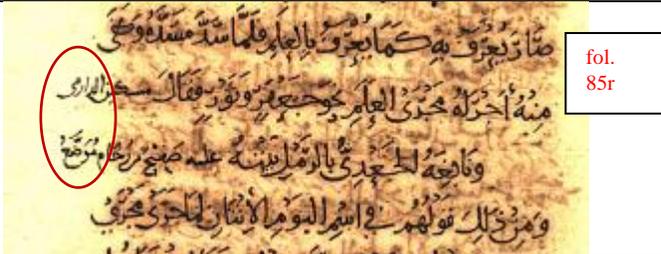
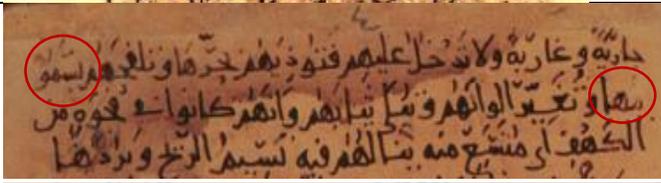
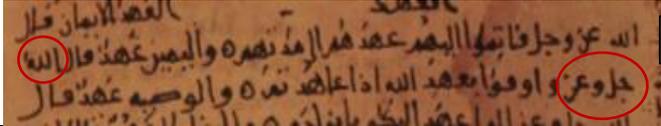
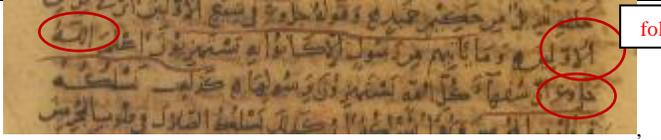
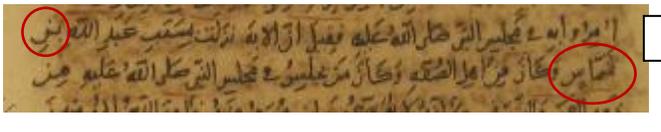
In conclusion, regarding splitting connected constructions, two patterns are disapproved of in the normative sources. However, in practice, they are not actually disapproved, as seen from our manuscripts. This is the case, even when splitting leads to confusion in meaning, such as with the word Allāh in such constructions.

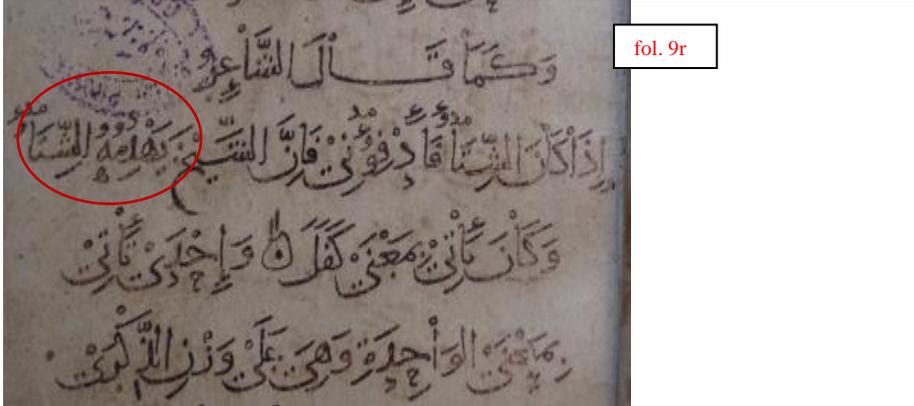
Table 1. Hyphenation

	Manuscripts	Notes	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) Splitting a word into two lines (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) Splitting construction, including the name of Allāh, into two lines (e. 58v).	 <div data-bbox="1292 352 1409 411" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 7r</div>  <div data-bbox="1312 499 1438 558" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 58v</div>
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	No splitting of particular constructions noticed.	
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	1) Splitting word into two lines (e. g. part 1, fol. 3v). 2) Splitting construction, including the name of Allāh, into two lines (e. g. part 3, fol. 41v).	 <div data-bbox="1292 688 1471 747" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">part 1, fol. 3v</div>  <div data-bbox="1312 940 1474 999" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">part 3, fol. 41v</div>
4	MS AZ, 'Amm, 9028 Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	No splitting of particular constructions noticed.	
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	No splitting of particular constructions noticed.	
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Splitting word into two lines (e. g. 7v).	 <div data-bbox="1195 1306 1325 1365" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 7v</div>

7	MS Şehid 2552	1) Splitting construction, including the name of Allāh, into two lines (e. g. 69v, 77r).	 	<div data-bbox="1235 218 1354 268" data-label="Text">fol. 69v</div> <div data-bbox="1235 520 1341 571" data-label="Text">fol. 77r</div>
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	1) Stretching lines into the margin to prevent splitting construction, including the name of Allāh (e. g. 4v).		<div data-bbox="1235 730 1419 781" data-label="Text">fol. 4v</div>
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) Splitting constructions, including the name of Allāh, into two lines (e. g. fol. 158r, 161v).	 	<div data-bbox="1235 907 1341 957" data-label="Text">fol. 158r</div> <div data-bbox="1235 1092 1357 1142" data-label="Text">fol. 161v</div>
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) Splitting constructions, including the name of Allāh, into two lines (fol. 137v, 186r).	 	<div data-bbox="1235 1333 1333 1417" data-label="Text">fol. 137v</div> <div data-bbox="1235 1572 1333 1656" data-label="Text">fol. 186r</div>

11	MS DK 149 Nahw	<p>1) Splitting constructions including the name of Allāh into two lines (e. g. fol. 25r, 66r).</p> <p>2) Splitting the name Abū al-'Abbās into two lines (e. g. fol. 57r, 57v).</p>		<p>fol. 25r</p> <p>fol. 57r</p> <p>fol. 57v</p> <p>fol. 66r</p>
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	No splitting of particular constructions noticed.		
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) Splitting construction, including the name of Allāh, into two lines (e. g. fol. 40r).		fol. 40r
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) Splitting word into two lines (e. g. fol. 4r).</p> <p>2) Splitting constructions, including the name of Allāh, into two lines (e. fol. 5r, 30r).</p> <p>3) Splitting Yūsha' ibn Nūn into two parts in two lines (fol. 7r).</p>		<p>fol. 4v</p> <p>fol. 5r</p> <p>fol. 7r</p> <p>fol. 30r</p>
16	MS Reis 904	1) Splitting constructions, including the name of Allāh, into two parts in two lines (fol. 65r).		fol. 65r
16	MS Fazil 948	No splitting of particular constructions noticed.		

17	MS IUL A 1434	1) Stretching lines into the margin to prevent splitting (e. g. fol. 16r, 37r).	 	fol. 16r	fol. 37r	
18	MS Lal. 1728	No splitting of particular constructions noticed.				
19	MS Şehid 27	1) Stretching lines into the margin to prevent splitting (e. g. fol. 85r).		fol. 85r		
20	MS DK 663 Tafsîr	1) Splitting word into two parts into two lines (e. g. p. 4). 2) Splitting constructions, including the name of Allāh, into two parts in two lines (e. g. p. 131).	 	p. 4	p. 131	
21	MS Fazil 43	1) Splitting constructions including the name of Allāh into two parts in two lines (e. g. fol. 13r, 44v). 2) Splitting Ibn Shammās into two parts into two lines (fol. 270v).	  	fol. 13r	fol. 44v	fol. 270v

22	MS Lal. 1905	1) Splitting Ibn al-Jahm into two parts into two lines 2) Stretching lines into the margin to prevent splitting (fol. 34v). 3) Splitting constructions including the name of Allāh into two parts in two lines (e. g. fol. 42v).	
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) Stretching lines into the margin to prevent splitting (e. g. fol. 9r).	

4.2. Providing diacritical marks and vowel signs

The *adab al-kātib* treatises suggest using diacritical dots and vowel signs only when confusion may occur while reading a word. As far as I know, the earliest *adab al-kātib* source that suggests this is *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’* by al-Shaybānī. In this book, providing diacritical points to letters is discussed together with vocalization. This discussion is for writers of letters and documents. Al-Shaybānī does not talk about the *ihmāl*, i.e. to provide particular signs indicating that a given letter is unpointed (*muhmal*), as shown below (see 4.2.1).

Scribes were discouraged from providing dots and vocalization, except for the problematic letters (*al-ḥarf al-mu‘dal*).⁷ This attitude of disapproval was because the *naqt* and *shakl* is more helpful to non-Arabs and those with a rudimentary knowledge of Arabic. Thus, including them in a text directed to someone with excellent Arabic could have been considered offensive (*sabb*).⁸ This explains why the poet and scribe Sa‘īd ibn Ḥumayd al-Kātib (d. after 257/871 or 260/874)

⁷ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 52. This is also mentioned in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd*, 4: 173.

⁸ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-‘Adhrā’*, 52.

and the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198/813-218/833) disapproved of diacritical dots and vowel signs.⁹

Al-Ṣūlī gives more details on the etiquette of providing diacritical dots and vowel signs in writing correspondence. He explains that they are acceptable when reading a word without them would lead to confusion.¹⁰ According to al-Ṣūlī, when a leader (*al-ra'īs*) writes to his subordinate (*tābi'ih*), providing the diacritical dots and vowel signs were allowed and in particular, in the ambiguous places. The *ra'īs* is in the position for “clarification,” “expelling doubting,” and “having the solid evidence.” However, the subordinate is not allowed to provide diacritical dots and vowel signs, even in ambiguous places; he must trust his leader’s knowledge to read without the diacritical dots and the vowel signs.¹¹ However, according to al-Ṣūlī, some caliphs did prefer that their employees did provide diacritical dots and vowel signs when sending important messages. According to al-Ṣūlī, this trend is ascribed to al-Ma'mūn,¹² However, in ordinary cases, he preferred omitting diacritical dots and vowel signs, according to al-Shaybānī.¹³ Al-Ṣūlī prefers omitting diacritical dots and vowel signs in all texts, except when the leader has reasons, as shown above.

Until now, I have discussed the etiquette of when and when not to provide diacritical dots and vowel signs as discussed in *adab al-kātib* books, which are concerned with writing letters and documents. However, al-Rāmāhurmuẓī’s view is very different since he is mainly concerned with *ḥadīth*. For him, providing diacritical points is obligatory, and in particular, with names, since their correctness is only achieved when written with diacritical dots. For vowel signs, al-Rāmāhurmuẓī transmitted two rules. The first is *innamā yushkalu mā yushkilu wa-lā ḥājah ilā al-shakl ma'a 'adam al-ishkāl* (“only what confuses is vocalized, but there is no need to vocalize when there is no confusion”). In accordance with this rule, al-Khaṭīb highlights the importance of providing diacritical points and vowel signs for different names that might seem similar in writing, such as

⁹ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, 52. This is also mentioned in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, 4: 173. On Sa'īd ibn Ḥumayd, see EI², s. v. “Sa'īd b. Ḥumayd”; GAS, 2: 583.

¹⁰ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 57.

¹¹ Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 57.

¹² Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, 58.

¹³ Al-Shaybānī, *al-Risālah al-'Adhrā'*, 52.

Bishr بشر and *Busr* بسر.¹⁴ The second, *al-awlā an yuskhalu al-jamī* (“the priority is to vocalize the all [text]”).¹⁵

4.2.1. Pointed letters (*naqt*) and distinguishing unpointed letters (*ihmāl*)¹⁶

The Arabic alphabet involves letters that have the same grapheme for two letters. The *naqt* and the *ihmāl* are used to distinguish these letters from each other; thus, we have two categories of letters: pointed letters and their counterpart the unpointed letters. However, some letters are pointed but without any unpointed counterparts. These letters are the *bā*’, *tā*’, and *thā*’; the *nūn*; the connected form *yā*’; the *fā*’ and *qāf*. Some letters are unpointed but with no pointed counterparts. These letters are *alif*, *lām*, *kāf*, *mīm*, *wāw*. The letter *tā*’ *marbūṭah* in its final position form (ـ) can be written without dots.¹⁷

4.2.1.1. Naqt

The *naqt*, which began as early as the first/seventh century as some early writings on papyrus and inscriptions show,¹⁸ became widespread in scholarly writing in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Most of the non-Qur’ānic manuscripts under examination provide diacritical points. Most of the third/ninth-century manuscripts at my disposal are written entirely with points.¹⁹ Only two manuscripts differ in which some words are left without points.²⁰ In a similar way, most fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination provide diacritical dots, except three in which some words are unpointed.²¹ Perhaps the partial omission of diacritical dots is influenced by the writing of letters and documents in which the diacritical points were not generally approved, as explained in section 4.2. Or this simply occurred unintentionally, maybe under the pressure of writing quickly.

¹⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Jāmi*’, 1: 269-70.

¹⁵ Al-Rāmāhurmuṣī, *al-Muḥaddīth al-fāṣil*, 608. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī discussed this (see *al-Jāmi*’, 1: 269-70).

¹⁶ For studies on *naqt*, see p. 26; for studies on *ihmāl*, see p. 27.

¹⁷ For a presentation of the whole Arabic graphemes, see Witkam, “The Neglect Neglected,” 378-9.

¹⁸ Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie II. Teil*, 41-2; Endress, “Die arabische Schrift,” 175.

¹⁹ These include the third/ninth-century core corpus: MS Vel. Ef. 3139, MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3, MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, and the third/ninth-century secondary corpus: MS BNF arabe 2859, MS Leiden Uni. Or. 298, MS MAW 1125, MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth.

²⁰ MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3; MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth.

²¹ MS BA 233, fol. 17v; MS DK 852 Tawḥīd; MS Fazil 948.

The *tā' marbūṭah* is pronounced as *tā'* when it is read without a pause. The *tā' marbūṭah* is also pronounced as *hā'* when one stops on it. Two dots are provided above *tā' marbūṭah* to distinguish it from the *hā'*.²² In a few manuscripts from the core corpus, the final shape of *hā'* is provided with an *ihmāl* mark to distinguish it from the *tā' marbūṭah* (see table 10 under 4.2.2 below).

The *Maghribī* and the *Andalusī* manuscripts under examination show that the *fā'* is distinguished from the *qāf* by providing one dot under the *fā'* and one dot above the *qāf*.²³ Thus, the *qāf* in the *Maghribī* and the *Andalusī* manuscripts looks like the *fā'*.

The fourth/tenth-century manuscript of *Mushkil al-Qur'ān*, due to its subject matter of problematic issues in Qur'ān, includes words that might be difficult or confusing to the reader. The copyist finds himself compelled to emphasize the letter *dhāl* in the word *al-khadha'* (“the obliqueness”) by describing it in the margin: *Bi al-dhāl al-mu'jamah* (“with the dotted *dāl*”). The copyist here assumes that the reader might confuse this *dhāl* with a *dāl* (that he may think the word is *al-khad'*, “cheating,” not *al-khadha'*, see the illus. 4.1). This practice is coherent with Ibn Jamā'ah's advice (d. 733/1333) who suggests that the copyist, when necessary, should exercise the *ḍabṭ*, i. e. writing whether the letters are pointed or not in words. He explains that the copyist is allowed to write this explanation in the margin.²⁴

4.2.1.2. *Ihmāl*

Two normative sources from the fourth/tenth century discuss the *ihmāl*. As far as I know, the earliest normative sources to discuss the *ihmāl* sign are Ibn al-Sarraj (d. 316/929) and Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/958). Despite the appearance of theoretical discussions on the *ihmāl* from the fourth/tenth century onwards, its marks were used prior in the third/ninth century, as the manuscripts under examination show. That will be clarified throughout this section.

According to Ibn Durustawayh, some scribes inserted points under unpointed letters to distinguish them from pointed ones. However, he mentions that there is no consensus on this

²² For a presentation of the whole Arabic graphemes, see Witkam, “The Neglect Neglected,” 378-9.

²³ *Maghribī*: MS DK 19598 Bā', see illus. 3.61, MS Qar. 791 (Jīm 31), fol. 36r; *Andalusī*: MS Qar. 874/62, see illus. 4.9, MS Saib 2164, illus. 3.48.

²⁴ Ibn Jamā'ah, *Tadhkirah*, 132.

practice.²⁵ This makes sense, since this practice is not helpful with all of the unpointed letters. For instance, we cannot point under the *ḥā'* as this would make it a *jīm*.

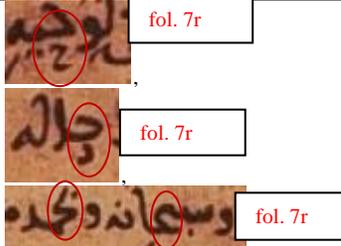
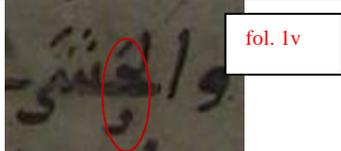
Ibn al-Sarrāj writes more details about how some graphemes were marked as *muhmal* (undotted) letters. Ibn al-Sarrāj's information are presented comparatively with the actual manuscripts for each of the undotted letters as follows.

4.2.1.2.1. *Ḥā'*

According to Ibn al-Sarrāj, the *ḥā'* is *ghufl* (“unmarked”), and this is its '*alāmatuhā* (“its mark”). Some people, according to him, put a small *ḥā'* under it to stress that it is indeed a *ḥā'*, and not a *jīm* or a *khā'*.²⁶

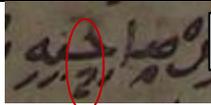
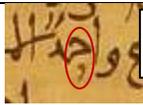
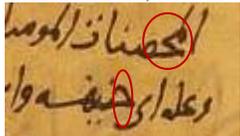
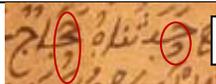
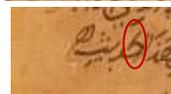
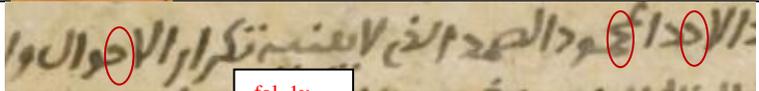
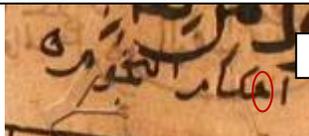
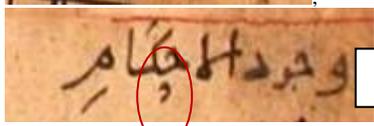
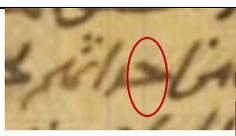
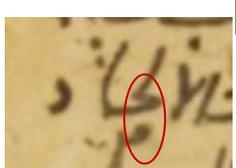
The manuscripts show that a small *ḥā'* is inserted under the *ḥā'* in many cases (see cases 1, 2, 6-11, 15, 18, 19, and 21-23). This is the mark mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj. However, some marks not mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj are also noticed in the manuscripts such as a mark similar to the *rā'* (like a line or crescent curved to the left hand) (see cases 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 13-15, 18, 19, and 21-23), a crescent or curved line to the right hand (see case 17 below), a curved line to the bottom under the *ḥā'* (see case 14 below). A v-like shape similar to an inverted caret above the *ḥā'* is also used in a single case (see case 20 below).

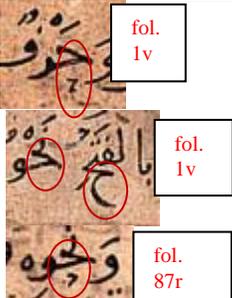
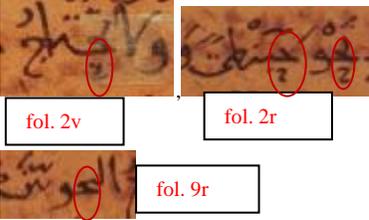
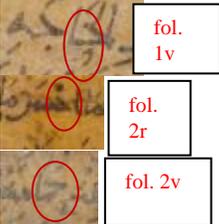
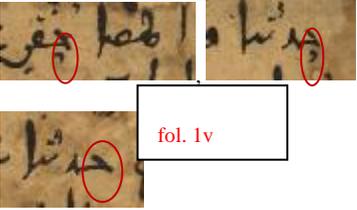
Table 2. *Ihmāl* marks of *ḥā'*

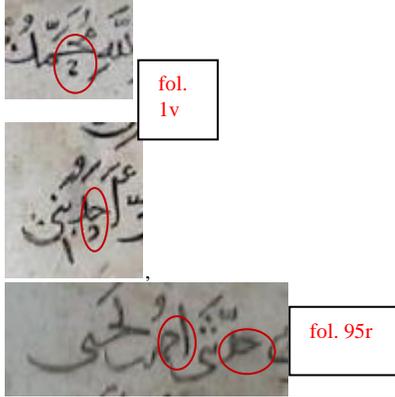
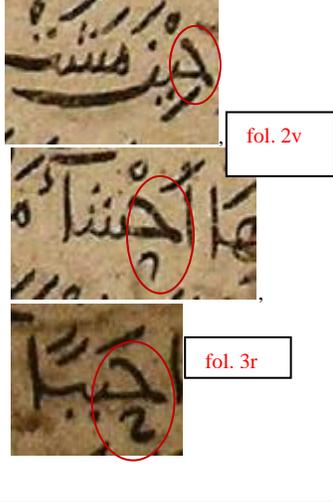
	Manuscript	Notes	Illus.
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) A small <i>ḥā'</i> under the <i>ḥā'</i> (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>ḥā'</i> (e. g. fol. 7r). 3) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 7r).	
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>ḥā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) A small <i>ḥā'</i> under the <i>ḥā'</i> (e. g. 2v).	

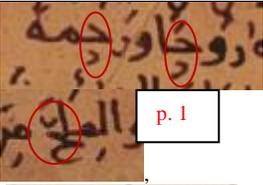
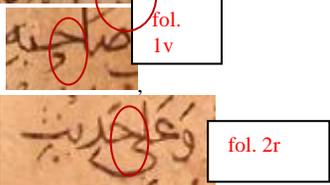
²⁵ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 52.

²⁶ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-3.

			 fol. 2v
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1	<p>1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. part 1, fol. 2r).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. part 1, fol. 4r).</p>	 part 1, fol. 2r  part 1, fol. 4r
4	MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	<p>1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. p. 2).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. p. 4).</p>	 p. 2  p. 4
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	1) Unmarked.	 fol. 1v
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	<p>1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. e. g. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v)</p> <p>3) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (fol. 7r).</p>	 fol. 1v  fol. 1v  fol. 7r
7	MS Şehid 2552, fol. 3r.	<p>1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).</p> <p>2) unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r).</p>	 fol. 3r
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 fol. 1v 

9	MS Fazil 1507	<p>1) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>3) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 87r).</p>	
10	MS Fazil 1508	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>2) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).</p>	
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	<p>1) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2r, 2v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. 9r).</p>	
12	MS DK 139 Nahw part 3	<p>1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v)</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).</p> <p>3) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).</p>	
13	MS Fazil 1541	<p>1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) A line curved to the bottom under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>3) Sometimes, a line to the left hand like the <i>rā'</i> underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	

15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) A shape similar to a <i>rā'</i> underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>3) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 95r).</p>	
16	MS Fazil 948, fol. 1v.	1) Unmarked.	
17	MS IUL A 1434	<p>1) A line curved to the right hand under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2r, 3r)</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 4v).</p>	
18	MS Lal. 1728	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>2) A line curved to the bottom underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>3) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).</p>	
19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>3) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).</p>	

20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	1) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. p. 1). 2) A v-like shape above the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. p. 1). 3) Unmarked (e. g. p. 3, 4).	 <p>p. 1</p>  <p>p. 3</p>  <p>p. 4</p>
21	MS Fazil 43	1) A line curved to the left-hand side like the <i>rā'</i> underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2r). 3) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (fol. 1v). 3) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v).	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 2r</p>  <p>fol. 2v</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905	1) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 3) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 2r</p>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) A small <i>hā'</i> under the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (fol. 1v.) 3) A mark similar to a <i>rā'</i> underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).	 <p>fol. 1v</p>   <p>fol. 2v</p>

4.2.1.2.2. *Dāl*

Like the *ḥā'*, according to Ibn al-Sarrāj, the *dāl* is unpointed letter (*ghufl*). It is distinguished from the *dhāl*, by the latter's dot (not *ghufl*).²⁷ However, according to Ibn al-Sarrāj, the scribes used *ihmāl* marks to stress the fact that the *dāl* is not a *dhāl*, where the *dhāl*'s dot was sometimes accidentally omitted.²⁸ According to Ibn al-Sarrāj, two practices were in operation. One practice was placing a single point under the *dāl*.²⁹ Another practice was drawing a small *dāl* underneath the *dāl*. This was especially the practice of some of the *ḥadīth* scholars.³⁰ Ibn al-Sarrāj writes that the point under the *dāl* is *awkad* (“more certain [than the others]”). What he means is that providing a dot underneath the *dāl* is the most precise *ihmāl* mark for the *dāl*. However, drawing a small *dāl* underneath the *dāl* seems to be more efficient, as it is clearer than merely providing a point. A point can be confused with a word from the following line, but this is less likely when drawing a small *dāl* underneath.

Only one point mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj is noticed in the actual manuscripts. In many of the examined manuscripts, the *dāl* is marked with a dot underneath (see cases 4, 6, 9, 10, 13-15, 17, 18, and 23). However, the practice of writing a small *dāl* under the *dāl*, is not found in any of the manuscripts in my corpus. Furthermore, although Ibn al-Sarrāj indicates that writing a small *dāl* under the *dāl* was used by *ḥadīth* scholars,³¹ this is also not observed in any of the *ḥadīth* manuscripts at my disposal.³²

A mark not mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj is found in my corpus. This is case 23 where a curved line like a crescent shape faces the left-hand side underneath *dāl* or above.

²⁷ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-3.

²⁸ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-3.

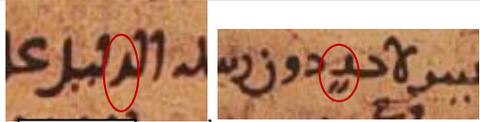
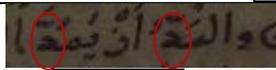
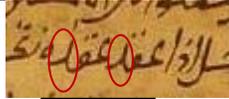
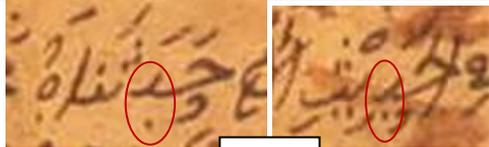
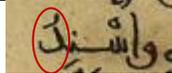
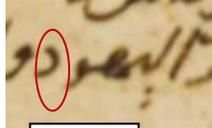
²⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-3. Ibn Durustawayh also mentioned that mark, see Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 52.

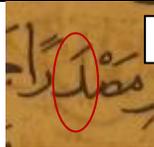
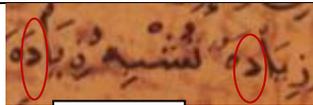
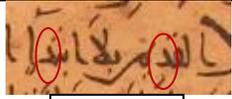
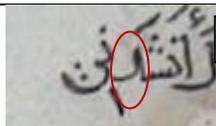
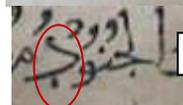
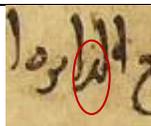
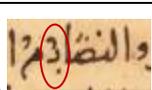
³⁰ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-3.

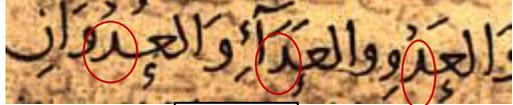
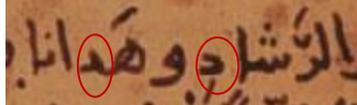
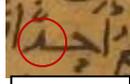
³¹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-3.

³² Here I refer to *ḥadīth* manuscripts beyond the core corpus: MS Leiden Uni. Or. 298, MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth, MS Ankara, Saib, 2164.

Table 3. *Ihmāl* marks of *dāl*

	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh	Unmarked.	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 8r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 8v</div> </div>
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	Unmarked.	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 0 auto;">fol. 2r</div>
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1	Unmarked.	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 0 auto;">fol. 3r</div>
4	MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	A point undern the <i>dāl</i> .	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 0 auto;">p. 2</div>
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	Unmarked.	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 0 auto;">fol. 1v</div>
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) A point under the <i>dāl</i> (e. g. fol. 8r).	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 8r</div> </div>
7	MS Şehid 2552	Unmarked.	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 0 auto;">fol. 3r</div>
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	Unmarked.	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 0 auto;">fol. 2v</div>
9	MS Fazil 1507, fol. 3r.	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) A dot under the <i>dāl</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 0 auto;">fol. 3r</div>

10	MS Fazil 1508	1) Unmarked (fol. 1v). 2) A dot under the <i>dāl</i> (fol. 4r).	 
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	Unmarked.	
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	Unmarked.	
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) Unmarked (fol. 1v). 2) A point under the <i>dāl</i> (fol. 3v).	 
14	MS BA 233	1) A point under the <i>dāl</i> (fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (fol. 3r).	 
15	MS Reis 904	1) Unmarked (fol. 1v). 2) A point under the <i>dāl</i> (fol. 2r).	 
16	MS Fazil 948, fol. 2r.	Unmarked.	
17	MS IUL A 1434, fol. 2v, 13r.	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v). 2) A point under the <i>dāl</i> (e. g. fol. 13r).	 

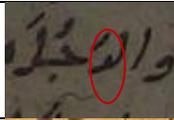
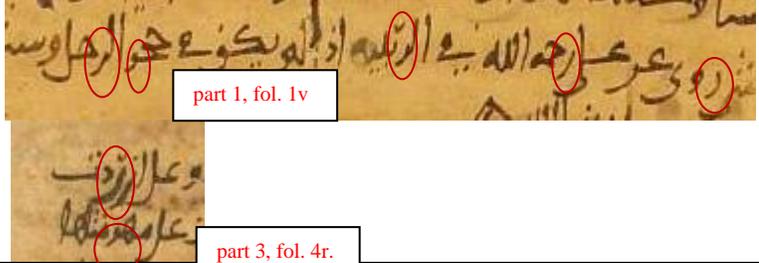
18	MS Lal. 1728	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v). 2) A dot under the <i>dāl</i> (e. g. fol. 199r).	 <div data-bbox="915 348 1024 386" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 2v</div> <div data-bbox="1081 348 1211 386" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 199r</div>
19	MS Şehid 27	Unmarked.	 <div data-bbox="1081 531 1203 569" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 2v</div>
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	Unmarked.	 <div data-bbox="1016 695 1122 741" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">p. 1</div>
21	MS Fazil 43	Unmarked.	 <div data-bbox="915 852 1024 890" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div>
22	MS Lal. 1905	Unmarked.	 <div data-bbox="943 968 1073 1005" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3v</div>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) A curved line like a crescent shape facing the left-hand side underneath the <i>dāl</i> or above when not possible due to <i>i'rāb</i> under letter (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) A single point under the <i>dāl</i> (e. g. fol. 12v).	 <div data-bbox="1049 1104 1154 1188" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div> <div data-bbox="984 1276 1105 1314" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 12v</div>

4.2.1.2.3. *Rā'*

Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions two marks to distinguish the *rā'* from the *zāy*. The first mark is a single point underneath the *rā'*.³³ The second one is the *rā' maqlūbah* (“an inverted *rā'*”) above the *rā'*, which was supposedly the practice of some authors in the discipline of Arabic at the time of Ibn al-Sarrāj.³⁴ What Ibn al-Sarrāj likely means by the *rā' maqlūbah*, is the sign that looks like an inverted caret, or what Witkam describes as a “v-like shape”.³⁵ The examined manuscripts show both marks being used.

In nine cases, the v-like shape above the *rā'* is used. (see cases 1, 3, 8-10, 12, and 20-22 below). In five cases, the *rā'* is written with a dot underneath. (see cases 6, 7, 13, 14, and 19). Furthermore, one copyist sometimes uses the dot and sometimes the v-like shape above the *rā'* (see case 23 below).

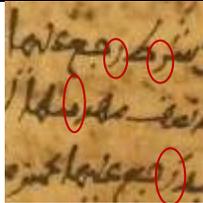
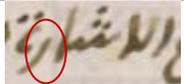
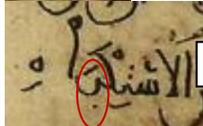
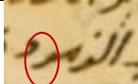
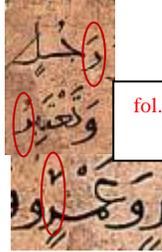
Table 4. *Ihmāl* marks of *rā'*

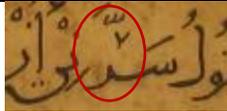
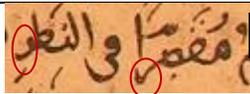
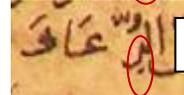
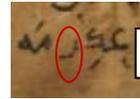
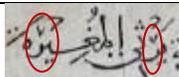
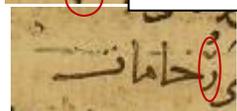
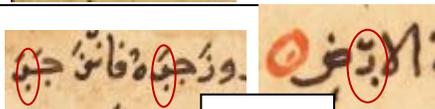
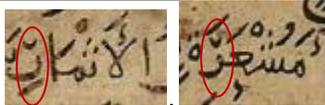
	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 7r).	 fol. 7r
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	Unmarked.	 fol. 1v
3	MS MMMI44, part 1, part 3	1) Unmarked (e. g. part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 4r). 2) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 4r).	 part 1, fol. 1v part 3, fol. 4r.

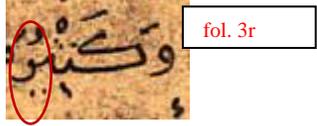
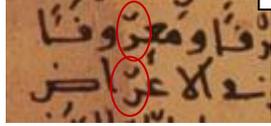
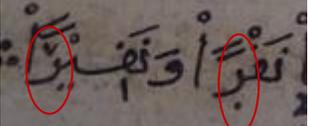
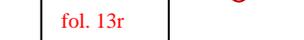
³³ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-4. Ibn Durustawayh also mentioned that mark, see Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 52.

³⁴ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 12-4.

³⁵ Witkam, “The Neglect Neglected,” 393.

			
4	MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. p. 2).	 p. 2
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	Unmarked.	 fol. 1v
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Dot under the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 2r
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Dot under the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).	 fol. 3r  fol. 3r
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	1) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 2r
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v

			 fol. 1v
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2r).	 fol. 2r
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	1) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r).	 fol. 3r
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1r). 2) Dot under the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 217v).	 fol. 1r  fol. 217v
14	MS BA 233	1) Dot underneath the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v  fol. 1v
15	MS Reis 904	V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v
16	MS Fazil 948	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v  fol. 1v
17	MS IUL A 1434	Dot under the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2r).	 fol. 2r
18	MS Laleli1728	V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v

19	MS Şehid 27	1) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (fol. 3r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 3r
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	1) Unmarked (e. g. p. 1). 2) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. p. 1).	 p. 1 
21	MS Fazil 43	1) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v 
22	MS Lal. 1905	1) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (fol. e. g. 1v).	 fol. 1v  fol. 1v
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) Dot underneath the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 13r). 2) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> (e. g. fol. 13r).	 fol. 13r 

4.2.1.2.4. *Sīn*

Ibn al-Sarrāj explains that the *sīn* does not have any dots; thus, it is distinguished from the *shīn* which has three dots above it. He mentions that some people, to distinguish between the two letters, draw a point under the *sīn* and a single point above the *shīn*, instead of conventional three points above the latter.³⁶ Furthermore, Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions that some people draw something *ka al-*

³⁶ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-6. Ibn Durustawayh analyzed writing dot under the all the *muhmal* letters, see Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 52.

khatt (“like the line”) above the *sīn* as an *ihmāl* mark.³⁷ Ibn al-Sarrāj does not provide details about what *ka al-khatt* is. As I explain below, this mark may be the v-like shape above the *sīn*. In addition, Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions that the philologists draw a small *sīn* under the *sīn* as an *ihmāl* mark.³⁸

Our third/ninth-century manuscripts do not show the *ihmāl* marks mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj, except for a v-like shape above *sīn* (see cases 1 and 3 below). This mark is also intensively used as an *ihmāl* mark for the *sīn* in the fourth/tenth century (see cases 4, 8-10, and 12-23). As mentioned, this mark may be the mark that Ibn al-Sarrāj describes as *ka al-khatt* (“like the line”)³⁹ Another practice, not mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj, but observed in the manuscripts is where three dots are written under the *sīn* (see case 2). This mark is also used in the fourth/tenth century, as four specimens show (see cases 6, 9, 13, and 15).

As for the *shīn* being written with a dot above it, I could not trace this in any of the specimens of the core corpus. However, the practice of writing the *sīn* with a dot underneath, does occur in three fourth/tenth-century manuscripts (see cases 6, 13, and 23 below). Case 23 shows a small *sīn* being written under the *sīn* as an *ihmāl* mark. This mark is mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj, who ascribes it to the philologists.

A mark noticed in the manuscripts but not mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj is the practice of writing three dots under *sīn* (see cases 2, 6, 9, 13, and 15).

In one of the manuscripts scrutinized, the copyist occasionally uses two marks together for the *sīn*: the v-like shape above and three dots underneath it (see case 15 below).

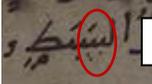
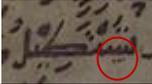
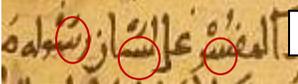
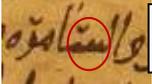
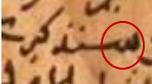
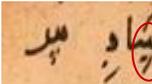
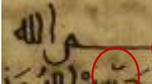
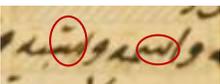
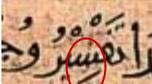
Table 5. *Ihmāl* marks of *sīn*

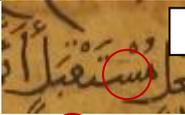
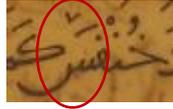
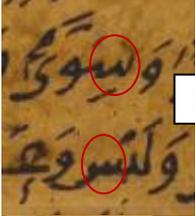
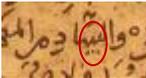
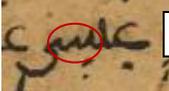
	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 6v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 7v).	
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r). 2) Three dots under the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 3v, 4v).	

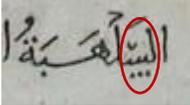
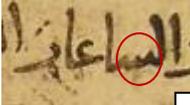
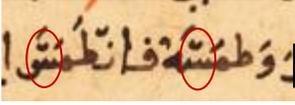
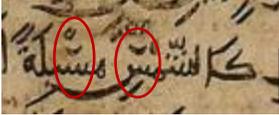
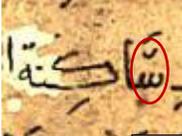
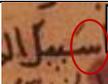
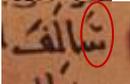
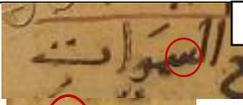
³⁷ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-6.

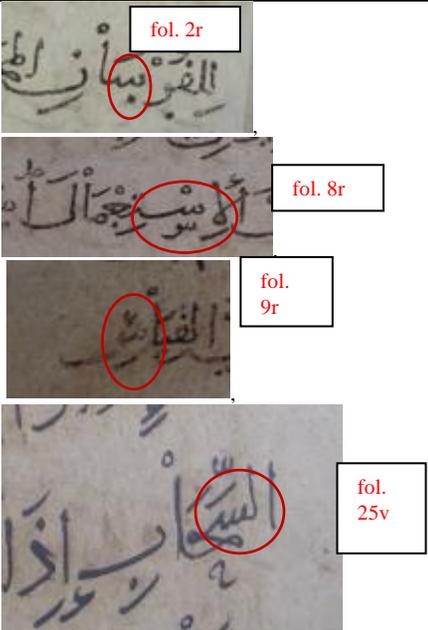
³⁸ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-6.

³⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-6.

			 fol. 3v
			 fol. 4v
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	1) Unmarked (part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 2r). 2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. part 1, 3r, part 3, fol. 2v).	 part 1, fol. 1v.  part 1, fol. 3r  part 3, fol. 2r  part 3, fol. 2v
4	MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. p. 1).	 p. 1
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	Unmarked.	 fol. 1v
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Three dots under the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 3) Dot under the <i>sīn</i> (fol. 3r).	  fol. 1v   fol. 3r
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r).	 fol. 3r.
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 2r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).	  fol. 2r
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Three dots under the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 3) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).	

			 <div data-bbox="1149 218 1393 268" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div>
10	MS Fazil 1508	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 178v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1104 457 1214 499" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div>  <div data-bbox="1104 583 1243 625" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 178v</div>
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	Unmarked.	 <div data-bbox="1081 730 1195 772" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 2r</div>
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	<p>1) Frequently unmarked (e. g. fol. 3v).</p> <p>2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (fol. 4r).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1104 877 1224 919" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 3v</div>  <div data-bbox="1094 1045 1205 1087" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 4r</div>
13	MS Fazil 1541	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Dot underneath the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 2r).</p> <p>3) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 5r).</p> <p>4) Three dots under the <i>sīn</i> (362v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1081 1199 1214 1241" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div>  <div data-bbox="1094 1297 1211 1339" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 2r</div>  <div data-bbox="1029 1388 1123 1430" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 5r</div>  <div data-bbox="1094 1501 1198 1543" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 362v</div>
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1104 1591 1230 1633" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div>  <div data-bbox="1143 1696 1253 1738" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 3r</div>
15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>3) V-like shape above and three dots underneath the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 2r).</p>	

			 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 2r</p>
16	MS Fazil 948	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p> 
17	MS IUL A 1434	<p>1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 2r).</p>	 <p>fol. 2r</p>
18	MS Lal. 1728	<p>1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).</p>	 <p>fol. 2v</p>
19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p> 
20	MS DK 663 Tafṣīr	<p>1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. p. 1). 2) Unmarked (e. g. p. 1).</p>	 <p>p. 1</p>  <p>p. 1</p>
21	MS Fazil 43	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 3v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 3v</p>
22	MS Lal.1905	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 2v</p>

23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) Dot underneath the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 2r). 2) Small <i>sīn</i> underneath the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 8r). 3) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> (e. g. fol. 9r). 4) Unmarked (fol. 25v).	
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4.2.1.2.5. *Ṣād*

Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions two *ihmāl* signs for the *ṣād*. The first is a single dot under the letter to distinguish it from the *ḍād* that has a dot above it.⁴⁰ The second *ihmāl* sign is a small *ṣād* written under the *ṣād* which Ibn al-Sarrāj explains was used by the philologists.⁴¹

These two marks mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj are traced in our corpus. Writing a dot under *ṣād* is used in some cases (see cases 1, 13, 6, 7, 14, and 23). However, this mark is not as copious as the small *ṣād* written underneath the *ṣād* (see cases 1, 2, 4, 9-12, 15, 18, 19, and 21-23). In almost all of the cases where the small *ṣād* is provided underneath the *ṣād*, this *ṣād* includes only the body of the *ṣād* instead of the complete shape of the letter.⁴² An exception is case 23, where the small *ṣād* underneath the *ṣād* includes “the body” and a part of “the ascender.”

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-16. Ibn Durustawayh analyzed writing dot under the all the *muhmal* letters, see Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 52.

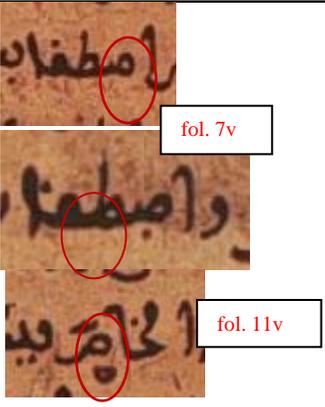
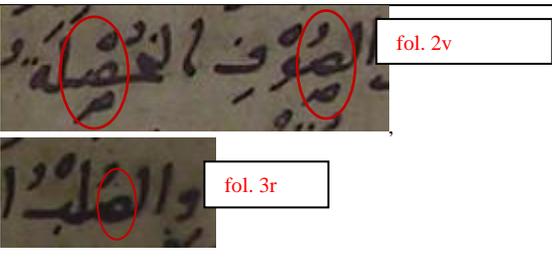
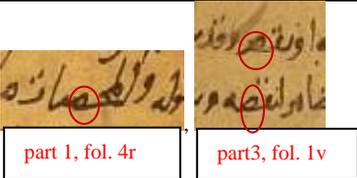
⁴¹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-6.

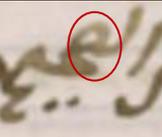
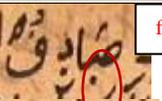
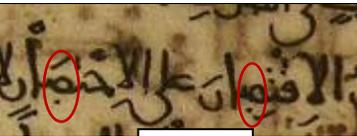
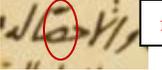
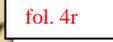
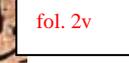
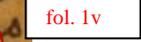
⁴² The technical term “the body” is taken from Gacek, *Vademecum*, 142.

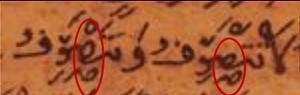
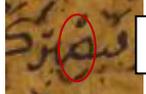
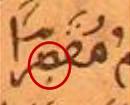
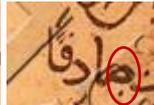
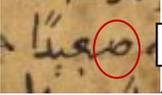
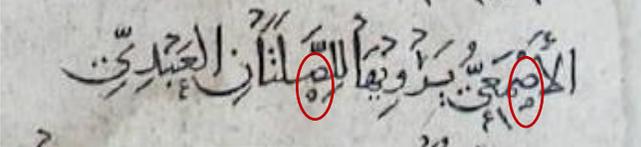
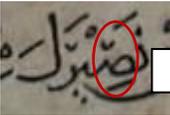
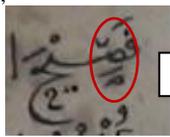
Another sign used in many of the manuscripts under examination is a v-like shape written above the *ṣād*. This occurs in 8 of 23 manuscripts (see cases 8, 11, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23). Ibn al-Sarrāj, however, does not mention this as an *ihmāl* sign for the *ṣād*.

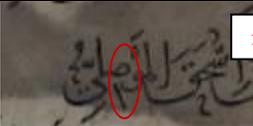
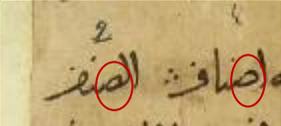
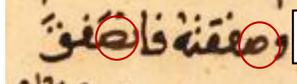
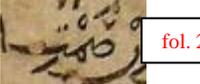
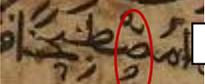
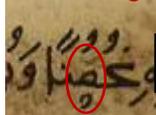
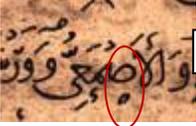
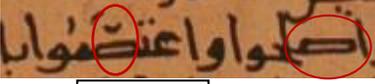
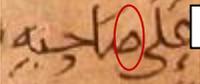
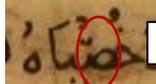
The v-like shape above the *ṣād* and the small body of the *ṣād* are combined to indicate *ihmāl* of a single letter in two specimens (see cases 15 and 18). Similarly, the *ihmāl* mark is doubled with the *sīn* in case 15 as a v-like shape above the *sīn*, with three dots underneath it (see table 5, case 15). The duplication of the *ihmāl* marks only occurs in cases 15 and 18. Perhaps, these two manuscripts reflect similar scribal practice since they are comparable. These manuscripts were also copied at a similar timeframe. The manuscripts of cases 15 and 18 are copied in 370/[981] and 372/[983] respectively.

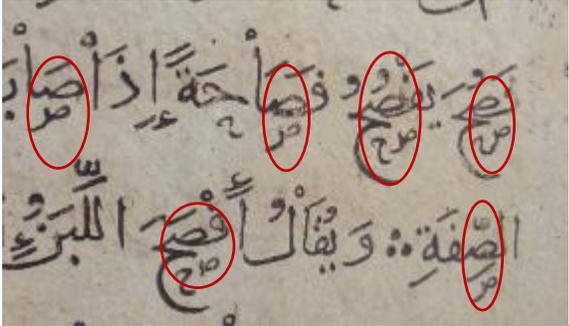
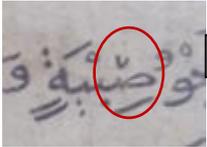
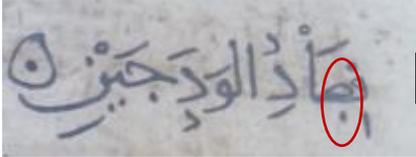
Table 6. *Ihmāl* marks of *ṣād*

	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) Dot underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 7v). 3) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 11v).	
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 2v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r).	
3	MS MMMI, part 1, part3	Unmarked.	

4	MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. p. 2). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. p. 2).	  
5	MS DK 19598 Bā’	Unmarked.	 
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Dot underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. 8r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. 12r).	   
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) Dot underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. 3r).	   
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 4r).	   
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).	   
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 189v).	   

11	MS DK 149 Naḥw	<p>1) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 4v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1071 252 1185 304" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3r</div>  <div data-bbox="925 388 1047 441" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 4v</div>
12	MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3	<p>1) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 6r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 7v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="941 514 1039 567" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 6r</div>  <div data-bbox="917 619 1015 672" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 7v</div>
13	MS Fazil 1541	<p>1) Dot underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	  <div data-bbox="950 903 1079 955" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div>
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. 5r). 3) Dot underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. 13r).</p>	 <div data-bbox="933 1081 1039 1134" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div>  <div data-bbox="950 1186 1071 1239" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 15v</div>  <div data-bbox="974 1270 1096 1323" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 13r</div>
15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) Body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. 1r). 3) Both the body of a <i>ṣād</i> underneath and v-like shape above the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. 43v). 4) Unmarked (e. g. 51v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="966 1480 1079 1533" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div>  <div data-bbox="933 1575 1047 1627" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 11v</div>  <div data-bbox="933 1722 1047 1774" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 43v</div>

			 fol. 51v
16	MS Fazil 948	Unmarked.	 fol. 2r
17	MS IUL A 1434	Unmarked.	 fol. 2v
18	MS Lal. 1728	1) V-like shape above the <i>šād</i> (e. g. fol. 2v). 2) V-like shape above and the body of a <i>šād</i> underneath the <i>šād</i> (e. g. fol. 3v). 3) Body of a <i>šād</i> underneath the <i>šād</i> (e. g. 20r).	 fol. 2v  fol. 3v  fol. 20r
19	MS Şehid 27	1) V-like shape above the <i>šād</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. 1v). 3) Body of a <i>šād</i> underneath the <i>šād</i> (e. g. fol. 5r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 5r
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	1) V-like shape above the <i>šād</i> (e. g. p. 3). 2) Unmarked (e. g. p. 3).	 p. 3
21	MS Fazil 43	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Body of a <i>šād</i> under the <i>šād</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).	 fol. 3r 
22	MS Lal.1905	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) V-like shape above the <i>šād</i> (e. g. fol. 200v). 3) Body of a <i>šād</i> underneath the <i>šād</i> (e. g. fol. 260v).	 fol. 1v  fol. 200v

				 <div data-bbox="902 216 1036 268" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 260v</div>
23	MS Lughah	MRT 37	<p>1) <i>Ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>2) V-like shape above the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 7v).</p> <p>3) Dot underneath the <i>ṣād</i> (e. g. fol. 30v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="987 724 1127 772" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 2v</div>  <div data-bbox="976 804 1084 852" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 7v</div>  <div data-bbox="1185 978 1349 1031" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 30v</div>

4.2.1.2.6. ‘Ayn

Ibn al-Sarrāj does not write a separate entry on distinguishing the ‘*ayn* and the *ghayn* as he does with the other homographs. Rather he mentions the ‘*ayn* when he discusses the *ṣād* and the *ḍād*, and the *ṭā’* and the *ẓā’*.⁴³ He explains that scribes marked the ‘*ayn* as a *muhmal* letter by writing a small ‘*ayn* underneath.⁴⁴ A second mark that was also used was a dot written underneath the ‘*ayn*.⁴⁵

The marks Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions can be traced in the manuscripts. Writing a small ‘*ayn* underneath the letter occurs in many of the manuscripts under examination. For this mark, copyists primarily drew only “the body” of the ‘*ayn* (see the cases 1-3, 6, 7, 9-12, 15, 16, 18-20, 22, and 23). They seldom drew the entire letter, but this does also occur (see cases 12, 15, and 23 below).

⁴³ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-5.

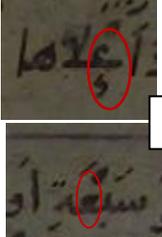
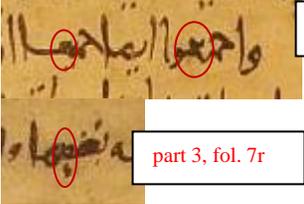
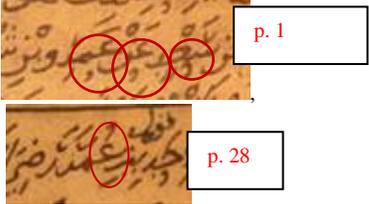
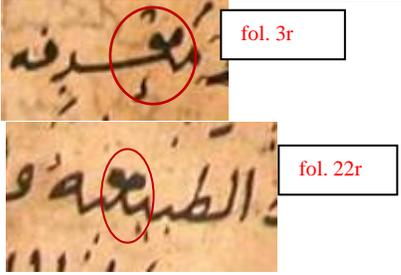
⁴⁴ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-5.

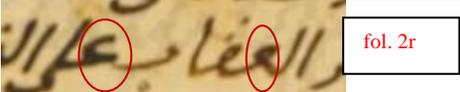
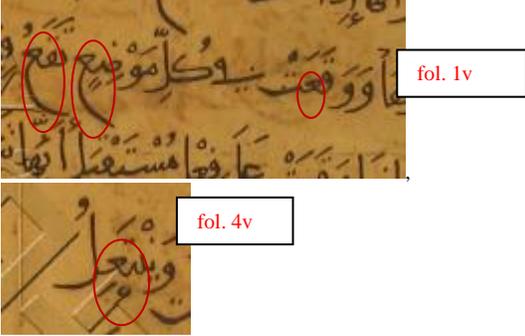
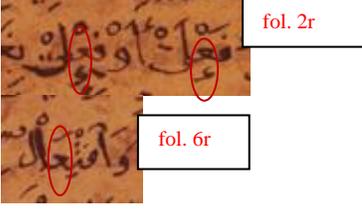
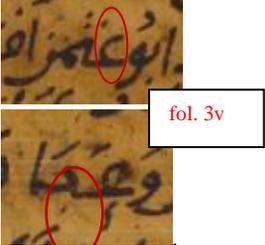
⁴⁵ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-5.

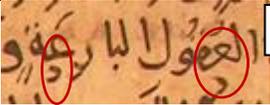
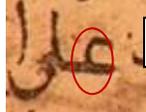
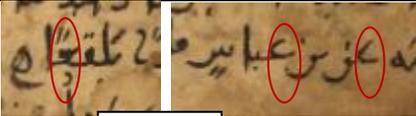
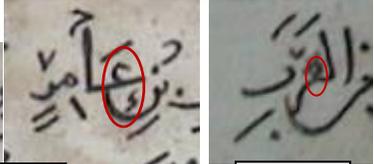
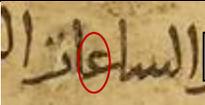
In one case, the body of the *ʿayn* is provided above instead of underneath (case 9). Writing a dot underneath is also noticed in a few specimens (see cases 19, 22, and 23).

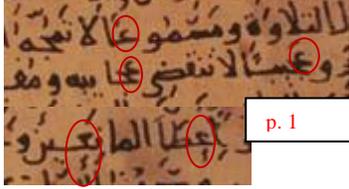
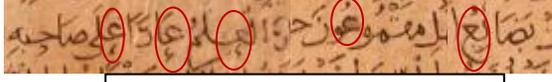
Another mark observed in the manuscripts is a crescent like mark facing the right-hand side (see case 17) or the left-hand side under the *ʿayn* (see cases 4, 13, and 14). Neither Ibn Durustawayh nor Ibn al-Sarrāj mention this mark.

Table 7. *Ihmāl* marks of ‘*ayn*’

	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 6v). 2) Body of an ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ underneath the ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ (e. g. fol. 6v).	 <p>fol. 6v</p>
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) Body of an ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ underneath the ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).	 <p>fol. 1v</p>
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	1) Unmarked (e. g. part 1, fol. 2r). 2) Body of an ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ underneath the ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ (e. g. part 3, fol. 7r).	 <p>part 1, fol. 2r</p> <p>part 3, fol. 7r</p>
4	MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) A mark like a crescent facing the left-hand side under the ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ (e. g. p. 2). 2) Unmarked (e. g. p. 28).	 <p>p. 1</p> <p>p. 28</p>
5	MS DK 19598 Bā’	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).	 <p>fol. 1v</p>
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Body of an ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ underneath the ‘ <i>ayn</i> ’ (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 22r).	 <p>fol. 3r</p> <p>fol. 22r</p>

7	MS Şehid 2552	1) Body of an <i>'ayn</i> underneath the <i>'ayn</i> (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r).	
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).	
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Body of an <i>'ayn</i> underneath (e. g. fol. 1v). 3) Body of <i>'ayn</i> above the <i>'ayn</i> (fol. 7r).	
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Body of an <i>'ayn</i> underneath the <i>'ayn</i> (e. g. fol. 4v).	
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	1) Body of an <i>'ayn</i> underneath the <i>'ayn</i> (e. g. fol. 2r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 6r).	
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3v). 2) Body of an <i>'ayn</i> (e. g. fol. 3v) or a small entire <i>'ayn</i> underneath the <i>'ayn</i> (e. g. fol. 8v).	

			 fol. 8v
13	MS Fazil 1541	<p>1) A mark like a crescent facing the left-hand side under the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v).</p>	 fol. 1v  fol. 2v
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) A mark like a crescent facing the left-hand side under the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 fol. 1v
15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) Small 'ayn or just its body underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 46r).</p>	 fol. 1v  fol. 46r
16	MS Fazil 948	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Body of an 'ayn underneath the 'ayn (fol. 40v).</p>	 fol. 1v  fol. 40v
17	MS IUL A 1434	<p>1) A mark like a crescent facing the right-side hand underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 2r).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v).</p>	 fol. 2r
18	MS Lal. 1728	<p>1) Body of an 'ayn underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2v).</p>	 fol. 1v

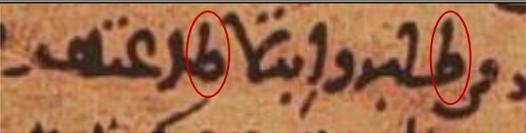
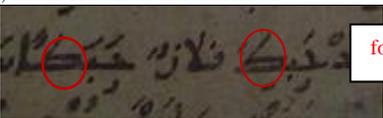
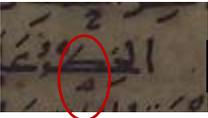
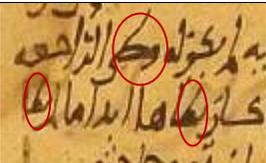
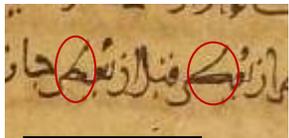
19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) Body of an 'ayn underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>3) Dot underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 3r).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 3r</p>
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	<p>1) Unmarked (e. g. p. 1).</p> <p>2) Body of an 'ayn underneath the 'ayn (e. g. p. 1).</p>	 <p>p. 1</p>
21	MS Fazil 43	<p>Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905	<p>1) Body of an 'ayn underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Dot underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>3) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	<p>1) Small 'ayn or only its body under the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) Dot underneath the 'ayn (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <p>Fol. 1v</p> 

4.2.1.2.7. *Ṭā'*

Ibn al-Sarrāj reports two marks used to distinguish the *ṭā'* from the *zā'*.⁴⁶ The first mark is a single dot underneath the *ṭā'*.⁴⁷ The second mark is a small *ṭā'* written underneath the actual *ṭā'*. Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions that the philologists used this latter mark.⁴⁸

These marks that Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions, can be observed in our manuscripts. Writing a single point underneath the letter occurs in most of the manuscripts under examination (see cases 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 19, and 23). In addition, the practice of writing a small *ṭā'* underneath can be traced in four manuscripts (see cases 12, 15, 22, and 23). Interestingly, the four cases are all found in works relating to *lughah*, which is coherent with what Ibn al-Sarrāj reports.⁴⁹ Furthermore, instead of writing a small *ṭā'*, a mark like the “body” of the *ṣād* is drawn underneath the *ṭā'* in two cases (see cases 2 and 12).

Table 8. *Ihmāl* marks of *ṭā'*

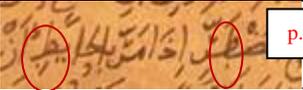
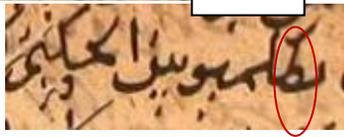
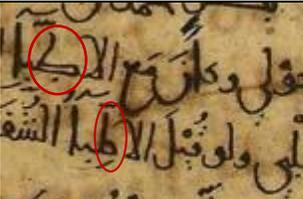
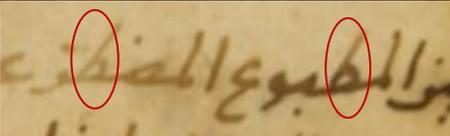
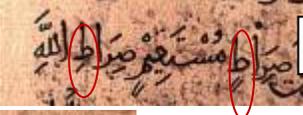
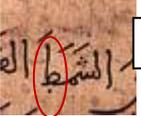
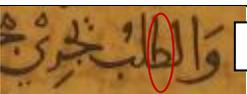
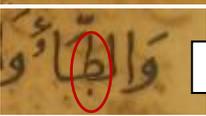
	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 8r). 2) Dot underneath the <i>ṭā'</i> (e. g. fol. 18r).	 fol. 8r  fol. 18r
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Body of a <i>ṭā'</i> underneath the <i>ṭā'</i> (e. g. fol. 9r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 9r
3	MS MMMI 44	Unmarked (e. g. part 1, fol. 2v, part 3, fol. 2v).	  part 3, fol. 2v

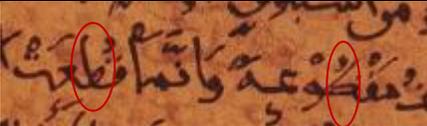
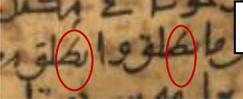
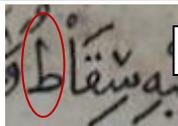
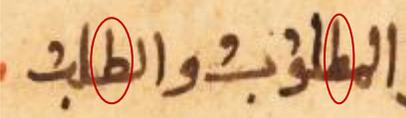
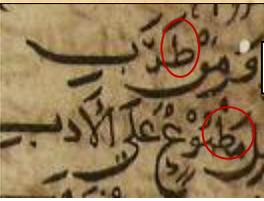
⁴⁶ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-5.

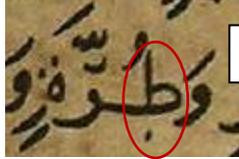
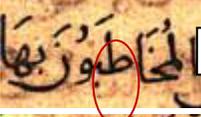
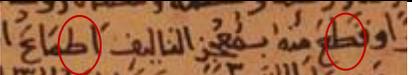
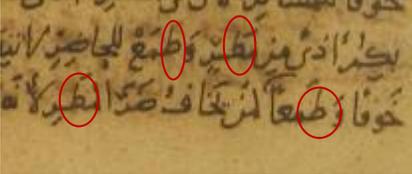
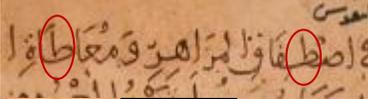
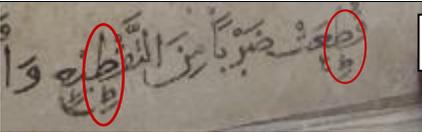
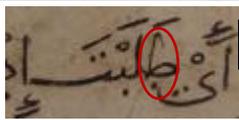
⁴⁷ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-5.

⁴⁸ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-5.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 14-5.

			part 1, fol. 2v
4	MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) Dot underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. p. 2). 2) Unmarked (e. g. p. 8).	 p. 2  p. 8
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3r).	 fol. 3r
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Dot underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. fol. 9v). 2) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 9v).	 fol. 9v 
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) Dot underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. fol. 3v). 2) Unmarked (fol. 3v).	 fol. 3v
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 10r).	 fol. 10r
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) Dot underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. fol. 17r).	 fol. 7r  fol. 17r
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 5v). 2) Dot underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. fol. 20v).	 fol. 5v  fol. 20v

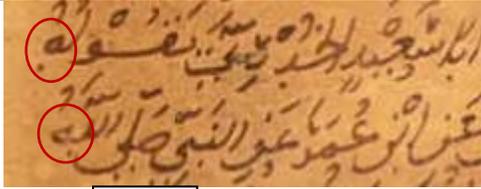
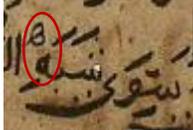
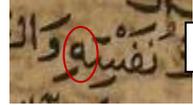
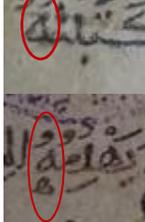
11	MS DK 149 Naḥw	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 5v).		fol. 5v
12	MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 13r). 2) Small <i>tā'</i> underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. fol. 19r). 3) Body of a <i>tā'</i> without the "stem" underneath the <i>tā'</i> (fol. 53v).	  	fol. 13r fol. 19r fol. 53v
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) Unmarked (fol. 1v). 2) Dot underneath it (e. g. fol. 2r).	 	fol. 1v fol. 2r
14	MS BA 233	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) Dot underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. fol. 7v).	 	fol. 7r fol. 7v
15	MS Reis 904	1) Small <i>tā'</i> underneath the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. 2r). 2) Unmarked (fol. 17r).	 	fol. 2r fol. 17r
16	MS Fazil 948	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 7r).		fol. 7r.
17	MS IUL A 1434	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r).		fol. 2r
18	MS Lal. 1728	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 5r). 2) Dot under the <i>tā'</i> (e. g. fol. 26v).		fol. 5r

			 fol. 26v
19	MS Şehid 27	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 6r). 2) Dot underneath the <i>ḥā'</i> (fol. 7r).	 fol. 6r  fol. 7r
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	Unmarked (e. g. p. 1).	 P. 1
21	MS Fazil 43	Unmarked (e. g. fol. 3v).	 fol. 3v
22	MS Lal. 1905	1) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 2r). 2) Small <i>ḥā'</i> underneath the <i>ḥā'</i> (fol. 11r).	 fol. 2r  fol. 11r
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) Small <i>ḥā'</i> underneath the <i>ḥā'</i> (e. g. fol. 2v). 2) Dot underneath the <i>ḥā'</i> (e. g. fol. 20r).	 fol. 2v  fol. 20r

4.2.1.2.8. The final *hā'*

The manuscripts show that the final shape of the *hā'* is occasionally marked to distinguish it from *tā' marbūṭah*. Marking the final shape of *hā'* is not discussed in the normative sources but I noticed this in three fourth/tenth-century manuscripts. In case 1 below, the copyist writes a dot underneath the final shape of the *hā'*. In cases 2 and 3, the copyist writes a *hā'* in its initial form above the *hā'*. In case 3, the copyist also writes a *hā'* in its initial form but this time underneath the *hā'*.

Table 9. *Ihmāl* marks of the final shape of *hā'*

Case number	Shelfmark & place of illuss. in MSS	Notes	Illus.
1	MS AZ. 'Amm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) Dot underneath the final <i>hā'</i> (e. g. p. 1).	 <p>f. 1</p>
2	MS Lal. 1728	1) Small <i>hā'</i> above the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. 4r). 2) Unmarked (e. g. 4v).	 <p>fol. 4r</p>  <p>fol. 4v</p>
3	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) Small <i>hā'</i> above the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 1v). 3) Unmarked (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) Small <i>hā'</i> underneath the <i>hā'</i> (e. g. fol. 9r).	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 9r</p>

The normative sources begin to discuss marking the *muhmal* graphemes to distinguish them from the *mu'jam* (dotted) graphemes from the fourth/tenth century, particularly in the works of Ibn al-Sarrāj and Ibn Durustawayh. Ibn Durustawayh only discusses dotting under the graphemes as an *ihmāl* mark but does not discuss all the *muhmal* graphemes. However, as our intensive examination of the core corpus shows the use of the *ihmāl* marks was clearly in operation in the third/ninth century and continued in the fourth/tenth century.

Our examination of the manuscripts shows that certain *ihmāl* marks that are not discussed in the normative sources were used. For instance, the *'ayn* is marked in some manuscripts with a crescent shape facing the right- or left-hand side. Neither Ibn Durustawayh nor Ibn al-Sarrāj mention this mark. The *ihmāl* mark of the final shape of *hā'* can also be traced in three fourth/tenth-

century manuscripts. Again, this practice is not mentioned by either Ibn Durustawayh or Ibn al-Sarrāj.

Our manuscripts show that copyists were not consistent in providing the *ihmāl* signs. In most cases, the unpointed letters are left unmarked. Copyists sometimes use more than one sign for the same letter, as shown above. In other words, copyists sometimes adopted two or more marks of the *ihmāl* for the same letter. The use of the *ihmāl* mark seems to have been a matter of taste as opposed to following strict rules.

The *ḥā'* and *sīn* are the most often provided with *ihmāl* signs. They are not only the most widely marked in the core corpus (they are marked in 21 manuscripts) but five different *ihmāl* signs are used for each of them. To indicate *ḥā'* as a *muhmal* letter, copyists draw either a small *ḥā'* underneath, a line curved to the bottom underneath, a line curved to the right-hand side underneath, a line curved to the left-hand side underneath, or a v-like shape above the *ḥā'*. Copyists mark *sīn* as a *muhmal* letter using one of the following marks: v-like shape above the *sīn*, three dots underneath the *sīn*, a single dot underneath the *sīn*, a small *sīn* underneath the *sīn*, and a combination of v-like shape above the *sīn* and three dots underneath the *sīn* (see table 10).

Copyists probably saw the *ḥā'* and *sīn* as particularly confusing with their pointed counterparts, so paid more attention in marking them with *ihmāl* signs over other unpointed letters. The *ḥa'* can be confused with either the *khā'* or the *jīm*, particularly if the lines are narrow. An ill-placed point on the upper line above the *ḥā'* may make it seem like a *khā'*. Likewise, a point on the lower line can make the *ḥā'* look like a *jīm*. For the *sīn*, dots on the upper line may change it to seem as a *shīn*. However, the case with the *sīn* is less severe than it is with the *ḥā'*.

Least attention in providing *ihmāl* marks is given to the *dāl*. Copyists mark the *dāl* in only 10 manuscripts (of 23 of the core corpus) using only two signs: a single point or a line curved to the left-hand side. There is no clear reason for why there is little attention paid to the *dāl* (see table 10).

Table 10. *Ihmāl* marks in use

Letter	Presence in how many of the total 23 manuscripts	How many marks used	Used marks
<i>Ḥā'</i>	21	5	1) Small <i>ḥā'</i> underneath the <i>ḥā'</i> 2) A line curved to the bottom underneath the <i>ḥā'</i> 3) A line curved to the right-side hand underneath the <i>ḥā'</i>

			4) A line curved to the left-side hand underneath the <i>ḥā'</i> 5) V-like shape above the <i>ḥā'</i>
<i>Dāl</i>	10	2	1) A single point under the <i>dāl</i> 2) A curved line to the left-hand side under the <i>dāl</i>
<i>Rā'</i>	21	2	1) V-like shape above the <i>rā'</i> 2) A single point under the <i>rā'</i>
<i>Sīn</i>	21	5	1) V-like shape above the <i>sīn</i> 2) Three dots under the <i>sīn</i> 3) A single point under the <i>sīn</i> 4) Small <i>sīn</i> under the <i>sīn</i> 5) Combination of v-like shape above and three underneath the <i>sīn</i>
<i>Ṣād</i>	19	4	1) A single point underneath the <i>ṣād</i> 2) Body of the <i>ṣād</i> /complete small <i>ṣād</i> underneath the <i>ṣād</i> 3) V-like shape above the <i>ṣād</i> 4) Combination of V-like shape above and three points underneath the <i>ṣād</i>
<i>'Ayn</i>	20	3	1) Body of an <i>'ayn</i> /complete <i>'ayn</i> underneath the <i>'ayn</i> 2) A line curved to the left-hand side 3) A single point underneath the <i>'ayn</i>
<i>Ṭā'</i>	15	3	1) A single point under the <i>ṭā'</i> 2) Body of the <i>ṭā'</i> /complete small <i>ṭā'</i> underneath the <i>ṭā'</i>

4.2.2. Vocalization (*shakl*)

In contrast to the normative sources,⁵⁰ most copyists do not seem to have followed any rules on providing vowel signs to particular types of words in our corpus. The majority of the manuscripts under examination are extensively vocalized—in fact, most of their texts, in general, are vocalized.⁵¹ However, two manuscripts are only partially vocalized.⁵² In three cases, the entire text is nearly unvocalized, in some of the pages we hardly find a single vocalized word.⁵³ The copyists of these three manuscripts only vocalize words that could confuse the reader. These include cases where an agent noun could be confused with the patient noun (see case 1 below), passive verbs that could be confused with the active verbs (see cases 1, 2, 3 below), a verb conjugated in the

⁵⁰ See section 4.2 above.

⁵¹ MS Vel. Ef. 3139; AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth; MS Car. Ef. 1508; MS Şehid 2552; MS Fazil 1507; MS Fazil 1508; MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3; MS Fazil 1541; MS Reis 904; MS IUL A 1434; MS Lal. 1728; MS Şehid 27; MS DK 663 Tafsīr; MS Fazil 43; MS Lal. 1905; MS MRT 37 Lughah.

⁵² MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh; MS MMMI 44, part 1 and 3; MS BA 233.

⁵³ MS DK 19598 Bā'; MS DK 852 Tawḥīd; MS Fazil 948. Vocalizing the whole text seems to have extended to the sixth/twelfth century, in which al-Qāḍī 'Iyād supported those who had been for vocalizing the whole text of a manuscript, reasoning that this practice is helpful for the beginner, see al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *al-Ilmā'*, 149-52.

first-person could be confused with a verb conjugated in the second-person (see case 1 below), words with the same letters and only distinguishable when providing the vowel signs (the name *Mu‘ammar* in case 2 below, the word *bu‘dah* in case 3 below).

Table 11. Limited providing of vowel signs

	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Illus.
1	MS DK 19598 Bā’	<p>1) The agent noun <i>al-munbī</i> (the prophesier) is vocalized with <i>kasrah</i> under the <i>bā’</i> to avoid the confusion with the patient noun, which would be with <i>fathah</i> above the <i>bā’</i>, i.e., <i>al-munbī</i> (who is prophesied) (fol. 2r).</p> <p>2) The verb <i>tuquwwila</i> (“was said”) is vocalized with <i>ḍammah</i> above the <i>tā’</i> and another <i>ḍammah</i> above the <i>qāf</i> to distinguish it as passive (fol. 2r).</p> <p>3) The verb <i>sami‘tu</i> (“I heard”) is vocalized with <i>ḍammah</i> on the <i>tā’</i> to show that it is conjugated in the first-person, not in the second-person, i. e. <i>sami‘ta</i> (“you heard”) (fol. 6r).</p>	
2	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	<p>1) The name <i>Mu‘ammar</i> (with <i>ḍammah</i> on the first <i>mīm</i> and <i>shaddah</i> on the second <i>mīm</i>) is vocalized to avoid the confusion with <i>Ma‘mar</i> (fol. 8r).</p> <p>2) The <i>ḍammah</i> above the <i>tā’/yā’</i> of the verbs <i>tu‘rafu</i> (“they are identified”)/<i>yu‘rafu</i> (“it is identified”) to indicate the passive (e. g. fol. 22r).</p>	
3	MS Fazil 948	<p>1) In the verb <i>tusammā</i> (“they are called”), <i>ḍammah</i> is provided on the <i>tā’</i> to indicate the passive (fol. 1v). 2) The <i>ḍammah</i> above the word <i>bu‘dah</i> (“its farness”) distinguishes it from the word <i>ba‘dah</i> (“after it”), (fol. 32r).</p>	

The rest of this section discusses how vocalization occurs in the non-Qur’anic manuscripts of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. The vocalization in these manuscripts is almost the same as

the one used in modern Arabic writing. It differs, however, from the earlier system of vocalization found in Qurānic manuscripts, which employs coloured dots.⁵⁴

Ibn Durustawayh divides the vocalization marks into two categories. The first is *ṣuwar al-ḥarakāt wa-l-sukūn* (“the shapes of signs for vowels and vowellessness”). This category includes the *fathāh*, *ḍammah*, *kasrah*, *waqfah/sukūn* (vowellessness).⁵⁵ The second is *ziyādah yu'tā bihā ma'a al-ḥarf* (“an addition is used with the letter”), which includes the *tashdīd* (gemination), *tanwīnah* (nunation), *hamzah* (glottal stop), *maddah* (*alif* of prolongation), and *'alam alif al-waṣl* (the mark of the connective *alif*).⁵⁶ I discuss in detail every mark by bringing together Ibn al-Sarrāj and Durustawayh with an analysis of the manuscripts.

4.2.2.1. The shapes of the short vowel signs and the vowelless letters

In this section, I analyze the shapes of the *fathāh*, *ḍammah*, *kasrah*, and *waqfah* in the normative sources and compare them with the practice in the manuscripts.

4.2.2.1.1. The *ḍammah*

The *ḍammah* is a sign of a short vowel. When the *ḍammah* is combined with a *tanwīn*, the sign is doubled. Ibn al-Sarrāj and Ibn Durustawayh define the place of the *ḍammah* to be in front of (*bayna yaday*) the letter.⁵⁷ Ibn Durustawayh discusses the shape of the *ḍammah* amongst other short vowel signs and the vowelless letters:

هي رقومٌ مُشتقة من حروف أسماؤها. فرقم الحركات الثلاث "راء" غير محققة في الوجوه الثلاث وهي مأخوذة من راء الحركة. وقد زيدت على الضمة علامة يُفَرَّقُ بها بينها وبين غيرها مأخوذة من الواو لاشتراك الضمة والواو في اللفظ والمخرج.

They are marks derived from the letters of their names. The mark of the three short vowels is *rā'* [but] without the descender in three aspects. It (the mark) is taken from the *rā'* of [the word] *al-ḥarakah*. A sign was added to the *ḍammah*. That sign was used to distinguish between it [the *ḍammah*] and the other short vowel marks. That

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Sarrāj gave details about that system, see Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 28-45. On this earlier system of vocalization, see Abbott, *The Rise*, 39; Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition*, 146-52; Déroche et. al., *Islamic Codicology*, 222-3; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 288-90.

⁵⁵ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 55.

⁵⁶ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56.

⁵⁷ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56; Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20.

mark was adopted from the *wāw*; the *wāw* and the *ḍammah* share the pronunciation and the articulation of the sound.⁵⁸

Ibn al-Sarrāj describes the *ḍammah* as a small *wāw*; the reason for this is because the *ḍammah* sounds like a *wāw*.⁵⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions how some people in his time write the *ḍammah* due to *i' rāb* (inflection) as a line in front of the letter. It then becomes two lines in the *tanwīn*.⁶⁰ Writing the *ḍammah* as a line makes it similar to the other short vowel marks (the *fathah* and the *kasrah*), but the line's positioning distinguishes it from them.⁶¹ We can conclude from Ibn al-Sarrāj and Ibn Durustawayh that we have two shapes for the *ḍammah*: the *wāw*-like shape and the line-like shape.

In contrast to the normative sources, in all of the manuscripts under examination, the *ḍammah* and the *tanwīn ḍammah* are placed above the letter.

In almost all of the examined manuscripts, the *ḍammah* is in the form of the *wāw*-like shape, coherent with what Ibn al-Sarrāj and Ibn Durustawayh mention. However, in one case, the *ḍammah* seems to be a *rā'*-like shape (see case 20 below). This seems to be coherent with what Ibn Durustawayh, states, i. e. that the *ḍammah* is initially derived from the *rā'*. In our manuscripts, the *tanwīn* combines with the *ḍammah* in a variety of ways. In one third/ninth-century manuscript and ten fourth/tenth-century manuscripts, the *tanwīn* consists of a *wāw*-like shape plus a small line slanted to the left side (see cases 2, 8-12, 15, 18, 19, 22, and 23). In six fourth/tenth-century manuscripts, the *tanwīn* consists of two *wāw*-shapes (see cases 4, 6, 7, 13, 17, and 21). In one third/ninth-century manuscript and another fourth/tenth-century manuscript, the *tanwīn* seems to consist of two *rā'*-like shapes. These three forms of the *ḍammah tanwīn* mentioned above are not mentioned in the normative sources. In one fourth/tenth-century manuscript, the *tanwīn* consists of two lines slanted to the left-hand side (see cases 3 and 20). This is in accord with what Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions. Only one fourth/tenth-century manuscript shows the *tanwīn* consisting of two lines slanted to the left-hand side (see case 14).

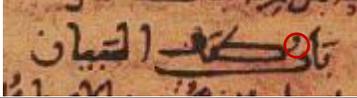
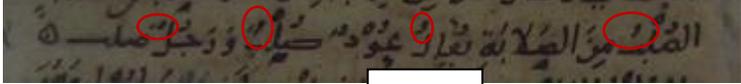
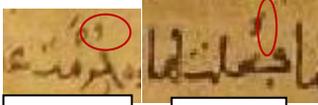
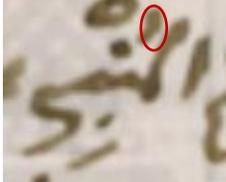
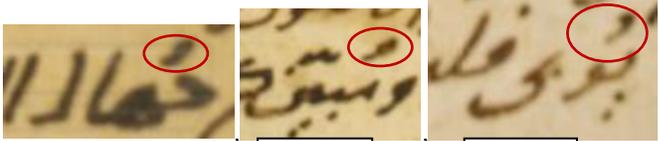
⁵⁸ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 55-6.

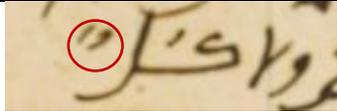
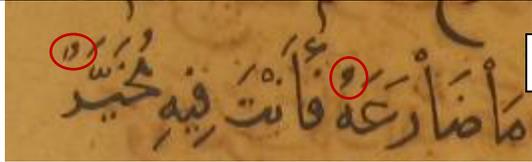
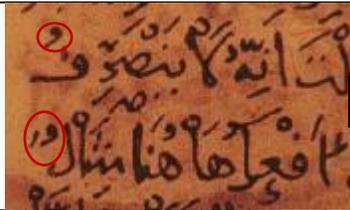
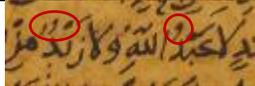
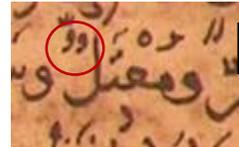
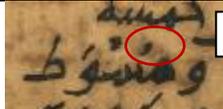
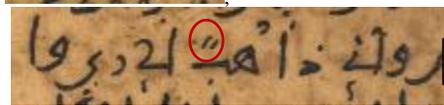
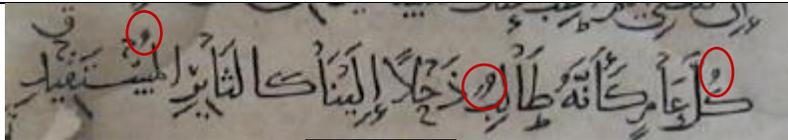
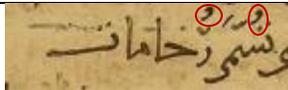
⁵⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. "Risālah," 20.

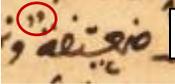
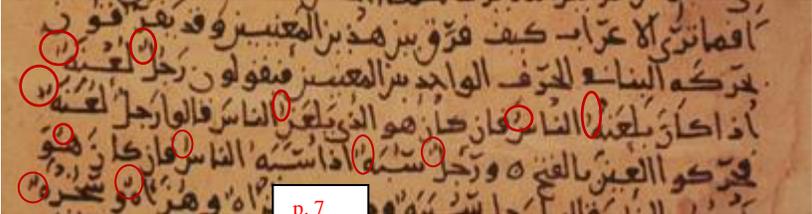
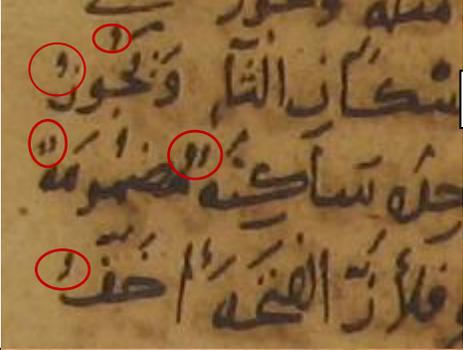
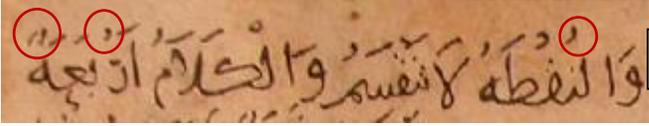
⁶⁰ Ibn al-Sarrāj. "Risālah," 20.

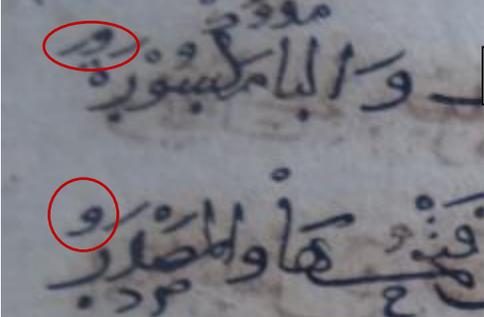
⁶¹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. "Risālah," 20.

Table 12. *Ḍammah* and the *tanwīn* combined with *ḍammah*

	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. 8v). 2) No <i>tanwīn</i> found.	 <div data-bbox="1003 352 1105 405" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 8v</div>
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape. 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 3r).	 <div data-bbox="1003 520 1105 573" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 3r</div>
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1 part 3.	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 2r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>rā'</i> -like shapes (e. g. part 1, fol. 2r, part 3, 3r).	 <div data-bbox="651 695 764 758" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">part 1, fol. 1v</div> <div data-bbox="813 695 927 758" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">part 3, fol. 2r</div>  <div data-bbox="651 894 764 957" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">part 1, fol. 2r</div> <div data-bbox="813 894 927 957" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">part 3, fol. 3r</div>
4	MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. p. 2). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>wāw</i> -like shapes (e. g. p. 2).	 <div data-bbox="922 1010 1019 1073" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">p. 2</div>
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 2r). 2) No <i>tanwīn</i> found.	 <div data-bbox="862 1136 984 1188" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 2r</div>
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>wāw</i> -like shapes (e. g. fol. 7r).	 <div data-bbox="1040 1352 1162 1404" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 7r</div>
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 3v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>wāw</i> -like shapes (e. g. fol. 3v).	 <div data-bbox="1052 1568 1166 1621" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 3v</div>
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 1v, 2r, 2v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 4v).	 <div data-bbox="667 1814 789 1866" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div> <div data-bbox="886 1814 1008 1866" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 2r</div> <div data-bbox="1089 1814 1211 1866" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 2v</div>

				fol. 4v
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 1v).		fol. 1v
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 5r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 5r).		fol. 5r
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 9r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 9r).		fol. 9r
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 6r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 6r).		fol. 6r
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>wāw</i> -like shapes (e. g. fol. 6r).		fol. 1v
				fol. 6r
14	MS BA 233	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 6r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two lines slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 20r).		fol. 6r
				fol. 20r
15	MS Reis 904	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 8v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 8v).		fol. 8v
16	MS Fazil 948	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 1r). 2) No <i>tanwīn</i> found.		fol. 1v

17	MS IUL A 1434	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 3v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>wāw</i> -like shapes (e. g. fol. 3v, 10r).	 <div data-bbox="992 212 1101 268" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3v</div>  <div data-bbox="818 327 922 373" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 10r</div>
18	MS Lal. 1728	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (fol. 4v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. 4v).	 <div data-bbox="1208 489 1317 541" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 4v</div>
19	MS Şehid 27	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 5v).	 <div data-bbox="691 762 797 821" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div>  <div data-bbox="1065 762 1182 814" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 5v</div>
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>rā</i> '-like shape (e. g. p. 7). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>rā</i> '-like shapes (e. g. p. 7).	 <div data-bbox="911 1041 1003 1083" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">p. 7</div>
21	MS Fazil 43	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two <i>wāw</i> -like shapes (e. g. fol. 3r).	 <div data-bbox="1101 1167 1211 1224" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3r</div>
22	MS Lal. 1905	1) <i>Ḍammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 3r).	 <div data-bbox="1287 1476 1393 1528" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3r</div>

23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	1) <i>Dammah</i> in a <i>wāw</i> -like shape (e. g. fol. 16r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of a <i>wāw</i> -like shape and a line slanted to the left side (e. g. 16r).		fol. 16r
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4.2.2.1.2. The *fathah*

Ibn al-Sarrāj and Ibn Durustawayh explain that the *fathah* is placed above the letter.⁶² Ibn al-Sarrāj further explains the shape of *fathah*:

وجعلوا للفتح ألفاً صغيرة وأضجعت بعض الإخجاج لثخالف قيام الألف.

They made for the *fath* a small *alif*. [It is] laid down, a bit, to be different from the standing of the *alif*.⁶³

According to Ibn al-Sarrāj, this laid down *alif* is slanted to the left side.⁶⁴ The *fathah tanwīn* is not discussed in the normative sources.

The *fathah* in our manuscripts is as follows. The *fathah* is placed above the letter in all the examined cases (see table 12). This is coherent with Ibn Durustawayh and Ibn al-Sarrāj. In addition, in all of the manuscripts under examination, the shape of the *fathah* is a short stroke, slanted to the left (a laid down *alif*) (see the table below). Again, this is coherent with the description of Ibn al-Sarrāj.

The *fathah tanwīn* is written at the end of fully declined nouns with an accusative ending. In this case, an extra *alif* is usually added to the end of the noun. Our manuscripts show that the *fathah tanwīn* is usually added before this *alif* (see cases 2-23). Except for case 1 below, where the *fathah tanwīn* is placed above the extra *alif*. Additionally, as all the examined specimens show when the

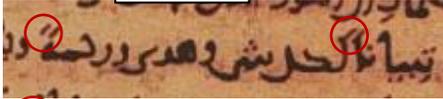
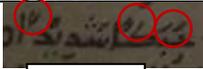
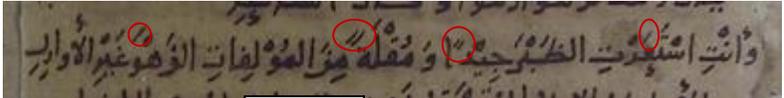
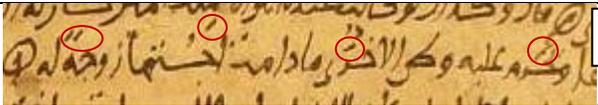
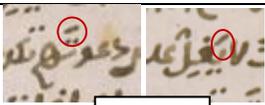
⁶² Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56; Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20.

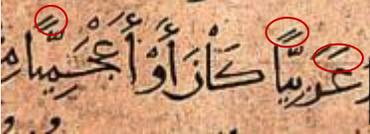
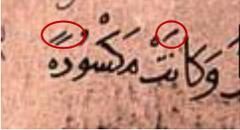
⁶³ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20.

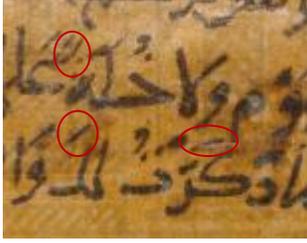
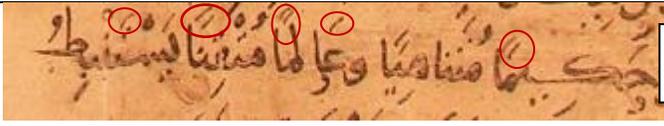
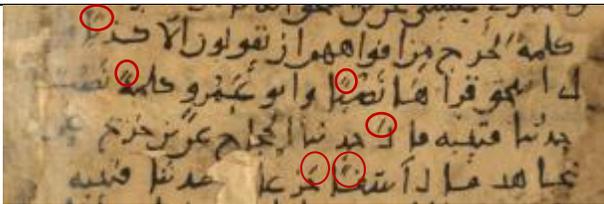
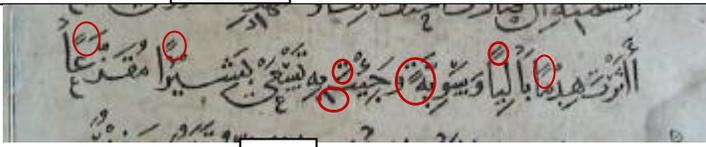
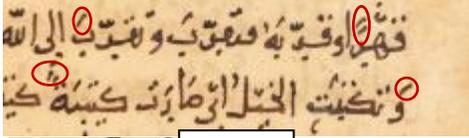
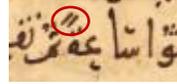
⁶⁴ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20-22.

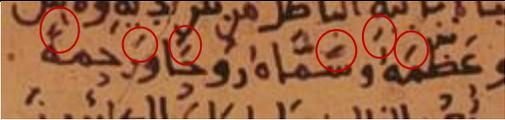
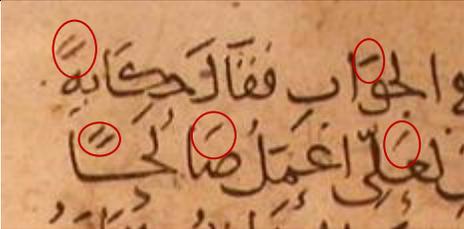
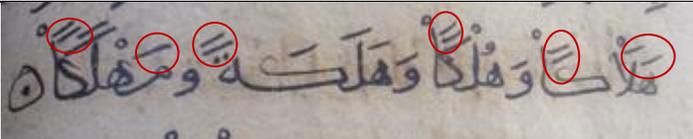
noun ends with a *tā' marbūṭah*, the *fathah tanwīn* is added above the *tā' marbūṭah* (see cases 1-23).

Table 13. *Fathah* and the *tanwīn* combined with *fathah*

	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh	1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (fol. 8r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left above the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (fol. 8r).	 fol. 8r 
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (fol. 2r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (fol. 9v).	 fol. 1v  fol. 2r.
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. part 1, fol. 1v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (e. g. part 3, fol. 13r).	 part 1, fol. 1v  part 3, fol. 13r
4	MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. p. 2). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (e. g. p. 2).	 p. 2
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) No <i>tanwīn</i> found.	 fol. 1v
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i>	 fol. 7r

		added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 7r).	
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 5r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 5r).	 fol. 5r
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> is added at the end of a word (e. g. fol. 3r).	 fol. 3r
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 1v, 3r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 1v, 3r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 3r
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 2r, 2v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 2r, 2v).	 fol. 2r  fol. 2v
11	MS DK 149 Naḥw	1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 5r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 5r).	 fol. 5r 
12	MS DK, 139 Naḥw, part 3	1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 3r).	 fol. 3r

			
13	MS Fazil 1541	<p>1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 1v, 5v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1318 499 1390 583" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div>  <div data-bbox="1019 634 1140 697" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 5v</div>
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="824 949 945 991" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div>
15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 14v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 14v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="889 1129 971 1201" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 14v</div>
16	MS Fazil 948	<p>1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 35r).</p> <p>2) No <i>tanwīn</i> found.</p>	 <div data-bbox="831 1285 954 1348" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 35r</div>
17	MS IUL A 1434	<p>1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 5v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 5v).</p>	  <div data-bbox="831 1528 954 1591" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 5v</div>
18	MS Lal. 1728	<p>1) <i>Fathah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 5r).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā' marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 5r).</p>	 <div data-bbox="873 1759 1003 1822" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 5r</div>

19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 7v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 7v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1235 338 1352 405" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 7v</div>
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	<p>1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. p. 1).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. p. 1).</p>	 <div data-bbox="792 657 888 716" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">p. 1</div>
21	MS Fazil 43	<p>1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 3v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 3v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="998 884 1112 942" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 3v</div>
22	MS Lal. 1905	<p>1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 9v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 9v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="1122 1087 1239 1157" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 9v</div>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	<p>1) <i>Faṭḥah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side above letter (e. g. fol. 15v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left before the <i>alif</i> added at the end of a word or above the <i>tā'</i> <i>marbūṭah</i> (e. g. fol. 15v).</p>	 <div data-bbox="831 1415 966 1486" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 15v</div>

4.2.2.1.3. The *kasrah*

The *kasrah* is written in two ways, according to Ibn al-Sarrāj. The first way is similar to the *faṭḥah* but with a different positioning since it is placed under the letter.⁶⁵ The other method of drawing

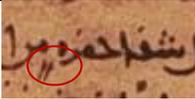
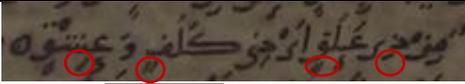
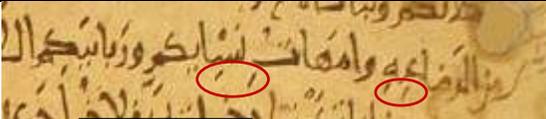
⁶⁵ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20-22. Ibn Durustawayh also pointed out that the *kasrah* is under the letter, see Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, 55.

the *kasrah*'s shape is to differentiate it from the shape of the *fathah*. Ibn al-Sarrāj believes that the shape of the *kasrah* should be different from the shape of the *fathah*, and hence should be a laid-down *alif* but slanted to the right, not to the left.⁶⁶ Ibn al-Sarrāj prefers that second shape of *kasrah* since it avoids the reader from possibly confusing the *kasrah* with a *fathah* of the word underneath.⁶⁷

The two shapes Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions are traceable in the manuscripts. The first shape is equivalent to current usage and occurs in all of the manuscripts under examination (see table 14). The second shape is traced in thirteen fourth/tenth-century specimens under examination (see cases 6, 9-12, 15, 18-23). However, in contrast to Ibn al-Sarrāj, as cases 10 and 13 show, the *kasrah* is shaped as a horizontal line. This shaping is probably a careless form of the laid-down *alif* slanted to the right.

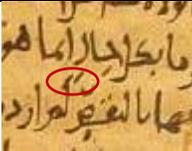
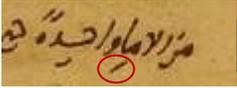
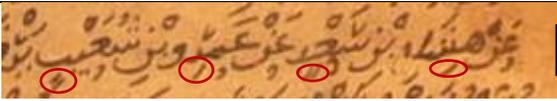
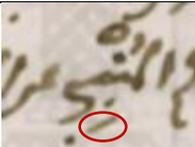
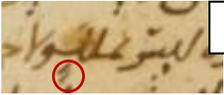
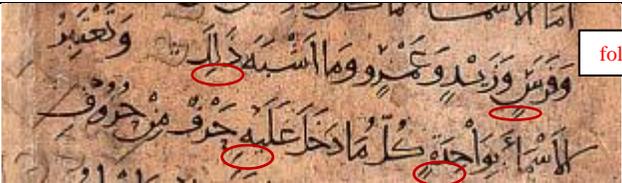
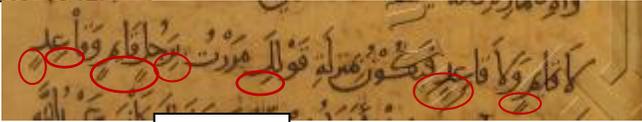
The *kasrah tanwīn* is not discussed in the normative sources. However, our corpus shows that the *kasrah tanwīn* is written in two ways. The first way consists of two strokes slanted to the left (see cases 1-23) and the second is slanted to the right (see cases 12, 15, 19, 21, and 23). It is placed under the ending of a noun.

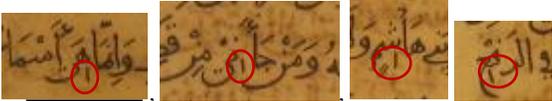
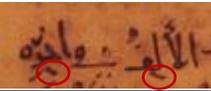
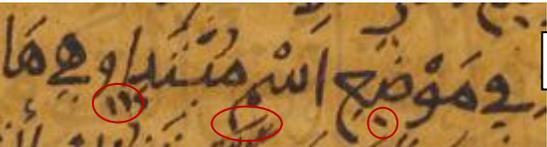
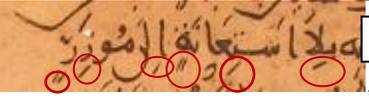
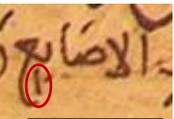
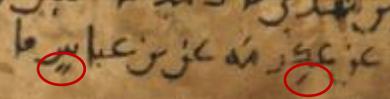
Table 14. *Kasrah* and the *tanwīn* combined with *kasrah*

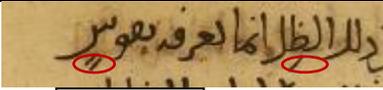
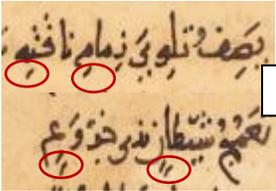
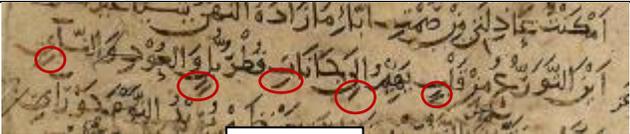
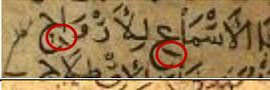
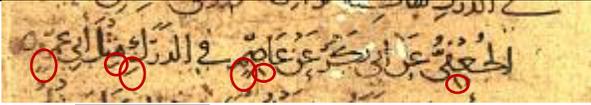
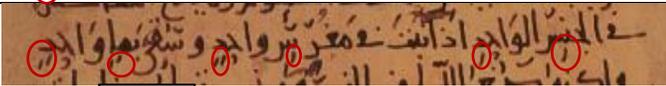
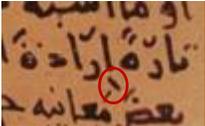
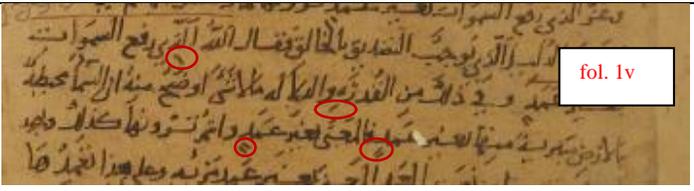
	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 7v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 7r).	 fol. 7r  fol. 7v
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 4r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 4r).	 fol. 4r
3	MS MMMI 44 part 1, part 3	1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 38r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. part 1, fol. 9v).	 part 1, fol. 1v

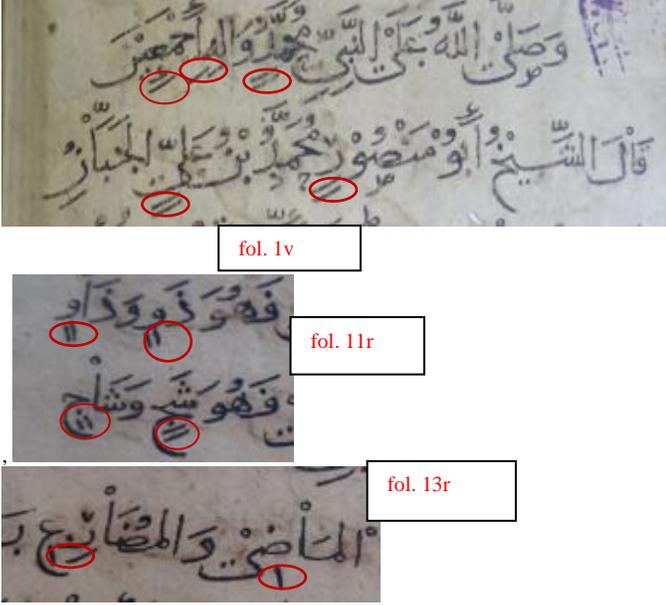
⁶⁶ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20-22.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20-22.

			 <p>part 1, fol. 9v</p>  <p>part 3, fol. 38r</p>
4	MS AZ, ʿĀmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. p. 2).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. p. 2).</p>	 <p>p. 2</p>
5	MS DK 19598 Bāʾ	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (fol. 2r).</p> <p>2) No <i>tanwīn</i> found.</p>	 <p>fol. 2r</p>
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 7r).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 7r).</p>	 <p>fol. 7r</p>
7	MS Şehid 2552	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 3r).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 3r).</p>	 <p>fol. 3r</p>
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 27r).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 27r</p>
9	MS Fazil 1507	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 1v) but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 9v).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 9v</p>
10	MS Fazil 1508	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 2r) but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. 16v) or vertical (e. g. fol. 9r, 15r, 16r).</p>	 <p>fol. 2r</p>

		2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 2r).	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">fol. 9r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">fol. 15r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">fol. 16r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">fol. 16v</div> </div>
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. 3r) but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 4v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 3r).	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; float: right; margin-top: 5px;">fol. 3r</div>  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; float: right; margin-top: 5px;">fol. 4v</div>
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 2r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left (e. g. 2r) or the right (e. g. 6r) underneath the ending of a noun.	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; float: right; margin-top: 5px;">fol. 2r</div>  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; float: right; margin-top: 5px;">fol. 6r</div>
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side (e. g. fol. 1v) under the letter but occasionally vertical (e. g. 208r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 1v).	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; float: right; margin-top: 5px;">fol. 1v</div>  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; float: right; margin-top: 5px;">fol. 208r</div>
14	MS BA 233	1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 1v).	
15	MS Reis 904	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 2v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left or the right underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. 2v).	 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; float: right; margin-top: 5px;">fol. 2v</div>

16	MS Fazil 948	1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 4v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 4v).	 fol. 4v
17	MS IUL A 1434	1) <i>kasrah</i> shaped as stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 6r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 6r).	 fol. 6r
18	MS Lal. 1728	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. 2v) but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 13r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 2v).	 fol. 2v  fol. 13r
19	MS Şehid 27	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left (e. g. fol. 1v) or occasionally (e. 84v) the right (underneath the ending of a noun).	 fol. 1v  fol. 84v
20	MS DK 663	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. p. 2) but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. p. 6). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. p. 2).	 p. 2  p. 6
21	MS Fazil 43	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left or the right underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. 1v).	 fol. 1v
22	MS Lal. 1905	1) <i>kasrah</i> often a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter but occasionally slanted to the right side (e. g. fol. 5r). 2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left underneath the ending of a noun (e. g. fol. 5r).	 fol. 5r

23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	<p>1) <i>kasrah</i> sometimes a stroke slanted to the left side under the letter (e. g. fol. 1v) and sometimes slanted to the right side (fol. 13r).</p> <p>2) <i>Tanwīn</i> consists of two strokes slanted to the left (e. g. fol. 1v, 11r) or the right (fol. 11r) underneath the ending of a noun.</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p> <p>fol. 11r</p> <p>fol. 13r</p>
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4.2.2.1.4. The *sukūn*

If no vowel follows a letter, we have a situation of *waqf* (with the mark being called *waqfah*)⁶⁸ or *sukūn*. The letter is called *al-ḥarf al-sākin* (the vowelless letter).⁶⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj explains its original mark:

الحرف الساكن غير محتاج إلى شكل لأن علامة سكونه أنه لا علامة عليه.

The vowelless letter does not need to be marked since the mark of its vowellessness is that it has no mark on it.⁷⁰

However, different marks are used to distinguish a vowelless letter from a vowel letter. Ibn al-Sarrāj reports that one mark, as used in Basra, is the *khā' bilā ta'rīq* (“*khā'* without its descender”) above the letter.⁷¹ However, some scribes wrote this mark as a complete *khā'*, according to Ibn al-Sarrāj.⁷² By this *khā'* “they mean the first letter from the word *khafīf* [lit.

⁶⁸ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 55.

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20-3.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 20-3.

⁷¹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 22-3. The terms “descender” is taken from Gacek, *Vademecum*, 142.

⁷² Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 22-3.

light)]”⁷³ Ibn Durustawayh mentions another mark that is similar to the previous mark as the body of the *jīm*, without the descender (*ghayr mu‘aqqafah wa-lā muḥaqqaqah*).⁷⁴ This mark stands for “the letter *jīm* of the word *al-jazm* (the apocopation).”⁷⁵ Another mark explained by Ibn al-Sarrāj is the letter *mīm*, which stands for the *mīm* of *musakkan*.⁷⁶ Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions that he had seen manuscripts of previous philologists who wrote *mīm mu‘arraḡah tām̄mah* (a complete *mīm* with descender) above the letter.⁷⁷ He also explains that writing this as an incomplete *mīm* (i. e. only writing the circle of the *mīm*) had become usual practice by his time.⁷⁸ This circle of the *mīm* is still used today as the normal sign to mark a vowelless letter.

Marking the vowelless letters in our manuscripts is as follows. I could not see any *sukūn* in two fourth/tenth-century manuscripts (see cases 13 and 15). The copyist probably felt that there was no need to mark the vowelless letter as mentioned above.

However, some marks are used to emphasize that a given letter is vowelless. The reader may not know whether the unmarked letter is vowelless or not, hence, providing a mark of *sukūn* prevents such confusion.⁷⁹ Neither the *khā’* (mentioned by Ibn al-Sarrāj) nor the *jīm* (mentioned by Ibn Durustawayh) is noticed in our corpus. However, the *ḥā’*-like mark is traced in some of the specimens (see cases 9, 10, 12, 14-16, 18-20, and 22). This *ḥā’*-like mark is probably developed from the *khā’/jīm* by omitting the dot. Two cases show a curved line to the left-hand side above the vowelless letters (see cases 6 and 14 below). This curved lines seems to be a careless form of the *ḥā’*-like mark.

The manuscripts show that drawing the circle of the *mīm* above the letter is the most broadly used mark in third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century manuscripts (see cases 1-13, 15, 16, and 18-23). This is coherent with what Ibn al-Sarrāj mentions, as discussed above.

A mark that is used in a fourth/tenth-century manuscript but not reported in the normative sources is a v-like shape (see case 17 below). This mark is also used as an *ihmāl* mark (see 4.2.1.2 above).

⁷³ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 22-3.

⁷⁴ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 55.

⁷⁵ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 55.

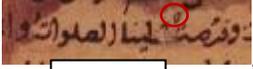
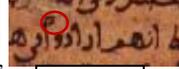
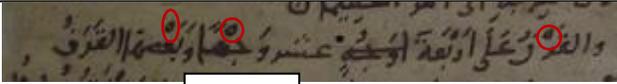
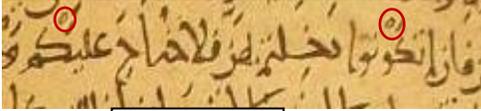
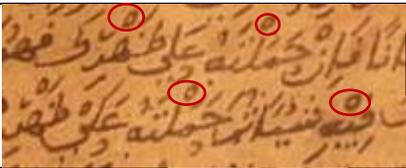
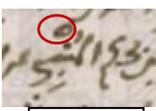
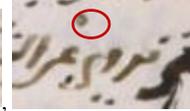
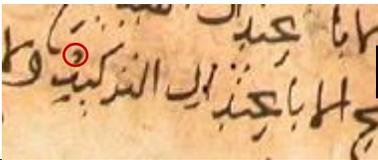
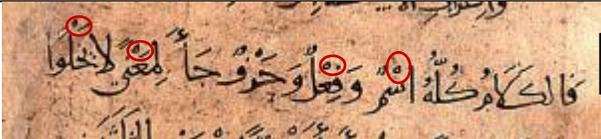
⁷⁶ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 22-3.

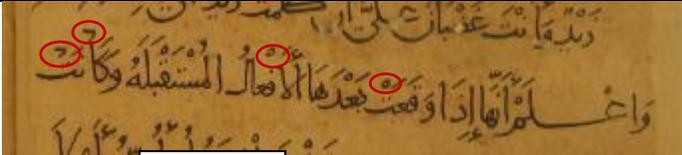
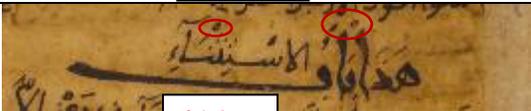
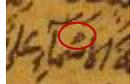
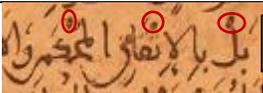
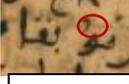
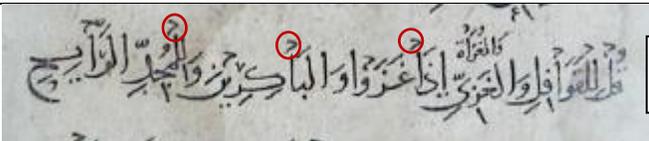
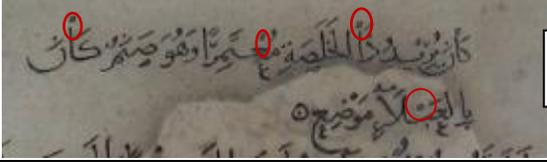
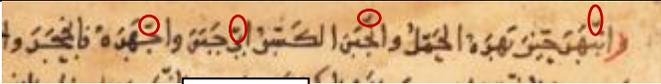
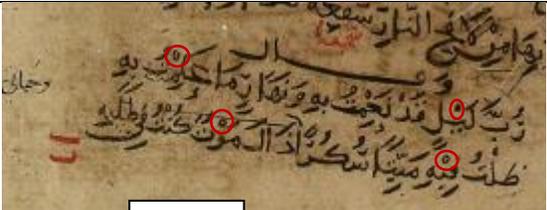
⁷⁷ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 22-3.

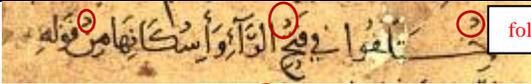
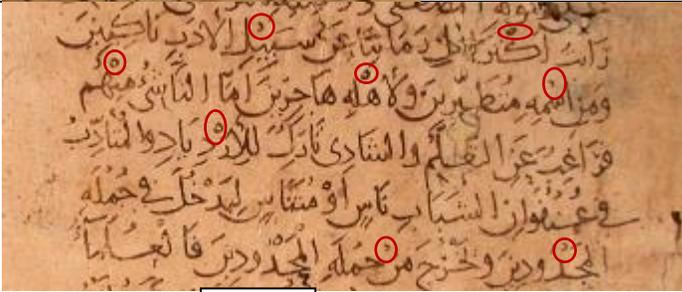
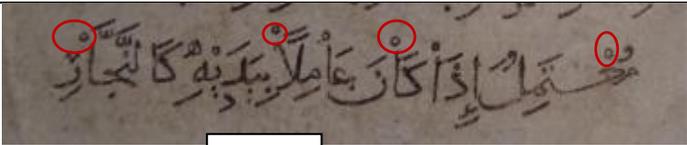
⁷⁸ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 22-3.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 21-3.

Table 15. *Sukūn*

	Manuscripts	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 64r, 65r).	  <p>fol. 64r fol. 65r</p>
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 2v).	 <p>fol. 2v</p>
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 2r).	  <p>part 1, fol. 1v</p>
4	MS AZ, ʿĀmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. p. 1).	 <p>p. 1</p>
5	MS DK 19598 Bāʾ	Twice, a circle above the letter (fol. 2r, 173r).	  <p>fol. 2r fol. 173r</p>
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 7v). 2) A curved line to the left-hand side above the letter (e. g. fol. 24r).	  <p>fol. 7v fol. 24r</p>
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 3r).	 <p>fol. 3r</p>
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	No marks of <i>sukūn</i> found.	
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) A <i>hā</i> '-like mark above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v).	  <p>fol. 1v fol. 1v</p>

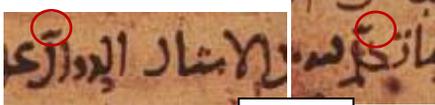
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) A <i>hā</i> '-like mark above the letter (fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 2r).	 fol. 2r
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. 3v). 2) A <i>hā</i> '-like mark above the letter (e. g. fol. 105v, 112v).	 fol. 3v  fol. 105v  fol. 112v
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v.
14	MS BA 233	1) A <i>hā</i> '-like mark above the letter (e. g. fol. 4r). 2) A curved line to the left-hand side above the letter (e. g. fol. 2r, 5v).	 fol. 2r  fol. 4r  fol. 5v
15	MS Reis 904	1) A <i>hā</i> '-like mark above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v). 2) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 10v).	 fol. 1v  fol. 10v
16	MS Fazil 948	No marks of <i>sukūn</i> found.	
17	MS IUL A 1434	A v-like above the letter (e. g. fol. 2r).	 fol. 2r
18	MS Lal. 1728	1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 3r). 2) A <i>hā</i> '-like above the letter (e. g. fol. 9r).	 fol. 3r  fol. 9r

19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) A <i>hā</i>'-like shape above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 2r, 4v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 2r</p>  <p>fol. 4v</p>
20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	<p>1) A <i>hā</i>'-like shape above the letter (e. g. p. 1).</p> <p>2) A circle above the letter (e. g. p. 1).</p>	 <p>p. 1</p> 
21	MS Fazil 43	<p>1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 2r).</p>	 <p>fol. 2r</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905	<p>1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) A <i>hā</i>'-like shape above the letter (e. g. fol. 1v).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	<p>1) A circle above the letter (e. g. fol. 8r).</p>	 <p>fol. 8r</p>

4.2.2.2. The *shaddah*

According to the normative sources, the *shaddah* mark is the *shīn ghayr mu‘arraḡah*⁸⁰ (body of the *shīn* without its “bowl”⁸¹), derived from the word *tashdīd/shadīd*.⁸² This mark indicates that the letter is geminated.⁸³ In all of the examined manuscripts, the body of the *shīn* is used as the *shaddah* mark without dots. As a body of the *sīn*, the *shaddah* mark has three “denticles,” however these denticles are not well shaped in one of the specimens (see case 14).

Table 16. *Shaddah*

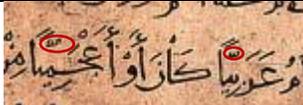
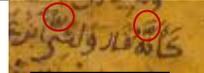
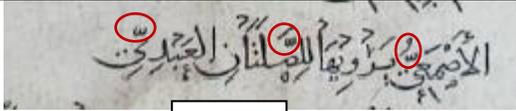
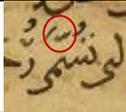
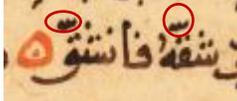
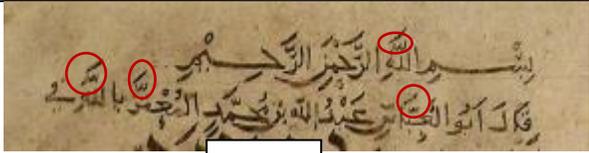
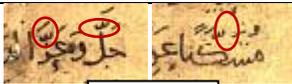
	Manuscripts	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	 fol. 10r
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	 fol. 2r
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	 part 1, fol. 2r part 3, fol. 2r.
4	MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	 p. 2
5	MS DK 19598 Bā’	 fol. 6v
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	 fol. 7r
7	MS Şehid 2552	 fol. 8r
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	 fol. 3r

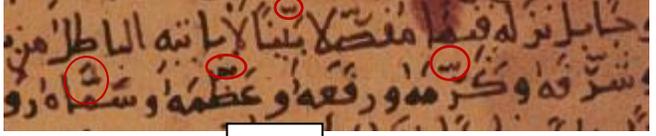
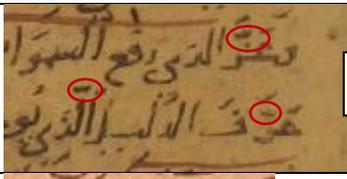
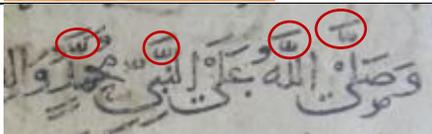
⁸⁰ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56.

⁸¹ The term “bowl” is taken from Gacek, *Vademecum*, 142.

⁸² *Tashdīd*: Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56; *shadīd*: Ibn al-Sarrāj, “Risālat”; 22.

⁸³ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56.

9	MS Fazil 1507		fol. 1v
10	MS Fazil 1508		fol. 2v
11	MS DK 149 Naḥw		fol. 2r
12	MS DK 139 Naḥw		fol. 2r
13	MS Fazil 1541		fol. 2v
14	MS BA 233		fol. 20v
15	MS Reis 904		fol. 1v
16	MS Fazil 948		fol. 1v
17	MS IUL A 1434		fol. 2r
18	MS Lal. 1728		fol. 2v
19	MS Şehid 27		fol. 1v

20	MS DK 663 Tafsīr	 <div data-bbox="922 331 1016 365" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">P. 1</div>
21	MS Fazil 43	 <div data-bbox="1042 428 1159 491" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div>
22	MS Lal. 1905	 <div data-bbox="971 617 1081 680" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	 <div data-bbox="1127 806 1243 869" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fol. 1v</div>

In one case, a mark of *khā'* and *fā'* is used above a letter to emphasize that the letter does not have *tashdīd*. In this particular context (see illus. 4.2), the mark consists of the *khā'* and *fā'* خف (*khiff* or *khaffa*) above the *bā'* to emphasize that the consonant is not geminated.⁸⁴ This mark is not mentioned in the normative sources.

⁸⁴ MS Reis 904, fol. 24r. This mark also occurs on fol. 26r, 37r, 41r, 41v, 66v, 69r.

4.2.2.3. The *hamzah*

The *hamzah* is a matter of much discussion in Arabic grammar and orthography.⁸⁵ Here the focus is on how the *hamzah* is shaped and where it is placed.

Ibn Durustawayh explains that the *hamzah* mark was introduced by al-Khālīl ibn Aḥmad (d. 175/791)⁸⁶ and was adapted from *al-‘ayn ghayr mu‘aqqafah* (“the letter ‘ayn without its descender”) because the *hamzah* and the ‘ayn share the articulation point (*mushtarikatān fī al-makhrāj*).⁸⁷ He also explains that the *hamzah* is written above the *alif* (e. g. سَأَل), *wāw* (e. g. لَوَّم), and *yā’* (e. g. سَمَّي) to prevent confusing the *hamzah* with these letters when they are on their own without the *hamzah*.⁸⁸

According to Ibn Durustawayh, the *hamzah* is written on the letter in most cases (see cases 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9-13, 15, and 17-23). However, in our corpus, the *hamzah* is sometimes placed in other places not mentioned in the normative sources. The *hamzah* appears written before (1-4, 6, 7, 9-15, and 17-23) and after (2, 3, 8-12, 14, 15, and 17-23) the letter. In addition, the *hamzah* with *kasrah* is written under the letter (see cases 2-4, 9, 11, 12, 15, 21, and 23).

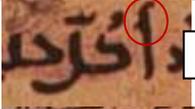
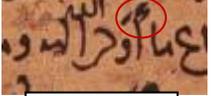
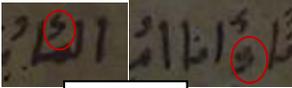
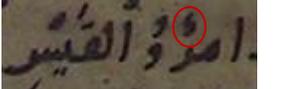
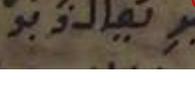
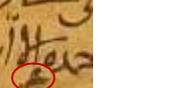
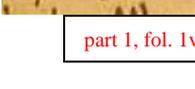
⁸⁵ On the grammatical and orthographical aspects of the *hamzah*, see EALL, s. v. “Hamza.”

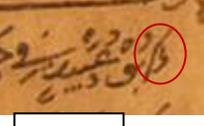
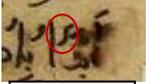
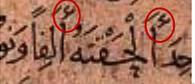
⁸⁶ Other dates of his death suggested are 170/786 and 160/776, on this and his biography, see EI², s. v. “al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad”; HAWT, vol. 1: 86-7, suppl. vol. 1: 151-3; GAS, 9: 44-8.

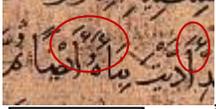
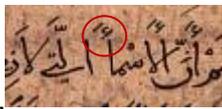
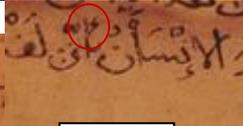
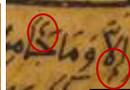
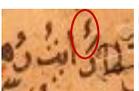
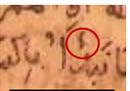
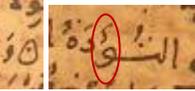
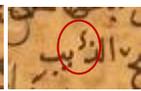
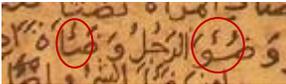
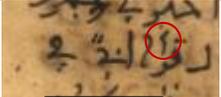
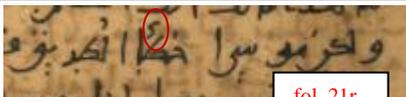
⁸⁷ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56; Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 24-5.

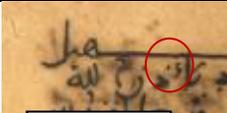
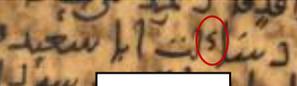
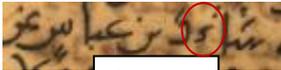
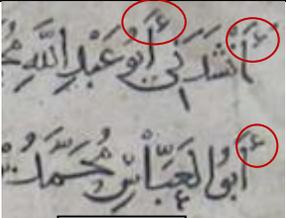
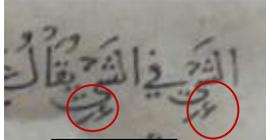
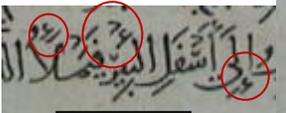
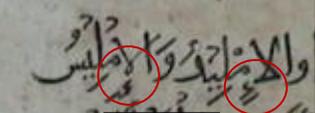
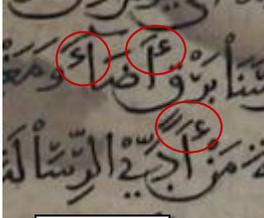
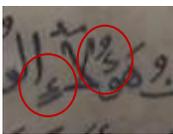
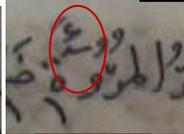
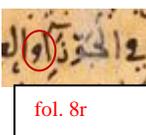
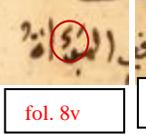
⁸⁸ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56.

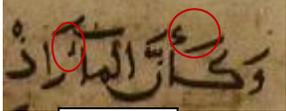
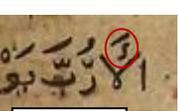
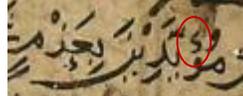
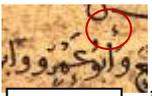
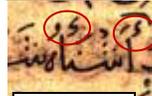
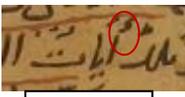
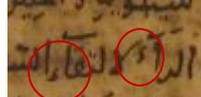
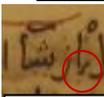
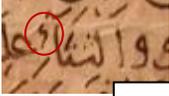
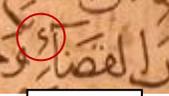
Table 17. *Hamzah*

	Manuscripts	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh	1) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 10r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 15r, 21r).	   <p>fol. 10r</p> <p>fol. 15r</p> <p>fol. 21r</p>
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (e. g. fol. 2r, 6r, 10r, 20r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (e. g. fol. 2r). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 12r).	       <p>fol. 2r</p> <p>fol. 2r</p> <p>fol. 6r</p> <p>fol. 10r</p> <p>fol. 12r</p> <p>fol. 20r</p>
3	MS MMMI 44	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 33v). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (part 1, fol. 1v, part 3, fol. 27r, 48r). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (part 1, fol. 11v). 4) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (part 1, fol. 1v).	      <p>part 1, fol. 1v</p> <p>part 1, fol. 11v</p> <p>part 3, fol. 27r</p> <p>part 3, fol. 33v</p> <p>part 3, fol. 48r</p>
4	MS AZ, ʿĀmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (pp. 2, 27, 50). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (pp. 2, 4). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (p. 29).	   <p>p. 2</p>

			 <p>p. 2</p>  <p>p. 4</p>  <p>p. 27</p>  <p>p. 29</p>  <p>p. 50</p>
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	Not found.	
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (e. g. fol. 7r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 7r).	 <p>fol. 7r</p>  <p>fol. 7r</p>
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 3r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 3r).	 <p>fol. 3r</p>  <p>fol. 3r</p>
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	1) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 2r, 18v, 20r).	 <p>fol. 2r</p>  <p>fol. 18v</p>  <p>fol. 20r</p>
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 1v, 2r, 2v) 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 1v, 20r). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 1v, 2v).	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 2r</p>

		4) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (fol. 4v).	   <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol.2v</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 4</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 20r</div> </div>
10	MS Fazil 1508	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 1v, 2r, 2v) 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 2v). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 1v, 88r). 4) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (fol. 1v).	    <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 2r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol.2v</div> </div>  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; width: fit-content; margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;">fol. 88r</div>
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 2r, 2v, 3v). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> occasionally on the letter (fol. 2r). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 3v). 4) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (fol. 2v).	   <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 2</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 2v</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3v</div> </div>
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 3v, 4r, 6r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (e. g. fol. 2r, 6r). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 3v). 4) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (fol. 3v, 4r, 6r).	    <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 2r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3v</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 4r</div> </div>  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; width: fit-content; margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;">fol. 6r</div>
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 1v, 2r, 3r, 122r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 6r, 59r, 105r).	    <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 1v</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 2r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 3r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 6r</div> </div>    <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 59r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 105r</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 122r</div> </div>  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; width: fit-content; margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;">fol. 295r</div>
14	MS BA 233	1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 10v, 21r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 27r, 154v, 155r, 164v).	  <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 10v</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fol. 21r</div> </div>

			 fol. 27r  fol. 154v  fol. 155r  fol. 164v
15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 1v, 4v, 18r, 20r).</p> <p>2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 20r, 60r).</p> <p>3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 18r, 60r, 62r).</p> <p>4) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (fol. 3r, 8r, 20r).</p>	 fol. 1v  fol. 3r  fol. 4v  fol. 8r  fol. 18r  fol. 20r  fol. 60r  fol. 62r
16	MS Fazil 948	Not found.	
17	MS IUL A 1434	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 8v, 10r, 17r, 20v, 26v).</p> <p>2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 20v, 44r, 177v).</p> <p>3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 8r, 41v).</p>	 fol. 8r  fol. 8v  fol. 10r  fol. 17r  fol. 20v  fol. 26v  fol. 41v  fol. 44  fol. 177v

18	MS Lal. 1728	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 2v, 3r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 3v). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 3r, 12r).</p>	   <p>fol. 2v</p> <p>fol. 3r</p> <p>fol. 3v</p>  <p>fol. 12r</p>
19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 1v, 2r, 6r). 2) <i>hamzah</i> s on the letter (fol. 2v, 3v, 233r). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (e. g. 2r, 8r).</p>	    <p>fol.1v</p> <p>fol. 2r</p> <p>fol. 2v</p> <p>fol. 3v</p>    <p>fol. 6r</p> <p>fol. 8r</p> <p>fol. 233r</p>
20	MS DK 663 Tafsîr	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (p. 1, 3, 41). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (p. 7).</p>	    <p>p. 1</p> <p>p. 3</p> <p>p. 7</p> <p>p. 41</p>
21	MS Fazil 43	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 1v, 2r, 19r, 30r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (2v, 10r, 30r). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 19r, 30r). 4) <i>Hamzah</i> with <i>kasrah</i> under the letter (fol. 46r, 47r).</p>	    <p>fol. 1v</p> <p>fol. 2r</p> <p>fol. 2v</p> <p>fol. 10r</p>   <p>fol. 19r</p> <p>fol. 30r</p>   <p>fol. 46r</p> <p>fol. 47r</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 2r, 39r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (fol. 1v, 2r, 2v). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 5r, 51v).</p>	   <p>fol. 1v</p> <p>fol. 2r</p>     <p>fol. 2v</p> <p>fol. 5r</p> <p>fol. 39r</p> <p>fol. 51v</p>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	<p>1) <i>Hamzah</i> on the letter (fol. 1v, 2v, 8v, 26r). 2) <i>Hamzah</i> before the letter (fol. 1v, 2v). 3) <i>Hamzah</i> after the letter (e. g. fol. 2v).</p>	   <p>fol. 1v</p> <p>fol. 2r</p>

		<p>4) <i>Hamzah with kasrah</i> under the letter (fol. 8v).</p>	<div data-bbox="711 254 979 384" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="917 233 1032 289" data-label="Caption"> <p>fol. 2v</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1068 239 1349 384" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="1235 222 1351 279" data-label="Caption"> <p>fol. 8v</p> </div> <div data-bbox="711 384 938 506" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="748 499 873 548" data-label="Caption"> <p>fol. 26r</p> </div>
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4.2.2.4. The *maddah*

The long *alif* (*al-alif al-mamdūdah*), 'ā, indicates two *alifs*. In writing, a single *alif* is written. According to the normative sources, the *maddah* distinguishes the long *alif* from the normal *alif*.⁸⁹ The normative sources mention that the *maddah* mark is created as a combination of *mīm* and *dāl*, taken from the noun *al-madd*.⁹⁰ Thus this mark can also be read as *midd* (elongate), *madda* (elongated), or *madd* (elongation).

The *maddah* is utilized in our third/ninth-fourth-century manuscripts, in accord with the normative sources. It is used in two third-century manuscripts, one from the core corpus (see case 1) and the one from the secondary corpus.⁹¹ In the fourth/tenth century, the *maddah* seems to have become more common. It is found in most of the fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination (see cases 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 17-23).

Coherent with the normative sources, the *maddah* mark being created through a combination of the *mīm* and *dāl* is noticed in our corpus (see cases 15 and 26). We can recognize this combination in other cases too, but less clearly (see cases 4, 9, 10, and 12).

However, this combination of *mīm* and *dāl*, which is the original shape of the *maddah*, changes in some cases. Here, the *maddah* is shaped as a swirled line or a horizontal S (see cases 6, 7, 13, 17, 19, and 20).⁹² In one case, the *maddah* is shaped like a slightly curved line in the text body and shaped like a straight line with a small tail at the manuscript's heading (see case 18).⁹³ In two cases, the *maddah* mark is shaped as a straight line or slightly sloped to the left side with a tail at its end (see case 21 below). The marks that are different from the *mīm* and *dāl* combination seem to have been used because they are easier and more practical to write than the *mīm* and *dāl*.

⁸⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. "Risālah," 24-5; Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56.

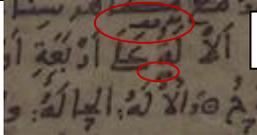
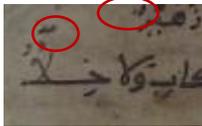
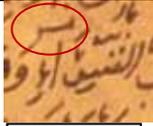
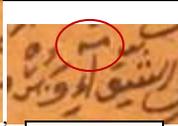
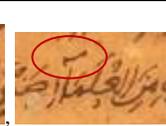
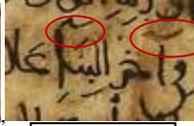
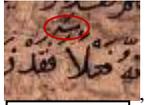
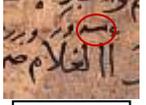
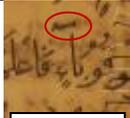
⁹⁰ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56. Ibn al-Sarrāj also mentioned it, see Ibn al-Sarrāj. "Risālah," 24-5.

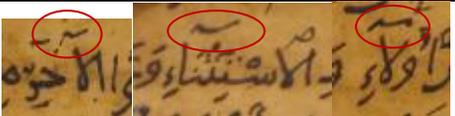
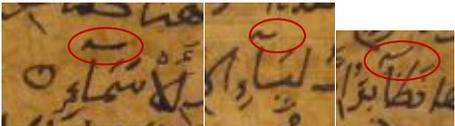
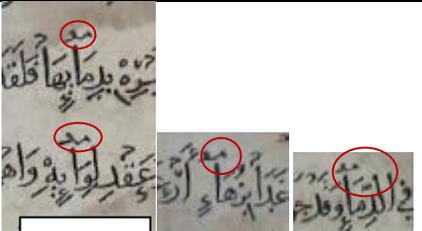
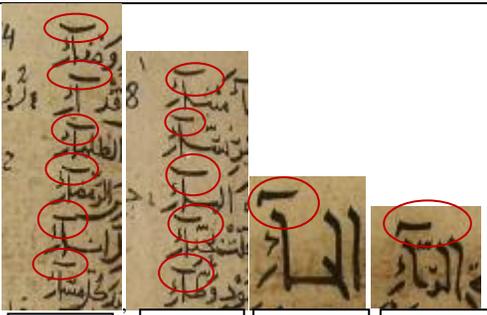
⁹¹ For the secondary corpus, I could spot the *maddah* in MS BNF Arabe 2859 (e. g. fol. 5r, 6v, 7r, 56v), but I could not find the *maddah* in these third/ninth century manuscripts: MS Leiden Uni. Or. 298, MS MAW 1125, MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth.

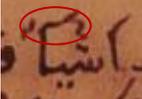
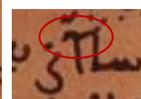
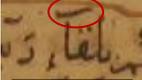
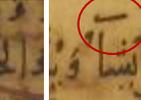
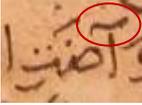
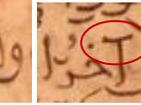
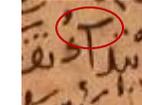
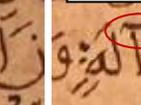
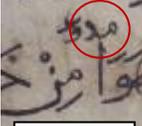
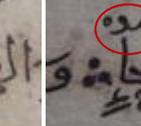
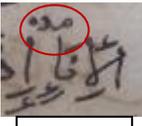
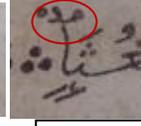
⁹² This shape also occurred in MS BNF Arabe 2859, fol. 56v.

⁹³ The *maddah* was shaped like a slightly curved line also in MS BNF Arabe 2859, e. g. fol. 5r, 6v, 7r.

Table 18. *Maddah*

	Manuscripts	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşûl Fiqh	No mark of <i>maddah</i> found.	
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	Combination of <i>mīm</i> and <i>dāl</i> frequently above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 15r, 19v, 21r).	 fol. 15r  fol. 19v  fol. 21r
3	MS MMMI, part 1, part 2	No mark of <i>maddah</i> found.	
4	MS AZ, ‘Amm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	Combination of <i>mīm</i> and <i>dāl</i> usually above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. p. 2, p. 3, p. 6).	 p. 2  p. 3  p. 6
5	MS DK 19598 Bā’	No mark of <i>maddah</i> found.	
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	Once swirled line above the <i>alif</i> (fol. 183r).	 fol. 183r
7	MS Şehid 2552	A swirled line frequently above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 4v, 5v, 7v).	 fol. 4v  fol. 5v  fol. 7v
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	No mark of <i>maddah</i> found.	
9	MS Fazil 1507	Combination of <i>mīm</i> and <i>dāl</i> sometimes above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. 8v, 9r, 36r).	 fol. 8v  fol. 9r  fol. 36r
10	MS Fazil 1508	Either <i>mīm</i> and <i>dāl</i> or a swirled line sometimes above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 37r, 87v 79v, 144r).	 fol. 37r  fol. 87v  fol. 79v  fol. 144r

11	MS DK 149 Nahw	No mark of <i>maddah</i> found.	
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	<i>Mīm</i> and <i>dāl</i> but mostly a swirled line above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 7v, 14r, 16r, 18v, 23r, 28v).	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> fol. 7v fol. 14r fol. 16r </div>  <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> fol. 18v fol. 23r fol. 28v </div>
13	MS Fazil 1541	A swirled line usually above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v).	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> fol. 1v fol. 2r fol. 2v </div>  <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> fol. 3r fol. 3v </div>
14	MS BA 233	No mark of <i>maddah</i> found.	
15	MS Reis 904	A combination of clear <i>mīm</i> and <i>dāl</i> usually above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 2r, 3r, 4r).	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> fol. 2r fol. 3r fol. 4r </div>
16	MS Fazil 948	No mark of <i>maddah</i> found.	
17	MS IUL A 1434	A swirled line usually above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 4r, 4v, 7r, 8r).	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> fol. 4r fol. 4v fol. 7r fol. 8r </div>
18	MS Lal. 1728	Usually, a slightly curved line above the <i>alif</i> , but in the headings usually a straight line with a small tail (descender) at its left end above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 3r, 8r, 13r, 19v).	 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> fol. 3r fol. 8r fol. 13r fol. 19v </div>

19	MS Şehid 27	A swirled line usually above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 1v, 2r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 2r
20	MS DK 663 Tafsîr	A swirled line sometimes above the <i>alif</i> (p. 4, p. 23, p. 35, p. 38, p. 54).	 p. 4  p. 23  p. 35  p. 38  p. 54
21	MS Fazil 43	A line straight or slightly sloped to the left side with a tail at its end above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 2r, 3r, 3v, 4r, 5r, 6v).	 fol. 2r  fol. 3r  fol. 3v  fol. 4r  fol. 5r  fol. 6v
22	MS Lal. 1905	A line straight or slightly sloped to the left side with a tail at its end and sometimes as a swirled line above the <i>alif</i> (fol. 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r).	 fol. 1v  fol. 2r  fol. 3  fol. 3v  fol. 4r
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	A combination of clear <i>mîm</i> and <i>dâl</i> usually above the <i>alif</i> (fol. 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 18r).	 fol. 15v  fol. 16r  fol. 16v  fol. 17r  fol. 18r

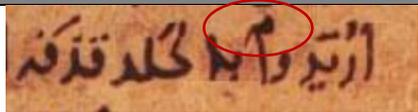
4.2.2.5. *Alif al-waṣl*

The normative sources discuss two marks for *alif al-waṣl* (also called *hamzat al-waṣl*).⁹⁴ Ibn al-Sarrāj explains that the *alif al-waṣl* mark consists of a combination of *ṣād* and *lām* (which may be read as *ṣil* “connect!”). He elaborates that this mark indicates that the *alif al-waṣl* is not pronounced.⁹⁵ Ibn Durustawayh mentions that the *alif al-waṣl* is distinguished from *alif al-qatʿ* (disjunctive *alif*) by writing a *ṣād* without a descender (*ṣād ghayr muʿarraḡah wa-lā muḡaḡḡaḡah*) above the *alif*.⁹⁶ He explains that this *ṣād* is taken from the word *al-waṣl* (conjunction).⁹⁷

Marking the *alif al-waṣl* was not common in the third/ninth century but becomes more common in the fourth/tenth century. I only found one occurrence in our third/ninth-century manuscripts. Interestingly, it is shaped as indicated by Ibn Durustawayh (see case 1).⁹⁸ The *alif al-waṣl* mark, in this case, does not indicate an *alif-al-waṣl* but rather that the *alif* is not pronounced. The *alif al-waṣl* mark, in this case, is written above the *alif al-fāriḡah/al-fāṣilah* (the separating *alif*). The normative sources do not discuss marking the *alif al-fāriḡah*.

In accord with Ibn Durustawayh, marking the *alif al-waṣl* with a *ṣād* without a descender, this occurs in four fourth/tenth-century manuscripts (see cases 7, 12, 18, 22, and 23). The *alif al-waṣl* is also marked with the word *ṣil* (*ṣād+lām*) above the *alif*, in accord with Ibn al-Sarrāj,⁹⁹ in four fourth/tenth-century specimens (see cases 15, 19, 22, and 23). The *alif al-waṣl* is also marked by a shape like an upside-down crescent above the *alif* in two fourth/tenth-century manuscripts (see cases 12 and 19). This mark is neither mentioned by Ibn Durustawayh nor by Ibn al-Sarrāj.

Table 19. *Alif al-waṣl*

Case number	Manuscripts	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	<i>Ṣād</i> without a descender above the separating <i>alif</i> (fol. 21r).	 fol. 21
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	Not found.	
3	MS MMI 44, part 1, part 2	Not found.	
4	MS AZ, ʿĀmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	Not found.	

⁹⁴ On *hamzat al-waṣl*, see EALL, s. v. “Hamza.”

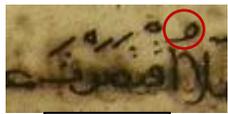
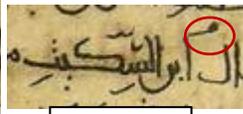
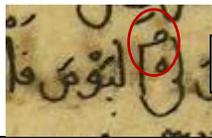
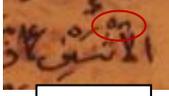
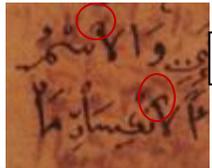
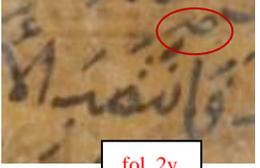
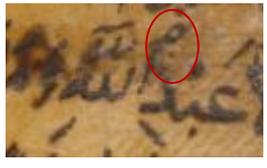
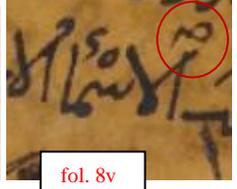
⁹⁵ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 24-5.

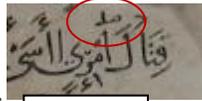
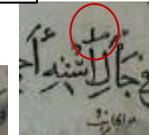
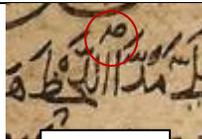
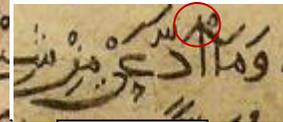
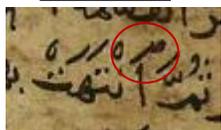
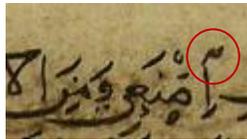
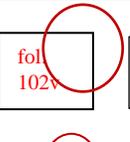
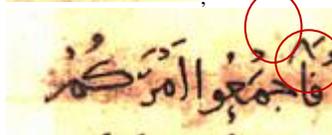
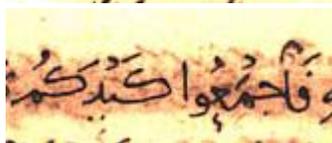
⁹⁶ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56.

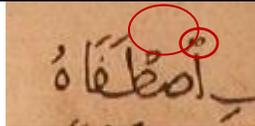
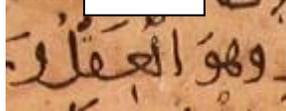
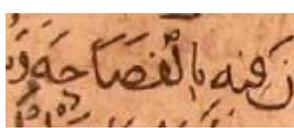
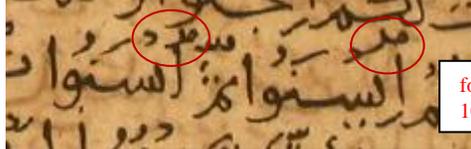
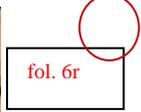
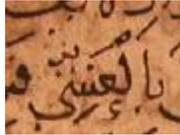
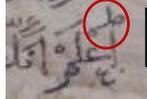
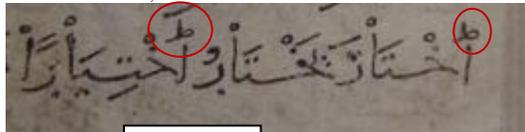
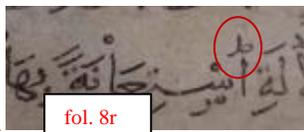
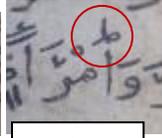
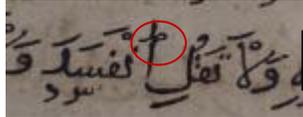
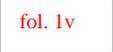
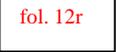
⁹⁷ Ibn Durustawayh, *al-Kuttāb*, 56.

⁹⁸ Moreover, I did not find it in these third/ ninth century manuscripts of the secondary corpus: MS BNF Arabe 2859; MS Leiden Uni. Or. 298; MS MAW 1125; MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth.

⁹⁹ Ibn al-Sarrāj. “Risālah,” 24-5.

5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	Not found.	
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	Not found.	
7	MS Şehid 2552	Occasionally, <i>şād</i> without descender (e. g. fol. 6v, 10r, 13v, 20v, 32v).	  <p>fol. 6v</p> <p>fol. 10r</p>   <p>fol. 13v</p> <p>fol. 20v</p>  <p>fol. 32v</p>
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	Not found.	
9	MS Fazil 1507	Not found.	
10	MS Fazil 1508	Not found.	
11	MS DK 149 Naḥw	Frequently, mark like an upside-down crescent above the conjunctive <i>alif</i> (e.g. fol. 5v, 6r, 7r, 8r, 12r).	  <p>fol. 5</p> <p>fol. 6r</p>   <p>fol. 7</p> <p>fol. 8r</p>  <p>fol. 12r</p>
12	MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3	Occasionally, <i>şād</i> without descender above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 2r, 2v, 4v, 7r, 8v).	  <p>fol. 2r</p> <p>fol. 2v</p>  <p>fol. 4v</p>   <p>fol. 7r</p> <p>fol. 8v</p>

13	MS Fazil 1541	Not found.	
14	MS BA 233	Not found.	
15	MS Reis 904	Occasionally, <i>şil</i> (<i>şād+lām</i> above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. 11V, 19r, 24r, 28v, 35v).	  <p>fol. 11v fol. 19r</p>    <p>fol. 24r fol. 28v fol. 35v</p>
16	MS Fazil 948	Not found.	
17	MS IUL A 1434	Not found.	
18	MS Lal. 1728	Five times, <i>şād</i> without descender above the <i>alif</i> (fol. 86v, 118r, 160r, 164r, 164v).	  <p>fol. 86v fol. 118r</p>   <p>fol. 160r fol. 164v</p>  <p>fol. 164v</p>
19	MS Şhid. 27	Three times, <i>şil</i> mark (fol. 102v, 315v) and two times an upside-down crescent-like mark (fol. 273v, 274r) above the <i>alif</i> .	  <p>fol. 102v fol. 315v</p>  <p>fol. 274r</p>  <p>fol. 315v</p> 

20	MS DK 663 Tafsiṛ	Not found.	
21	MS Fazil 43	Not found.	
22	MS Lal. 1905	Six times <i>ṣād</i> without descender (fol. 4v, 6r, 7r, 8r, 14r, 15r) and twice <i>ṣil</i> (fol. 107v) above the <i>alif</i> .	           
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	Frequently, <i>ṣil</i> above the <i>alif</i> (e. g. fol. 1v, 2r, 8r, 9v, 12r).	          

4.3. Collation: Definition, significance, remarks, and symbols

يجب على كل من كتب نسخة من أصل بعض الشيوخ أن يعارض نسخته بالأصل؛ فإن ذلك شرط في صحة الرواية من الكتاب المسموع.

Whoever writes a copy from a *Vorlage* of a master has to collate his copy against the *Vorlage*. That is compulsory for the correct transmission of the audited book.¹⁰⁰

The collation process is required to fix a text and make it correct and precise.¹⁰¹ According to the normative sources, after producing a copy of a manuscript, the copyist is required to collate that copy with the *Vorlage* (*al-aṣl*). The normative sources include anecdotes that stress the importance of collation. Al-Rāmahurmuzī transmits through an *isnād* from the prominent *ḥadīth* transmitter Hishām ibn ‘Urwah (d. 146/763):¹⁰²

He said: [Once] my father asked me: Did you finish your copying? I said: Yes. [Again] He asked: Did you collate [your copy with the original]? I said: No. He said: You have not finished copying, my son!¹⁰³

This anecdote shows that collation is a crucial part of the copying process. When the collation is not achieved, the copying is considered incomplete.

Al-Rāmahurmuzī transmits through an *isnād* from Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kathīr (d. 129/746-7):¹⁰⁴ “Whoever copies without collation is like who used the latrine without cleaning himself.”¹⁰⁵ This statement seems to indicate that the collation process is a way of ‘cleaning’ the text. During the collation, dittographies are cancelled, omitted parts are inserted, and mistakes are corrected. Therefore, the collation is necessary for correctness. Hence, according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, it is not acceptable to transmit a copy produced during the sessions of audition of the original (i. e.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 275.

¹⁰¹ For studies on collation, see p. 26.

¹⁰² On him, see Juynboll, G. H. A. *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, 184-205; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 16: 56-67; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6: 34-47.

¹⁰³ Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 544. That anecdote is also transmitted with different *isnāds* in Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān*, 336; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 275, *al-Kifāyah*, 2: 104. There is also a similar anecdote in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 2: 105.

¹⁰⁴ On him, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6: 27-31.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 544. This anecdote is also transmitted with different chains of transmitters in Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān*, 337; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 275, *al-Kifāyah*, 2: 104.

al-kitāb al-masmūʿ) until it is collated.¹⁰⁶ Al-Khaṭīb explains that during the collation, if the collationer finds a name unpointed (*ʿāṭilan min al-taqyīd*), he has to provide it with points, and if he finds a letter without vocalization that might confuse the reader, he has to vocalize it.¹⁰⁷ Clarity and the correctness of a text depend on its collation. Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad mentions, transmitted by al-Khaṭīb: “If a text were copied three times [without collation] it would change into Persian on account of its many mistakes.”¹⁰⁸

Al-Khaṭīb discusses the mode of collation which is carried out during the audition sessions (*majālis al-samāʿ*).¹⁰⁹ In these sessions, a book is orally transmitted by its author or by a teacher who has the right to transmit it. According to al-Khaṭīb, when hearing a book in different sessions, the symbol of reaching (*al-balāgh*) is written in the student’s manuscript indicating where the session ended.¹¹⁰ Al-Khaṭīb also mentions that “he had witnessed a book by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and this book was heard by his son ʿAbd Allāh, and it was noted in the margin of one of its pages: *Balagha ʿAbd Allāh*.”¹¹¹ Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1070) quotes Maʿmar ibn Rāshid (d. 154/720),¹¹² who believes that even if the manuscript were collated, a hundred times, a book would still include mistakes.¹¹³ These statements indicate that there was an awareness of the importance of repeating the collation process as early as the fourth/tenth century, as a way of reducing mistakes.

The collation is also marked by dots or lines drawn inside circles representing “text dividers” between chunks of text in the manuscript.¹¹⁴ This circle originates from the writing of *ḥadīth* as we can learn from al-Rāmāhurmuzī.¹¹⁵ Al-Khaṭīb explains how this circle separates two different pieces of *ḥadīth*.¹¹⁶ He also illustrates that scholars of *ḥadīth* would initially leave this circle empty, then after the collation, they would put a dot or a line inside the circle.¹¹⁷ According to al-Khaṭīb,

¹⁰⁶ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1: 275.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1: 276.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1: 276.

¹⁰⁹ On this mode, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 66-7.

¹¹⁰ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1: 268.

¹¹¹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1: 269.

¹¹² On Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, see EI², s.v. “Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr”; HAWT, vol. 1: 394-5, suppl. vol. 1: 648-9. On Maʿmar, see GAS, 1: 290. EI³, s. v. “Maʿmar b. Rāshid.”

¹¹³ Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān*, 338.

¹¹⁴ Describing the circles as text dividers is taken from a comment by prof. Gruendler on my first-year report at BGSMCS, 2018.

¹¹⁵ Al-Rāmāhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606.

¹¹⁶ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1: 272.

¹¹⁷ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1: 273.

this practice is obligatory to authenticate a transmission of a scholar.¹¹⁸ A circle with a dot (or a stroke) was considered a mark of the manuscript’s authenticity to such a degree that the circle itself came to be called an *ijāzah* (certificate), as two anecdotes from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal transmitted by al-Khaṭīb show:

كنت أرى في كتاب أبي إجازة – يعني دارة – ثلاث مرات ومرة واحدة ألقاه. فقلت له: إيش تصنع بها؟ فقال أعرفه إذا خالفني إنسان قد قلت له: قد سمعته ثلاث مرات.

I (‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal) saw in my father’s book an *ijāzah*, and he means a circle, three times, two times, and at least once. I said to him: What do you do with it? He said: I know it if someone disagreed with me, I tell him: I have heard it three times.¹¹⁹

This anecdote indicates that providing a dot or stroke inside the text divider circle may have occurred during the audition of the book. In addition, the term *ijāzah* is used here to refer to the circle when used as a mark for collation. This use of the term *ijāzah* underscores a meaning of *ijāzah* that is different from its normal meaning, “permission to transmit a text.”

Al-Khaṭīb reports *wa-yuj‘alu li-l-‘arḍ qalam mu‘add* (“a particular pen is specified for the collation.”)¹²⁰ Thus, the collation is expected to be written in a script different from the script of the text body.

The analysis of our third/ninth-century manuscripts is coherent with the observations of al-Khaṭīb. The expression *balagha* is noticed in two third/ninth-century manuscripts (see cases 1 and 3). This expression is written in the margin to mark where the collation stopped. Our specimens show that this tradition also extended to the fourth/tenth century (see cases 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, and 15).

Our corpus shows that some copyists used marks to indicate corrections occurring from the collation process. The collation statements in cases 9 and 10 illuminate this fact. The collationer in these cases writes at the end of each part of the manuscript that he “collated and corrected this part.” However, in some cases, the collationers use the mark *ṣaḥḥ*, to indicate a position where the collation process, including correcting the text, stopped (see cases 3, 9, 10, 15, 18, and 19). Both

¹¹⁸ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 273.

¹¹⁹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 274.

¹²⁰ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 276.

marks *balaghtu* and *ṣahḥ* are used together in two fourth/tenth-century manuscripts under examination (see cases 11 and 15). These marks show that the collation process was mainly used to correct a text's mistakes during the copying. The normative sources presented above stresses this role in the collation process.

Coherent with the normative sources, marked circles are traced in our manuscripts. In some specimens from the third/ninth century, a dot or a stroke is provided inside the text divider circle (see cases 1, 2, and 3). This tradition extends to the fourth/tenth century, where circles are often marked with a single dot (see cases 6-15, 20, and 22). Furthermore, in cases 3, 9, and 10, the circles are simultaneously marked with both a dot and a stroke. That is perhaps because collation occurred twice. In one manuscript, some circles are provided with more than one dot (see case 13 below). Perhaps this is also because the collation process occurred more than once, as suggested in the quote by 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.¹²¹ In case 3 below, the circle accompanied by *balagha* occurs several times. This further indicates that the collation process was executed in several sessions.¹²²

There is an inconsistency with the specimens in marking the circles in the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries. Some of the circles are left unmarked in a few manuscripts (see cases 1, 12, 13, and 14). As not many circles are left empty, this may have occurred by mistake. In case 22, the circles are mostly left unmarked. On the other hand, in case 19, all the circles were left unmarked (see case 19 below). In this particular case, it seems that the copyist did not utilize marking circles as a mark of collation. Instead, the copyist seems to have relied on other collation marks such as writing *ṣahḥ* in the margin and writing a note at the end of each part of the manuscript indicating that the manuscript has been collated.

Instead of marking the circles with a dot, two manuscripts are marked with a curved line penetrating the circle (see cases 4 and 21).

In some of the specimens, the marked circles are accompanied with the expression *balagha* in the margin. This illustrates that marking circles with an expression also indicates collation, which

¹²¹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi'*, 1: 274.

¹²² Gacek, *Vademecum*, 66.

is coherent with the explanation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī on such practices (see cases 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, and 15).¹²³

Regarding case 7 below, as the manuscript is an autograph, *balagha* here is likely to have marked the positions where the author stopped while correcting his text.

In some fourth/tenth-century manuscripts, a statement at the end of the manuscript is written to indicate that a collation was executed. Writing a collation statement at the end of a manuscript is not discussed in the normative sources. The cases that were found are discussed in the following.

In one of those cases, the copyist writes: *Qūbila ma ‘a aṣl ṣaḥīḥ* (“[the manuscript] was collated with a correct *Vorlage*.”)¹²⁴ The “correct *Vorlage*” here is likely to have been a manuscript that had been collated, read to a teacher, or audited from a teacher who has the right of transmission.

In two cases, the collation statement is attached to the colophon indicating that the manuscript was collated with a specific *Vorlage* and gives details about this. The first of these case reads:

... نقلت جميعه من أصل أبي عبد الله بن مقلة... قابلت به وصح.

I copied all of it [the text] from the *Vorlage* of Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah... I collated [the present copy] with it, and it [the present copy] was correct.¹²⁵

The second case consists of two notes. In the first note, the copyist explains:

نسخت جميع ذلك من دستور أبي الحسن ثابت بن قرة – رضي الله عنه – الذي بخطه... قابلت به هذا الدستور وصح والله الشكر.

I copied all of that [text] from the autograph of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah, may Allāh be pleased with him, which is in his hand... I collated with it [the present text] this autograph [of Thābit ibn Qurrah], and it was correct. And thank to Allāh.¹²⁶

In the second note, after the colophon, the copyist writes:

¹²³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 1: 273.

¹²⁴ MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 244v; see illus. 4.3.

¹²⁵ MS Reis 904, fol. 96v; see illus. 4.5.

¹²⁶ MS Fazil 948, fol. 45v; see illus. 4.6.

نسخته من نسخة لأبي الحسن ثابت بن قرّة رحمه الله لم تكن بخطه. فُوبل به هذه النسخة ولله المنّة وصحّ.

I copied it from a copy of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah, the mercy of Allāh may be upon him, that was not in his hand. It [the present copy] was collated with this copy [of Thābit ibn Qurrah], and Allāh is gracious, it [the present copy] was correct.¹²⁷

In the collation notes discussed above, the copyist himself writes the collation statement since the hand of the statements is very similar to the hand of the text's body. However, in a fourth/tenth-century manuscript, collating and correcting are carried out by someone other than the copyist. There is a note at the end of three parts (the manuscript has four parts and there is no note in the fourth part) of this voluminous manuscript that shows that the grammarian Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī collated and corrected the manuscript.¹²⁸ One of these notes is quoted here as an example:

قابلت هذا الجزء إلى آخره وصحته سنة سبع وأربعين وثلاثمائة وكتب الحسن بن عبد الله السيرافي.

I collated and corrected this part until its end in 347/[988-9]. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Sīrāfī wrote.¹²⁹

A note on the title pages also states that al-Sīrāfī corrected the manuscript.¹³⁰

Coherent with what al-Khaṭīb states about the *qalam al-'arḍ*, the collation statements at the end of some manuscripts are written in a different script from the body (see cases 8 and 19).¹³¹ However, copyists do not seem to have always been strict with this rule, as the collation statement is written in the same script as the body in three cases.¹³²

The audition and reading certificates probably also play a role in collation. The normative sources do not indicate this. However, in case 5 below, no collation mark, such as marked circles or any expression of collation, is found. That was probably because the audition certificate at the end of the manuscript implicitly indicates that the manuscript was collated during the audition.

¹²⁷ MS Fazil 948, fol. 54v; see illus. 4.7.

¹²⁸ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 143v, 311r, MS Fazil 1508, fol. 171r.

¹²⁹ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 311r; see illus. 4.4.

¹³⁰ MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r, 144r, MS Fazil 1508, fol. 1r, 172r; see illus. 3. 9.

¹³¹ See also illus. 4.4.

¹³² See illus. 4.3, 4.5, 4.6.

That audition certificate shows that the copyist, whose name is not given, heard the book from the author, Ibn Ḥibbān:

سمعنا من أبي حاتم رضي الله تعالى عنه من أوله إلى آخره قراءة عليه في سنة ثلاث وعشرين وثلاثمائة.

We heard [the book] from Abū Ḥātim, may Allāh Sublime be pleased with him, from its beginning to its end in a reading to him in 323/[934-5].¹³³

As this certificate underscores, the book was read out in the presence of the author.¹³⁴ In such a style, a student reads, and the teacher (in our case, the teacher is the author) hears and gives corrections and comments on the text. This process is a very specific kind of collation. Likewise, in case 11, no collation note is found at the end of the manuscript. However, collation is likely to have occurred during the manuscript's reading as a reading certificate is recorded at the end.¹³⁵ The mark *balaghtu* is found in different places in the manuscript probably identifying the places where the reading sessions ended.

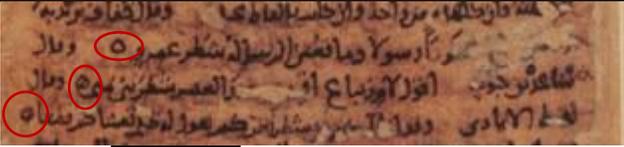
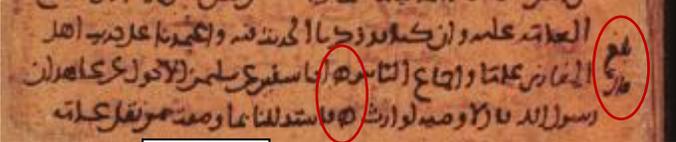
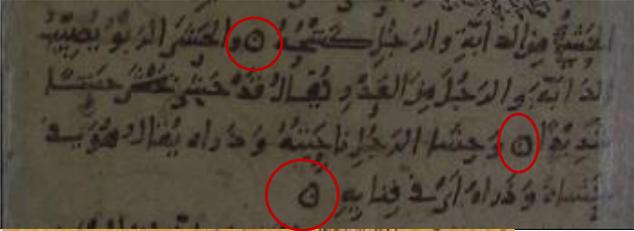
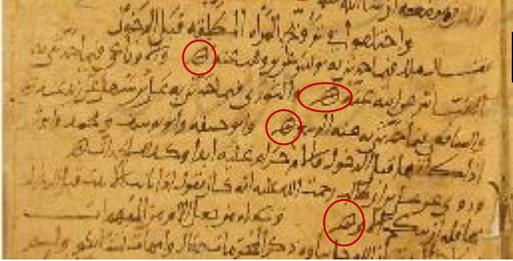
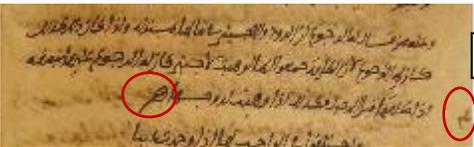
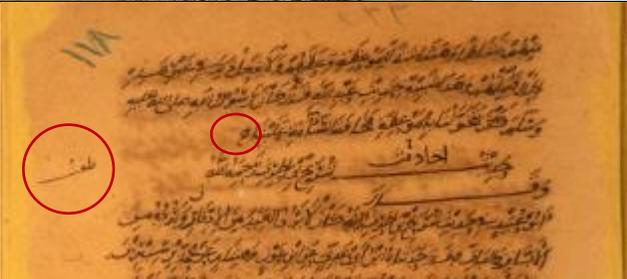
In conclusion, the normative sources stress the importance of collation. In addition, the normative sources show us the method of executing the collation. Our manuscripts show that the normative sources are broadly coherent with actual practice. However, a few details, such as writing a collation statement at the end of the manuscript, are not discussed in the normative sources but are found to have occurred in practice.

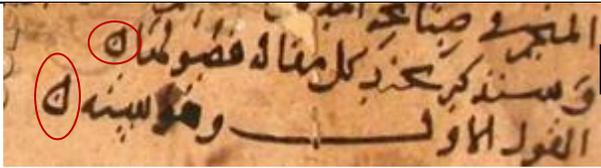
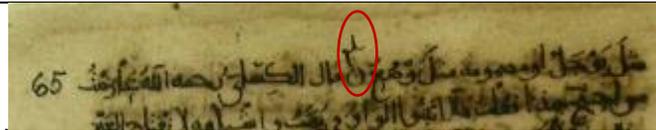
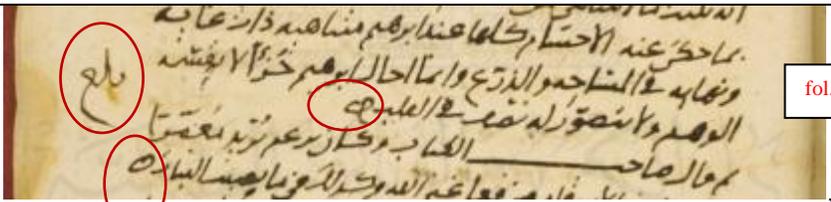
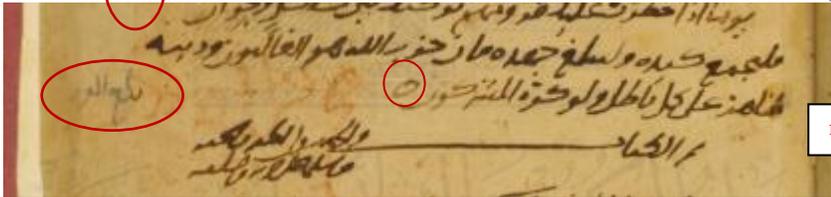
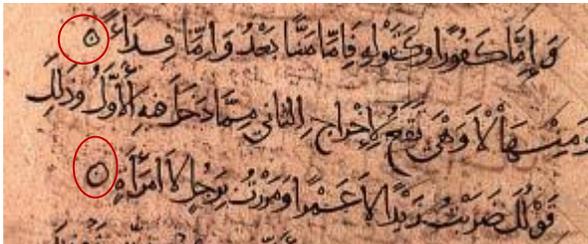
¹³³ MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 183v; see illus. 3.61.

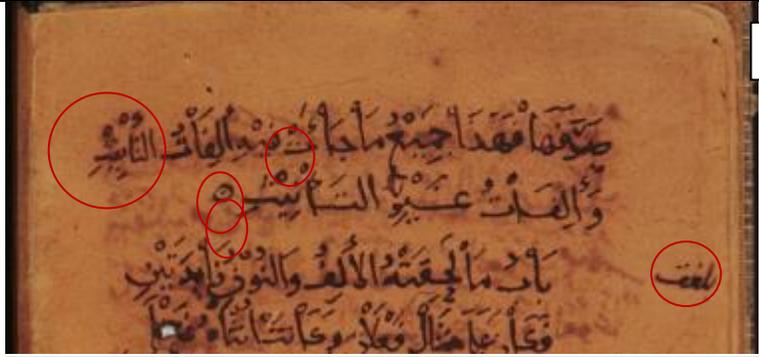
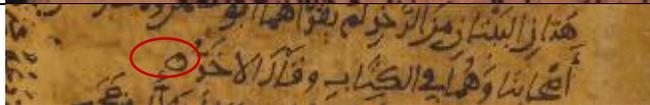
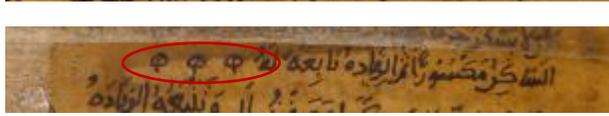
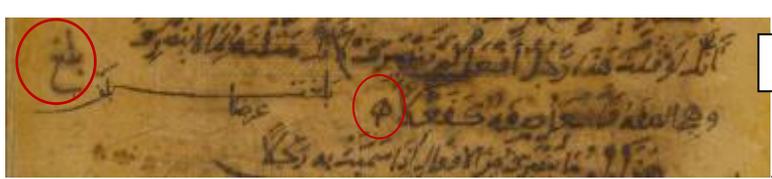
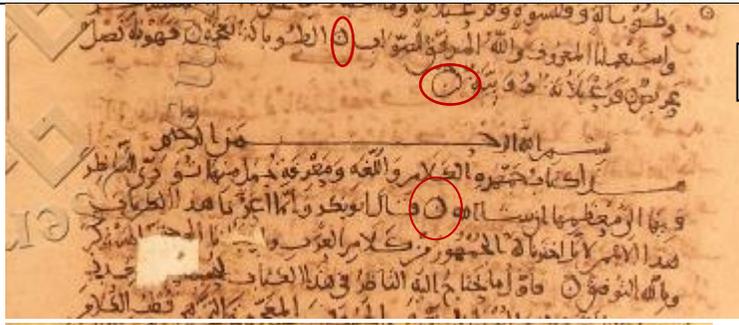
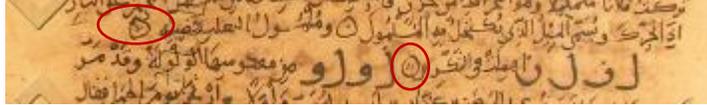
¹³⁴ This certificate is similar to the reading certificate of the third/ninth manuscript MMMI 44, part 1 and 3 discussed above, see section 3.1.11.2, note 5.

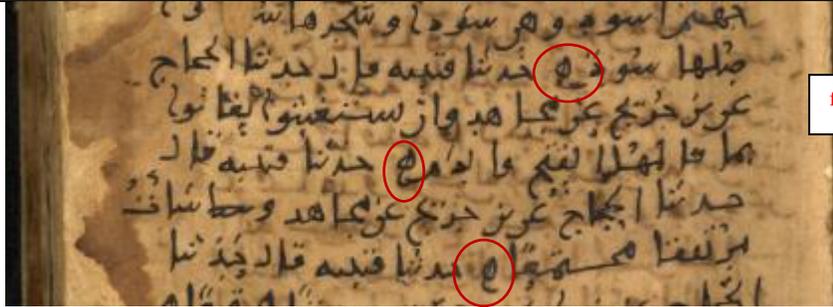
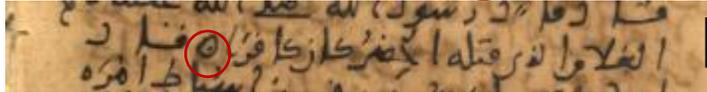
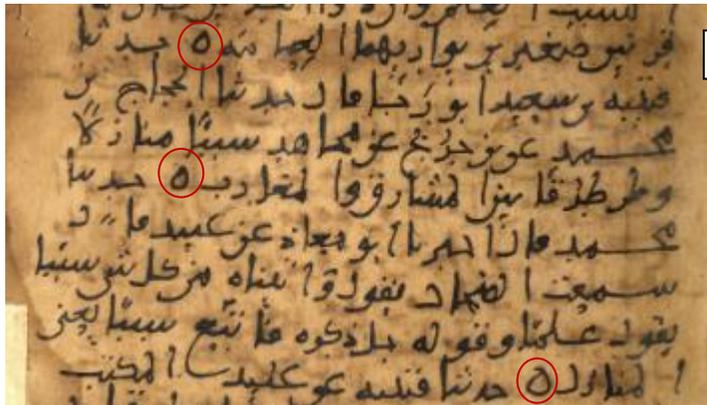
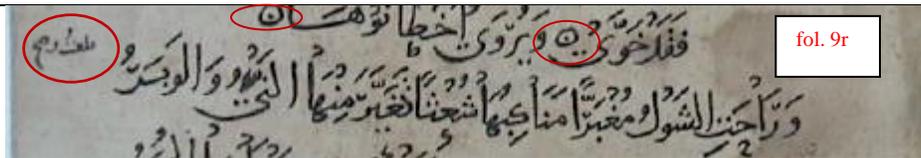
¹³⁵ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 99r. On this certificate see section 3.2.2.3.

Table 20. Collation

	Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşûl Fiqh	1) Circles with vertical strokes (e. g. fol. 9v). 2) Empty circles (e. g. fol. 9v). 3) On the same page, circles with stroke and others empty (e. g. fol. 9v). 4) Empty circles: probably left by mistake (e. g. fol. 9v). 5) Two circles with a vertical stroke accompanied by the expression <i>balagha</i> next to them in the right-side margin (fol. 20r).	 <p style="text-align: center;">fol. 9v</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">fol. 20r</p>
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 1v.	Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 1v).	 <p style="text-align: right;">fol. 1v</p>
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3.	1) Circles with both dots and strokes (e. g. part 1, fol. 2r). 2) <i>Şahh</i> at the end of part one before and after the last line (part 1, fol. 22r). 3) Circles with vertical strokes and <i>balagha</i> next to them in the margin (e. g. part 3, fol. 8v).	 <p style="text-align: right;">part 1, fol. 2r</p>  <p style="text-align: right;">part 1, fol. 22r</p>  <p style="text-align: right;">part 3, fol. 8</p>
4	MS AZ, 'Amm 9028, Khaşş 926 Hadîth	1) Circles with a small, curved line (e. g. p. 233). 2) A circle with a small, curved line and <i>balagha</i> next to them in the margin (p. 233).	 <p style="text-align: right;">p. 233</p>

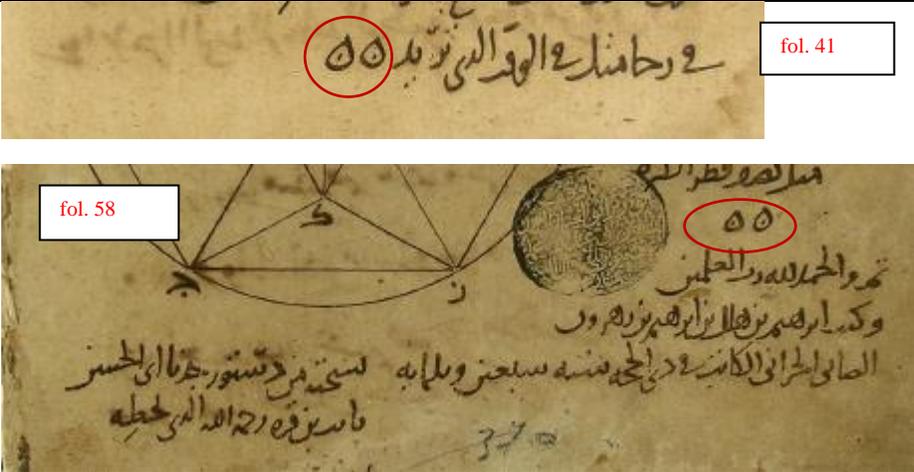
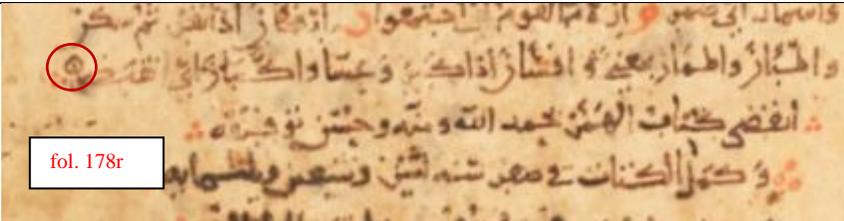
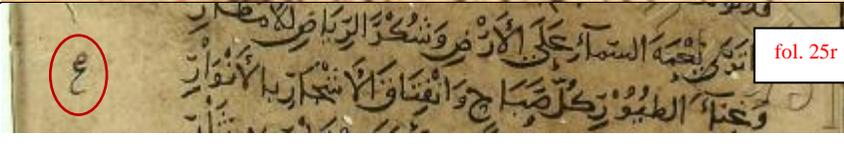
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	Neither mark nor expression found.	
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	1) Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 1v).	 fol. 1v
7	MS Şehid 2552	1) Circles with dots (e. g. 65r). 2) <i>Balagha</i> accompanies a dotted circle (fol. 65r).	 fol. 65r
8	MS DK 852 Tawhīd	1) Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 21r, 62r). 2) Occasionally marked with a curved line penetrating the circle (e. g. fol. 21r). 3) <i>Balagha</i> next to circles with curved lines (e. g. fol. 21r). 4) In the end-expression: <i>Balagha al-'ard</i> ("he reached the collation") (fol. 62r).	 fol. 21  fol. 62r
9	MS Fazil 1507	1) Circles with dots (e. g. 6r). 2) Circles with both dots and strokes (e. g. 2r). 3) <i>Şahh</i> in some places (e. g. fol. 76v).	 fol. 2r  fol. 6r  fol. 76v
10	MS Fazil 1508	Similar to the previous case.	

11	MS DK 149 Naḥw	<p>1) Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 13r, 48r).</p> <p>2) <i>Balaghtu</i> in the margin next to circles with dots (e. g. fol. 13r).</p> <p>3) <i>Balaghtu ṣaḥḥ</i> in the margin next to circles with dots (fol. 48r).</p>		fol. 13r
				fol. 48r
12	MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3	<p>1) Circles with strokes (e. g. fol. 39r).</p> <p>2) Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 27v).</p> <p>3) Circles left unmarked (e. g. fol. 91v).</p> <p>4) <i>Balagha</i> in the margin next to a circle provided with a stroke (e. g. 92r).</p>		fol. 27v
				fol. 39r
				fol. 91v
				fol. 92r
13	MS Fazil 1541	<p>1) Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>2) Circles with more than one dot (e. g. fol. 52v).</p> <p>3) Empty circles (e. g. fol. 64r).</p>		fol. 2v
				fol. 52v

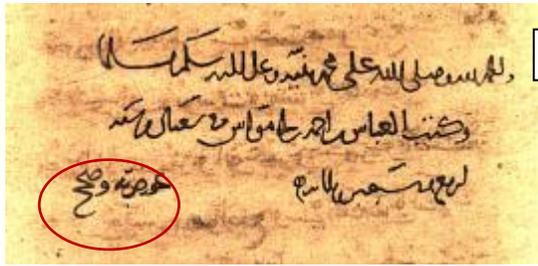
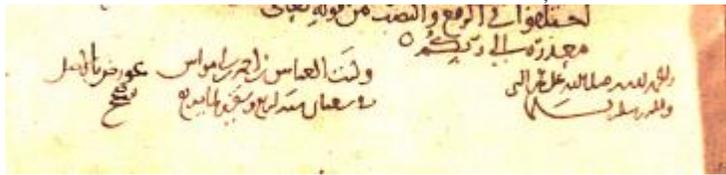
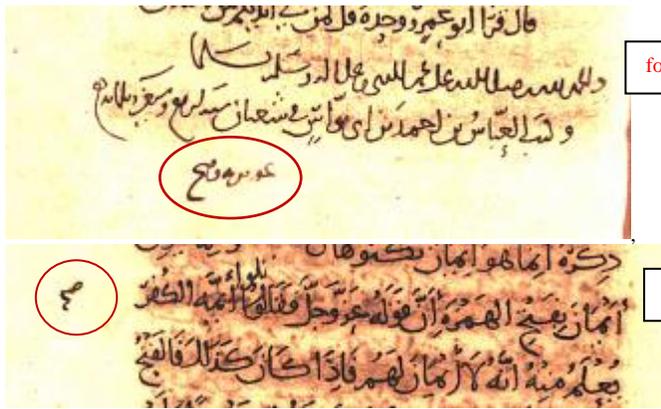
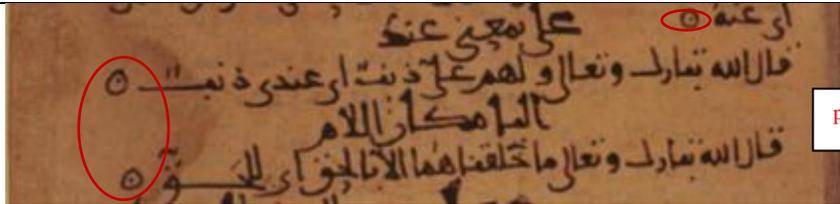
			 <p>fol. 64r</p>
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) Circles with a curved line penetrating the circle (e. g. fol. 4r).</p> <p>2) Empty circles (fol. 9v).</p> <p>3) Once, a circle with a dot (fol. 9v).</p> <p>4) No collation notes date to the time of copying.¹³⁶</p>	 <p>fol. 4r</p>  <p>fol. 9v</p>  <p>fol. 10r</p>
15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 9r, 96v).</p> <p>2) <i>Balaghtu wa-ṣaḥḥ</i> (“I reached, and it was correct”) in the margin (fol. 9r).</p> <p>3) <i>Ṣaḥḥ</i> in the margin.¹³⁷</p>	 <p>fol. 9r</p>  <p>fol. 44r</p>

¹³⁶ All the notes found belong to time after the copying, as they are in different hand. Those are *balagha al-mu'araḍah* (“he reached the collation”): fol. 24r, *qūbila wa-sumi'a* (“it was collated and heard”): fol. 62v, 84r, 88v, 105r, 108r, 150v, *qūbila bihi wa-sumi'a* (“it was collated with it and heard”): fol. 60r, 118r, 233r, *ṣaḥḥ* (“it was correct”): fol. 121r, 216v, *balagha* (“he reached”): 112r, 173v, *balagha al-samā'* (“he reached the audition”): fol. 48v, 76v. Also, all the certificates of audition are in different hand: fol. 35v, 40r, 46r, 47r, 59r, 71v, 143v, 146v, 167v, 172v, 193v, 219v, 229r.

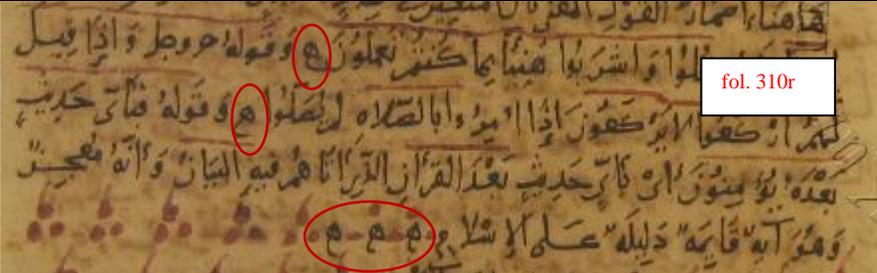
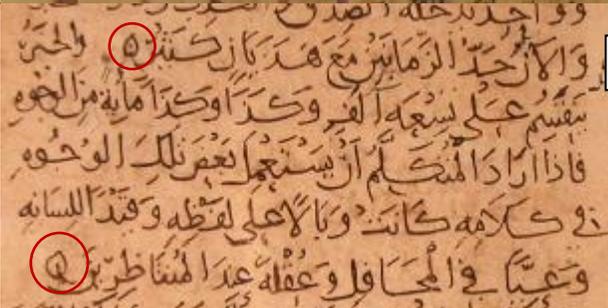
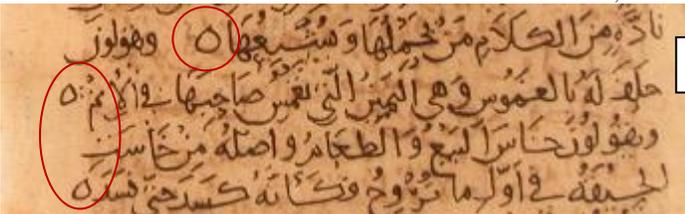
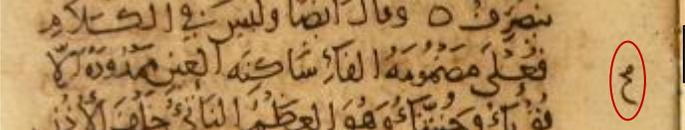
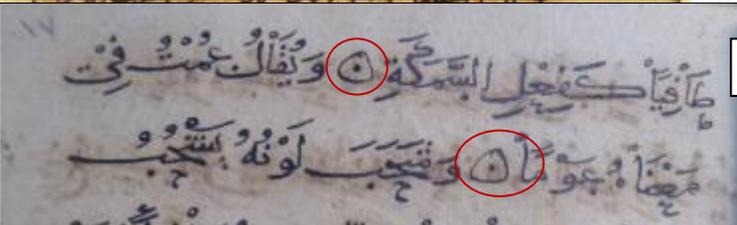
¹³⁷ MS Fazil 948, fol. 9r, 44r, 45r, 46.

16	MS Fazil 948	<p>1) Circles with dots (fol. e. g. 41v, 58v). 2) Twice, two consequent dotted circles (fol. 41v, 58v).</p>	
17	MS IUL A 1434	Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 178r).	
18	MS Lal. 1728	<p>1) No circles found. 2) <i>Ṣaḥḥ</i> in some margins the mark (e. g. fol. 25r).¹³⁸</p>	

¹³⁸ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 25r, 59r, 95v, 124v, 133v, 171r. There are two occurrences of the mark *balagha* (MS Lal. 1728, fol. 32v, 160v, 171r), but seem to be in a different hand. Also, all of the collation notes I could spot (MS Lal. 1728, fol. 7v, 101r, 102r, 125r, 118r, fol. 150v, 157v) are written in a different hand.

19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) Empty circles (e. g. fol. 1v).</p> <p>2) In each part, after the colophon: ‘<i>Ūriḍa bihi wa-ṣuḥḥiha</i>’ (“it [the present copy] was collated with it [the <i>Vorlage</i>]”), and it [the present copy] was corrected”) (e. g. 60v), ‘<i>ūriḍa bi al-aṣl wa-ṣuḥḥiha</i>’ (“it was collated with the <i>Vorlage</i>, and it was corrected”) ‘<i>ūriḍa bihi wa-ṣaḥḥa</i>’ (“it [the present copy] was collated with it [the <i>Vorlage</i>]”) (fol. 180r), and it [the present copy] was collated with it, and it was correct.”) (fol. 210r).</p> <p>3) <i>Ṣaḥḥ</i> in the margin (e. g. 219r).¹³⁹</p>	 <p>fol. 1v</p>  <p>fol. 180r</p>  <p>fol. 60v</p>  <p>fol. 210r</p>  <p>fol. 219r</p>
20	MS DK 663 Tafsir	-Circles with dots (e. g. p. 165).	 <p>p. 165</p>

¹³⁹ Furthermore, the mark *balagha* is provided, but in different hand (fol. 136r, 164v, 193v, 232v, 305v, 317r, 323v, 337r, 348v, 357v) Moreover, the expression *intahat al-mu'aradah ilā hādhā al-mawḍi'* (“The collation stopped at this position”) is noted, but seems in a different hand (fol. 251v, 288v).

21	MS Fazil 43	-Circles with a curved line penetrating the circle (e. g. fol. 310r).	 <p>fol. 310r</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905	<p>1) After fol. 27v, almost all the circles empty until fol. 314r (e. g. 27v).</p> <p>2) Circles with either a dot or a curved line penetrating the circle (e. g. fol. 3r).</p> <p>3) Once <i>ṣahh</i> in the margin (fol. 294r).¹⁴⁰</p>	 <p>fol. 3r</p>  <p>fol. 27v</p>  <p>fol. 294r</p>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	-Circles with dots (e. g. fol. 17r).	 <p>fol. 17r</p>

¹⁴⁰ However, *ṣahh* also occurred, but in a different hand (MS Lal. 1905, fol. 27r, 27v, 103r, 151r).

4.4. Cancellation¹⁴¹

The normative sources discuss how to deal with a repeated word in a sentence. Al-Rāmahurmuzī reports that some of his teachers preferred “to cancel the second [repeated word] because the first was [already] correctly written, and the second was written by mistake.”¹⁴² However, according to al-Rāmahurmuzī, other fourth/tenth-century scholars argued that:

إنما الكتاب علامة لما يُقرأ، فأولى الحرفين بالإبقاء أدلها عليه وأجودها صورة.

The writing is a sign of what should be read. The most indicative letter and the best-shaped should be prioritized to be kept.¹⁴³

These scholars were concerned with both the meaning and aesthetic of a word; thus, they held that the more readable and the best-shaped word was more worthy of being kept.¹⁴⁴

According to the normative sources, there are two cancellation methods of physically removing the ink: the *ḥakk* (“rubbing out”)¹⁴⁵ and the *maḥw* (“ink removal”).¹⁴⁶ Executing those two methods is not discussed in detail in the normative sources up until the fifth/eleventh century, and even here they are only mentioned in a comparative sense with striking out a word.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, striking out a word was preferred to rubbing it out.¹⁴⁸ Al-Rāmahurmuzī transmits from his masters that *al-ḥakk tuhmaḥ* (“the rubbing out is a suspicion”).¹⁴⁹ What he means by this is that manuscripts that underwent some form of erasure may have been accused of not being transmitted accurately. The cancelled text may have been correct, and the cancellation a mistake. Hence, striking through a word is superior as it still allows the word to be read. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī also prefers striking out a word over its erasure.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴¹ For studies on the cancellation, see p. 28.

¹⁴² Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 607; This is also mentioned in: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi*’, 1:276-7.

¹⁴³ Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 607. This is also mentioned in: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi*’, 1: 277.

¹⁴⁴ In the 6th/12th century, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ suggested rules that help a practice of the *ḍarb* (“the deletion by means of a horizontal line”) that consider the aesthetic aspects of writing. Those rules consider the alignment of the beginnings and endings of lines and well-proportioned writing but the first and foremost is the meaning (al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*’, 172). On the *ḍarb*, see Gacek, AMT, 88; AMTS, 48; *Vademecum*, 48.

¹⁴⁵ Gacek, AMT, 35; “Technical practices,” 58.

¹⁴⁶ Gacek, AMT, 133; “Technical practices,” 58.

¹⁴⁷ Gacek, AMT, 88; AMTS, 48; *Vademecum*, 48.

¹⁴⁸ Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 606; Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi*’, 1:278.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 606.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi*’, 1:278.

In the sixth/twelfth century, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ discusses the practice of ink removal (*al-mahw*) as a method of cancellation. This method is not mentioned by either al-Rāmāhurmuzī or al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. While the rubbing out is done with a sharp tool such as a knife, the *mahw* is done with the use of some kind of liquid, such as human saliva. Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ mentions erasure by “licking the writing“ (*la‘q al-kitāb*).¹⁵¹

Details about striking are also discussed in the normative sources. In the fourth/tenth century, al-Rāmāhurmuzī transmits from his masters that “the best way of the striking through is not to wipe out the cancelled text but to draw a good, clear line above it [the text]. It [the line] indicates its [the text] cancellation and allows reading what is underneath the line.”¹⁵² However, this line above the cancelled word is sometimes drawn across the cancelled word itself, in this case, according to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, the cancellation is called *al-darb wa-l-shaqq*.¹⁵³

Another method of cancellation is the through *taḥwīq*.¹⁵⁴ That method, is explained by al-Ghazzī and al-‘Almawī, as:

أن يُرسم في أول الكلام المُبطل وفي آخره نصف دائرة

Drawing a semicircle around the first and the last of the words which are to be deleted.¹⁵⁵

Sometimes a copyist may cancel a correct text by mistake. In such a case, according to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, he should mark the cancellation with *ṣaḥḥ*.¹⁵⁶ The *ṣaḥḥ* would indicate that the cancellation itself is now cancelled.

As we can understand from Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, quoted by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the cancellation is to be taken seriously by scholars when reading books. The reader is to ignore the text under the *darb* and not read it as a part of the book. Al-Khaṭīb transmitted through an *isnād* that Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 296/998) said:

¹⁵¹ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 173.

¹⁵² Al-Rāmāhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606; This is also mentioned in: Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi’*, 1: 278. By the 6th/12th century, there were other practices, see al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 171.

¹⁵³ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 171.

¹⁵⁴ On *al-taḥwīq*, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 48.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Ghazzī, *al-Durr*, 452; al-‘Almawī, *al-Mu‘īd*, 137. The translation is taken from Rosenthal, *The Technique*, 16.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 170.

من قرأ سطرًا قد ضرب عليه من كتاب، فقد خان. لأن الخطَّ يخزن عنه ما تحته

Who read a line which was stricken out [by drawing a line above it] would be treacherous because the line dams what is underneath it.¹⁵⁷

When it comes to our manuscripts, it is not easy to find examples of rubbing out (*ḥakk*) or the ink removal (*maḥw*). Firstly, access to the original manuscripts was limited. Furthermore, the examination of *ḥakk* or *maḥw* require specific technology that I did not have access to. Examples of these technology are optical imaging techniques¹⁵⁸ and multispectral imaging.¹⁵⁹ Despite this, in some specimens, certain areas do exhibit traces of rubbing out or ink removal. However, this may be due to the fact that these manuscripts were exposed to humidity and hence are not actually corrections (see cases 7, 8, and 11).

In our actual manuscripts, the second repeated text is cancelled (see cases 1, 3, 4, 6, 8-10, 13, 14, 16, 19, and 21). This is coherent with the view of some of the teachers of al-Rāmāhurmuzī, as stated above.¹⁶⁰ However, our manuscripts also show that the first repeated text is cancelled (see cases 1, 4-12, 14, and 20). The reason for this is because the second text is sometimes more precise than the first (see cases 1, 5, 6, 8, and 20) or the second text seems to be better shaped (see cases 7, 11, 12, and 14). In a few cases, the second repeated text is at the beginning of a line to probably keep the beginning of the line clean from cancellation (see cases 4, 9, and 10). In case 5, the second repeated text is the correct one and placed at the beginning of the line. In case 11, the second repeated text is better-shaped and also placed at the beginning of the line. Hence, keeping the beginning of lines aligned seems to have been a known practice since the fourth/tenth century.¹⁶¹ However, the earliest normative sources to discuss this issue, as far as I know, is al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād’s *al-Ilmā’* in the sixth/twelfth century. He mentions the importance of keeping the alignment at the beginning and end of lines, but he gives more priority to keeping the alignment at the beginning.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi’*, 1:278; On Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, see EI², s. v. “Ibn al-Mu‘tazz;” HAWT, vol. 1: 71, suppl. vol. 1: 126-8; GAS, 2: 569-71.

¹⁵⁸ Shiv, et al., “Decipherment of Written Contents.”

¹⁵⁹ Bamburde and Goutam, “Question Documents Analysis.”

¹⁶⁰ Al-Rāmāhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 607; This is also mentioned in: Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi’*, 1:276-7.

¹⁶¹ All the cases in which the second repeated text is not cancelled and occurs at the beginning of line date to the fourth/tenth century.

¹⁶² Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād, *al-Ilmā’*, 172.

Our manuscripts show that some fourth/tenth-century copyists cancelled a text by drawing a line above the cancelled element (see cases 9, 15, 16, and 19). Other copyists cancelled by drawing a line through the cancelled element itself (see cases 4, 5, 7, and 8 below). However, most of the copyists (all the third/ninth and many of the fourth/tenth-century ones) use both methods concurrently (see cases 1-3, 6, 8, 10-14, 17, and 20-22).

The practice of *taḥwīq* is also noticed in one fourth/tenth-century manuscript (see case 12 below).¹⁶³

Although marking the cancelled cancellation is discussed in a sixth/twelfth-century normative source, *al-Ilmāʿ* by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ,¹⁶⁴ we can see its practice in the fourth/tenth century with cases 4 and 12. In case 12, the cancelled element is marked with *ṣaḥḥ* and the letter *khāʾ*. The *khāʾ* perhaps refers to the *Vorlage* and stands for *nuskhah*.¹⁶⁵ Thus, *ṣaḥḥ* and the *khāʾ* together perhaps indicate that the copyist, during his collation of the manuscript with the *Vorlage* (symbolized with *khāʾ*), found the cancellation to be incorrect.

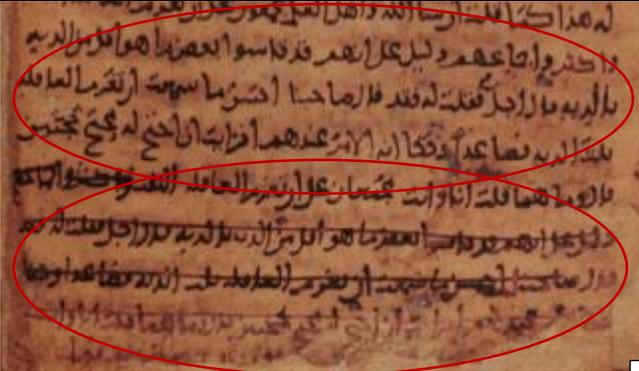
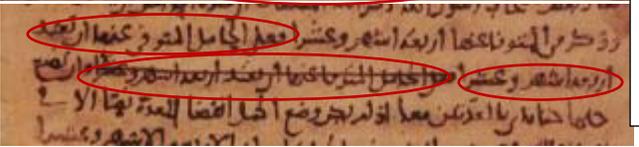
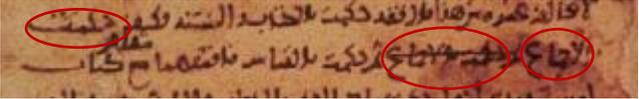
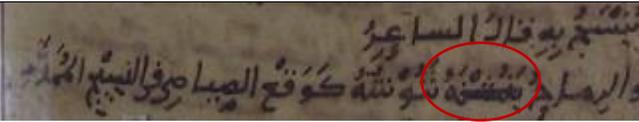
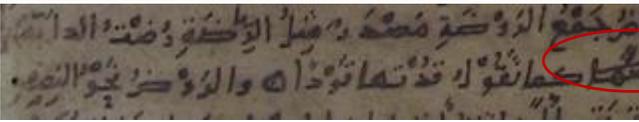
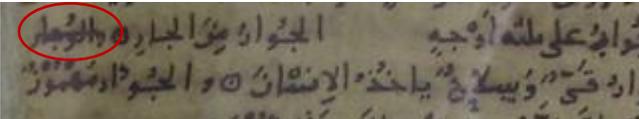
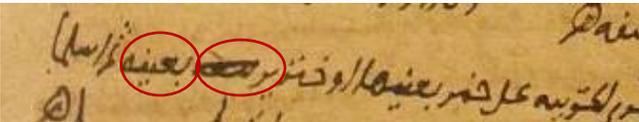
Table 21. Cancellation

Manuscript	Phenomenon	Samples
1 MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Striking through with one line (fol. 18v, 48v, 72v, 75r). 2) Striking with an overline (fol. 7v, 68v). 3) Deleting the second repeated element (7v, 18v, 68v, 72v, 75r). 4) Deleting the first repeated element, the second more precise and correct than the first (fol. 48v, 68v). 5) Jumping to previous lines (fol. 7v, 68v, 72v, 75r). 6) Jumping to the following lines (fol. 48v). 7) Jumping within the single line (fol. 18v, 68v). 	<p>fol. 7v: jumping to a previous line</p> <p>fol. 18v: repetition within a line</p> <p>fol. 48v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 68v: jumping within a line</p>

¹⁶³ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 31 r, the lines: 16-18. On the *taḥwīq*, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 48.

¹⁶⁴ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmāʿ*, 170.

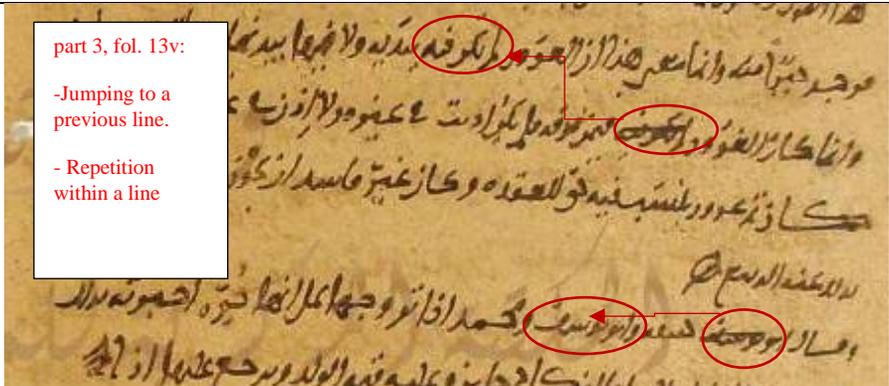
¹⁶⁵ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 250.

				<p>fol. 68v: repetition within a line</p>
				<p>fol. 72v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines</p>
				<p>fol. 75r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>
<p>2</p>	<p>MS Vel. Ef. 3139</p>	<p>1) Striking through with one line (fol. 18v, fol. 23v). 3) Striking with an overline (fol. 19r).</p>	  	<p>fol. 18v</p> <p>fol. 19r</p> <p>fol. 23v</p>
<p>3</p>	<p>MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3</p>	<p>1) Striking with an overline (part 1, fol. 7r, part3, 9r, 13v, 39v, 43v, 45r). 2) Striking through with one line (part 3, fol. 13v, 24r). 3) Jumping to previous lines (part 1, fol. 7r. and 7v, part3, fol. 13v, 39v, 45r, 49v). 4) Jumping to the following lines (part 3, fol. 43v). 5) Jumping within a single line (part 3, fol. 9r, 13v). 6) Deleting the second repeated element (part 3, fol. 45r, 49v).</p>	  	<p>Part 1, fol. 7r</p> <p>Part 1, fol. 7v</p> <p>Part 3, fol. 9r: repetition within a line</p> <p>Jumping to a previous line</p>

part 3, fol. 13v:

- Jumping to a previous line.

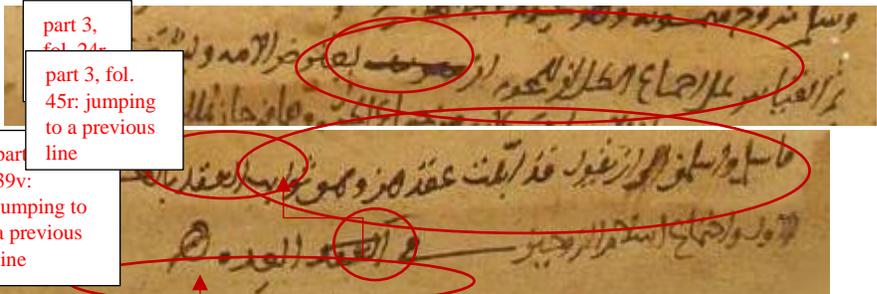
- Repetition within a line



part 3, fol. 24r

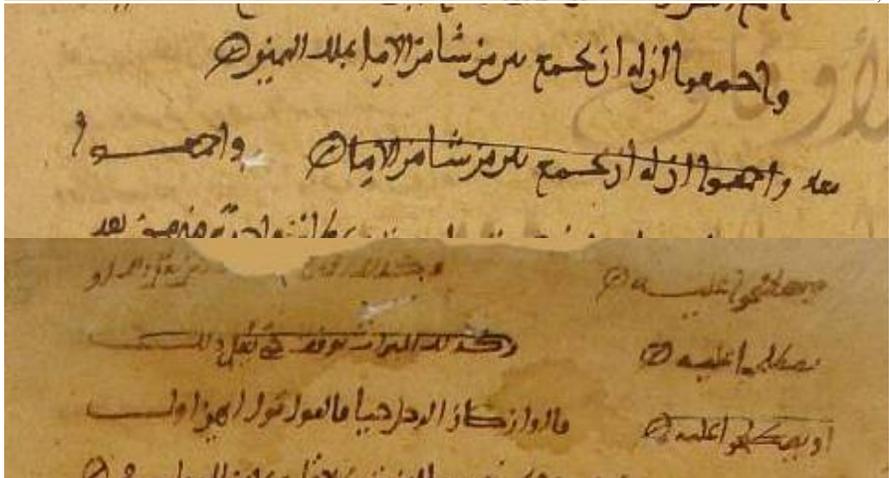
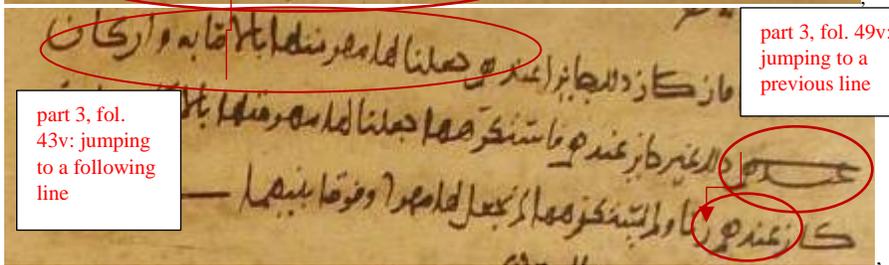
part 3, fol. 45r: jumping to a previous line

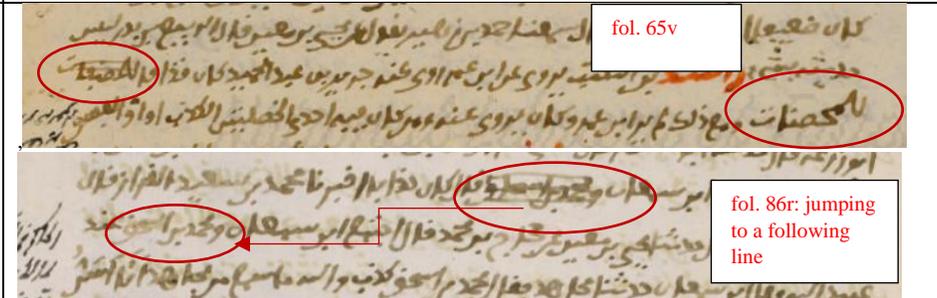
part 3, fol. 39v: jumping to a previous line

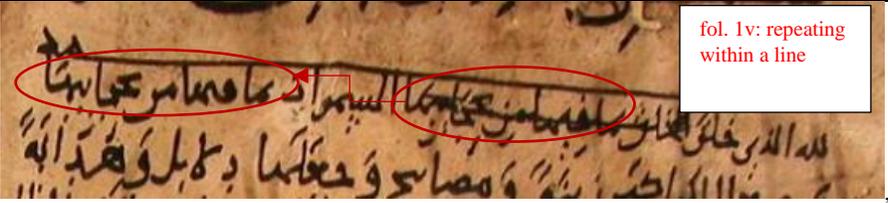
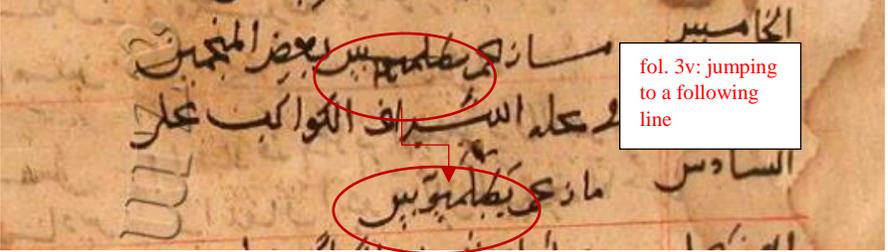
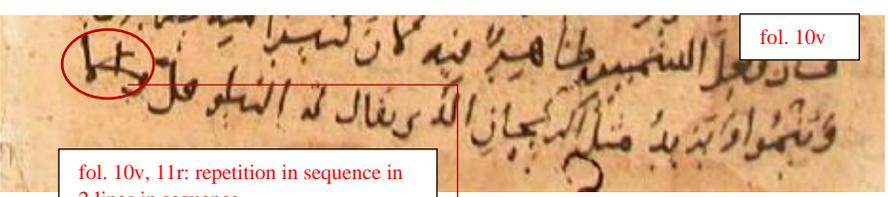
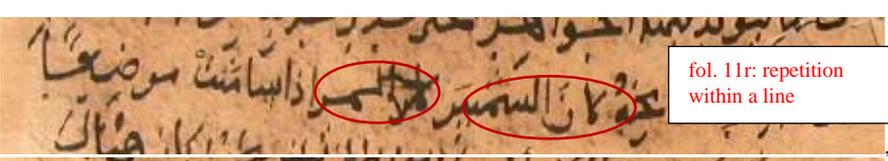
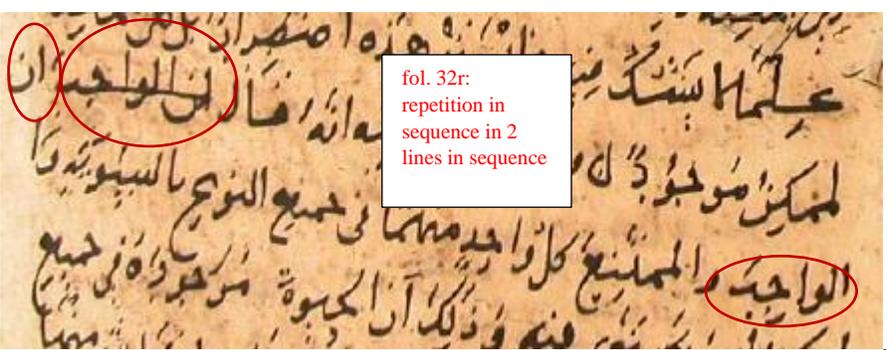


part 3, fol. 49v: jumping to a previous line

part 3, fol. 43v: jumping to a following line



4	MS AZ, 'Amm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	<p>1) Striking through with one line (p. 59, p. 74, p. 81, p. 109, p. 133, p. 174, p. 219, p. 242, 269).</p> <p>2) The deletion of the second repeated element, the first already correct and precise (p. 109).</p> <p>3) Once deleting the first repeated element, the second at the beginning of a line (p. 219).</p> <p>4) Once <i>ṣahh</i> above the line indicating the cancellation of the cancellation (p. 153).</p> <p>5) Jumping to previous lines (p. 59, 74, 268-9).</p>	 <p>p. 59: jumping to a previous line</p> <p>p. 74: jumping to a previous line</p> <p>p. 109: repetition within a line</p> <p>p. 153: marking the cancelation with <i>ṣahh</i></p> <p>p. 219: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence. The second repeated text which is the beginning of a line is left</p> <p>p. 268</p> <p>Jumping to a previous line</p> <p>p. 269</p>
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	<p>1) Striking through with more than one line (fol. 65v, 68r).</p> <p>2) Deleting the first (wrong) repeated element and leaving the second (correct) element.</p> <p>3) Jumping to the following line (fol. 86r).</p>	 <p>fol. 65v</p> <p>fol. 86r: jumping to a following line</p>

6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	<p>1) Striking through with one line (fol. 1v, 3v, 10v, 18r, 26v, 30r, 40v) and with more than one line (fol. 11r, 12r).</p> <p>2) Striking with an overline (fol. 37v, 87v, 100r, 105v, 117v).</p> <p>3) Striking through and striking with an overline (fol. 87v).</p> <p>4) Deleting the first repeated element (e. g. fol. 10v and 11r, 32r, 34r, 46v, 65v), deleting the second repeated element (fol. 11r, 74v, 99v): in both situations, the correct and more precise element prioritized.</p> <p>5) Jumping to a previous line (e. g. fol. 81r, 105v, 132r, 144v, 150r).</p> <p>6) Jumping twice to the following lines (e. g. fol. 3v, 81r).</p> <p>7) Jumping within the single line (fol. 1v, 26v, 87v, 121r).</p>	 <p>fol. 1v: repeating within a line</p>  <p>fol. 3v: jumping to a following line</p>  <p>fol. 10v</p>  <p>fol. 10v, 11r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 11r.</p>  <p>fol. 11r: repetition within a line</p>  <p>fol. 26v: repetition within a line</p>  <p>fol. 32r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>
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فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم
فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 34r:
repetition
in
sequence
in 2 lines
in
sequence

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 37v:
repetition
within a line

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 46v: repetition in
sequence in 2 lines

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 65v:
repetition
within a line

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 74v: repetition within a line

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 75r: repetition
within a line

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 81r:
jumping to a
following line

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 87v:
repetition within a
line

فما استخار الله في ذلك اليوم في حشره
والله اعلم بما في قلوبهم

fol. 91v: repetition
within a line

كثيره القدامه من كبر من العلوم...
لنا صفة المياه اللان كما نمدو كما نمدو واللان كما ينسز فيها
المد والجنود واللان ينسز في الماء كمنسز في الماء اللان
اللان ينسز في الماء كمنسز في الماء اللان

fol. 100v: repetition within a line

اللان ينسز في الماء كمنسز في الماء اللان
اللان ينسز في الماء كمنسز في الماء اللان

fol. 99v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence

استحوه والريهيه...
فأشبهها من الشمس وأما رطوبتها...
الريهيه التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
أما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
من الشمس وأما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...

fol. 105v: jumping to a previous line

فأشبهها من الشمس وأما رطوبتها...
الريهيه التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
أما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
من الشمس وأما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...

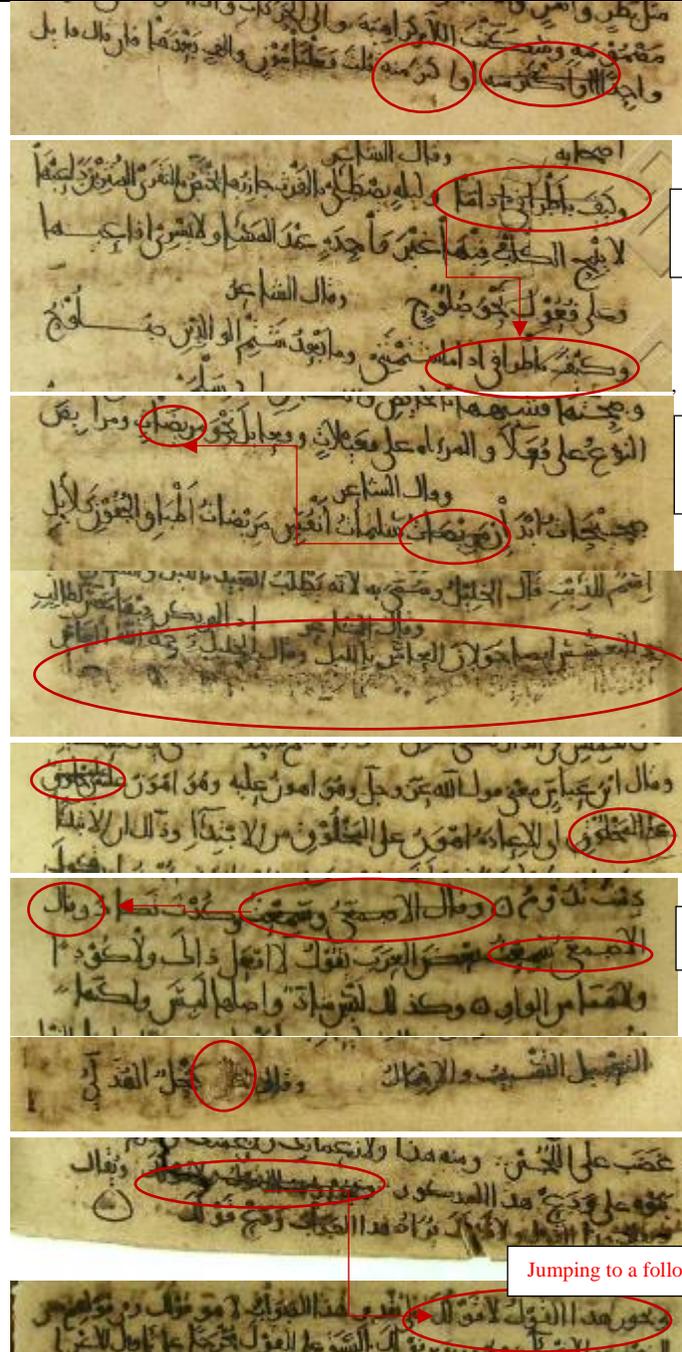
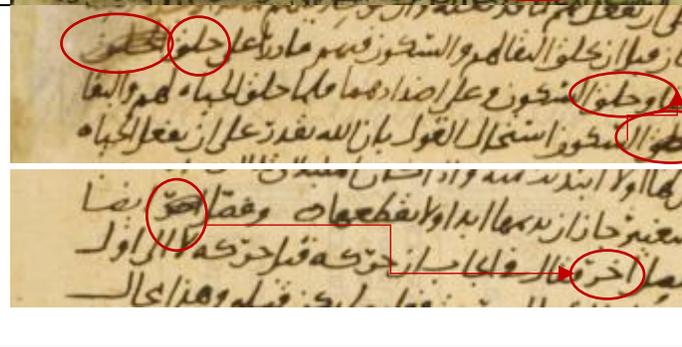
fol. 132r: jumping to a previous line

فأشبهها من الشمس وأما رطوبتها...
الريهيه التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
أما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
من الشمس وأما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...

fol. 144v: jumping to a previous line

فأشبهها من الشمس وأما رطوبتها...
الريهيه التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
أما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
من الشمس وأما رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...
رطوبتها التي تسمى بها رطوبتها...

fol. 150r: jumping to a previous line

7	MS Şehid 2552	<p>1) Striking through with one line (fol. 16r, 21v, 27r, 86v, 131r).</p> <p>2) Deleting the first repeated element: the more precise than the first (6r, 68r).</p> <p>3) Jumping twice to the following lines (fol. 16r, 131r, 131v).</p> <p>4) Jumping once to a previous line (fol. 27r).</p> <p>5) Jumping once within a single line (fol. 77r).</p> <p>Fol. 62r, the last line: probably written in the place of an erased text.</p> <p>6) Fol. 84v, last line: the space between the 4th and the 5th words: probably a position of rubbing out.</p>		<p>fol. 6r: repetition with a single line</p> <p>fol. 16r: jumping to a following line</p> <p>fol. 27r: jumping to a previous line</p> <p>fol. 62r.</p> <p>fol. 68r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 77r.</p> <p>fol. 84v.</p> <p>fol. 131r.</p> <p>Jumping to a following line</p> <p>fol. 131v.</p>
8	MS DK 852 Tawhîd	<p>1) Striking through with more than one line (fol. 5r, 6r, 20v, 24r, 37r, 48r, 50r).</p> <p>2) Striking through with one line (fol. 14r, 20r, 21r).</p> <p>3) Striking with an overline (fol. 14v, 38v, 39r, 51v).</p> <p>4) Striking with two overlines (fol. 14v).</p> <p>5) Deleting the second repeated element: at the</p>		<p>fol. 5r: repetition in sequence within a line & jumping to a previous line</p> <p>fol. 6r: jumping to a following line</p>

end of a line (fol. 14v), at the end of a line, and the first repeated element the correct one (fol. 5r).
 6) Jumping to the following lines (fol. 6r, 21r, 51v).
 7) Jumping twice to a previous line (fol. 5r, 14v).
 8) Probably written above a place of rubbing out (fol. 38r, line 7: the place of the first word; fol. 44r, line 12: the place of words 4 to 9).

والأزواج أفدها واها (أه) في حلوها وقد عرفت عنهم نوع
 من هذه الأزواج...
 كان يرغم من الأزواج حلتوا حرد وقد لا كان يقول
 ابرعهم واما قوله ان سائر الاحسام من الالوان والطعوم والأزواج
 أفدها فاما كان يقول ان هذه الاحسام أفدها على الأزواج...
 دار الدنيا التي هو دار تلويح واختيار...
 لغير الجنة وبمعنى الاختيار فيها فاما قوله...
 في هذه الحالة...
 الا ان يكون من حفته ما كان من حفته...
 الوهم والاشغور له نصف في العليق

fol. 14v: jumping to a previous line

الكتاب وكان يرغم تربة معصرا
 ان لا يتراخى من الاسقام من فعل غير الله...
 كان يرغم ان الله المستقر من الرضة والسقيفة وان اجرا
 لا يترغم نفسه ولا يسطعها وكان يرغم ان الله الصب
 للميات والذرع المصاب التي تكون من قسمة فاما ما اصاحب
 من راعله من ظلمه الماترون...
 بواو من معصرا...
 في هذا الكتاب...
 العلم اسعد الله ازعمرا

fol. 21r: jumping to a following line

ان كان اسد قد عرفت...
 ما قد عرف هو المبتدئ...
 وانما يشي لان في هذا حاله

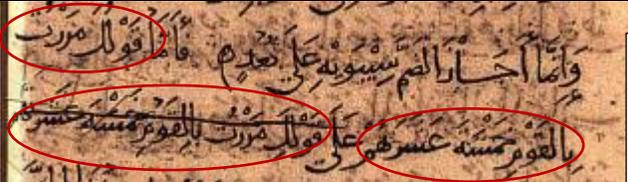
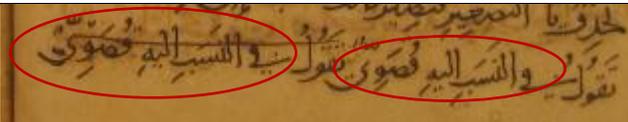
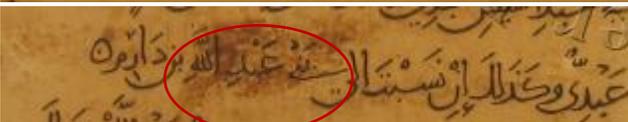
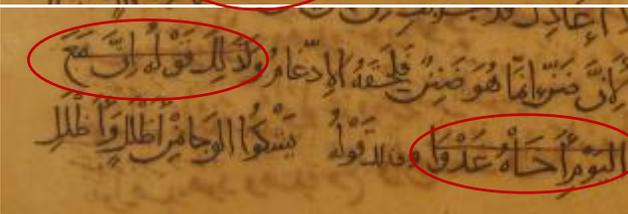
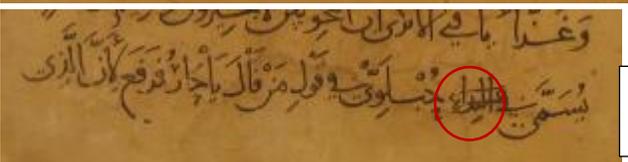
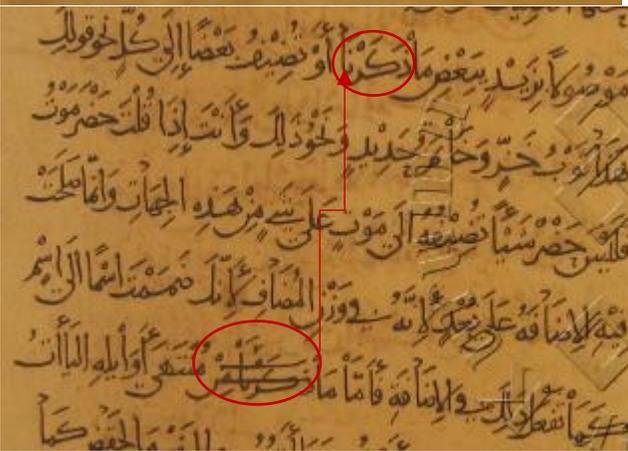
fol. 38r.

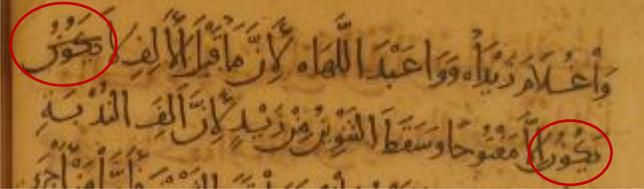
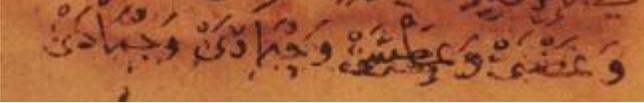
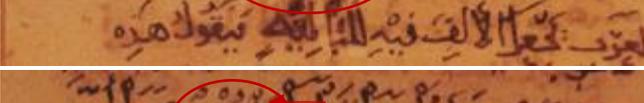
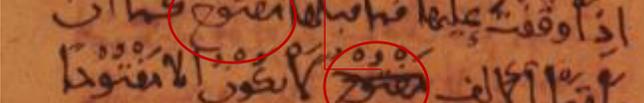
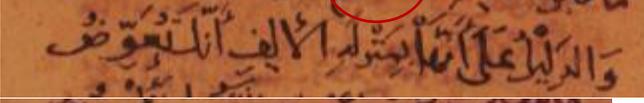
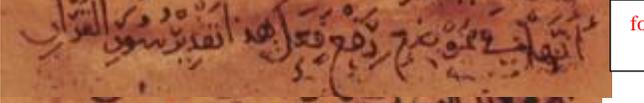
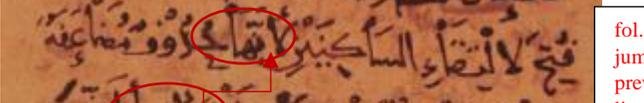
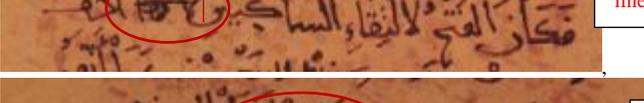
واما قوله حتم الله على...
 فظهر من انما عده...
 اهل الظلم...
 الناس معروف في اهل الظلم...
 في ابراهيم العتلة...
 وكذا كان السعد بالامر وهو

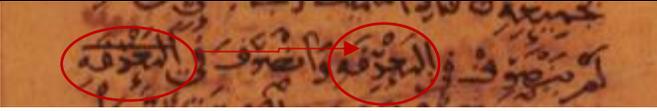
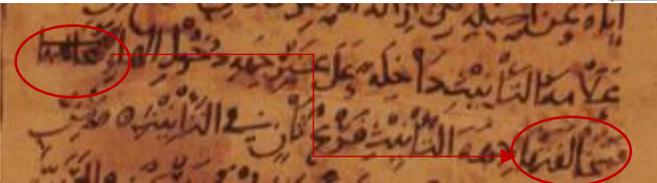
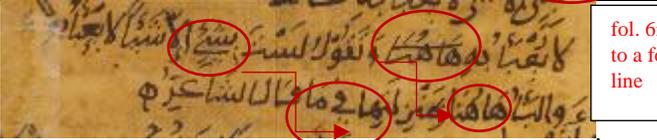
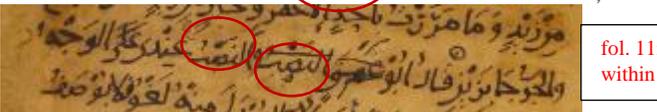
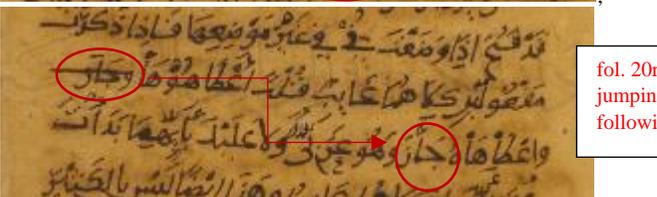
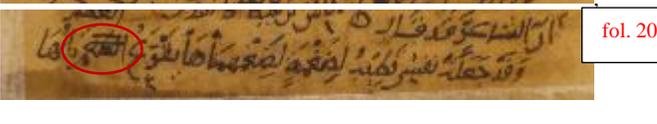
fol. 44r.

fol. 51v: jumping to a following line

9	MS Fazil 1507	<p>1) Striking with an overline (fol. 41v, 52r, 99v, 105v, 111r).</p> <p>2) Deleting the second repeated element in most cases (e. g. fol. 41v, 88v, 105v, 115v, 127r, 229v).</p> <p>3) Deleting the first repeated element (at the end of the line, and the second is at the beginning of the following line; thus, keeping the beginnings of lines) by the corrector, al-Sīrāfi (fol. 99v: the last word and fol. 100r: first word, fol. 111r).</p> <p>4) Probably written in the place of erased words (fol. 259r, line 5, the last two words, fol. 283v, line 6, the last 6 words, fol. 268r, line 5, the first word).</p>		<p>fol. 41v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 88v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 99v.</p> <p>Repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 100r.</p> <p>fol. 105v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 111r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 115v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p> <p>fol. 127r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>
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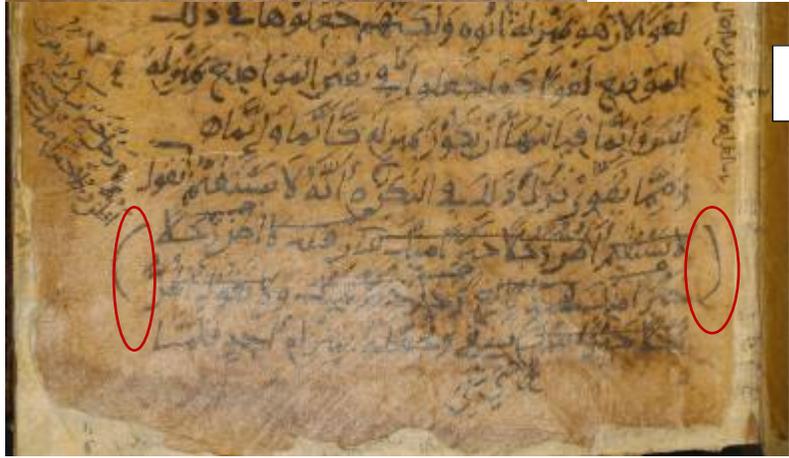
				<p>fol. 259v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>
10	MS Fazil 1508	<p>1) Striking with an overline (e. g. fol. 65v, 66r, 158r). 2) Striking through and striking with an overline (fol. 173r, 180r). 2) Deleting the second repeated element (fol. 65v). 3) Deleting the first repeated element (at the end of the line, and the second is at the beginning of the following line; thus, keeping the beginnings of lines) (fol. 276v, 282v). 4) Probably written in the place of erased words (fol. 66r, line 10, the 7th-the 9th words.). 5) Jumping to a previous line (fol. 180r).</p>	     	<p>fol. 65v: repetition within a line</p> <p>fol. 66r</p> <p>fol. 158r</p> <p>fol. 173r</p> <p>fol. 180r: Jumping to a previous line</p> <p>fol. 276v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>

				<p>fol. 282v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	<p>1) Probably written in the place of erased words (fol. 3r, line 14, 37r, line 14).</p> <p>2) Probably rubbing out (fol. 4r, the upper margin).</p> <p>3) Striking with an overline (fol. 18r, 47r, 92r, 93r, 96v).</p> <p>4) Striking through (fol. 38r, 46r).</p> <p>5) Deleting the first repeated element; the second better shaped and at the beginning of a line (fol. 96v).</p> <p>6) Jumping to a previous line (fol. 18r, 38r, 93r).</p> <p>7) Jumping to the following line (fol. 46r, 47r).</p> <p>8) Jumping within a single line (fol. 92r).</p>	 <p>fol. 3r.</p>  <p>fol. 4r.</p>   <p>fol. 18r: jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 37r.</p>  <p>fol. 38r: jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 46r: jumping to a following line</p>  <p>fol. 47r: jumping to a following line</p>	

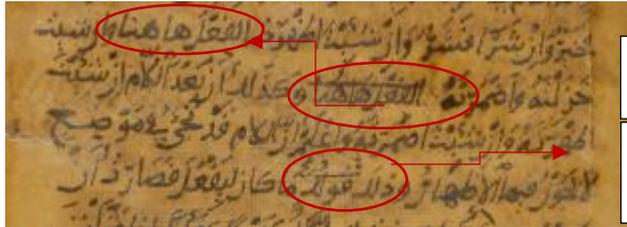
				<p>fol. 92r: jumping within a line</p>
				<p>fol. 93r: jumping to a previous line</p>
				<p>fol. 96v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>
<p>12</p>	<p>MS DK 139 Nahw</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Striking with an overline (fol. 6r, 11r, 19r, 26v). 2) Striking through with two lines (fol. 43r). 3) Deleting the first repeated element; the second better-shaped (fol. 11r, 109v). 4) <i>Tahwīq</i> (fol. 31 r, the lines: 16-18). 5) Striking with an overline and marking with; cancelling the cancelation (fol. 55 r). 6) Jumping to a previous line (e. g. fol. 41r, 45r, 55r). 7) Jumping to the following lines (fol. 6r, 19r, 26v, 42r, 43r). 8) Striking with an overline and marking with <i>ṣaḥḥ</i> and the letter <i>khā'</i> (fol. 41r). 		<p>fol. 6r: Jumping to a following line</p>
				<p>fol. 11r: repetition within a line</p>
				<p>fol. 19r: jumping to a following line</p>
				<p>fol. 20r: jumping to a following line</p>
				<p>fol. 20r</p>



fol. 26v: jumping to a following line

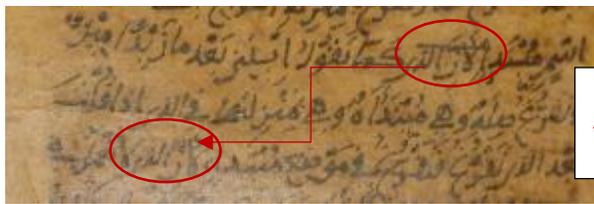


fol. 31r

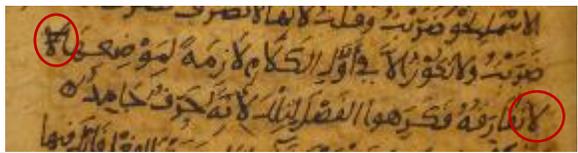


fol. 41r: jumping to a previous line

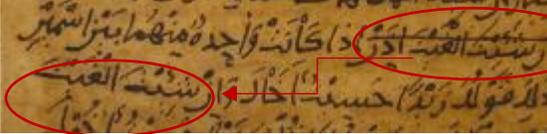
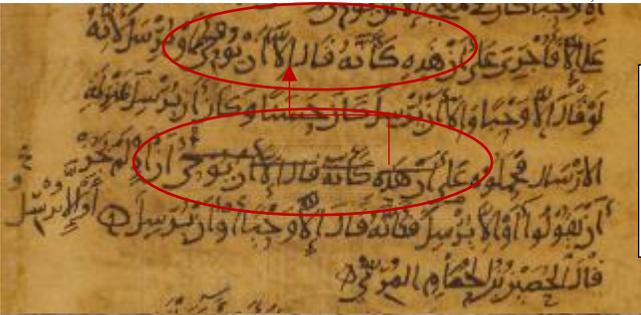
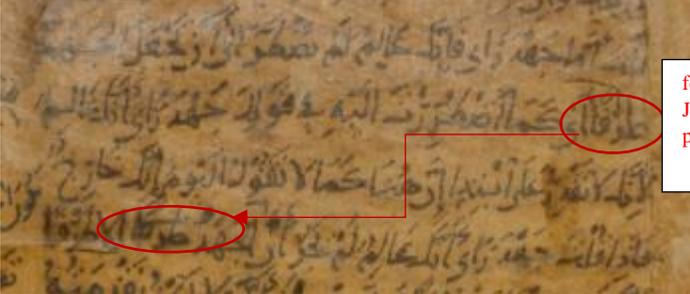
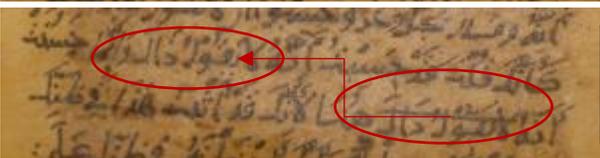
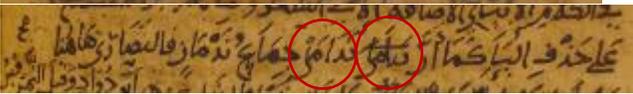
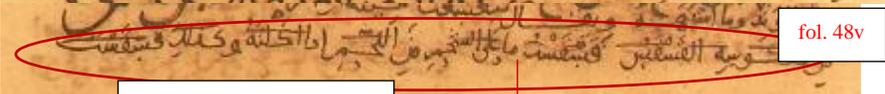
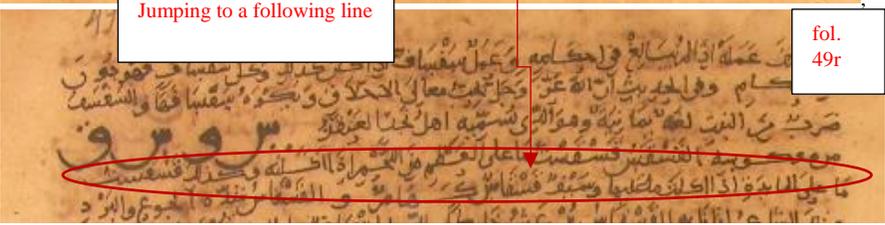
fol. 41r: marking the cancelation with *ṣahh* and the *khā'*

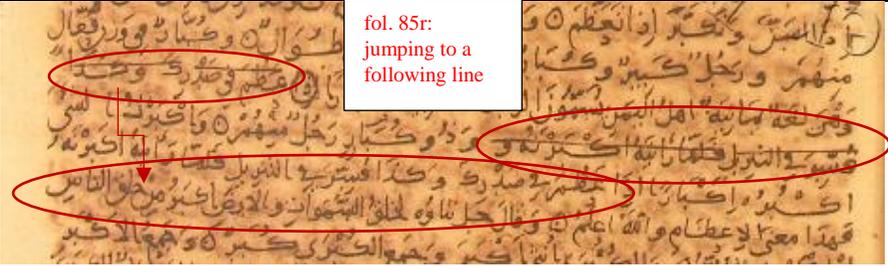
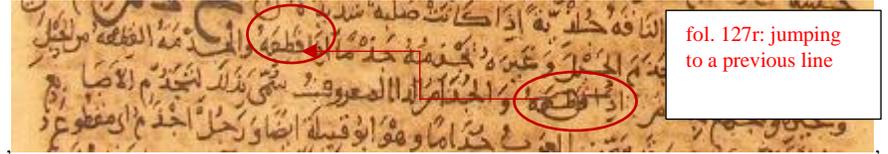
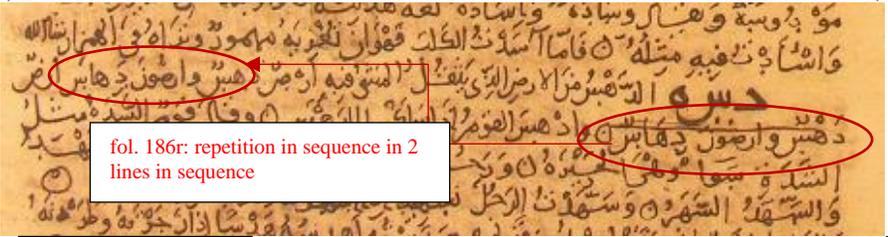
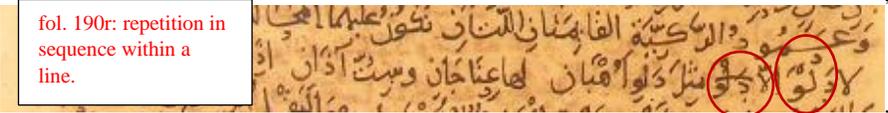
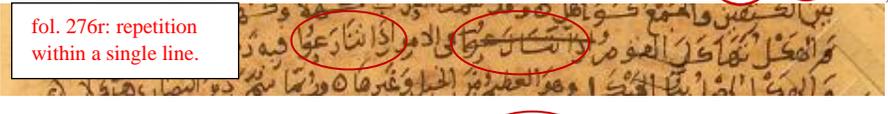
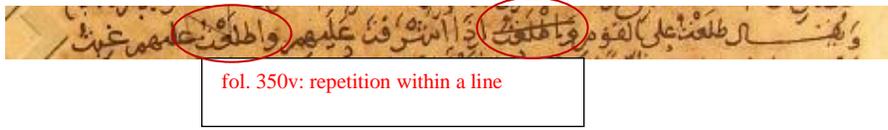
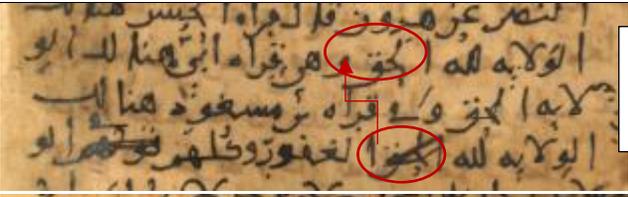
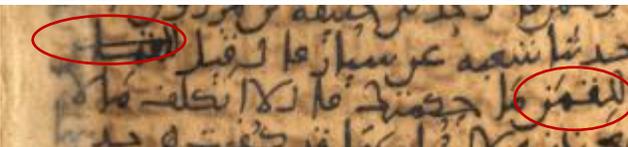
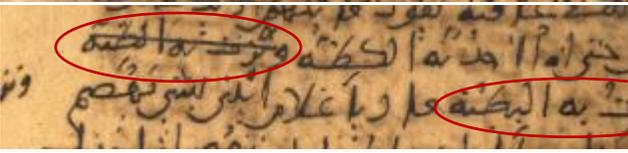


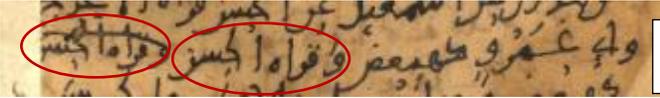
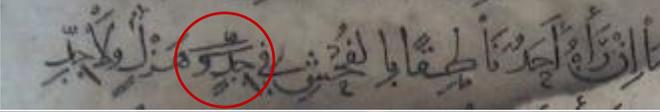
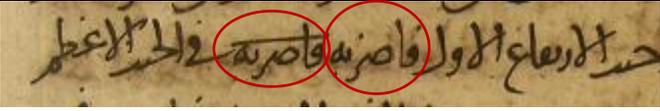
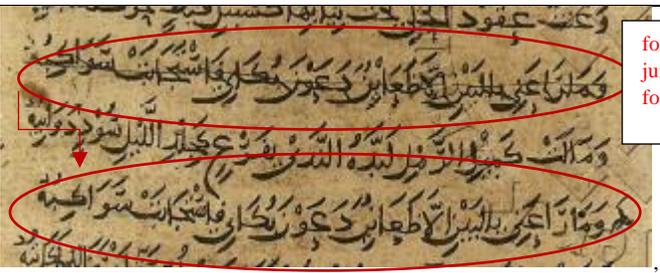
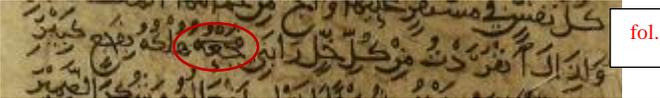
fol. 42r: jumping to a following line

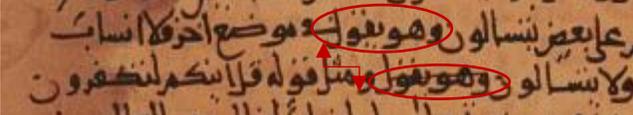
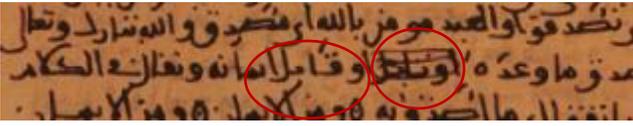
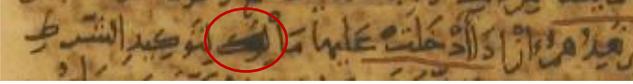
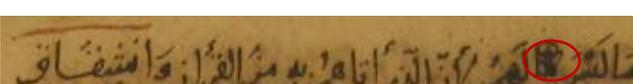
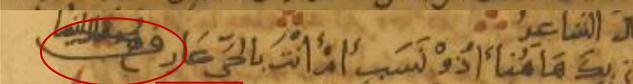
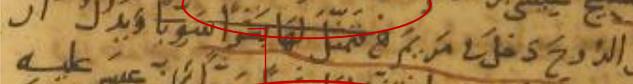
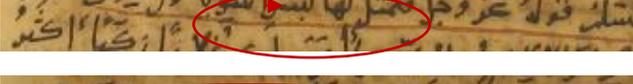
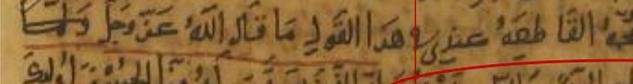
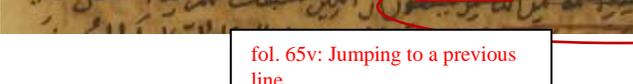
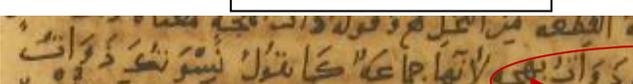
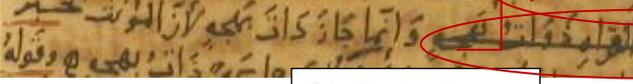


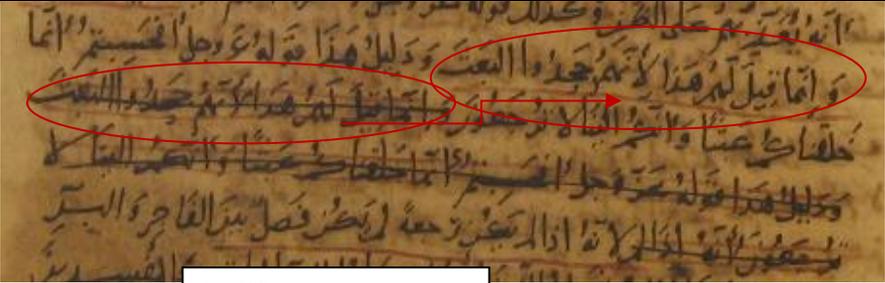
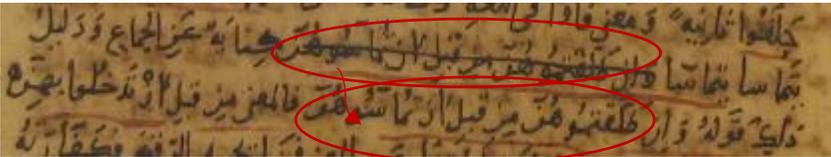
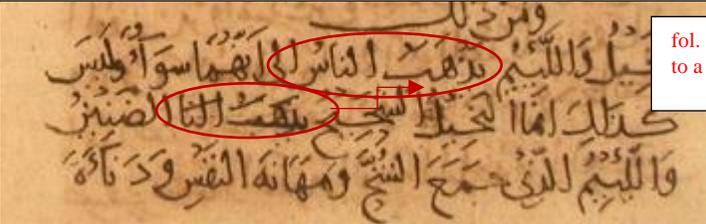
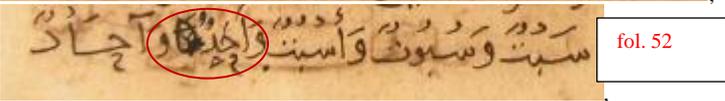
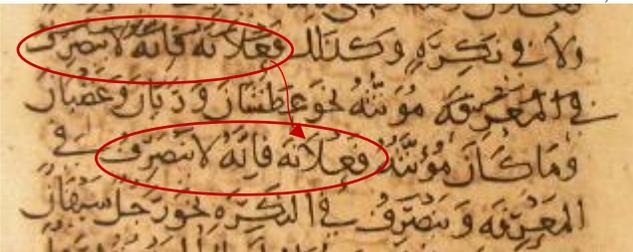
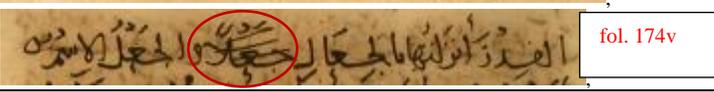
fol. 43r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence

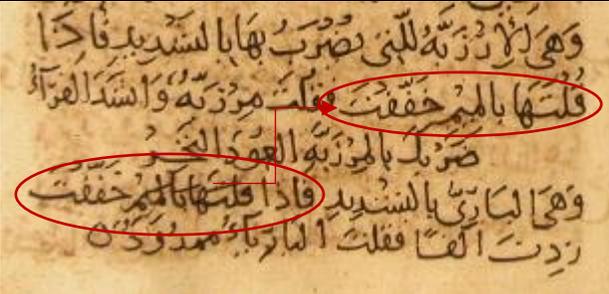
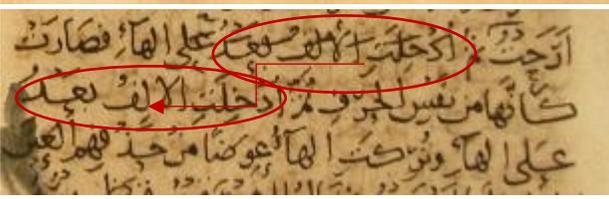
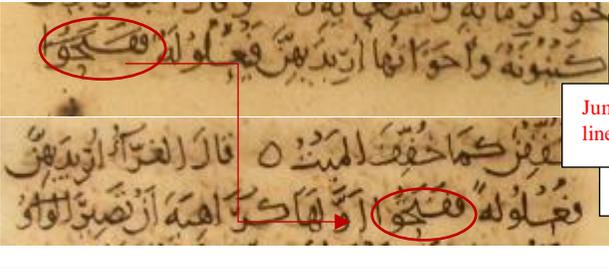
			 <p>fol. 43r: Jumping to a following line</p>  <p>fol. 45r: Jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 55r: jumping to a previous line & marking the cancellation with <i>sahh</i></p>  <p>fol. 81r: Jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 90v: Jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 109v: repetition within a line</p>
13	MS Fazil 1541	<p>1) Mainly striking with an overline (e. g. fol. 48v, 49r, 89r, 112r, 190r). Once, both the striking with an overline and striking through (fol. 46v).</p> <p>2) Once striking through with a circle (fol. 127r).</p> <p>3) Deleting the second repeated element (fol. 186r, 190r).</p> <p>4) Mainly jumping to the following line (e. g. fol. 46v, 48v, 49r, 85r, 89r).</p> <p>5) Twice jumping to a previous line (fol. 127r, 186r).</p>	 <p>fol. 46v: jumping to a following line & line above and line crosses</p>  <p>fol. 48v</p> <p>Jumping to a following line</p>  <p>fol. 49r</p>

			 <p>fol. 85r: jumping to a following line</p>  <p>fol. 127r: jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 186r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>  <p>fol. 190r: repetition in sequence within a line.</p>  <p>fol. 276r: repetition within a single line.</p>  <p>fol. 350v: repetition within a line</p>
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) Striking through with one line (fol. 79v, 105v, 107r, 108v, 130r, 142v, 152r, 156r, 171r).</p> <p>2) Striking through with more than one line (fol. 4v).</p> <p>3) Striking with an overline (fol. 8v, 13r, 18r, 21v, 22r).</p> <p>4) Once striking through with a circle (fol. 230v). - Jumping to a previous line (fol. 4v).</p> <p>5) Deleting the first repeated element and leaving the second repeated element three times (fol. 105v, 130r, 141r).</p> <p>6) Deleting the second repeated element, probably the first better shaped than the first (fol. 219v).</p>	 <p>fol. 4v: jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 27r</p>  <p>fol. 79v</p>  <p>fol. 105v: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>  <p>fol. 130r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence</p>

			 <p>fol. 141r: repetition within a line</p>
			 <p>fol. 219v: repetition within a line</p>
			 <p>fol. 230v</p>
15	MS Reis 904	Striking with two overlines (fol. 80r).	 <p>fol. 80r</p>
16	MS Fazil 948	1) Striking with an overline (fol. 21r). 2) Deleting the second repeated element (fol. 21r).	 <p>fol. 21r: repetition in sequence within a line</p>
17	MS IUL A 1434	-No cancellation found.	
18	MS Lal. 1728	1) Striking through with one line (fol. 59r). 2) Striking with an overline (fol. 158r, 172r). 3) Jumping to the following lines (fol. 59r).	 <p>fol. 59r: jumping to a following line</p>
			 <p>fol. 158r</p>
19	MS Şehid 27	1) Striking with an overline (fol. 10r, 32r, 138r, 304r, 332v). 2) Deleting the second repeated element (fol. 32r). 3) Jumping to a previous line (fol. 138r).	 <p>fol. 10r</p>
			 <p>fol. 32r: repetition in sequence in 2 lines in sequence.</p>
			 <p>fol. 138r: jumping to a previous line</p>

20	MS DK 663 Tafṣīr	<p>1) Striking through with one line (p. 12).</p> <p>2) Both striking through with one line and striking with an overline (p. 140).</p> <p>3) Jumping to a previous line (p. 12).</p> <p>4) Deleting the first repeated element and leaving the second (the correct) element (p. 140).</p>	 	<p>p. 12: jumping to a previous line.</p> <p>p. 140: repetition in sequence within a line</p>
21	MS Fazil 43	<p>1) Striking through with one line (fol. 6v, 59v, 65v, 131v, 151v, 175v, 269r, 306r).</p> <p>2) Striking through with more than one line (e. g. 40v, 46r, 65r, 147v, 157v).</p> <p>3) Striking with an overline (fol. 149, 182v, 254v, 311r).</p> <p>4) Jumping to the following line (fol. 59v, 192r, 269r).</p> <p>5) Jumping to a previous line (fol. 65v, 131v).</p> <p>6) Jumping within a single line (fol. 151v).</p> <p>7) Deleting the second repeated element (fol. 192r).</p>	             	<p>fol. 6v.</p> <p>fol. 40v.</p> <p>fol. 59v: Jumping to a following line</p> <p>fol. 59v: Jumping to a following line</p> <p>fol. 65v: Jumping to a previous line</p> <p>fol. 131v: Jumping to a previous line</p> <p>fol. 151v: repetition within a line</p> <p>fol. 175v: Jumping to a previous line</p>

			 <p>fol. 192r: Jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 269r: Jumping to a following line</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905	<p>1) Striking with short overlines (fol. 17v, 140r, 178r, 189r, 257v, 279r, 300v, 302v).</p> <p>2) Striking through with more than one line (fol. 52r, 174v; the striking line in different pen on fol. 105v, 123r, 127r, 264v).</p> <p>3) Striking through with one line (fol. 170r, 257r).</p> <p>4) Jumping to the following lines (fol. 140r, 170r, 300v, 302v. and 303r).</p> <p>5) Jumping to a previous line (fol. 17v, 279r).</p>	 <p>fol. 17v: Jumping to a previous line</p>  <p>fol. 52</p>  <p>fol. 140r: Jumping to a following line</p>  <p>fol. 170r: jumping to a following line</p> <p>Fol. 192r: Repeating in sequence in 2 lines in sequence.</p>  <p>fol. 174v</p>

				<p>fol. 279r: jumping to a previous line</p>
				<p>fol. 300v: jumping to a following line</p>
				<p>fol. 302v. Jumping to a following line</p>
				<p>fol. 303r.</p>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	-No cancellation found.		

4.5. Insertion of omission

Copyists were sometimes prone to accidentally skipping parts of the text during the copying process.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the missed part was required to be inserted later on. The missed part was often inserted between lines or in the margin. In the fourth/tenth century, al-Rāmahurmuzī suggests *al-takhrīj ‘alā al-ḥawāshī*, that is writing the missed part in the margin, as the best method of inserting omitted elements.¹⁶⁷ Here, al-Rāmahurmuzī seems to suggest inserting both short and long omissions in the margin. On the other hand, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī suggests inserting the omitted text in the text itself and above the place where the text is missing – if space allows. Otherwise, the omission should be inserted in the margins next to the line where the omission occurred.¹⁶⁸

Inserting an omission in the margin includes marking the place of omission in the text itself, marking the end of the insertion in the margin, as well as organizing the insertion. These elements are discussed in the following paragraphs.

For marking the place of omission, al-Rāmahurmuzī, in the fourth/tenth century, suggests drawing a line from the omission point to the insertion in the margin.¹⁶⁹ Al-Khaṭīb also transmits this suggestion without any comment on it. Hence, this practice is likely to have been in operation until the time of al-Khaṭīb in the fifth/eleventh century. In the sixth/twelfth century, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ disapproves of this practice.¹⁷⁰ Instead of the connecting line, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ suggests the *‘atfah*,¹⁷¹ which is described as follows:

كتابة خط بموضع النقص صاعداً إلى تحت السطر الذي فوقه، ثم يعطف إلى جهة التخرج في الحاشية انعطافاً يشير إليه، ثم يبدأ في الحاشية بالحقّ مقابلاً للخط المنعطف بين السطرين.

Writing a line from the place of the omission, ascending to the upper line. Then, it [the line] turns towards the insertion in the margin referring to it [the insertion]. After that, it [the insertion] begins in the margin facing the line turning between the lines.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ For studies on insertion of omission, see p. 28.

¹⁶⁷ Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606-7.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi*’, 1: 279.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606.

¹⁷⁰ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*’, 162-4.

¹⁷¹ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*’, 163.

¹⁷² Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*’, 162.

Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ disapproves of connecting the place of omission in the text with its insertion in the margin. Although he admits that this method explains (*fīhi bayān*) the place of the omission and its connection in the margin, he believes that this is akin to *taskhīm li-l-kitāb wa-taswīd* (“sooting and blackening of the book”), and in particular when there are multiple omissions.¹⁷³ This view of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ makes sense, since such a connecting line, can potentially touch words in text body, which may be seen as a *ḍarb* (see section 4.4 above).

For marking the end of the insertion in the margin, al-Rāmāhurmuẓī suggests copying a word from the text after the missed part at the end of the insertion of the omission in the margin. This helps to place the omission accurately.¹⁷⁴ Later, in the sixth/twelfth century, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ disapproves of this practice.¹⁷⁵

فرب كلمة تجيء في الكلام مكررة مرتين وثلاثاً لمعنى صحيح، فإذا كررنا الحرف آخر كل لَحَق، لم يُؤْمَن أن يوافق ما تكرر حقيقة، أو يشكل أمره فيوجب ارتياباً أو زيادة إشكال.

A word may come to be [already] repeated twice or three times to indicate a correct meaning. Furthermore, if we repeated the word at the end of each insertion of omission, it would not be guaranteed that it [the repeated word at the end of the insertion] is similar to what is already repeated, or it [the repeated word at the end of the insertion] may be a matter of confusion, which, consequently, causes doubt or more of confusion.¹⁷⁶

Instead, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ suggests writing *ṣaḥḥ* at the end of the insertion in the margin.¹⁷⁷ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ also mentions that some of his contemporaries wrote *ṣaḥḥ wa-raja‘a* (“it was correct and went back”), and others wrote *intahā al-laḥaḥ* (“the insertion of omission ended”).¹⁷⁸ These expressions distinguish the insertion of omission from any other marginal note such as a comment or an explanation. If a copyist were to copy a manuscript containing omitted insertions in its margins, he would supposed be able to identify them based on the expression *ṣaḥḥ* or the like. He

¹⁷³ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 164.

¹⁷⁴ Al-Rāmāhurmuẓī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 606-7.

¹⁷⁵ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 162-3.

¹⁷⁶ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 163.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 162-3.

¹⁷⁸ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 162.

would then be able to include them in the text body in his new copy. The expression *ṣaḥḥ wa-raja‘a*, mentioned above, indicates returning the omitted insertion to its rightly place in the text.

The omitted insertions in the margin should be organized, especially when they are long. This organization prevents confusion and keeps the margins well-shaped, especially if there are multiple insertions. Organizing the margins is not discussed in the normative sources until after the fifth/eleventh century. In the sixth/twelfth century, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ suggests that insertions should be placed in the right-hand margin if possible; if there is another omission on the same line, the omission can be placed in the left-hand margin.¹⁷⁹ According to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, if the first omission is placed in the left-hand margin and another omission occurs and is placed the right-hand margin, the *‘atfah* of the first omitted insertion faces the *‘atfah* of the second omitted insertion and hence, the text between them looks like a cancelled text.¹⁸⁰ In addition, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ explains that if the omission is at the end of the line it must be inserted in the left-hand margin “because the place of the omission is close to the insertion of the omission” (*li-qurb al-takhrīj min al-laḥaḡ*). This facilitates finding the insertion of omission quickly. Furthermore, there is no possibility of any other omissions on this line.¹⁸¹ Concomitantly, an omission at the beginning of the line should be inserted in the right-hand margin.¹⁸²

Concerning organizing the direction of the lines of the omitted insertions in the margins, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ suggests drawing the lines ascending upwards. This would leave space in the margin for any omission that may occur in the following lines.¹⁸³

In the manuscripts under examination, when an omission consists of a few words, in most cases, it is inserted between the lines above the place of omission. It is sometimes marked with an *‘atfah*, i. e. a curved line marking the place of omission in the line (see cases 3, 4, 7, 9-12, 15, and 19) or sometimes without¹⁸⁴ (see cases 1-3, 6, 8, 10, 13-16, and 18-21).¹⁸⁵ Marking the place of

¹⁷⁹ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 163-4.

¹⁸⁰ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 163-4.

¹⁸¹ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 164.

¹⁸² Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 164.

¹⁸³ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 163.

¹⁸⁴ On the *‘atfah*, see AMT, 100; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 250.

¹⁸⁵ In the insertion in the margin, as explained below, the *‘atfah*’s line points to the margin in which the omission is inserted. The earliest source, as far as I know, mentioned the *‘atfah* is al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 163-4 in the sixth/twelfth century.

the omission with an *‘atfah* seems to have occurred when defining the place of the omission is difficult as the space between the words is very narrow.

An insertion in the margin is exercised in most of the manuscripts under examination, except for case 23, in which neither short nor long omissions occur.

Some of the specimens show variances from the aforementioned common practice. In three cases, part of the omission is inserted between lines, and the rest is inserted in the margin (see cases 1, 3, and 10). The copyist seems to have begun writing the insertion between the lines, but realized that the omission was long, and hence continued to insert the rest of the omission in the margin. Another practice is inserting the omission at the beginning or end of the line when the omission is at the beginning or end of the line. In case 9, the omission is inserted at the beginning of a line, which causes the line to stretch to the right margin. Similarly, a few omissions are inserted at the end of a line, stretching the line to the left margin (see cases 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, and 19).

To avoid confusing the connecting line with the overline of cancellation (see section 4.4 above), a third/ninth-century copyist marks the connecting line with the word *ṣahḥ*. This is because the connecting line touches the top of some of the words, which may lead a reader to assume it to be a cancellation line.¹⁸⁶

We can conclude from the normative sources presented above that there are two ways of connecting and referring to an omitted insertion in the margin:¹⁸⁷ with a connecting line (from al-Rāmahurmuzī) or with an *‘atfah* (from al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād). When we look at the manuscripts under examination, the *‘atfah* is utilized far more than the connecting line. The connecting line is used in one third/ninth-century manuscript (see case 1), but the *‘atfah* is used in most manuscripts under examination (see cases 3-22). The copyists seem to have preferred the *‘atfah* since it does not lead to confusion in the way a connecting line potentially can, as explained above.

Marks that are not discussed in the normative sources to define the omission place are found in the some fourth/tenth-century specimens.¹⁸⁸ In case 5, instead of the *‘atfah*, the copyist marks the omission place with a small vertical dotted line and a small horizontal line above it. In case 14

¹⁸⁶ For all the cases of marking the connecting line with *ṣahḥ*, see MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 22v, l. 17, fol. 36r, l. 13 between 10th and 11th words, fol. 40v, l. 10, between 7th and 8th words.

¹⁸⁷ On the marks used to define the place of the omission in the line, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 250.

¹⁸⁸ On the marks used to define the place of the omission in the line, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 250.

a small horizontal line with a small loop at one end is drawn above the omission place.¹⁸⁹ In case 16 the omission place is marked with a v-like shape with a dot above it. The scribe also draws this shape at the beginning of the insertion in the margin.¹⁹⁰

Our scribes mark the end of insertion in the margin in different ways. In some cases, the insertions in the margin are marked by copying one or more words from after the missed part. This is consistent with what al-Rāmahurmuzī suggests (see cases 1, 4, 6-9, 12-15, 17, 20, and 21). In other cases, the insertion in the margin is marked with *ṣahḥ* (without writing any words after the missed part). This is coherent with what al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ suggests (see cases 3, 5, 7, 9-11, 15, 17-19, and 22). Some copyists copy words from after the missed part and add *ṣahḥ* at the end of the insertion (see cases 3, 4, 8-10, 12, 13, 15, 19, and 22). In some cases, copyists use both methods interchangeably. They both mark the end of the insertion with words after the missed part and *ṣahḥ* in the same manuscript (see cases 9, 7, 10, 11, 15, 17, and 22). Marking the end of the omissions does not seem to have been exercised by following any strict rules but as a matter of taste.

The organization of margins in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries is broadly consistent with what al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ mentions. In most of the examined manuscripts, the omissions are inserted in the right-hand margin when near it (see cases 1, 3, 4, and 6-22). Similarly, omissions are inserted in the left-hand margin when near it (see cases 1, 3, 4, 6-12, 14-17, and 19-21). However, occasionally, this pattern is not followed: some omissions near the left-hand margin are inserted in the right-hand margin (see cases 1, 4, 8, 11-18, 19, 21, and 22) and vice versa (see cases 5, 14-16, and 19-21). Cases 12 and 14 do not follow this pattern because of space, which does not allow the omission to be inserted in the closer margin.

The organization of the direction of insertion in our third/ninth and fourth/tenth manuscripts is widely coherent with al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ. In five cases, all of the insertions in the margins are written upwards (see cases 6, 8, 9, 12, and 20). In other cases, the insertions are written both upwards and downwards (see cases 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14-19, 21, and 22). In most cases, the text is written upwards rather than downwards (see cases 3, 4, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, and 22).

Mention should be made here of a particular case of insertion (case 17). Despite having the omission in line 7, the copyist begins writing the omission in the margin from the place next to

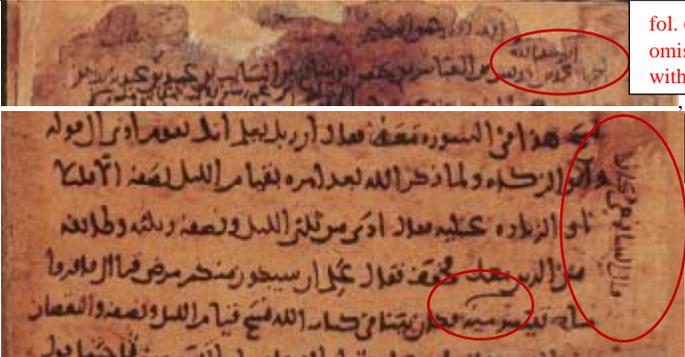
¹⁸⁹ Gacek mentions this mark, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 250.

¹⁹⁰ Gacek deals with marking the omission's place with a v-like shape, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 250.

line 17. The *'atfah* does not refer to the opposing side of the beginning of insertion. Furthermore, the copyist seems to have insisted on writing the insertion upwards, even though the space does not allow for it.¹⁹¹ This copyist was perhaps keen on leaving space in the margin for any further possible omission that might need to be inserted.

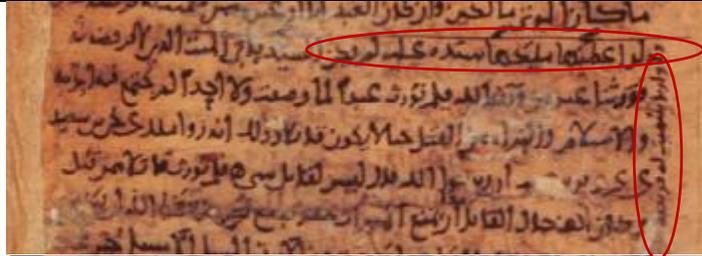
Our manuscripts show that the text is sometimes written downwards because the space in the margin does not allow it to be written upwards. We can see this in cases 1 and 11. However, occasionally, space in the margin does allow for the text to be written upwards but is written downwards (see cases 1, 7, 13, 17, and 18). Again, this issue does not seem to have been exercised with a strict rule but as a matter of taste.

Table 22. Insertion of omission

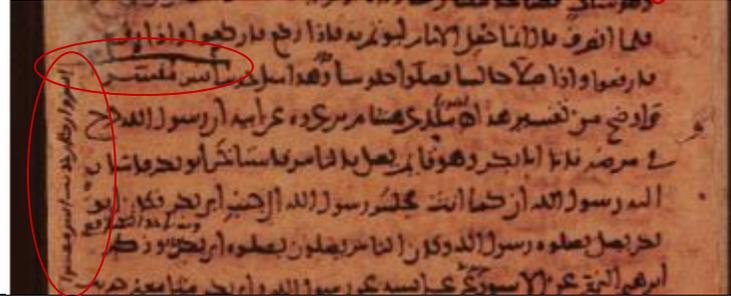
	Manuscripts	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh	1) Inserting short omissions between the lines usually without <i>'atfah</i> (e. g. 6v). 2) Inserting a short omission once in the margin (fol. 17v). 3) The connecting line mainly used for inserting the long omissions in the margin (e. g. 22v). 4) The <i>'atfah</i> once used instead of the connecting line (fol. 17v). 5) Marking by <i>ṣahḥ</i> above the connecting line (fol. 22v, 36r). 6) The first word after the missed part frequently given (e. g. fol. 17v, 36r) but once not (fol. 22v, 36r, 67v). 6) Inserting in the near right margin (e. g. fol. 17v, 36v, 37r) and near the left margin (fol. 36r) but, twice, in the far right margin; thus, the connecting line touches above some words; so <i>ṣahḥ</i> written above the line (fol. 22v). 7) The insertion is occasionally moving upwards (fol. 17v) but mostly downwards (e. g. fol. 22v, 36r, 36v). 8) Moving downwards is occasionally because of the space (fol. 36v).	 <p data-bbox="1247 940 1451 1014">fol. 6v: Inserting the omission between lines without <i>'atfah</i></p> <p data-bbox="1300 1052 1341 1100">fol. 17v</p>

¹⁹¹ MS IUL A 1434, fol. 7r.

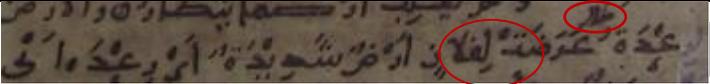
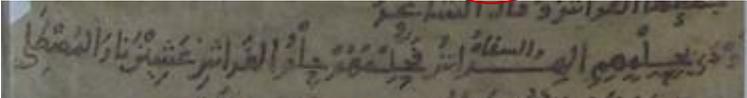
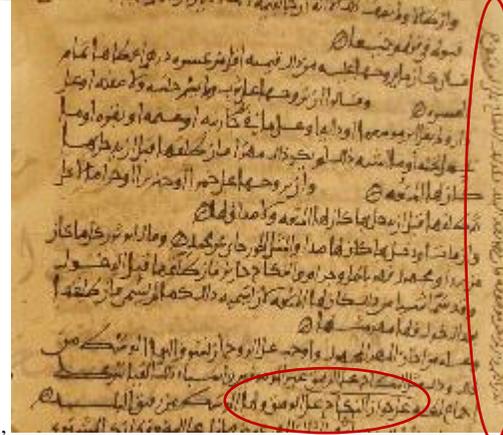
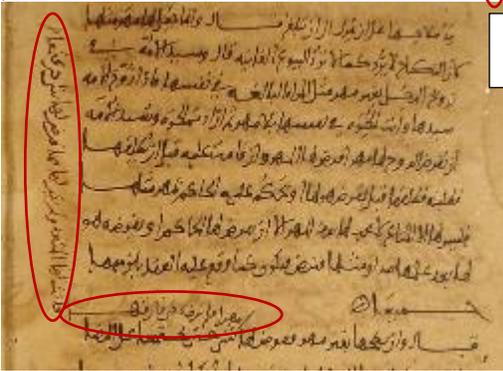
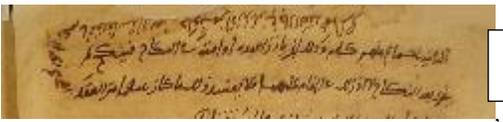
9) A part of the insertion between lines and the rest in the margin (fol. 67v).



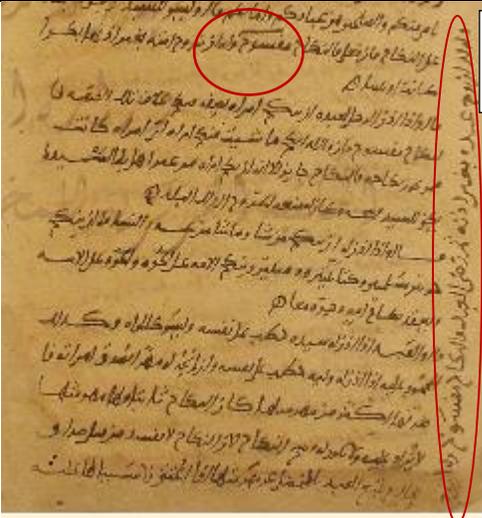
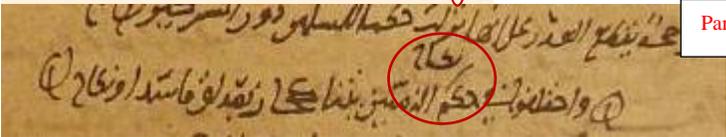
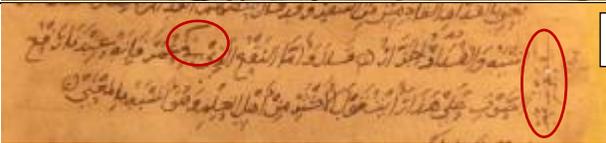
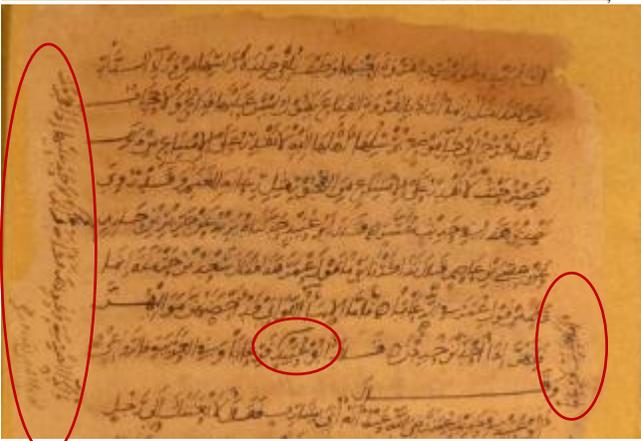
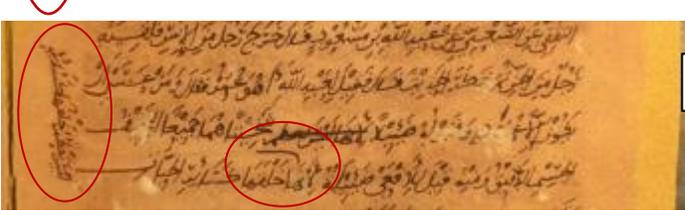
fol. 22v

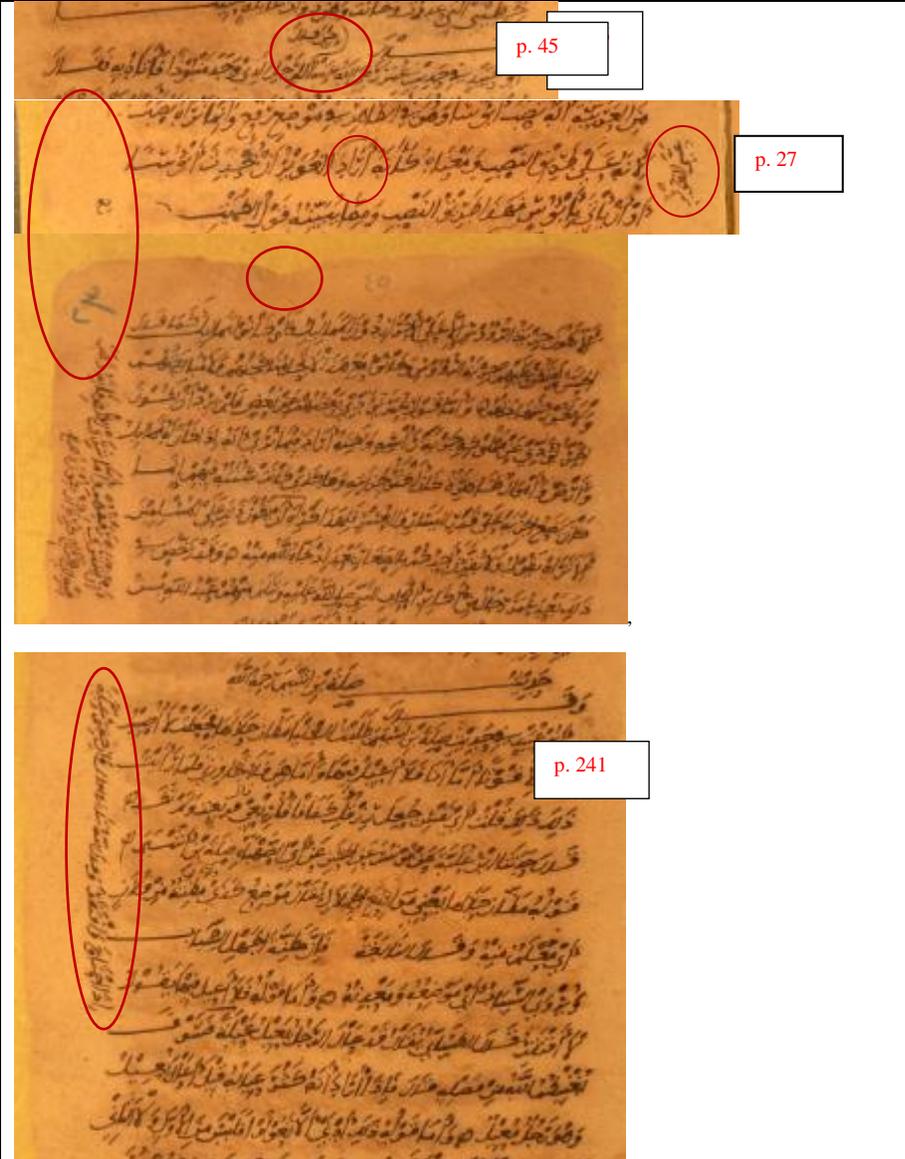
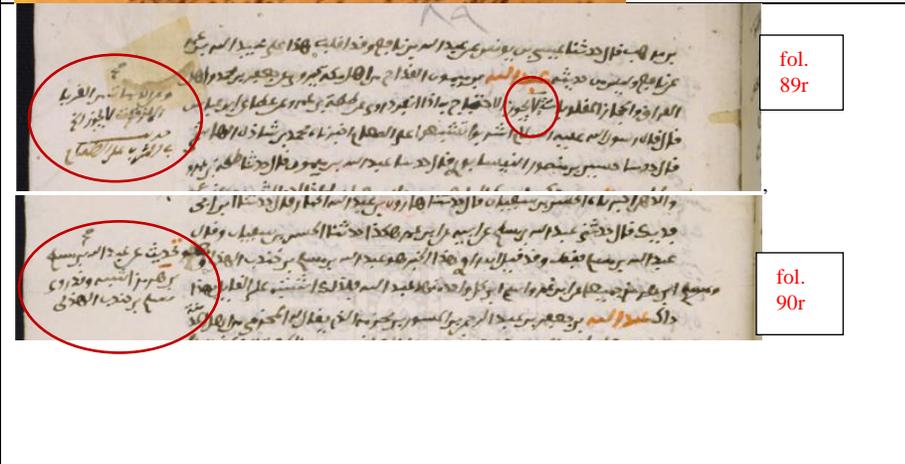


fol. 36r

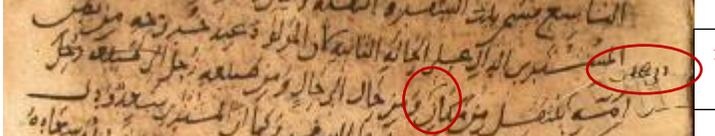
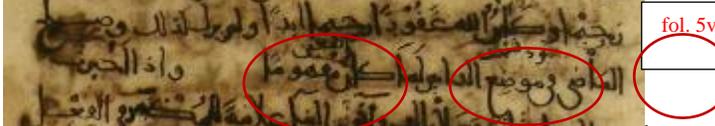
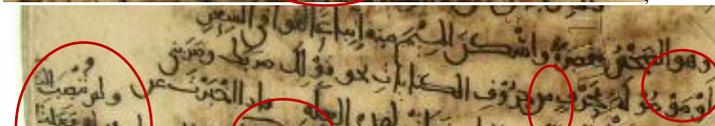
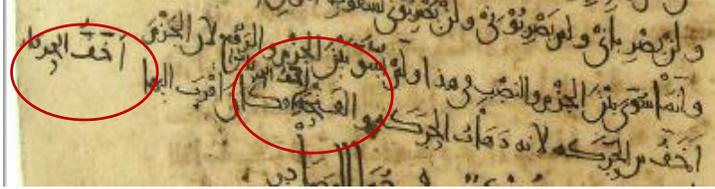
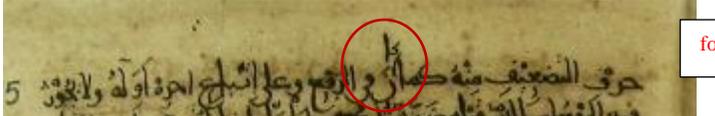
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139	<p>1) Inserting short omissions between lines without 'afah (e. g. fol. 4v, 24v, 26r).</p> <p>2) No insertions in the margins are found.</p>	 <p>fol. 4v</p>  <p>fol. 24v</p>
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	<p>1) Inserting short omissions between lines without 'afah (e. g. part 1, fol. 11v, 15r, part 3, fol. 42v) but once with 'afah (part 3, fol. 42v).</p> <p>2) Inserting long omissions in the margin using the 'afah (part 1, fol. 15v, 16v).</p> <p>3) Inserting a part of the omission between lines but the rest in the margin (part 1, fol. 16v).</p> <p>4) Inserting an omission to the end of the line stretching the line in the left margin moving upwards, but because of the limited space in the margin turning to complete the insertion in the upper margin (part 3, fol. 20v).</p> <p>5) Adding both the first word after the missed part and <i>ṣahḥ</i> after the insertion,¹⁹² but once not clear from the digital copy if <i>ṣahḥ</i> at the end of the insertion (part 1, fol. 29v).</p> <p>6) Inserting in the near right margin (part 1, 15v) and the near left margin (part 1, 16v, part 3, fol. 20v).</p> <p>7) Mostly moving upwards (part 1, fol. 15v, 16v, part 3, 20v) but once moving downwards because of the limited space in the margin (part 3, fol. 29v).</p>	 <p>part1, fol. 11v</p>  <p>part1, fol. 15v</p>  <p>part1, fol. 16v</p>  <p>part3, fol. 20v</p>

¹⁹² MS MMMI 44, part 1, fol. 15v, 16v.

			 <p>part 3, fol. 29v</p>  <p>Part 3, fol. 42v</p>
4	MS AZ, 'Amm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	<p>1) Inserting short insertions in the margins using 'atfah (e. g. p. 6, 19, 27) but sometimes between lines using the 'atfah (e. g. p. 6, 19).</p> <p>3) Inserting the long insertions in the margins using the 'atfah (e. g. p. 6, 19).</p> <p>4) Inserting in the near right margin (e. g. p. 6, 19) and the near left margin (e. g. p. 19) but once, inserting in the right margin despite being near the left margin (p. 27).</p> <p>5) Moving often upwards (e. g. p. 19) but sometimes downwards (e. g. p. 6, 19).</p> <p>6) Mostly adding the first word/some words after the missed part and <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of the insertions (e. g. p. 19, 45) but rarely added only a word/some words after the missed part without <i>ṣahh</i> (e. g. p. 24) and once neither a word/few words after the missed part nor <i>ṣahh</i> (p. 241).</p>	 <p>p.6</p>  <p>p. 19</p>  <p>p. 24</p>

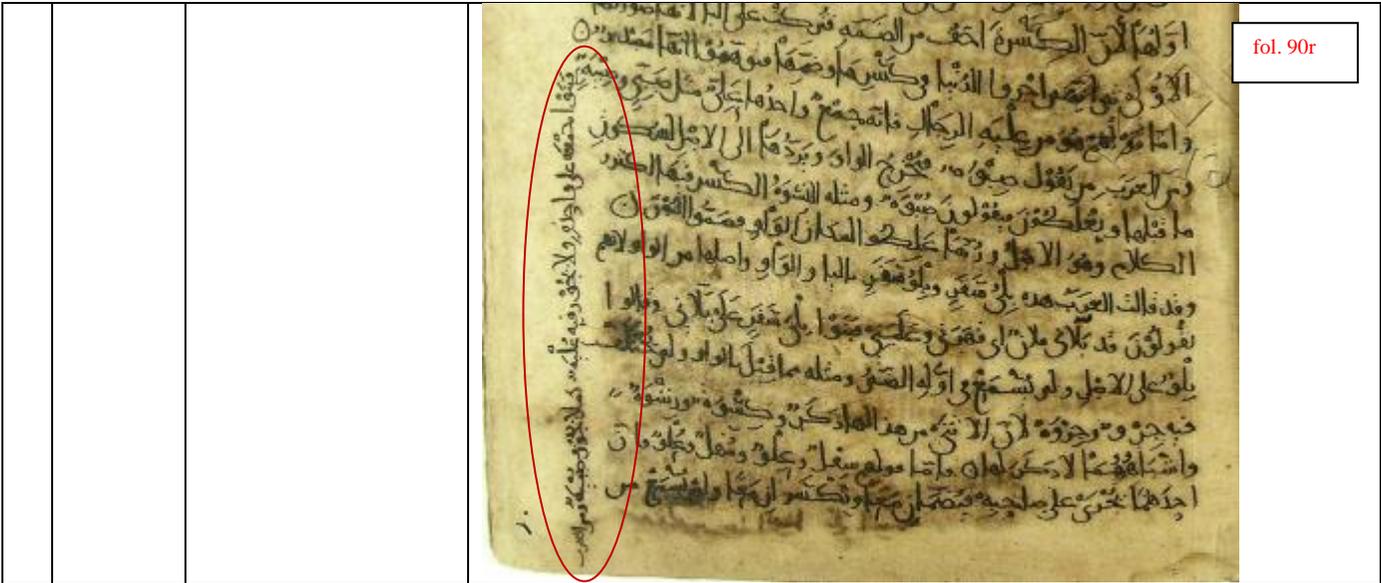
			
5	MS DK 19598 Ba'	<p>1) Marking the omission place with vertical dots and a small horizontal line above it (fol. 89r).</p> <p>2) Inserting in the left margin despite being near the right margin (fol. 89r); the left is broader than the right.</p> <p>3) Adding the first two words after the missed part at the end of the insertion once (fol. 89r) but once not (fol. 90r).</p> <p>4) Adding <i>ṣaḥḥ</i> above the insertion (fol. 89r, 90r).</p> <p>5) Inserting the omission occurring at the end of a line to its end, stretching it into the margin (fol. 90r).</p>	

6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	<p>1) Inserting the short omissions interline using the 'afzah (e. g. fol. 17v) but sometimes without it (e. g. fol. 31v).</p> <p>2) Inserting a short omission in the margin (fol. 180r).</p> <p>3) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using the 'afzah (e. g. fol. 36v, 59r, 91v).</p> <p>4) Adding the first two words after the missed part without <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of the insertion (e. g. fol. 36v, 59r, 91v).</p> <p>5) Inserting in the near right margin (fol. 36v, 91v) and the left near margin (fol. 59r).</p> <p>6) Moving usually upwards (e. g. fol. 36v, 59r, 91v).</p>	<p>fol. 17v</p> <p>fol. 31v</p> <p>fol. 36v</p> <p>fol. 59r</p>
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				<p>fol. 91v</p>
				<p>fol. 180r</p>
<p>7</p>	<p>MS Şehid 2552</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Inserting between lines with 'afah (e. g. fol. 55r) but once without it (fol. 5v). 2) Inserting some short omissions in the margin using 'afah (e. g. fol. 23v). 3) Inserting a short insertion between lines with 'afah and inserting it again in the margin; insertion between lines quite unclear (e. g. fol. 13r). 3) Inserting the long omissions in the margin (fol. 6r, 81r, 90r). 4) Mainly adding one or few words after the missed part without <i>ṣahh</i> (e. g. fol. 6r, 90r) but twice only <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of the insertion in the margin (e. g. fol. 23v). 5) Inserting in the near left margin (e. g. fol. 6r, 90r) and the near right margin (fol. 23v). 6) Moving downwards despite having space for writing upwards (fol. 90r) but once moving upwards (fol. 81r). 	     	<p>fol. 5v</p> <p>fol. 23v</p> <p>fol. 23v</p> <p>fol. 55r</p> <p>fol. 13r</p> <p>fol. 55r</p>

المتشقق والواو القسمة بانها ان القسمة كانت اقلا والباقي التاركه بعد ما
خرجت تحت الحرفين من الالف فقولوا كقولهم يوقون ويوقون وما بعدها
صوتوا الواو او الاضمار ما قبلها من غير ان يكون في قوله كقولوا
الباقي يوقون الباقية ما قبلها وقد مثل ان الباقية لا يخرج منها الاضمار
لا تخرجت قبل المراد من اداء الضمير في الالف التي في الواو بعد ما سبقوا
الجموع عليها لما لم يجرى في امر التثنية الباقية والاول له بعد الضمير
كما يجرى في نون الواو او الاضمار ما قبلها ان كان بعضهم يظن ان الضمير
منه كان يظن ويخرج يقول المتأخرين

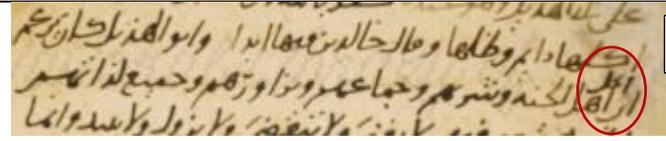
اداءوا ما يظنوا وعنه يفتح جازا انا ما لم يجرى ما
والفعل القسمة من هذا الباب في لغة العرب في مقصده الحرف فيقولون
متركة مذوق ومذوق ومذوق ومذوق ومذوقون ومذوقون ومذوقون ومذوقون
الساكنين فيه وذلك في الواو في هذا الباب على التكون كما في قوله
موضوع من هذا الكتاب وحال في قوله ما فتح ما طرقتوا الاضمار عنها
اجمعت واوان ساكنان والقائمتان ساكنة بطريق الواو والاضمار
ويجوز ان يكون كقولهم الى الفكا قبلها فقالوا امذوق ومذوق وهذا هو الضمير
للحرف من كلام العرب لا يفسر بضمير اولئك او غير ذلك لا يستعملون
انما هي الواو او الواو في ذوات الباقية من هذا الباب فيقولون يوقون ويوقون
وهذه لغة بني تميم وقال الضمير في الاضمار والامام في ذوات الواو الباقية
التي في ذوات الواو والباقي من الواو لان الباقية القسمة اخف من الواو
المتشقق في الاضمار الواو اذ انقضت فروعها الى القسمة فيقولون
في جمع ذوات الواو في الواو في ذلك التام في ذلك التام في ذلك التام
والضمير في الواو اذ انقضت فروعها في ذلك التام في ذلك التام في ذلك التام
كان ذلك انقلها من ذلك التام في ذلك التام في ذلك التام في ذلك التام
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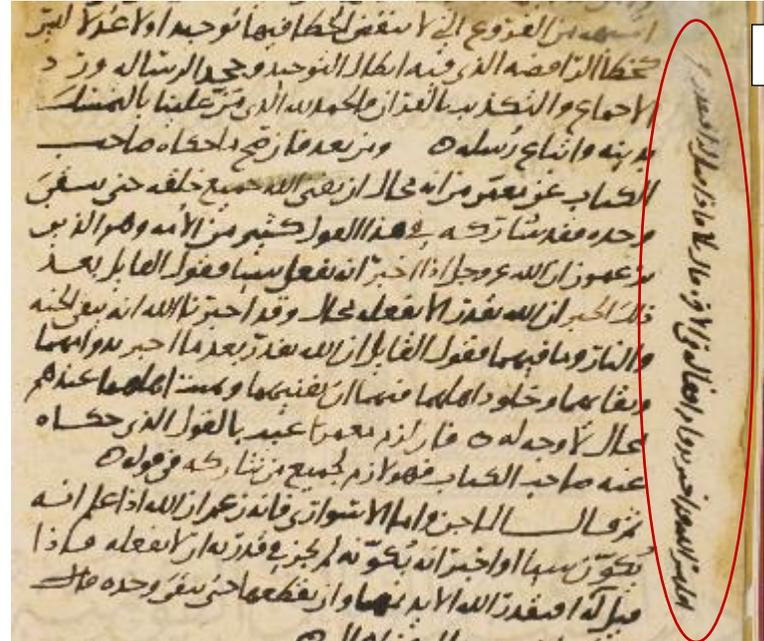
fol. 90r

8 MS DK 852 Tawhīd

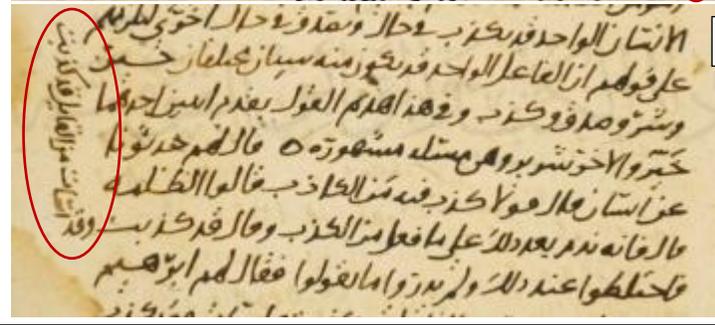
- 1) Inserting a short omission between lines without 'atfah (fol. 5v) but once inserting another short omission in the margin (fol. 54v).
- 2) Inserting long omissions in the margin using the 'atfah (e. g. fol. 8v, 13v, 49r).
- 3) Mainly, neither the word after the missed part nor *ṣahh* after the insertions in the margin (fol. e. g. 12r, 13v) but once a word after the missed part and *ṣahh* at the end of the insertion (fol. 8v) and rarely, only a word after the missed part (e. g. fol. 49r).
- 4) Inserting in the near right margin (e. g. fol. 8v, 13v) and the near left margin (e. g. fol. 49r) and also inserting in the right margin despite being near the left (fol. 24r, 45v) and in the left despite being near the right (fol. 43r, 45r).
- 5) Moving upwards (fol. 8v, 12r, 13v, 45r, 45v, 49r, 51v).
- 6) Inserting the omission occurring at the end of a line to its end, stretching it into the margin (e. g. fol. 12r).



fol. 5v



fol. 8v



fol. 12r

fol. 49r

فضله المعتبر له واوحده ٥ فان اردت عاده منه بما دون الخوارج
 والفرجه والحيرة غير التي هي في السخلة في تصحيد عنهم
 ونقلت فليخرجون من ارضها لاجز الخليفة السلم منهم
 كما ان ما دون الازقة على الخطاه ليس من ذخر تاهمهم
 عند كثير من الناس ٥ في بلاد الدرع واحب ان رسول الله
 سئنا معه وفيها اجماعه الامه فممن نعت ذخر خالف
 بسنة المعزة وقد عرف كذبه وزد عليه قوله وك
 السن المشهوره المعز وقد نشهد على اهلها خاله كل من
 منها كما حاز رسول الله صلى الله عليه ما هو من ما تجل الخوارج
 ان يسير الالات والرحمة والمجزة للرضعون

والشيخ من اول الازقة ما اوردته
 ما هو من ما تجل كل

fol. 51r

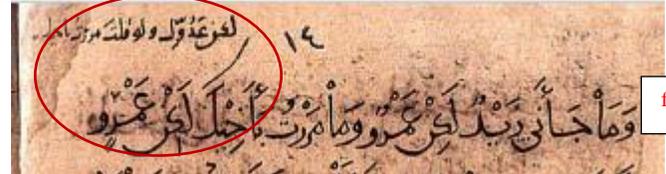
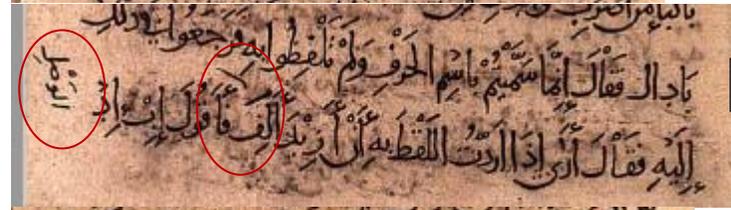
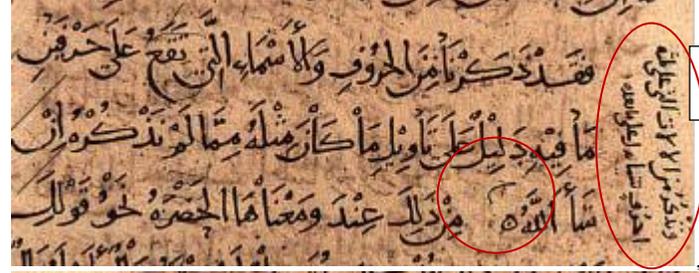
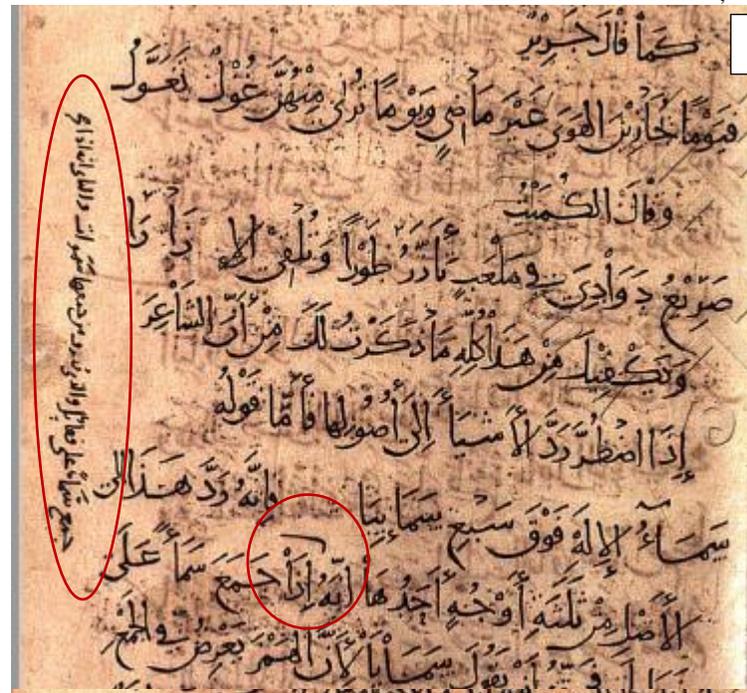
وخيار الانصار لم يزلوا ما يقرب في حياه رسول الله وانه قد
 نزلت فافهم وعداوتهم لله ورسوله اى كثير منهم
 بعض الظالم على يده يقول بالنبي الحديث مع الرسول
 ما وليت لبيك الاخذ ولا ما خلتا ومنه افمن لم يخال علي وقد
 اهدى ام من لم يخال علي صراحتا مستقيم في اى خير والقران
 من غير الازقة انما نزلت في ابر بكر وعمر واسما هم
 من اهل الشراقة والفضل ومن عمرون انه جلمه النفاق الذي
 كان في جلوبهم والعل الذر في صدورهم على ان خشوا بالنبي
 ليله العقيد من عمور ان من خالفهم في مناهمهم هذه
 فهو غير رشده ٥ وكمنيتك من بشر قوم الخوارج مع
 غلوها وافتواظها ومن وفتها من الذين احسن اقتصاد
 منكم ٥ وما كـ والخاص مع هذا من
 فوكلمه في كثير من استقام ونسرت اباهم وكنز ما فيهم
 وكنز اليهم حين المظالم الى افعالها انما انه هذا الذي
 افتر الخوارج ووار افعالها العصبية وعلى قلب بار

وقد اوردت في هذا الموضع من شراقة الشراقة لانه قد

fol. 54v

بالفعل للخطه ٥ ولكن في ذلك صاحب الشراقة على الذي
 صخر فهو عصبه على سائر غيره والاقام بعقول سبع منه ما حكر
 صاحب الشراقة ابونا وهم ارا العترة له بقوله ٥
 من عاده عال ارا الله ان كان مما تروى في هذا
 القول ان خطبا عند اهل مصر وسفح وقيس وتعا في الدعة
 الالامة ولا يسه ولا يثب والاعاد ٥ وهذا حكر ب

وقد اوردت في هذا

9	MS Fazil 1507	<p>1) Mainly the insertions of the omissions by al-Sīrāfi (his hand recognized, see, e. g. fol. 6v, 9r, 19v) but occasionally the insertions likely by the copyist (the hand of the insertion similar to the hand of the text (e. g. fol. 62r, 123r).</p> <p>2) Inserting omissions occurring in the first line in the upper margin using 'afah (e. g. fol. 6v) and omission occurring in the last line in the lower margin (e. g. fol. 125v).</p> <p>3) Inserting short omissions mostly in margins using 'afah (e. g. fol. 9r, 19v) and rarely between lines with or without 'afah (with 'afah, e. g. fol. 162v, without 'afah, e. g. fol. 183v).</p> <p>4) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using 'afah (e. g. fol. 19v, 68r).</p> <p>5) Mostly adding the next word after the missed part and <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of the insertion (e. g. fol. 68r) but also occasionally only <i>ṣahh</i> (e. g. fol. 89r), and occasionally only the first word after the missed part (fol. 102v), and occasionally neither the next word after the missed part nor <i>ṣahh</i> e. g. (fol. 19v) at the end of the insertion.</p> <p>6) Inserting in the near left margin (e. g. fol. 9r, 62r) and the near right margin (e. g. fol. 19v).</p> <p>-Moving always upwards (e. g. fol. 9v, 19v).</p> <p>7) Inserting an omission in the left margin, moving upwards, and continuing the upper margin because of the lack of space (fol. 235v).</p>		fol. 6v
				fol. 9r
				fol. 19v
				fol. 62r
				fol. 68r
				fol. 89r

لما يهمله وهو ما أدكره لك

fol. 123r

قوله حمزة يد معهما وهن كثيره في كلامه في ميم
وكذلك العز والجا اذا اذ عمت واحده منهما في
لاخرين فقلنا جاز يقول اصلها مر ترند اصلها عامرا

fol. 102v

وان رفع اللسان عنه وهو من العرب اذا وقع
منه واحده ثم العود اليه ليشترج
اللسان عنه وعما الخوف الذي من كونه

fol. 125v

والى فاما اليه في معنى ان
الشمس واما انما حتى يستمع الاذان والوجه الذي يكون

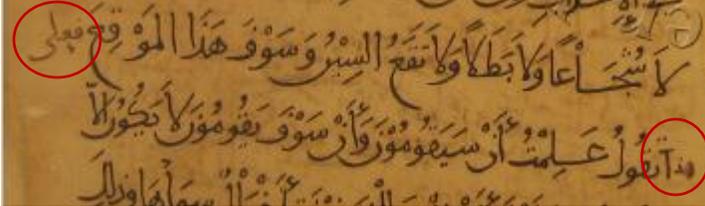
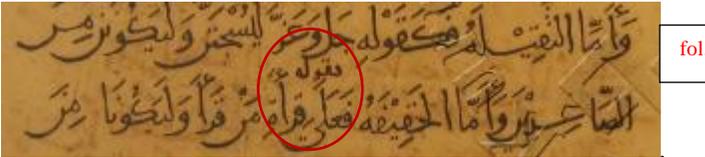
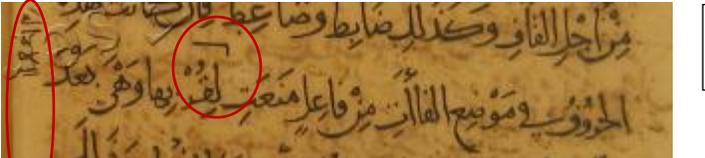
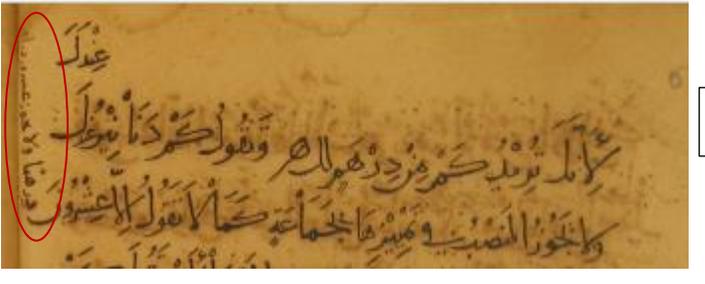
fol. 162v

تنامون وقد اجازته بسبويه هذا وهذا قول اخبر

fol. 183v

عنا منها ج غير المعجل ولا يقبلون واحده منهما الفاقيل
اليس حوا واليا والواو اذا كانت كل واحد منهما في موضع حركة
ان يفتك الف اذا كان ما قبلها مفتوحا فيقول من فتح
عنه ما حركت هذه اليا وهذه الواو لان الباب وقع
اسما حركا والواو المعجل بالفتح لئلا ينسب اليه كعله

fol. 235v

10	MS Fazil 1508	<p>1) Mainly the insertions of the omissions by al-Sirāfi (his hand recognized, see, e. g. 2r, 5r, 14r, 28v, 72v, 103v) but occasionally the insertions likely by the copyist (the hand of the insertion similar to the hand of the text, see e. g. fol. 21v, 43r).</p> <p>2) Inserting the short omissions between lines without ‘<i>afah</i>’ (e. g. 5r) or with ‘<i>afah</i>’ (e. g. fol. 139r).</p> <p>3) Sometimes, inserting the short omissions in the margin using the ‘<i>afah</i>’ (e. g. fol. 14r, 20v).</p> <p>4) Usually inserting the long omissions in the margin using the ‘<i>afah</i>’ (e. g. fol. 43r).</p> <p>5) Inserting some omissions in the first line in the upper margin using ‘<i>afah</i>’ (fol. 28r) and inserting an omission in the last line in the lower margin (fol. 155v).</p> <p>6) Inserting an omission occurring at the end of the line to the end of this line, stretching it in the left margin, and continuing the rest at the beginning of the following line, stretching it into the right margin (fol. 2r).</p> <p>7) Inserting an omission occurring at the end of the line to its end, stretching it in the left margin (fol. 28v).</p> <p>8) Inserting an omission occurring in the first in the upper margin and turning to continue in the left margin moving downwards (fol. 296r).</p> <p>9) Adding usually the first word after the missed part and <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of the insertion (fol. 43r) but sometimes, only the next word after the missed part insertion without <i>ṣahh</i> (fol. 33v) and, sometimes only <i>ṣahh</i> (fol. 72v).</p> <p>10) Inserting in the near right margin (e. g. fol. 33v) and the near left margin (e. g. fol. 14r, 20v).</p> <p>11) Inserting a part of an omission between lines but the rest in the margin (fol. 103v).</p> <p>12) Moving mostly upwards (e. g. fol. 20v, 33v, 43r) but once downwards because of the limited space if moving upwards(fol. 108v).</p>		fol. 2r
			fol. 5r	
			fol. 14r	
			fol. 20v	
			fol. 21v	
			fol. 28v	
			fol. 33v	

أخبرني قال أخبرني عن زيد قلت الذي هو أخو زيد
قال أخبرني عن أخو زيد هو أخو زيد وبقول زيد
منطلق قال أخبرني عن زيد قلت الذي منه منطلق زيد
قلت قال أخبرني عن منطلق قلت الذي هو زيد هو منطلق
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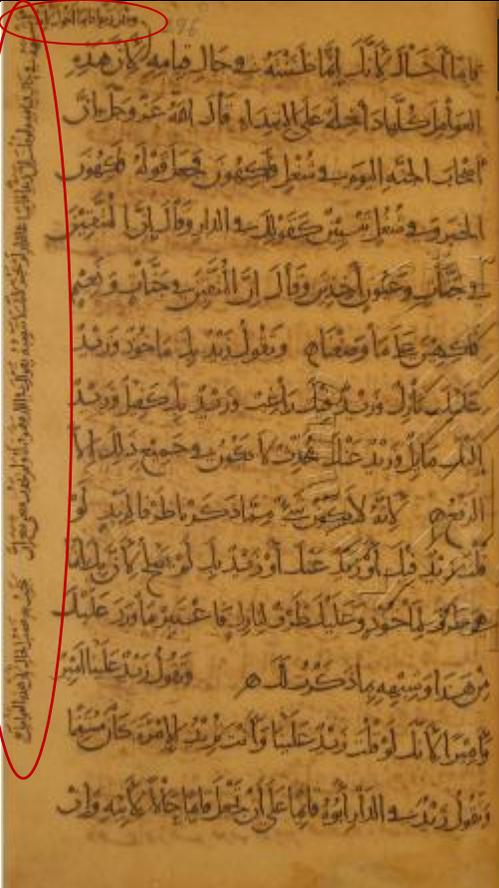
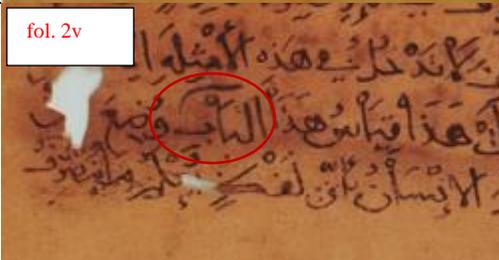
fol. 43r.

الأصل إذا قلت هذا فزيد هذا زيد
الأصل أنه لم يخط اسم علي بن أحمد هذا أخو زيد
والأصل أنه لا يقرأ منحة السور وذلك قولك هذا وما يقرأ
قوله زيد فزيد ومررت بزيد فزيد فزيد فزيد فزيد
علي بن أحمد هذا أخو زيد فزيد فزيد فزيد فزيد فزيد

fol. 72v

أما هذا الأمر فزيد وعبد الله بن زيد
قوله الله عز وجل على الله عز وجل
سواء وسيله الذي أحسن على الله عز وجل
على حسن أحسن من أحسنه ويزيد الله عز وجل
هو زيد بن زيد بن زيد بن زيد بن زيد بن زيد بن زيد

fol. 103v

				<p>fol. 296r</p>
11	MS DK 149 Naḥw	<p>1) Inserting the short omissions in the margin using <i>'afah</i> (e. g. fol. 2v.). 2) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using <i>'afah</i> (fol. 36r). 3) Adding <i>ṣaḥḥ</i> sometimes at the end of the insertion (fol. 27r, 94r.), and once the first word after the missed part at the end of the insertion (fol. 36r) and, occasionally neither <i>ṣaḥḥ</i> nor the word after the missed part (e. g. fol. 51r). 4) Mainly inserting in the right margin, despite being near the left margin (e. g. 2v) but sometimes in the near left margin (fol. 12v) and the near right margin (e. g. fol. 12v). 5) Sometimes moving upwards (e. g. 36r, 94r) and sometimes moving downwards (fol. 2v, 12v, 51r) but only once downwards because of the limited space (fol. 51r). 6) Inserting a short omission occurring in the first line in the upper margin using the <i>'afah</i> (fol. 84r).</p>	 <p>fol. 2v</p>  <p>fol. 12v</p>	

fol. 27r

وقد كان في
 أو حصره به التناوب فإنه لا ينصرف
 في السجدة أيضا وينصرف في النكحة
 وقد عم سبويه والخليل وجميع البصريين

fol. 36r

وقد كتبت عن البصريين أن هذا لا ينبغي
 أن يستعمل لأنه لا يعمل بنيت اسم السورة
 وإنما هي يجوز هذه تته وهذه تبت إذا
 فتعدت إلى الجارية والله شرمع بها ما
 قولك هذه قاف وهذه نون فذلك ثوب
 أو جواز نسيت قلت هذه نون تريد هذه
 بنو نون ويجوز السورة كما قلت في
 هوود وإن نسيت قلت هذه نون يا هذا هو نون
 فتكلمت الجوز على ما كان يلفك به
 في السورة فيها وجه واضح أن ينصرفها وأنت
 تريد اسم السورة كان نون هو نون فتصرفها

وتلك همد فادانيت قلت لرب
قلت اوليك فاستوى الذكروا الان ما
كسوة الهمة ها ولا يا بعد او اوليك فاتيما
هو استونها وسكون الالف وان شئت قصرت
قلت اولاد والبوتت تقوله ان فيه هذه
والا اصل هادي امة الله ولكن الهاء بدل من الباء
وهي مكسورة ثبتت فيها الياء الوصل تقول
هذه امة الله وفي امة الله فاد او فقت
قلت هذه ودة بعين باروز عمير الخليل اوسيو
انها مشبهة بهاء الاضمار نحو يوفى بذيهم

fol. 51v

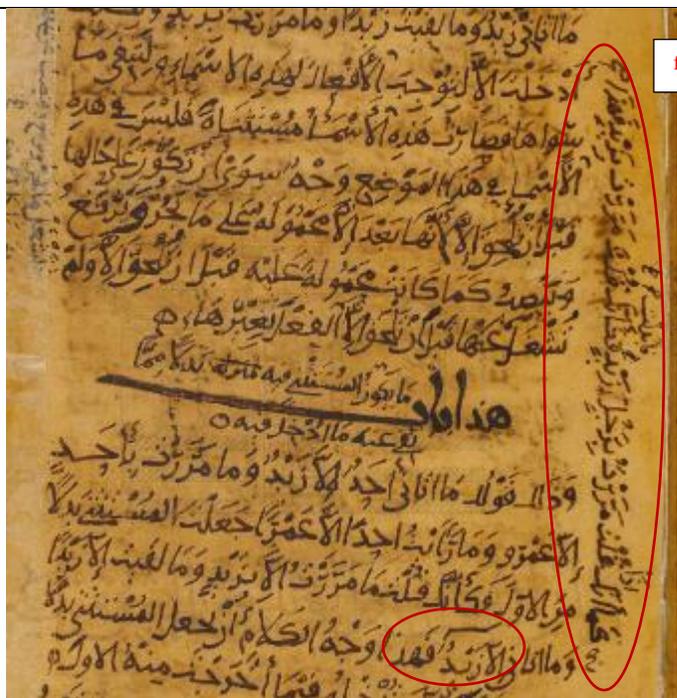
فان على لجه من هذه المعاني
منوعه واوهو خيرة

fol. 84r

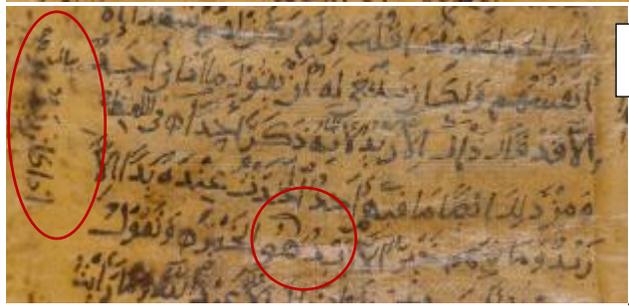
وذلك نحو قولك موزون بخل استروا هه و ما شيه
ذلك بالجمع التثنية ان فعلها هنا لانها ضوابة
لم ينفرد لان اجتماع كتيبة اذ صفة وان عمل قريب
ان عمل نحو انهم وانما هو والجمع ان جميع المصنفين
اذا اذ علت بيم الالف واللام انصرف نحو قولك
موزون الاقصر والاسود فان ترجمنا الالف واللام
قلت موزون يا خير واسود ففهم في موزون الخير
وكذا لاجل انصفت الالف في موزون انصرف نحو قولك
موزون يا خير واسود واسود في موزون الخير
فما وصفناه وانما انصفت الالف واللام
دخلناه في الالف ان الفعل انصرفت في موزون
انما انصفت الالف انصفت الالف في موزون

fol. 94r

12	MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3	<p>1) Inserting the short omissions between lines (e. g. fol. 49v).</p> <p>2) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using the <i>'afah</i> (fol. 4r, 4v).</p> <p>3) Inserting occasionally short omissions in the margin using <i>'afah</i> adding <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of them with (e. g. fol. 18r) or without <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of insertion (e. g. fol. 47v).</p> <p>4) Adding the word after the missed part and <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of the long insertions in the margins (e. g. fol. 4r, 4v, 12r).</p> <p>5) Inserting in the near right margin (e. g. fol. 4r) and the near left margin (e. g. fol. 4v).</p> <p>6) Inserting the omission occurring at the end of a line to the end of it, stretching it into the left margin (e. g. fol. 12r).</p> <p>7) Moving upwards (e. g. fol. 4r, 4v, 12r, 18r).</p> <p>8) Adding the <i>Vorlage</i>, by collating with the omission found, symbolized as <i>khā'</i> (fol. 12r, 47v).</p>
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fol. 4r



fol. 4v

fol. 12r

الأزدي فإني لا يجوز لمتردد غيري
بدا لا بوعد الله كان حيدا إذا كان الوعد الله ريدا
ولم تكن عترة لأزدي نكروا نوكيدا كقولك رأيت ريدا
زيد أو قد يجوز أن يكون عترة زيد على الغلط والسيار كما
هو في قولك رأيت زيدا عترة لأنه إنما أراد كما في قوله
فقد أريد وهو ما لا يرد إلا بوعد الله إذا كان سيروا في قوله
ملا من سيروا الأجملة الأربعة والأربعة
هذا هو ما يجوز في هذا العدة

وذلك قول ما مررت بأحد الأتية حكومته كأنه قلت
مررت بقوم زيد حكومته **الألكة** قلت الألفاظ ردا
حزوا من جميع مرمر زيدا وهو لو قال مررت بياسر زيدا
حزومهم لجاز أن يقول قد مررت بياسر حزيرهم حزوم زيد
فأما قوله ما مررت بأحد الأتية حكومته الحيزاء لم يمتد
بأحد بقصر زيدا ومثله قول العترة والله لا يفعل كذا
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له

fol. 17v

ولم يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
كما في قولك في العترة لا يقال حكمت مرصركم قال
إن يرد قبل المنكلم ولا مرصركم إن يرد
العترة ما عترة وتمتد بكم

fol. 18r

فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له

fol. 46r

فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له

fol. 47v

فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له

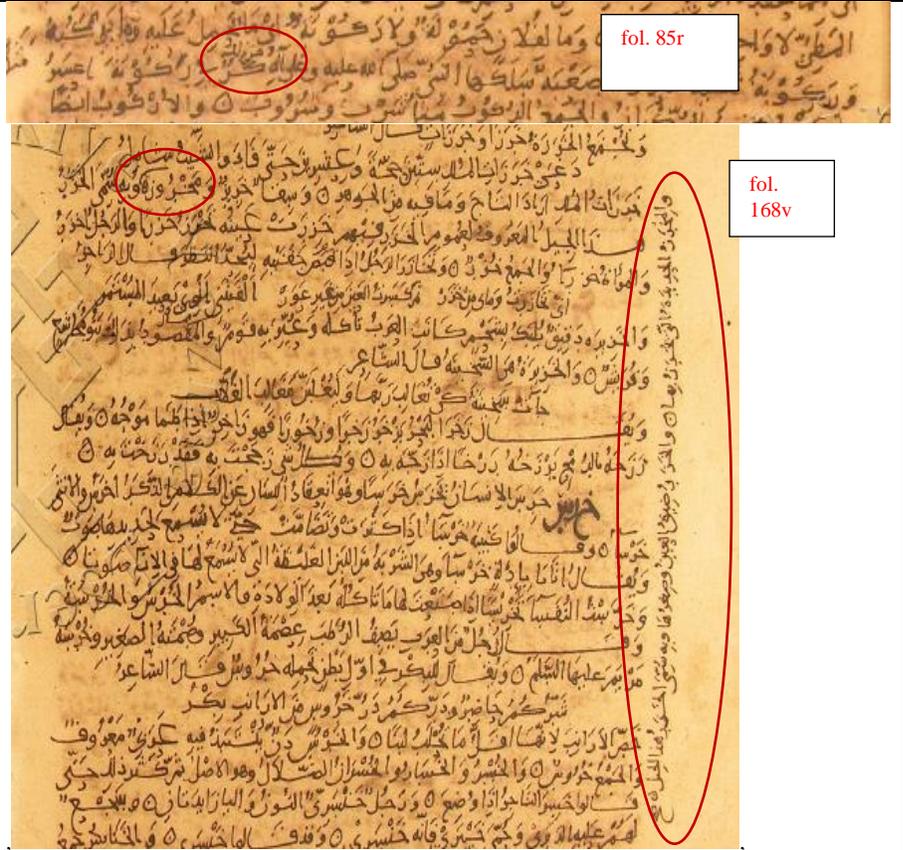
fol. 49v

فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له
فإنه يمتد بها جازا من عند أكانه فالجواب له

13

MS Fazil
1541

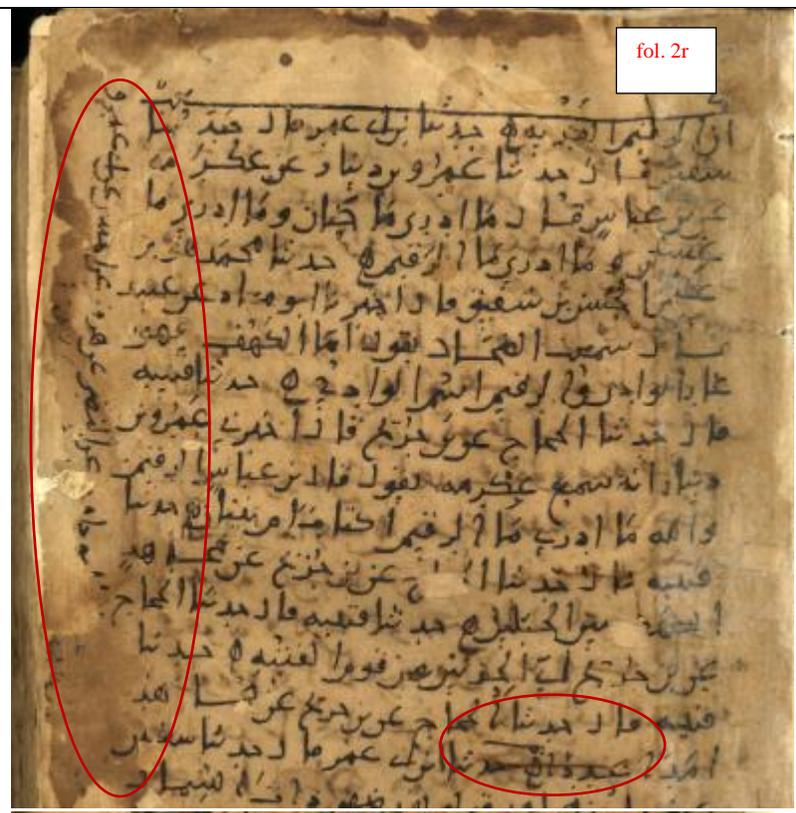
- 1) Inserting the short omissions between lines without 'atfah' (e. g. fol. 85r) but once in the margin (fol. 315v).
- 2) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using the 'atfah' (e. g. fol. 168v).
- 3) Once adding few words after the missed part and *ṣahh* at the end of the insertions in the margins (fol. 168v) and, twice, only one/two words after the missed part (fol. 300v, 315v).
- 4) Inserting in the near right margin (fol. 300v, 315v) and the far-right margin despite near the left margin (fol. 168v).
- 5) Moving downwards (300v, 315v).
- 6) No space for moving upwards (e. g. fol. 165v, 300v).



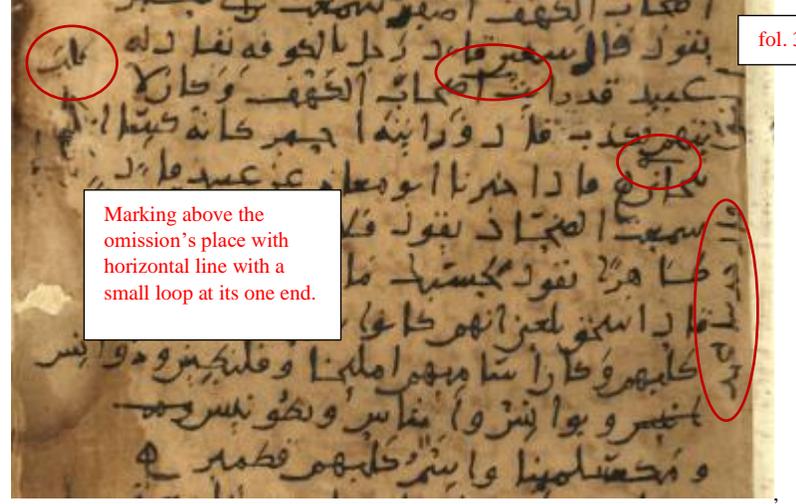
fol. 85r

fol. 168v

- 1) Inserting the long omissions in the margins using a small horizontal line with a small loop at its one end drawn towards the margin, instead of the 'afyah, to define the place of omission (fol. 2r, 221r).
- 2) Inserting the short omissions in the margin using the small horizontal line with a loop to define the place of the omission (fol. 3r, 19v, 20v) or the usual 'afyah also is sometimes used (fol. 20v) but occasionally inserting them between lines using neither this line with loop nor the 'afyah (fol. 154r).
- 3) Adding a word/few words after the missed part at the end of the insertions (e. g. fol. 2r, 221r).
- 4) Inserting in the near right margin (e. g. fol. 3r, 20 v) and the near inserting the left margin (fol. 115r) but sometimes inserting in the far-left margin despite being near the right one: not enough space in it (fol. 2r, 3r) and in the far-right margin despite being near the left (fol. 2r, fol. 19v).
- 5) Moving upwards (e. g. fol. 2r, 221r) and also downwards (e. g. fol. 3r).
- 6) Inserting the omission occurring at the end of a line to the end of it, stretching it into the left margin (fol. 94r) and inserting an omission occurring at the beginning of the line to the beginning of it, stretching it into the right margin (fol. 122v).



fol. 2r

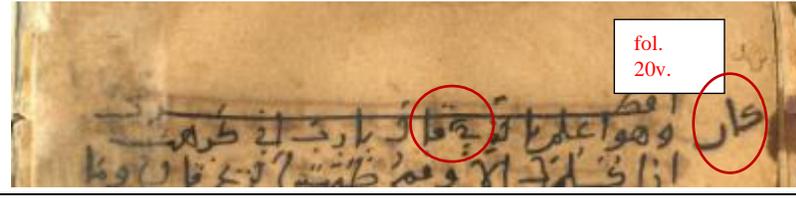


fol. 3r

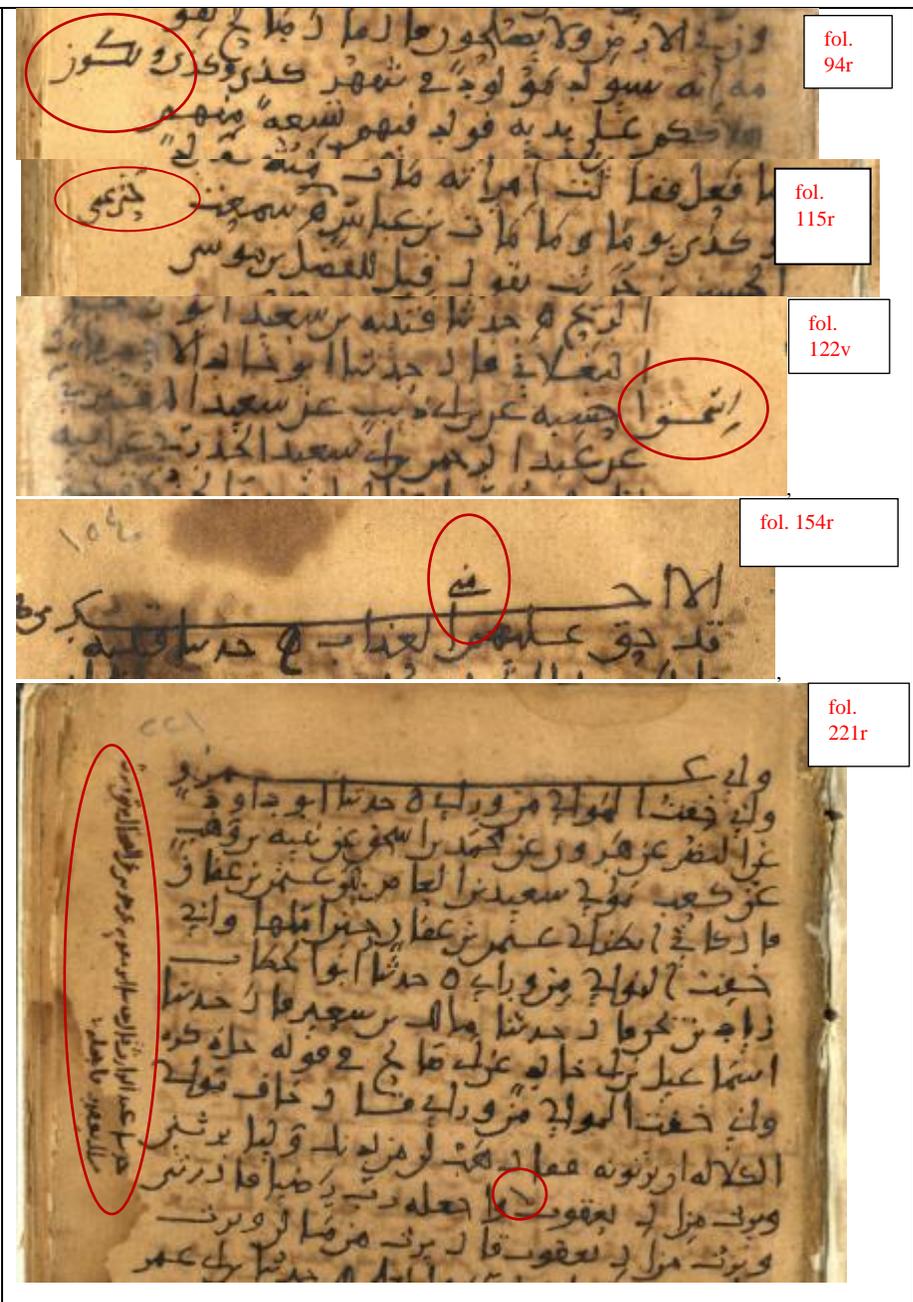
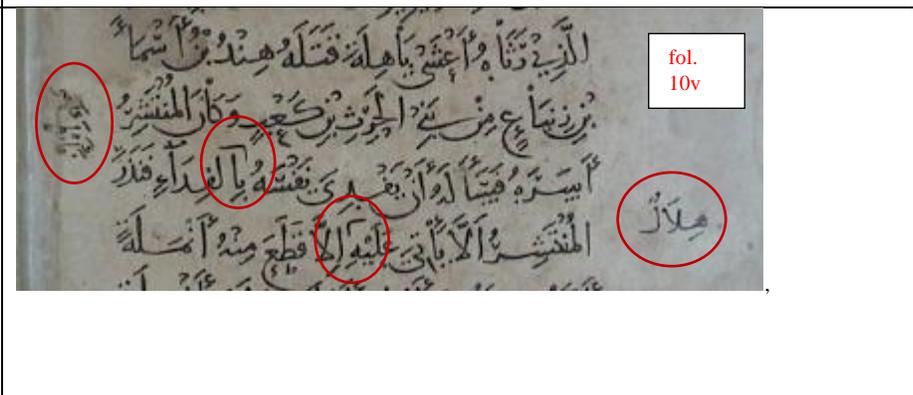
Marking above the omission's place with horizontal line with a small loop at its one end.



fol. 19v



fol. 20v.

			 <p>fol. 94r</p> <p>fol. 115r</p> <p>fol. 122v</p> <p>fol. 154r</p> <p>fol. 221r</p>
15	MS Reiss 904	<p>1) Inserting the short omissions mainly in the margin using the <i>'afah</i> (e. g. fol. 10v) but occasionally between lines with (fol. 25r) or without <i>'afah</i> (fol. 15v).</p> <p>2) Inserting two long omissions in the margin using <i>'afah</i> (fol. 30v, 67v).</p> <p>3) Adding sometimes <i>ṣahh</i> (e. g. fol. 10v, 35r), once both the word after the missed part and <i>ṣahh</i> at the end of the insertion in the margin (fol. 37v), once only two words after the missed</p>	 <p>fol. 10v</p>

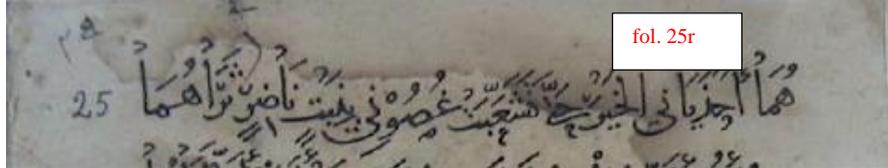
part (fol. 67v) but often, neither *shahh* nor a word after the missed part (e. g. fol. 10v, 25v, 30v).

4) Inserting in the near left margin (fol. 10v) and the near right margin (fol. 10v, 30v, 37v) but also in the far left margin despite having space in the near right margin (fol. 35r) and once in the right margin despite having space in the near left margin (fol. 67v).

5) The direction of the short insertions unclear but, twice, the insertion in the margin moves upwards (fol. 10v, 30v) and, once, downwards (fol. 67v).



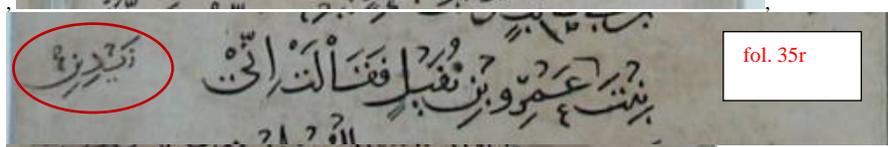
Fol. 15v



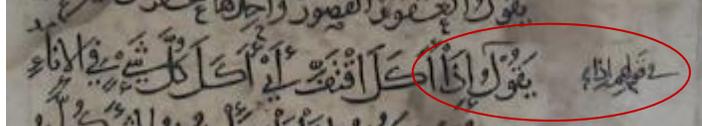
fol. 25r



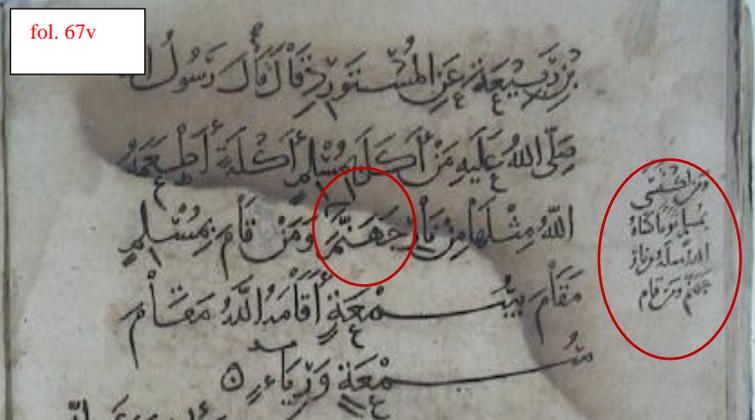
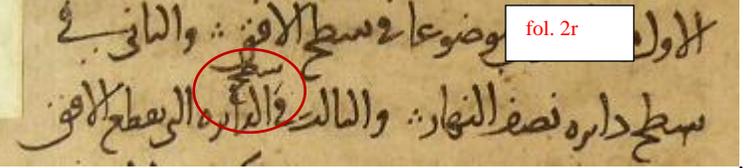
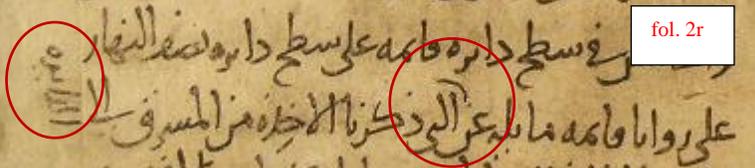
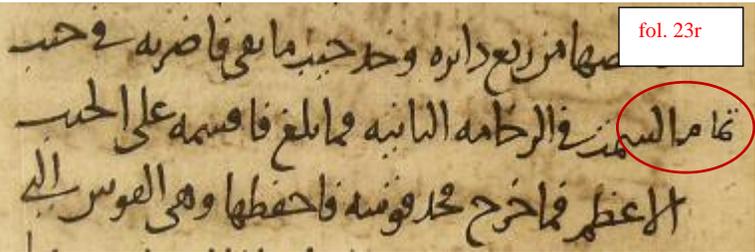
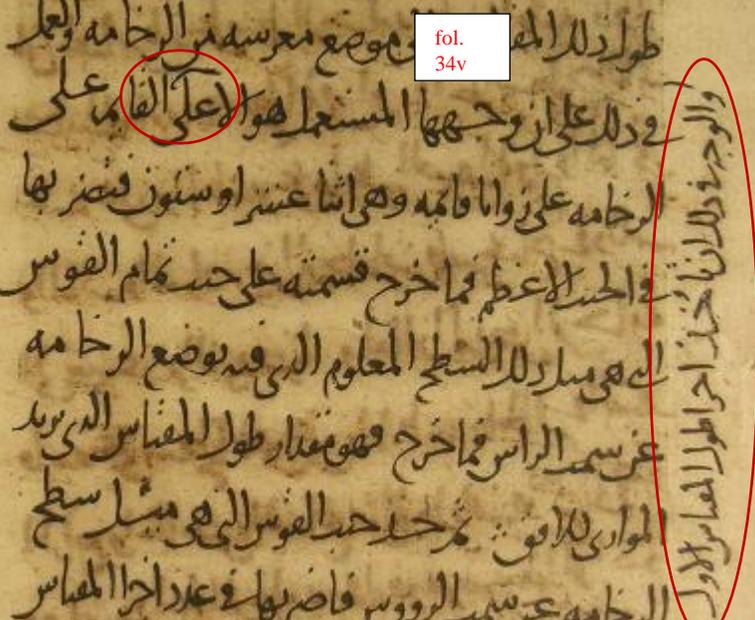
fol. 30v



fol. 35r



fol. 37v

			 <p>fol. 67v</p>
16	MS Fazil 948	<p>1) Inserting the short omissions between lines without 'afah (e. g. fol. 2r) and in the margins using the 'afah (e. g. fol. 2r).</p> <p>2) Inserting the long omissions in the margins using the 'afah (e. g. fol. 34v), and also a v-like used instead of the 'afah and the beginning of the insertion also marked with it (e. g. fol. 43v).</p> <p>3) Neither the word after the missed part nor <i>sahh</i> at the end of the insertions in the margins (e. g. fol. 34v, 43v). -Inserting in the near right margin (e. g. fol. 43v) and the near left margin (e. g. fol. 40r) but, occasionally, inserting in the far-left margin despite being near the right margin (e. g. fol. 2r) and in the far right margin despite being near the left margin (fol. 34v).</p> <p>4) Moving mainly upwards (e. g. fol. 2r, 40r, 43v) but once downwards (fol. 34v).</p> <p>5) Inserting an omission occurring at the beginning of the line to its beginning, stretching it into the right margin (fol. 23r).</p>	 <p>fol. 2r</p>  <p>fol. 2r</p>  <p>fol. 23r</p>  <p>fol. 34v</p>

٧٨
 للموضع الذي فيه تعرف من المقاس المواري للافق من ناحية جبل
 الجنوب او الشمال من ميل الناحية التي منها احزب قوس السم
 من حد فضل ما بينهما وخذ حسبه وخذ تمامه فاضرب حسبه
 في الظل من الرخامة الاولى وابلغ وافسده على الحد الاعظم
 فما خرج فاحفظه وسمه المحفوظ الاول وكذا فاضرب
 حسب ما مازلك الفضل والظل بما بلغ وافسده على الحد
 الاعظم فما خرج فاحفظه وسمه المحفوظ الثاني ثم خذ
 حسب ميل تلك الرخامة التي يريد عن سمي الرووس فما خرج ووزنه
 عا اذا طر المماس

٨٥
 اربعة اجزا وربع فمصلته خط هـ كما يلي الجنوب
 وما في الجدول الثاني ايضا
 واربعون درجة فمصلته
 وخرج خطي كـ طـ من عبر
 ما حال هذه الساعة ايضا في الجدول الثالث وهو
 جدول الظل وهو ليله عشر حروا وطلع وجمسون
 فمصلته من خط زـ وهو زـ وما في الجدول
 الرابع ايضا وهو جدول الظل وهو سبه عشر حروا
 وثمان واربعون درجة فمصلته من خط طـ وهو
 زـم ونصرا خط مـ لـ وبعده الساعة على مثال

The copyist marked the place of the omission in the line with a shape like the v with a dot above it. He also drew this shape at the beginning of the insertion in the margin.

17 MS IUL A 1434

1) Inserting the long omission in the margin using the 'afzah (fol. 7r).

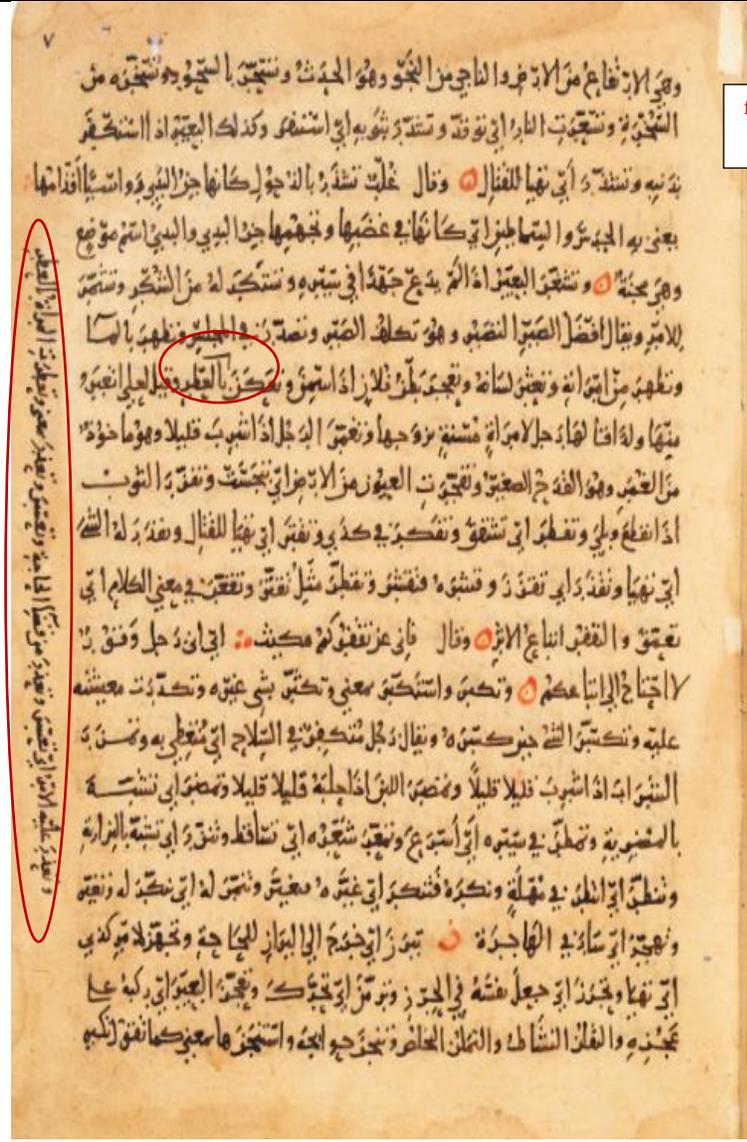
2) Inserting the short omissions in the margin using 'afzah (fol. 95v, fol. 149v).

3) Inserting in the near left margin (fol. 7r) and the near right margin (fol. 95v) but once in the far-right margin despite being near the left margin (fol. 149v).

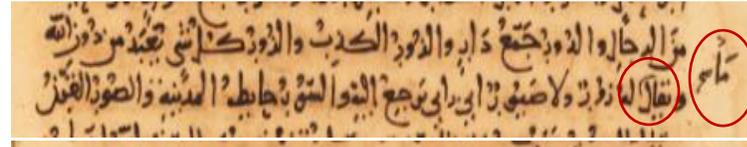
4) Moving upwards (fol. 7r) and downwards (fol. 149v), and once the direction unclear (fol. 95v).

5) On fol. 7r, despite having the omission in line 7, inserting the omission in the margin from the place next to line 17. The 'afzah does not refer to the beginning of the insertion, probably because of keeping the upwards and overcoming the lack of space.

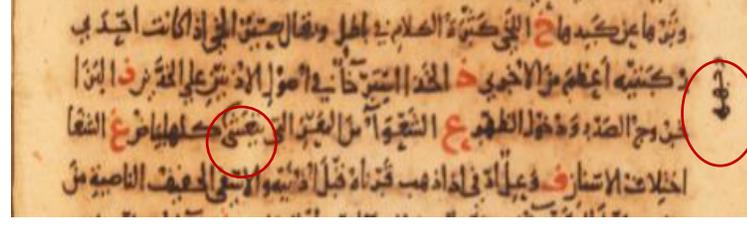
6) Adding once the word after the missing part (fol. 7r), and once only *shahh* (fol. 95v) but once, neither the word after the missed part nor *shahh* at the end of the insertion (fol. 149v).



fol. 7r



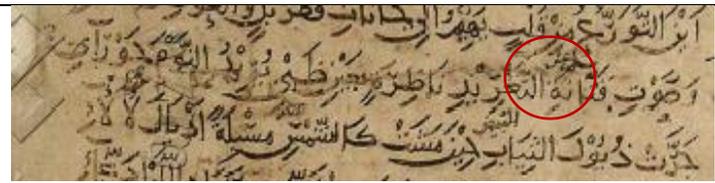
fol. 95v



fol. 149v

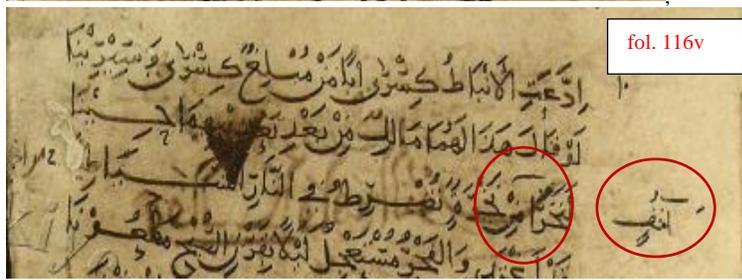
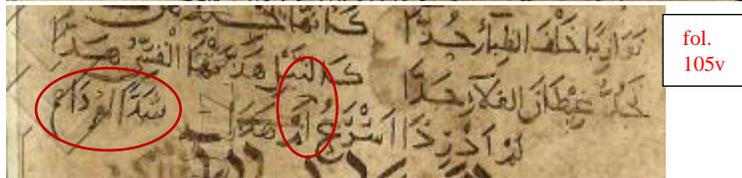
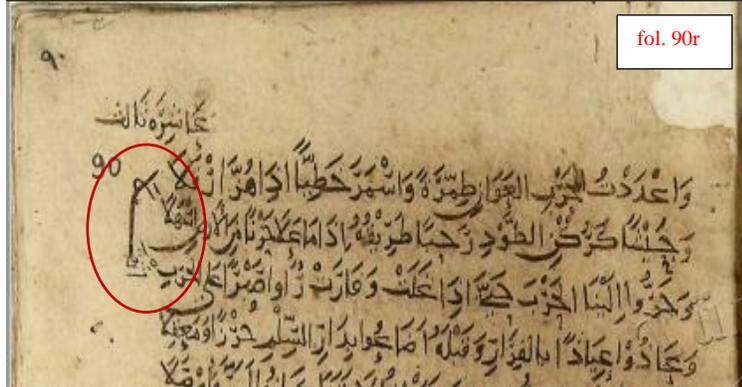
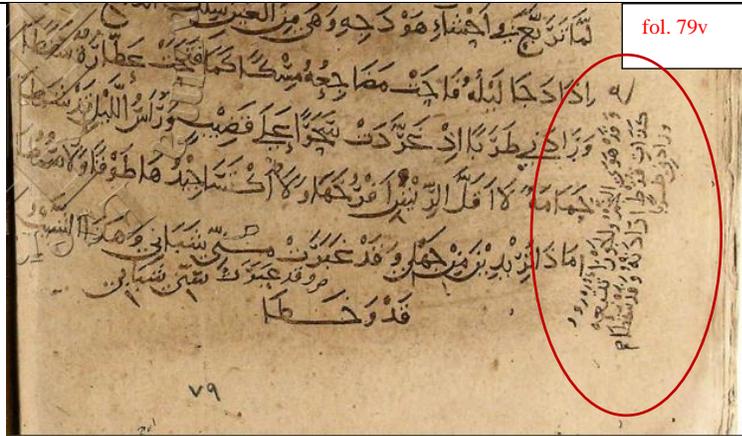
18 MS Lal. 1728

1) Inserting the short omissions between lines without 'afzah (fol. 2v) but once in the margin using the 'afzah (fol. 116v).



fol. 2v

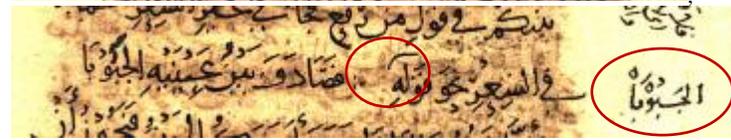
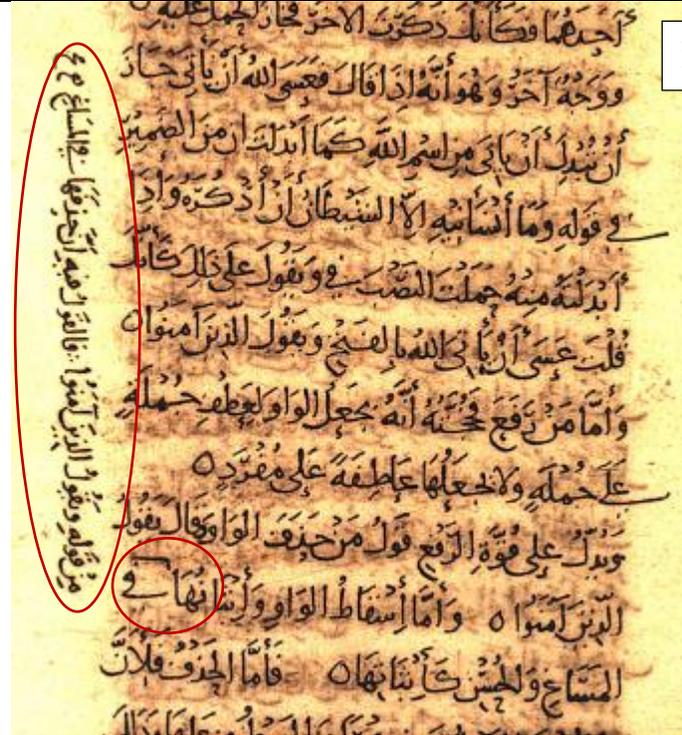
- 2) Inserting the long omissions in the margin (fol. 79v, 128v).
- 2) Inserting the omission in the margin without marking its place in the text with the 'afah (e. g. fol. 79v).
- 3) Adding *sahh* at the end of the insertion in the margin (fol. e. g. 79v, 128v).
- 4) Inserting in the near right margin (fol. 116v), but, once, in the far-right margin despite being near the left margin, which has not enough space (fol. 128v).
- 5) Moving once upwards (fol. 128v) and twice downwards (fol. 79v, 110v.) and once the direction is unclear (fol. 116v).
- 6) Inserting an omission occurring at the end of a line to its end, stretching it into the left margin (fol. 90r).



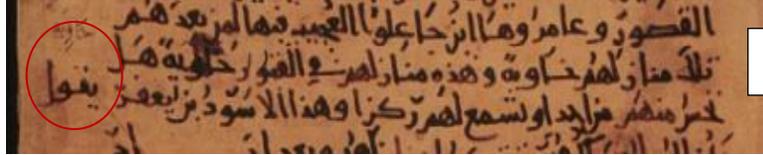
19

MS Şehid
27

- 1) Inserting the short omissions in the margin using 'afah (e. g. fol. 41v, 115r) and between lines with (e. g. fol. 118r) or without 'afah (fol. 219r).
- 2) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using the 'afah (e. g. fol. 22r).
- 3) Adding mainly *ṣahh* and a word/few words after the missed part added at the end of the insertion in the margin (e. g. fol. 22r, 41v, 115r), but occasionally, only *ṣahh* at the end of the insertion in the margin (e. g. fol. 146r) and, sometimes, mainly in the short insertions, neither *ṣahh* nor a word after the missed at the end of the insertion in the margin (e. g. fol. 41v).
- 4) Inserting in the near the left margin (e. g. fol. 22r) and in the near right margin (fol. 41v, 63v, fol. 115r, 119v, 122r, 147v, 199r, 274v, 293v, 351v) but once in the far-left margin despite having space in the near right margin (fol. 103r, 146r, 199r) and once in the far right margin despite having space in the near left margin (fol. 215v).
- 5) Moving mainly upwards (e. g. fol. 22r, 115r) but occasionally downwards (e. g. fol. 274v).
- 6) Inserting an omission occurring at the end of a line to its end, stretching it into the left margin (e. g. fol. 72r).



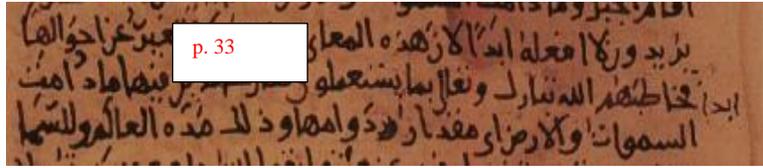
4) Inserting in the near left margin (p. 104) and the near right margin (p. 105), but once in the far-left margin, probably because of the narrowness in the right (p. 2).
 5) Moving upwards (e. g. p. 2, 104).
 6) Inserting the omission occurring at the end of a line to its end, stretching it into the left margin (e. g. p. 4), an omission occurring at the beginning of the line to the beginning of it, stretching it into the right margin (e. g. p. 33), and a long omission at the beginning of a line stretching it to the right margin, continuing to the lower margin (p. 105).



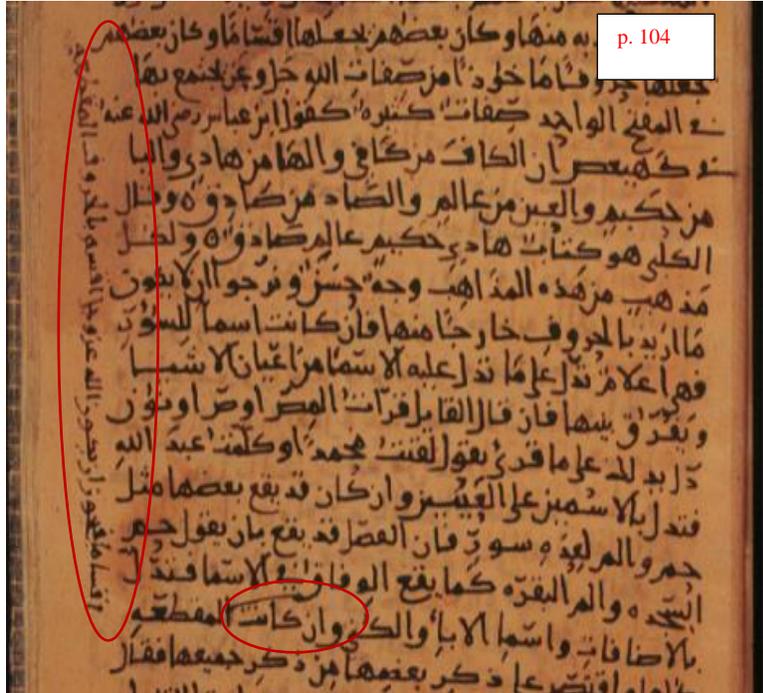
p. 4



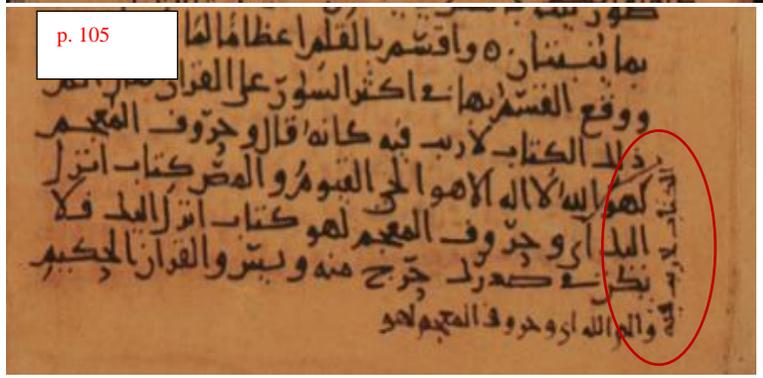
p. 8



p. 33

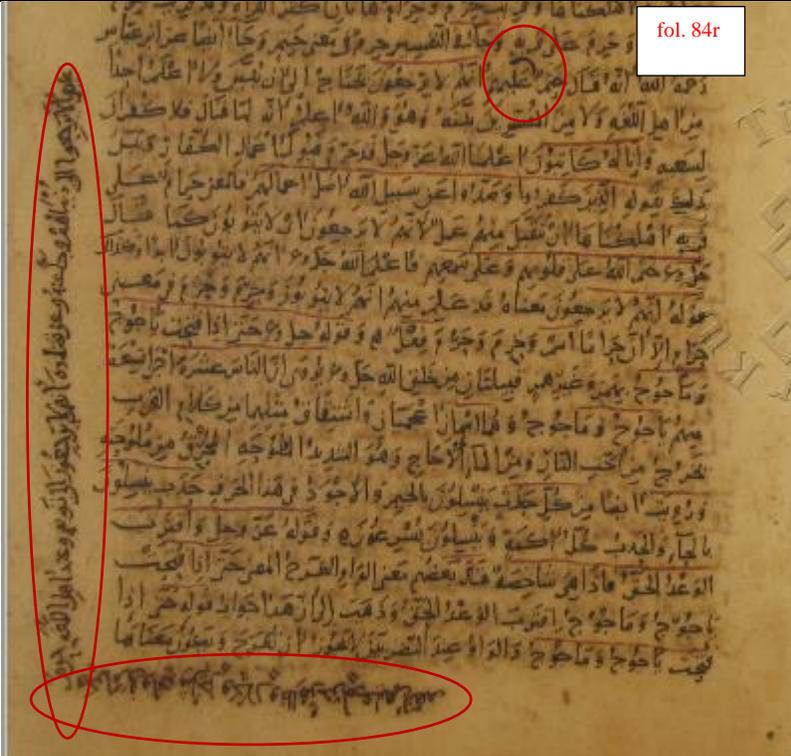
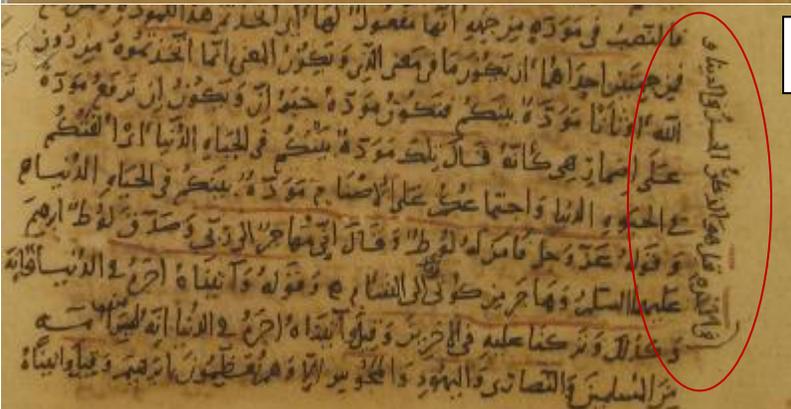
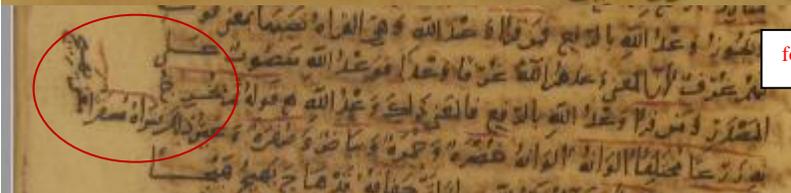


p. 104



p. 105

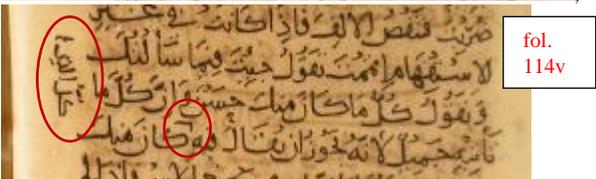
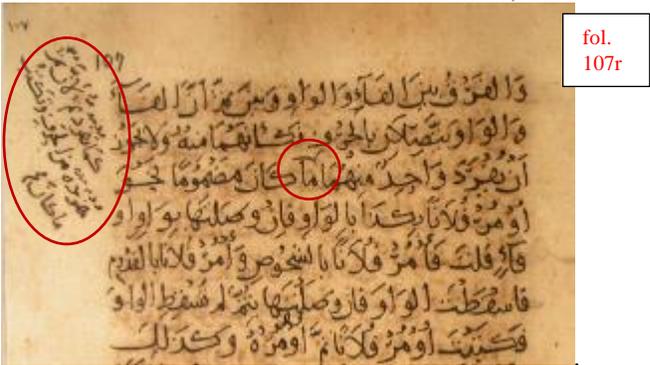
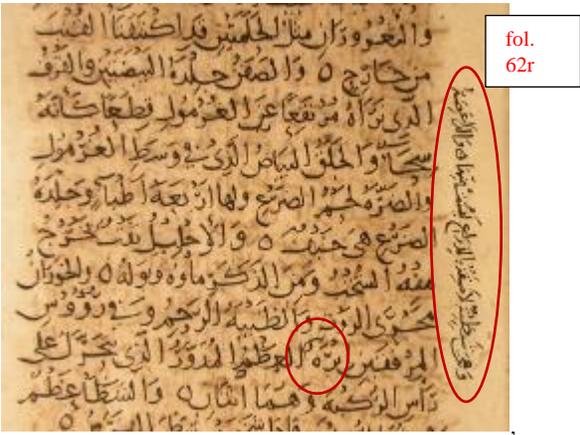
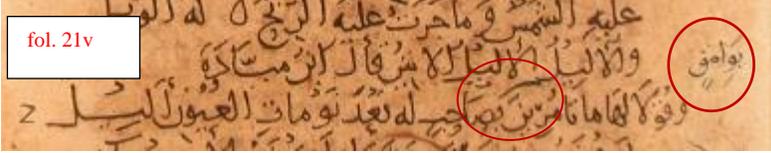
21	MS Fazil 43, fol. 2v, 3v, 20r, 23v, 41v, 84r.	<p>1) Inserting the short omission in the margin using 'afzah' (e. g. fol. 3v, 20r, 23v) or between lines without 'afzah' (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>2) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using the 'afzah' (e. g. fol. 84r).</p> <p>3) Adding mainly in the long insertions, the word/few words after the missed part at the end of the insertion in the margin (fol. 41v, 84r).</p> <p>4) Inserting sometimes, in the near right margin (e. g. fol. 3v, 41v) and the near left margin (e. g. 68r) but, sometimes, the omission the far-right margin (e. g. fol. 23v) and sometimes, the omission is inserted in the far-left margin (e. g. fol. 84r).</p> <p>5) Moving often upwards (e. g. fol. 3v, 23v, 41v) and sometimes downwards (e. g. fol. 20, 68r).</p> <p>6) Moving once downwards until the end of the left margin, then continuing in the lower margin (fol. 84r).</p> <p>7) Inserting the omission occurring at the beginning of the line to the beginning of it, stretching it into the right margin (e. g. fol. 143v) and at the end of a line to its end, stretching it into the left margin (fol. 199r).</p>	<p>fol. 2v</p> <p>fol. 3v</p> <p>fol. 20r</p> <p>fol. 23v</p> <p>fol. 41v</p> <p>fol. 68r</p>
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			 <p>fol. 84r</p>  <p>fol. 143v</p>  <p>fol. 199r</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905, fol. 2r, 21v, 62r, 107r, 114v, 199v, 210v.	<p>1) Inserting the short omission in the margin using the 'afah (e. g. fol. 2r, 114v).</p> <p>2) Inserting the long omissions in the margin using the 'afah (fol. 62r, 107r, 199v).</p> <p>3) Adding mainly a word/ few words after the missed part and <i>shah</i> at the end of the insertions in the margins (e. g. fol. 107r) and occasionally only <i>shah</i> (fol. 114v) and once, neither the</p>	 <p>fol. 2r</p>

word after the missed part nor *ṣaḥḥ* (fol. 62r) and interestingly, once, adding the text divider circle after the missed part instead of a word/few words at the end of the insertion in the margin (fol. 199v) and once the circle after the missed part and *ṣaḥḥ* (fol. 220v).

4) Inserting in the near left margin (e. g. fol. 2r, 107r, 114v) and the near right (e. g. fol. 21v, 62r, 199v, 220v) but, once, in the far-right margin (fol. 139r).

5) Moving mainly upwards (e. g. fol. 62r, 107r, 114v, 139r, 199v), but sometimes downwards (e. g. fol. 220v).



			<div data-bbox="597 184 1279 693"> <p> fol. 199v عَدَاةً مِنْهَا رَاحَ كَاتِبُهُ مِنَ الصَّحِّحِ وَاسْتَقْبَلَهُ الْعَمَلُ حَمِي وَقَدْ قَرَعَ الدُّبُوكَ وَلَا يُقَالُ قَرَعَ هـ وَهِيَ دَائِبَةٌ لَا تَزِيدُ وَلَا تَقُوتُ وَقَدْ جَاءَ لِلطَّلِيمِ بَعْدَ عِدْوَانِ الرِّصَالِ وَلَا يُقَالُ عِدْوَةً هـ وَهِيَ الْكَلْبَةُ وَلَا يُقَالُ الْكَلْبُ وَيُقَالُ قَدْ تَرَكَ رَجْعَهُ أَيْ عَيْتَهُ أَيْ لِقَائَهَا وَيُقَالُ تَرَكَ رَجْعَهُ هـ وَيُقَالُ هُوَ مَصْطَلَعٌ حَمَلُهُ أَيْ قَوِي عَلَيْهِ وَهُوَ مُقْتَبَلٌ مِنَ الصَّلَاحِ وَلَا يُقَالُ مُطْلَعٌ هـ وَيُقَالُ بَعْضُهُمْ الْجَلِيلَاتُ وَهُوَ الْبَيْتُ الَّذِي لَيْسَ فِيهِ الْعَامَّةُ لِبَلَاكِهِ هـ وَزَيْدٌ كِتَابٌ سَمِيَتْ بِهِ أُمَّهُ الْجَلْبُ الَّذِي يُعْتَادُهُ الطَّبَا يُقَالُ </p> </div> <div data-bbox="597 693 1279 1312"> <p> fol. 220v أَيْلًا لَمْ يُوَفِّهَا هـ وَبِحَسْبِ ابْنِ عُبَيْدَةَ أَسْنَى عَسَلًا أَيْ أَحْمَلُهُ سَفَاً هـ أَحْمَلْتُكَ الْبَاقَةَ وَأَحْمَلْتُكَ وَأَحْمَلْتُكَ وَالْبَيْتُ كُلُّ هَذَا إِذَا رَدَّتْ تَكَ طَلَسَتْ لَهُ وَأَحْمَلْتَهُ عَلَيْهِ هـ فَإِذَا رَدَّتْ أَيْ فَضَلَتْ ذَا لَيْهَ فَلَتْ بَعْمَتِكَ وَحَمَلْتِكَ وَعَمَلْتِكَ الْعِظْمُ وَحَمَلْتِكَ هـ وَكَانَ الْهَرَاءُ يَقُولُ أَيْعِي حَتَّى مَا أَيْ سَبَعَهُ لِي فَإِذَا زَادَ عَمِي عَمِي طَلَسَهُ قَالَ أَيْعِي يَقْطَعُ الْإِلْفِزَ وَكَذَلِكَ الْمُسْنَى بَادًا أَوْ الْمُسْنَى وَأَجْلَسِي وَأَجْلَسِي وَقَوْلُهُ أَجْلَسِي يُرِيدُ أَحْلَبَ لِي أَحْفَى الْجَلْبُ وَكُلُّ جَلْسِي أَيْعِي عَلَيْهِ وَكَذَلِكَ أَحْمَلْتِي وَأَجْمَلْتِي وَأَجْمَلْتِي </p> </div>
23	MS MRT 37 Lughah	No Insertions of omissions found.	

4.6. Correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation¹⁹³

In most of the examined manuscripts, mistakes are simply corrected by cancelling the wrong word and writing the correct version above it, under it (1-6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14-16, 18, 19, and 22) or in the margin (11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21, and 22). The correct version, in most cases, is not marked with *ṣahḥ*. However, this does occur in cases 4 and 12 where *ṣahḥ* emphasizes the correctness of the correct version.¹⁹⁴ This practice is not discussed in the normative sources, perhaps because it was considered common knowledge. This is in regard to mistakes that the copyists themselves make while copying. But what happens when the copyist finds a mistake in the *Vorlage*? What if a correct word can potentially be interpreted as being wrong? Or if a word is illegible?

4.6.1. Indicating text as problematic (*tamrīd* or *taḍbīb*)

According to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, when a scribe finds a text problematic in terms of its language or accuracy with regards to the *Vorlage* (e.g. there is a change in the wording of *ḥadīth* or a word missing that changes the meaning), he should indicate it (*tamrīd*, lit. “declaring to be sick,” or *taḍbīb*, “marking with the *ḍabbah* sign”).¹⁹⁵ For the *ḍabbah* (“door bolt”), the scribe draws a line with the initial form of *ṣād* above the text.¹⁹⁶ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ explains that the *ḍabbah* is an incomplete form of the *ṣahḥ* mark (*ṣahḥ* consists of *ṣād* and *ḥā*’, but the *ḍabbah* has only the initial form of *ṣād*). Thus, it indicates the problematic status of the text.¹⁹⁷ The text marked by the *ḍabbah* may be correctly copied (or transmitted) from the *Vorlage*, but the scribe finds it incorrect in terms of its meaning.¹⁹⁸ Although the copyist considers the text to be wrong, he should faithfully copy it from the *Vorlage* and add a *ḍabbah*, since another person from a different perspective may find it correct.¹⁹⁹ As far as I know, the earliest normative source that discusses the *taḍbīb* is the sixth/twelfth-century *al-Ilmā*.²⁰⁰ However, the practice goes back to the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries, as many of the manuscripts under examination show (see cases 1, 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, and 22).

¹⁹³ For studies on the measures of correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation, see p. 29.

¹⁹⁴ Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 226-7; *Vademecum*, 283.

¹⁹⁵ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*, 166.

¹⁹⁶ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*, 166.

¹⁹⁷ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*, 166.

¹⁹⁸ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*, 166-7.

¹⁹⁹ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*, 167.

²⁰⁰ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*, 166-8. After al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ mentions this practice, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, ‘*Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 197-8.

Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ mentions that the *ḍabbah*’s line must not touch the text; otherwise, it might be interpreted of as a strike through line (*ḍarb*).²⁰¹ In all of the cases of the *taḍbīb* attested in the manuscripts, its line does not touch the text, which is coherent with al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s rule.

The normative sources do not discuss changing the *ḍabbah* to *ṣahḥ* when doubts are dispelled.²⁰² However, case 18 shows that when doubts about the text already marked with *ḍabbah* are dispelled, the copyist changes the *ḍabbah* to *ṣahḥ*. This is achieved by adding a *ḥā*’ to the *ḍabbah*. Three *ḍabbahs* are altered to read *ṣahḥ* this way.²⁰³ Furthermore, a word is marked with *ḍabbah* above it and *ṣahḥ* under it.²⁰⁴ Also found in case 18, to emphasize that he finds the word marked with *ḍabbah* correct, the copyist marks it underneath with *ṣahḥ*. Moreover, the copyist marks an unclear version of a word with *ḍabbah* and then gives a clear version marked with *ṣahḥ* underneath it.²⁰⁵

Similarly, case 12 shows that a word is corrected when the copyist finds the word he doubted actually being wrong. The copyist provides the correct version in the margin marked with *ṣahḥ*. In the text body, he marks the word he finds wrong.²⁰⁶ Likewise, in the same manuscript, besides the *taḍbīb*, the copyist sometimes gives the correct version of words in the margin marked with *khā*’ above them.²⁰⁷ Here the *khā*’ likely indicates *nuskḥah ukhrā* (another copy),²⁰⁸ i.e. that the copyist found a different version of the word he considered to be correct in another manuscript.

The *ḍabbah*, as two manuscripts show, is also used to mark words written unclearly. In case 9, the illegible word is marked with the *ḍabbah*, and a new clearer version of the word is written in the margin, also marked with the *ḍabbah*.²⁰⁹ Marking the new version in the margin with *ḍabbah* indicates that the copyist also doubted this new version.²¹⁰ In case 11, the illegible word

²⁰¹ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā*’, 166. On the striking through, see section 4.4. above.

²⁰² There is no mention of changing the *ḍabbah* to *ṣahḥ* in the normative sources until the sixth/twelfth century, but later it is mentioned in Ibn Jamā’ah, *Tadhkirah*, 132; al-Ghazzī, *al-Durr*, 449; al-‘Almawī, *al-Mu’īd*, 136. On changing the *ḍabbah* to *ṣahḥ*, see Rosenthal, *Technique*, 15; Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 226; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 285.

²⁰³ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 14v, l. 1, 49v, ult.

²⁰⁴ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 7r, l. 5.

²⁰⁵ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 14v, l. 1, 49v, ult.

²⁰⁶ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, e. g. fol. 24r, l. 3, fol. 37r, l. 3, fol. 43v, l. 19, fol. 53v, l. 15, fol. 66r, l. 11.

²⁰⁷ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, e. g. fol. 18r, l. 9, fol. 21r, l. 12, fol. 21v, l. 4, fol. 22r, l. 7, fol. 27v, l. 3.

²⁰⁸ Gacek, *Vademecum*, 4.

²⁰⁹ MS Fazil 1507, e. g. fol. 6r, l. 17.

²¹⁰ Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 226; *Vademecum*, 285.

is marked with the *ḍabbah*, but the legible version in the margin is marked with *ṣaḥḥ*.²¹¹ *Ṣaḥḥ* here indicates that the new legible version is correct, although the reader may doubt it.

4.6.2. Stressing correctness (*taṣḥīḥ*)²¹²

According to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, when the copyist thinks that the reader may have doubts about the correctness of a text, the copyist should write *ṣaḥḥ* above.²¹³ This practice, called *taṣḥīḥ*, is supposed to stop the reader, particularly those less educated, from amending the text when they have doubts about its correctness.²¹⁴ Like in the case of the *taḍbīb*, the earliest source that discusses the *taṣḥīḥ* is the sixth/twelfth-century *al-Ilmā’*.²¹⁵ However, the practice of the *taṣḥīḥ* goes back to the fourth/tenth century, as it is attested in some of the manuscripts under examination (see cases 4, 9-12, 15, and 18).

4.6.3. Legible for the illegible

According to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, when a word in the text body is illegible, a legible version of it should be provided in the margin.²¹⁶ This is to avoid confusing the reader. This rule is not mentioned in the normative sources until the fifth/eleventh century. However, the practice in our manuscripts is broadly coherent with this rule. When a word is illegible, a legible version of it is written in the margin (see cases 1, 3-9, 11-15, and 19-22) or above the illegible one (see cases 1, 4, 5, 10, 12, 15, 18, and 19). Mention should be made of case 12, in which the legible version is written in the margin and marked with *ṣaḥḥ*.²¹⁷ *Ṣaḥḥ* here indicates that this legible version is correct. Another interesting case is 18, in which the copyist marks an illegible word with the *ḍabbah* and writes the legible version underneath, marking with *ṣaḥḥ*.²¹⁸

In conclusion, the measures of correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation can be traced in our third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century manuscripts. However, the earliest source that

²¹¹ MS DK 149 Naḥw, fol. 67r.

²¹² On *taṣḥīḥ*, see Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 226-7; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 283.

²¹³ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 166-8. After al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ mentioned this, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, ‘*Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 196.

²¹⁴ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 166-8. On *ṣaḥḥ* and *taṣḥīḥ*, see Gacek, “Taxonomy,” 224-7; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 283.

²¹⁵ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 166-8.

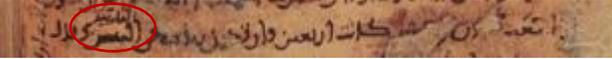
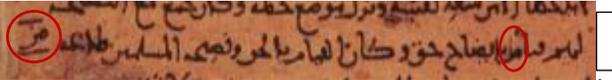
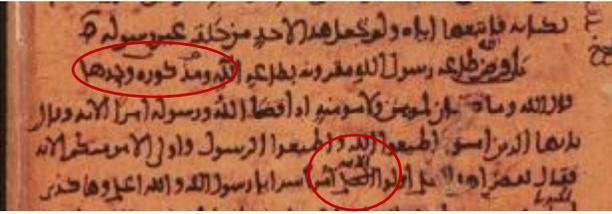
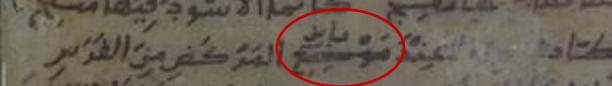
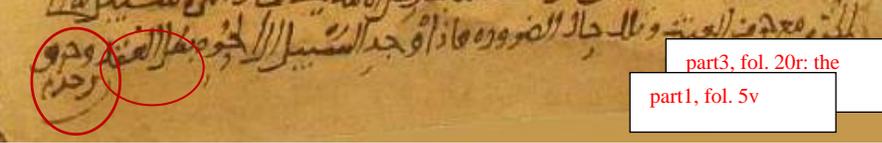
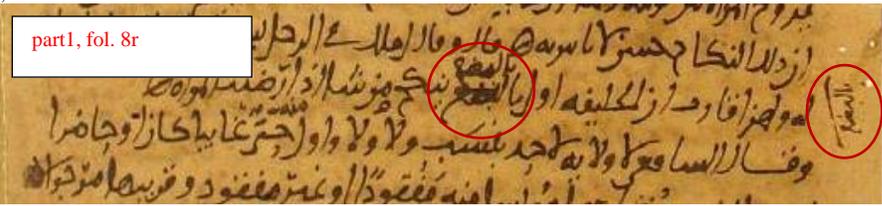
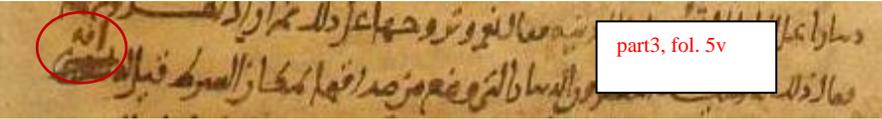
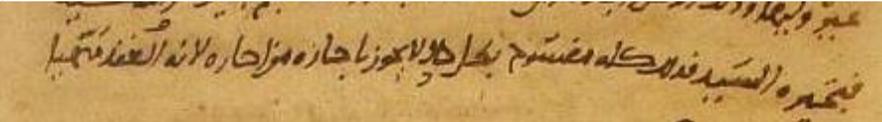
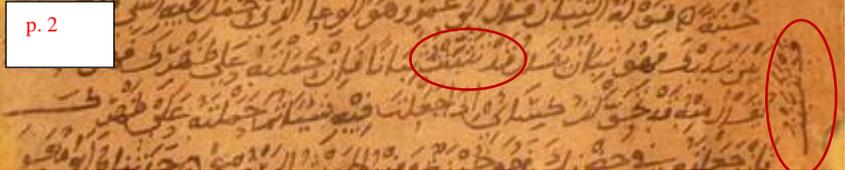
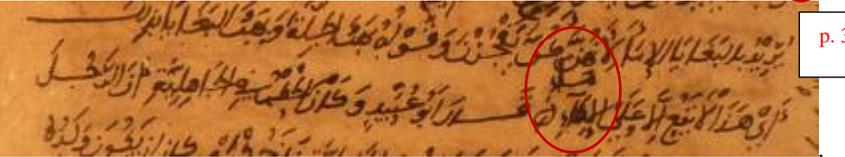
²¹⁶ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 157.

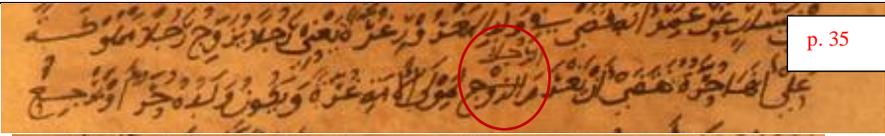
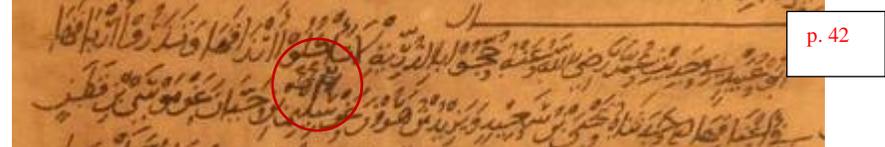
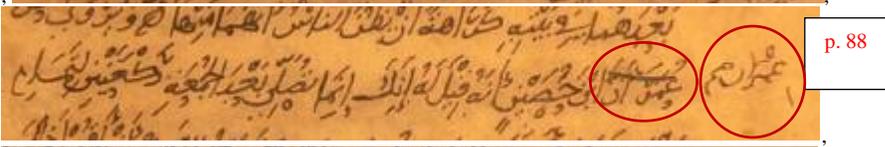
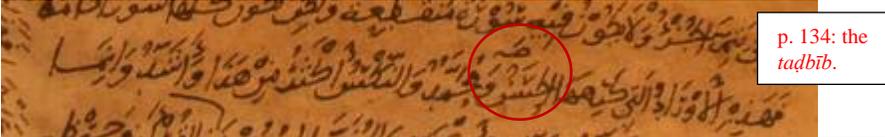
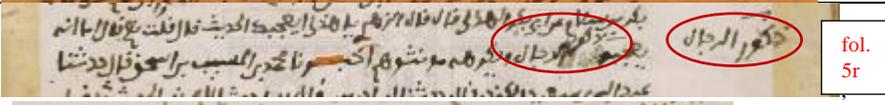
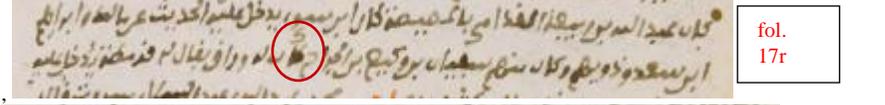
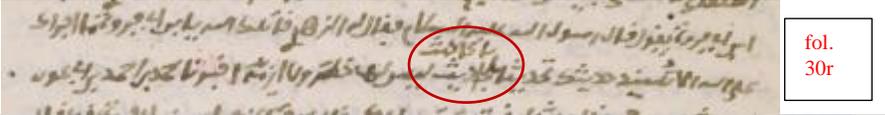
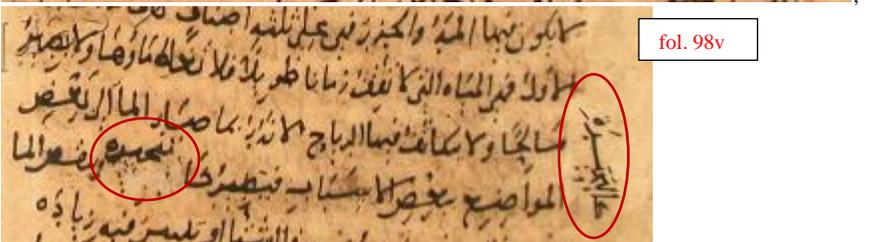
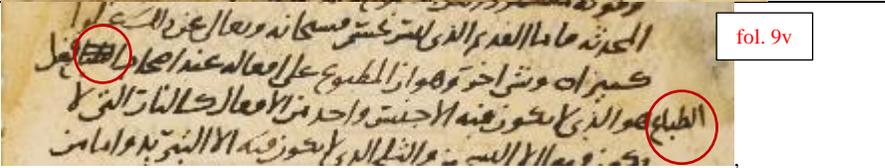
²¹⁷ MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, e. g. fol. 2r, l. 6, fol. 6r, l. 13, fol. 7r, l. 12, fol. 8, l. 5, fol. 15r, l. 12.

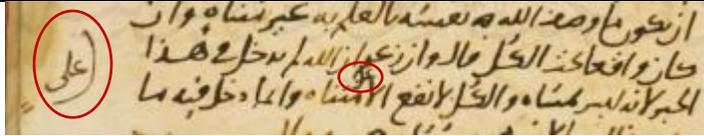
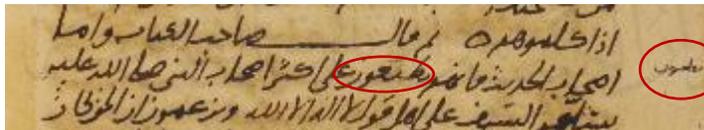
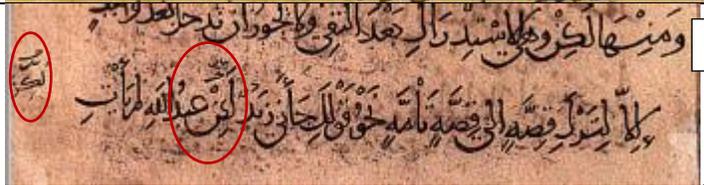
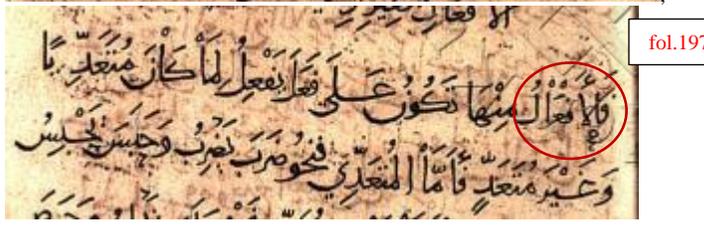
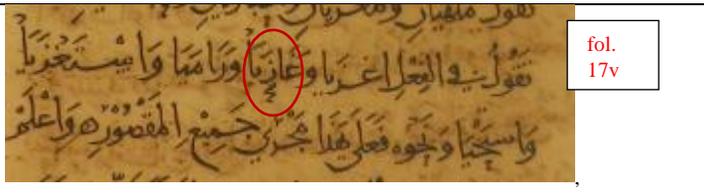
²¹⁸ MS Lal. 1728, fol. 14v, l. 1, 49v, ult.

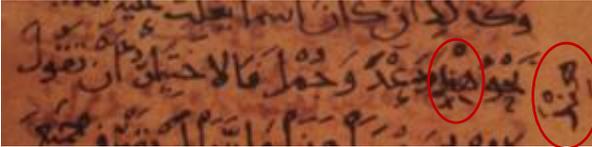
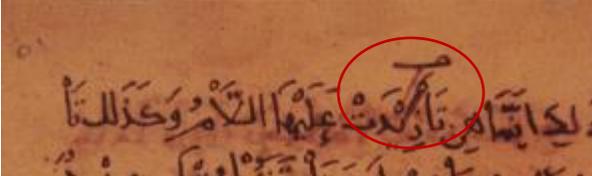
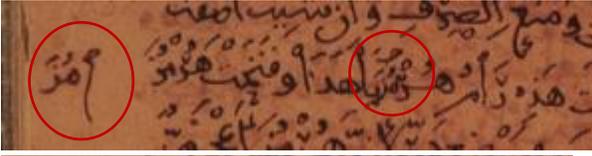
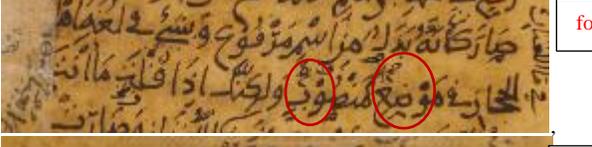
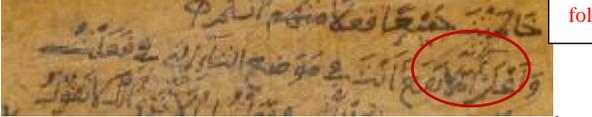
discusses these measures dates to the sixth/twelfth century (*al-Ilmā'* by al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ). When a word is written by mistake during the copying, it is cancelled, and the correct version is written above it or in the margin. Moreover, when the copyist finds a mistake in the *Vorlage*, he still copies it but indicates that it is problematic by marking it with the *ḍabbah*. This practice is called *taḍbīb* or *tamrīd*. In addition, when the copyist believes the reader might have doubts about a particular word, *ṣahḥ* is written above the word to stop the reader from amending the correct word. For illegible words, a legible version is written above or in the margin to avoid confusing the reader.

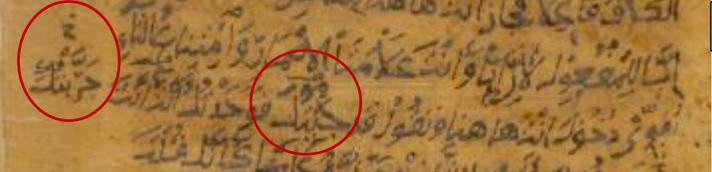
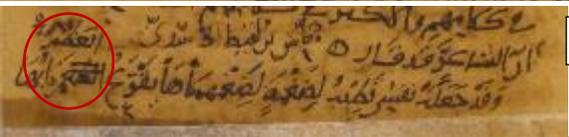
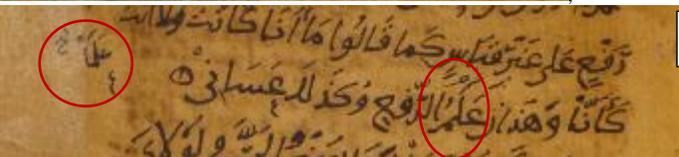
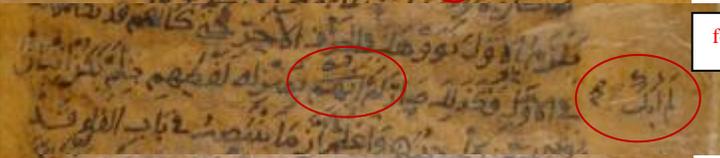
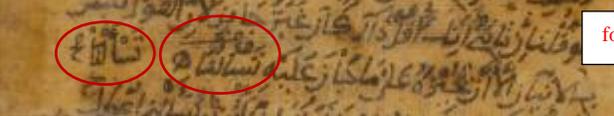
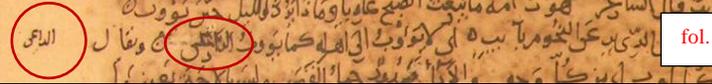
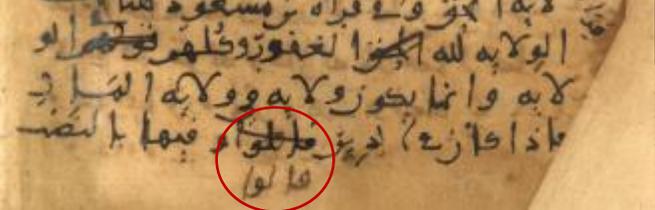
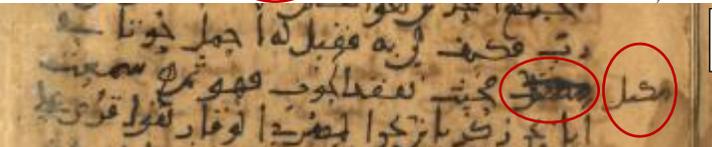
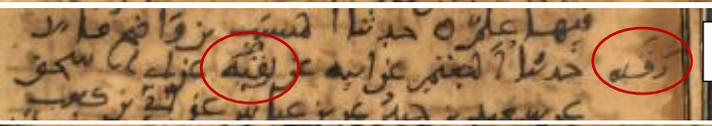
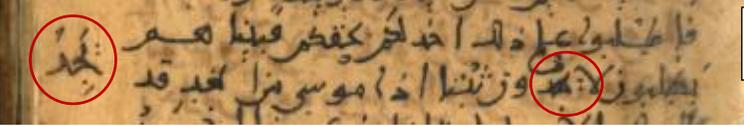
Table 23. Correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation

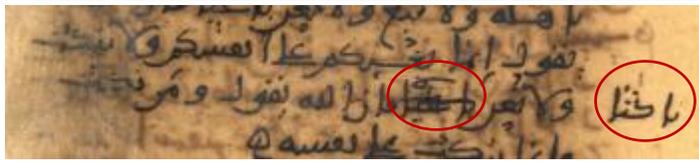
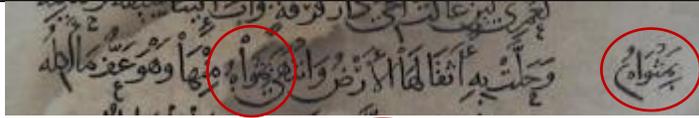
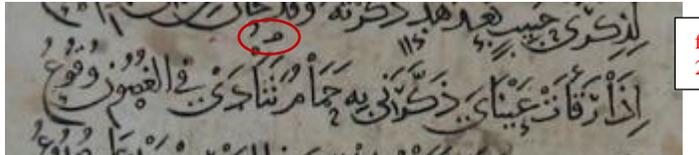
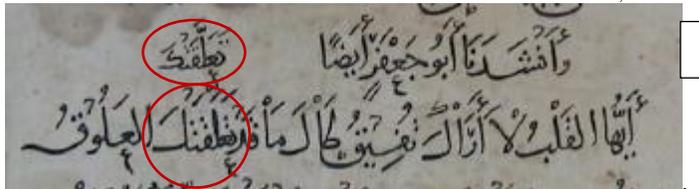
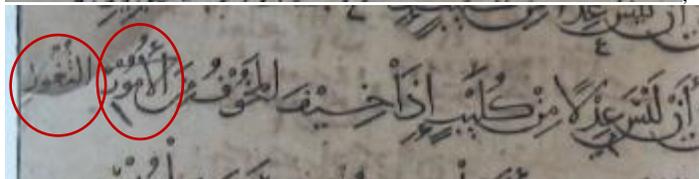
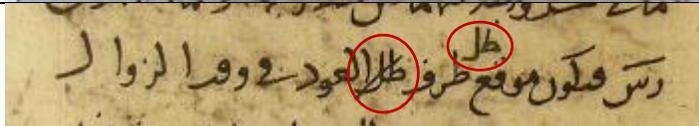
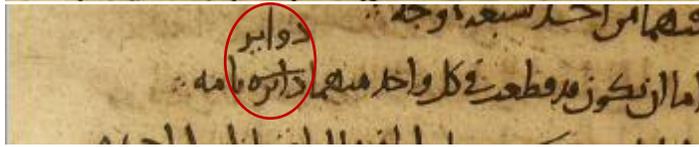
	Manuscripts	Phenomenon	Samples
1	MS DK 41 Uşūl Fiqh	1) legible version above illegible word (e.g. fol. 8v). 2) Correction on margin (e. g. fol. 11r). 3) Marking with <i>ḍabbah</i> (fol. 14v). 4) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (e. g. fol. 14).	 fol. 8v  fol. 11r  fol. 14v: the <i>ṭaḍtib</i> .
2	MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 24v.	1) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (fol. 24v).	 fol. 24v
3	MS MMMI 44, part 1, part 3	1) Legible version under the illegible word (part 1, fol. 5v). 2) Cancellation of wrong word and attempt of correction above, but the correct version illegible and legible version of it written in the margin (part 1, fol. 8r). 3) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (part 3, fol. 5v). 4) Marking with <i>ḍabbah</i> (part 3, fol. 20r).	 part3, fol. 20r: the part1, fol. 5v  part1, fol. 8r  part3, fol. 5v 
4	MS AZ, ‘Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth	1) Legible version for the legible word in the margin (e. g. p. 2). 2) Legible version above the illegible word (e. g. p. 33). 3) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (e. g. p. 35). 4) Marking with <i>ṣahḥ</i> (e. g. p. 42, 88). 5) Cancellation of wrong word and correction marked with <i>ṣahḥ</i> in the margin (e. g. p. 88). 6) Marking with <i>ḍabbah</i> (e. g. p. 134).	 p. 2  p. 33

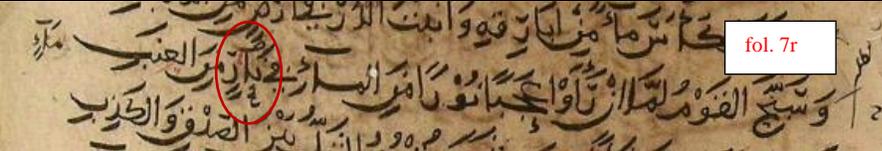
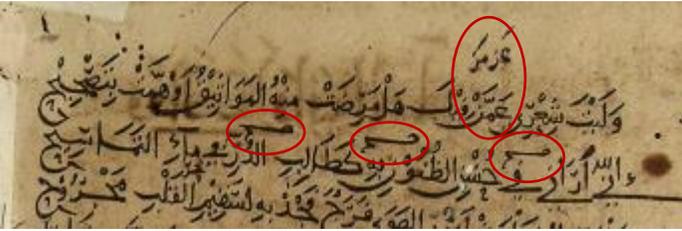
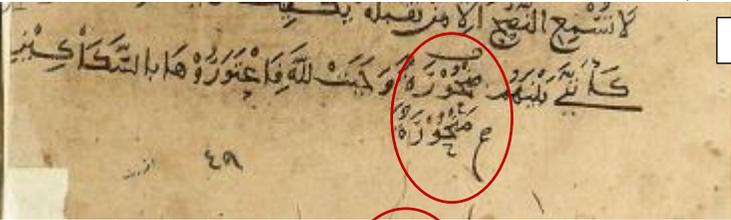
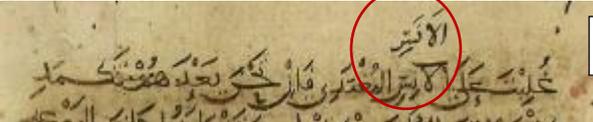
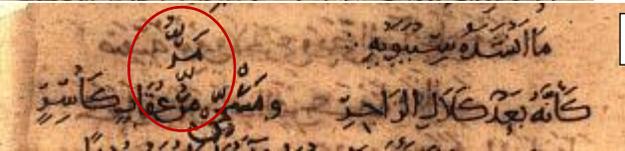
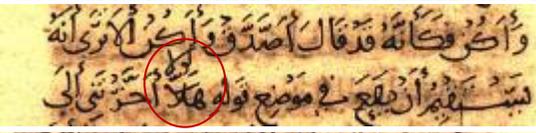
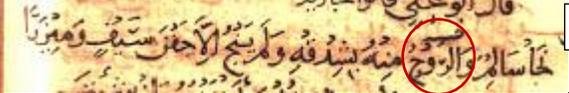
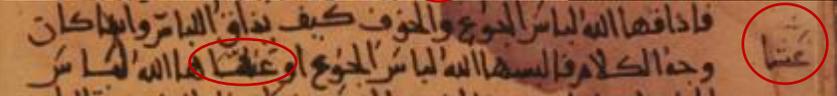
			 <p>p. 35</p>
			 <p>p. 42</p>
			 <p>p. 88</p>
			 <p>p. 134: the taqḍīb.</p>
5	MS DK 19598 Bā'	<p>1) Legible version in the margin for illegible word (e. g. fol. 5v).</p> <p>2) Legible version above illegible letter (fol. 17r).</p> <p>3) Cancellation of wrong and correction above it (e. g. fol. 30r).</p>	 <p>fol. 5r</p>  <p>fol. 17r</p>  <p>fol. 30r</p>
6	MS Car. Ef. 1508	<p>1) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (e. g. fol. 4v).</p> <p>2) Legible version in the margin for illegible word (fol. 98v).</p>	 <p>fol. 4v</p>  <p>fol. 98v</p>
7	MS Şehid 2552	<p>1) Legible version in the margin for the legible word (e. g. fol. 6v).</p>	 <p>fol. 6v</p>
8	MS DK 852 Tawḥīd	<p>1) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin (e. g. fol. 9v).</p> <p>2) legible version in the margin for illegible word (e. g. fol. 45r, 51v).</p>	 <p>fol. 9v</p>

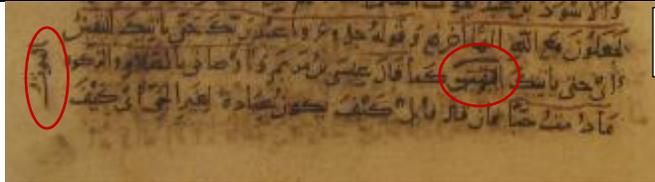
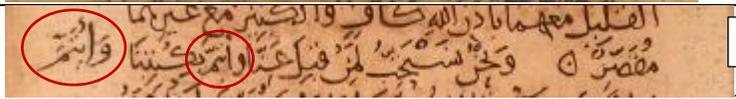
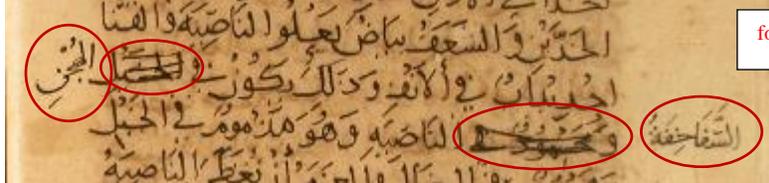
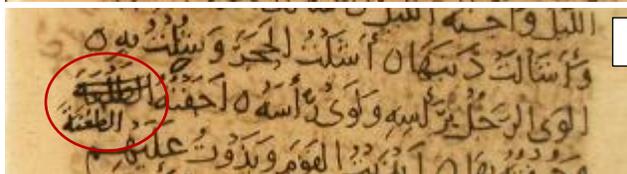
				fol. 45r
				fol. 51v
9	MS Fazil 1507	<p>1) Legible word marked with <i>dabbah</i> in the margin for illegible word also marked with <i>dabbah</i> (fol. 6r).</p> <p>2) Cancellation of wrong word and correction underneath (e. g. fol. 25v).</p> <p>3) Legible version in the margin for the illegible word (e. g. fol. 29v).</p> <p>4) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin (fol. 52r).</p> <p>5) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above it, but the correct version is illegible, so the legible one is written in the margin (fol. 70v).</p> <p>6) Marking with <i>sahh</i> (fol. 197r).</p>		fol. 6r
				fol. 25v
				fol. 29v
				fol. 52r
				fol. 70v
				fol. 197r
10	MS Fazil 1508	<p>1) Marking with <i>sahh</i> (fol. 17v).</p> <p>2) Legible version above illegible word (e. g. fol. 28v).</p> <p>3) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (e. g. fol. 35r).</p>		fol. 17v

				fol. 28v
				fol. 35r
11	MS DK 149 Nahw	<p>1) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin (e. g. fol. 3r).</p> <p>2) Legible version in the margin illegible word (e. g. fol. 26v).</p> <p>3) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> (fol. 51r).</p> <p>4) Legible word marked with <i>ṣahḥ</i> in the margin for illegible word marked with <i>dabbah</i> (fol. 67r).</p> <p>5) Marking with <i>ṣahḥ</i> (fol. 88r).</p>		fol. 3r
				fol. 26v
				fol. 51r: the <i>taḍbīb</i>
				fol. 67r
				fol. 88r
12	MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	<p>1) Legible version marked with <i>ṣahḥ</i> in the margin for illegible word (e. g. fol. 2r).</p> <p>2) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> (e. g. fol. 2v).</p> <p>3) Marking with <i>ṣahḥ</i> (e. g. fol. 6r).</p> <p>4) legible version above illegible word (fol. 15r).</p> <p>5) Version marked with <i>khā'</i> in the margin for a word marked with <i>dabbah</i> (e. g. fol. 18r).</p> <p>6) Cancellation of wrong word and correction marked with <i>ṣahḥ</i> above (e. g. 20r).</p> <p>7) Correction marked with <i>ṣahḥ</i> in the margin for word marked with <i>dabbah</i> (e. g. fol. 24r, 66r).</p>		fol. 2r
				fol. 2v
				fol. 6r
				fol. 15r

		<p>8) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin marked with <i>ṣaḥḥ</i> or without it (fol. 50v).</p>	 <p>fol. 18r</p>  <p>fol. 20r</p>  <p>fol. 24r</p>  <p>fol. 50v</p>  <p>fol. 50v</p>  <p>fol. 66r</p>	
13	MS Fazil 1541	1) Legible version for illegible word in the margin (e. g. fol. 54r).	 <p>fol. 54r</p>	
14	MS BA 233	<p>1) Cancellation of wrong word and correction underneath (e. g. fol. 4v).</p> <p>2) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin (e. g. fol. 6v, 140v).</p> <p>3) Legible version in the margin for illegible word marked with <i>dabbah</i> (e. g. 9v).</p> <p>4) Legible version in the margin for illegible word (e. g. fol. 16r).</p> <p>5) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> (fol. 41r).</p>	 <p>fol. 4r</p>  <p>fol. 6v</p>  <p>fol. 9v</p>  <p>fol. 16r</p>	

				fol. 41r
				fol. 140v
15	MS Reis 904	<p>1) Legible version in the margin for the illegible word (fol. e. g. 17v)</p> <p>2) Marking with <i>ṣahḥ</i> (e. g. fol. 23v).</p> <p>3) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> (fol. 27r, 28v).</p> <p>4) Legible version above illegible word (e. g. fol. 31r).</p> <p>5) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin (fol. 73r).</p>		fol. 17v
				fol. 23v
				fol. 27r
				fol. 28v
				fol. 31r
				fol. 73r
16	MS Fazil 948	<p>1) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (fol. 44r, 47r).</p>		fol. 44r
				fol. 47r
17	MS IUL A 1434	<p>No cases of the measures of correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation found.</p>		

18	MS Lal. 1728	<p>1) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> above and <i>ṣahḥ</i> underneath (fol. 7r).</p> <p>2) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> (e. g. fol. 8r).</p> <p>3) Marking with <i>ṣahḥ</i> changed from <i>dabbah</i> (fol. 13v).</p> <p>4) Writing a legible version above the illegible one (fol. 13v).</p> <p>5) Legible version marked with <i>ṣahḥ</i> underneath illegible word marked with <i>dabbah</i> (e. g. 49v).</p> <p>6) Cancellation of wrong word and correction above (fol. 133v).</p>	 <p>fol. 7r</p>  <p>fol. 8r</p>  <p>fol. 13v</p>  <p>fol. 49v</p>  <p>fol. 133v</p>
19	MS Şehid 27	<p>1) Legible version above illegible word (fol. 4v).</p> <p>2) Cancellation of wrong word correction above (e. g. fol. 21v).</p> <p>3) Cancellation of wrong word correction in the margin (e. g. fol. 42v).</p> <p>4) Legible word in the margin illegible word (fol. 99r).</p> <p>5) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> (fol. 283v).</p>	 <p>fol. 4v</p>  <p>fol. 21v</p>  <p>fol. 42v</p>  <p>fol. 99r</p>  <p>fol. 283v</p>
20	MS DK 663 Tafṣīr	<p>1) Legible version in the margin for illegible word (e. g. p. 15).</p>	

21	MS Fazil 43	<p>1) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin (fol. 17r).</p> <p>2) Legible version in the margin for illegible word (fol. 240r).</p>	 <p>fol. 17r</p>  <p>fol. 240r</p>
22	MS Lal. 1905	<p>1) Legible version in the margin for illegible word (e. g. fol. 7r).</p> <p>2) Marking with <i>dabbah</i> (e. g. fol. 56r).</p> <p>3) Cancellation of wrong word and correction in the margin (fol. 58v).</p> <p>4) Cancellation of wrong word and correction underneath (fol. 216v).</p>	 <p>fol. 7r</p>  <p>fol. 56r</p>  <p>fol. 58v</p>  <p>fol. 216v</p>
23		<p>No cases of the measures of correcting mistakes and preventing misinterpretation found.</p>	

5. Conclusion

The third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries witnessed a revolution in Arabic book production. The extant manuscripts from those centuries are the most copious testimonies of Arabic Islamic civilization from these early periods. Scholars of Arabic and Islamic studies who deal with these manuscripts in their research need to develop an in-depth understanding of the scribal practices. Thus, third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century manuscripts deserve special scholarly attention that considers both their practical and theoretical aspects.

The objective of this study is to improve our understanding of scribal practices in Arabic non-Qur'ānic manuscripts of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. More specifically, the two primary areas of study are the paratexts and the elements of clarity and correctness. These two areas are significant not only for scholars of Arabic manuscripts but also for other scholars who use Arabic manuscripts in their research. In this study, the normative sources and manuscript evidence have been examined comparatively.

The details of scribal practice in terms of the paratexts and the elements of clarity and correctness discussed in this thesis are essential when dealing with manuscripts. The elements relating to the paratexts, particularly in the early period, are not easy to comprehend, especially when compared with modern printed books. Understanding various elements of the paratext enables a user of an Arabic manuscript to answer questions relating to the title, the identity of the author and copyist, and when and where the manuscript was copied. In addition, any user of an Arabic manuscript needs to be familiar with the elements of clarity and correctness. For example, he or she should be aware of the tradition of cancellation to precisely distinguish a cancelled element from a correct one. Likewise, knowing the structure of omitted elements in the manuscript is crucial to identifying changes therein, such as distinguishing marginal notes that are part of the text from comments written by a later manuscript user.

The temporal scope of my study is the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Thus, for the examination of the normative sources, one would suppose that the focus of this study would be limited to this period. However, this is not possible because the normative sources that date to this period are scarce, and furthermore, the contents of the ones available are insufficient for our purposes here. Therefore, I expanded my investigation to include normative sources from the fifth

and sixth/eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is reasonable since we can trace in the actual manuscripts practices that are depicted in the later works such as *al-Jāmi‘* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) and *al-Ilmā‘* by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (476/1088-544/1149). The practices discussed in these later normative sources are not mentioned in earlier normative sources. For example, many details regarding collation in our manuscript corpus are more accurately represented in *al-Jāmi‘* while the earlier source of al-Rāmāhurmuzī (d. 360/971) does not deal with them in detail. Regarding the insertion of omissions in the margins, al-Rāmāhurmuzī suggests a practice that is different from what is actually traced in the manuscripts. This practice found in the manuscripts is coherent with the knowledge presented by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ. For instance, for marking the end of insertions in the margin, al-Rāmāhurmuzī suggests writing a word from the text after the missed part at the end of the insertion in the margin.²¹⁹ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, however, disapproves of this practice and suggests writing *ṣahḥ* at the end of the insertion.²²⁰ In some examined manuscripts, the insertion is marked with *ṣahḥ*, which is coherent with al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ. Thus, fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth-century normative sources can help understand earlier third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century scribal practices. That the late normative sources describe older practices suggests that the authors who wrote about such scribal practices were often more conservative in their own approach. The authors of the normative sources, namely al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, describe practices that were no longer fashionable in their own time. The first part of this thesis is dedicated to the paratext, which includes the title page, introductory section, and colophon. The second part of this thesis focuses on the elements of clarity and correctness. This includes practices such as keeping constructions together, collation, providing diacritical points, the *ihmāl* sign, and vocalization. The cancellation of dittographies, the insertion of omitted elements, and the measures undertaken to correct mistakes and prevent misinterpretation in the text are also discussed in this part.

As elaborated in chapter 4, the normative sources can be very useful in understanding elements that relate to clarity and correctness, such as, the collation also marked with dots or lines inside the circles drawn as “text dividers.” Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī explains that scholars of *ḥadīth* initially left these circles free. After the collation of a particular section of *ḥadīth*, they then put a

²¹⁹ Al-Rāmāhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 606-7.

²²⁰ Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā‘*, 162-3.

dot or line inside the circle.²²¹ I have come to understand that marking these circles with dots or lines is a part of the collation process when we see, in some specimens from both the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries, that some marked circles are also accompanied by the expression *balagha* next to them in the margin. This solidifies our understanding that marking circles was for the purpose of indicating collation.

However, even in the study the elements of clarity and correctness, analyzing manuscript evidence remains essential and the most important method for actually understanding scribal practice in the third/ninth-fourth/tenth century. Examining manuscript specimens reveals specific details that the normative sources do not discuss; some of the marks used for the *ihmāl* in the manuscripts are not presented in the normative sources, as shown in section 4.2.2.

The normative sources are efficient tools to help us in our analysis of the elements of clarity and correctness. However, this is not the case for the paratexts. The study of the paratexts has depended on an analysis of the actual manuscripts. Both the paratexts and the elements of clarity and correctness are primarily analyzed by focusing on specific details of the actual manuscripts.

Most elements of scribal practice discussed in my thesis that were in use in the third/ninth century continued to the fourth/tenth century. However, one practice that was discontinued was the use of a connecting line which referred to an omitted insertion in the margin, as discussed in chapter 4.5.

In addition, some practices are noticed in the fourth/tenth century-manuscripts which do not appear in third/ninth-century specimens. For instance, book titles became embellished from the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, with titles such as *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, as discussed in section 2.1.2.6. Colophons from the fourth/tenth century, especially in the first half of it, tend to include more details than colophons from the third/ninth century. For example, a fourth/tenth century colophon indicates not only the date of copying, which contains the part of the day, the day of the week, the day of the month, and the year, but also historical context of when the manuscript was copied, as elaborated in chapter 3.3. Furthermore, writing a statement at the end of the manuscript to indicate that the collation was executed begins to appear from the second half of the fourth/tenth century. This practice was not observed in any of our third/ninth century manuscripts as discussed in chapter 4.3.

²²¹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi'*, 1: 273.

Moreover, the second half of the fourth/tenth century witnessed discernible developments with regards to the elements of clarity and correctness. A combination of two marks were used to indicate the *muhmal* letters (especially the *sīn* and the *ṣād*), as explained in section 4.2.1.2.5. The use of a mark which consists of the *khā'* and *fā'* خف (*khiff* or *khaffa*) above a letter to emphasize that the consonant is not geminated also appeared in the same period, as discussed in section 4.2.2.2. One manuscript shows that *taḥwīq* (“drawing a semicircle around the first and last words that are to be deleted”) was used in cancellation during time frame, as shown in chapter 4.4.

Regarding geographical developments, the only remarkable feature is the different dotting of the *fā'* and *qāf* in the *Maghribī* and the *Andalusī* manuscripts under examination. In contrast to the conventional use of *fā'*, the *fā'* in those manuscripts are written with a single point underneath the *fā'*. The *qāf* in the *Maghribī* and the *Andalusī* manuscripts are written like the regular *fā'*, i. e. with a single point above the letter, as elaborated in section 4.2.1.1.

The production of Arabic manuscripts can be studied in various ways. So far, most studies have chosen either to focus on the literature that speaks about scribal practice or through the study of manuscripts. The present study takes into account both kinds of sources. My research only focuses on two aspects of scribal practice from manuscripts dating to the third-fourth/ninth-tenth centuries, the elements of the paratext and the elements relating to clarity and correctness. Other aspects of scribal practice also deserve separate investigation in the future. Our specimens show evidence of the Abbasid book hand or the “new style” as well as the *naskh* script. In the fourth/tenth century, these scripts continued to be used.²²² The scripts of third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century manuscripts can be a fruitful topic of future study.

The page layout of third/ninth-fourth/tenth-century manuscripts can also be a rewarding avenue for scholarly research. This work could deal with such elements as the ruling (the use of the *miṣṭarah*), the writing of headings and how these headings are distinguished from the text body, and the use of catchwords. A question that is worth asking in this regard is whether the topic of a manuscript has any implications on its layout. Finally, one could also compare scribal practices in early manuscripts with later ones or Qur'ānic manuscripts with non-Qur'ānic manuscripts.

²²² See appendix 1.

6. Bibliography

6.1. Manuscripts

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7. Illustrations

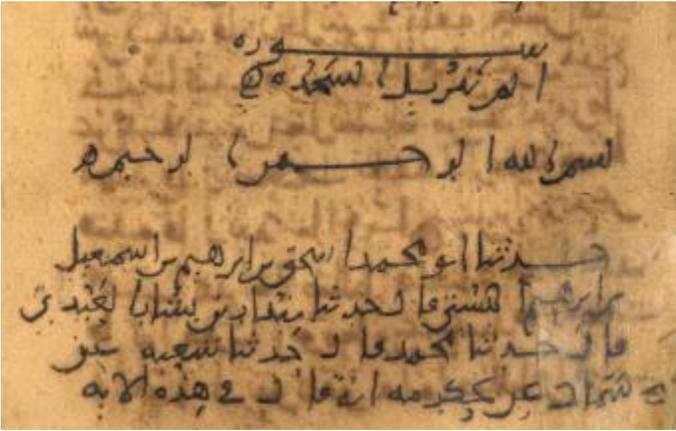
7.1. Illustrations of core corpus chapter



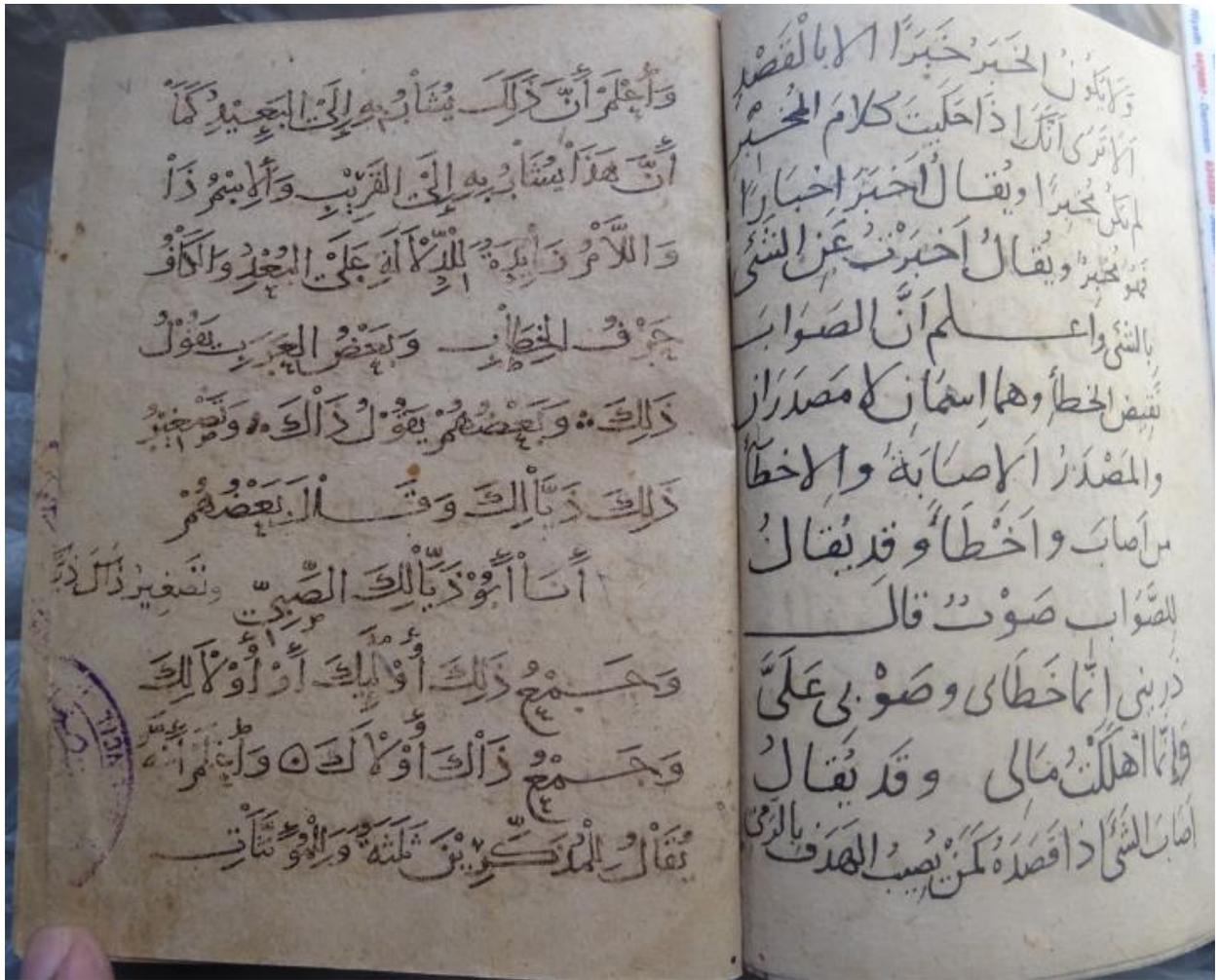
Illus. 2.1. MS DK 41 Uşul Fiqh, fol. 35r: different users dealt with the text.



Illus. 2.2. MS BA 233 in a glass box.

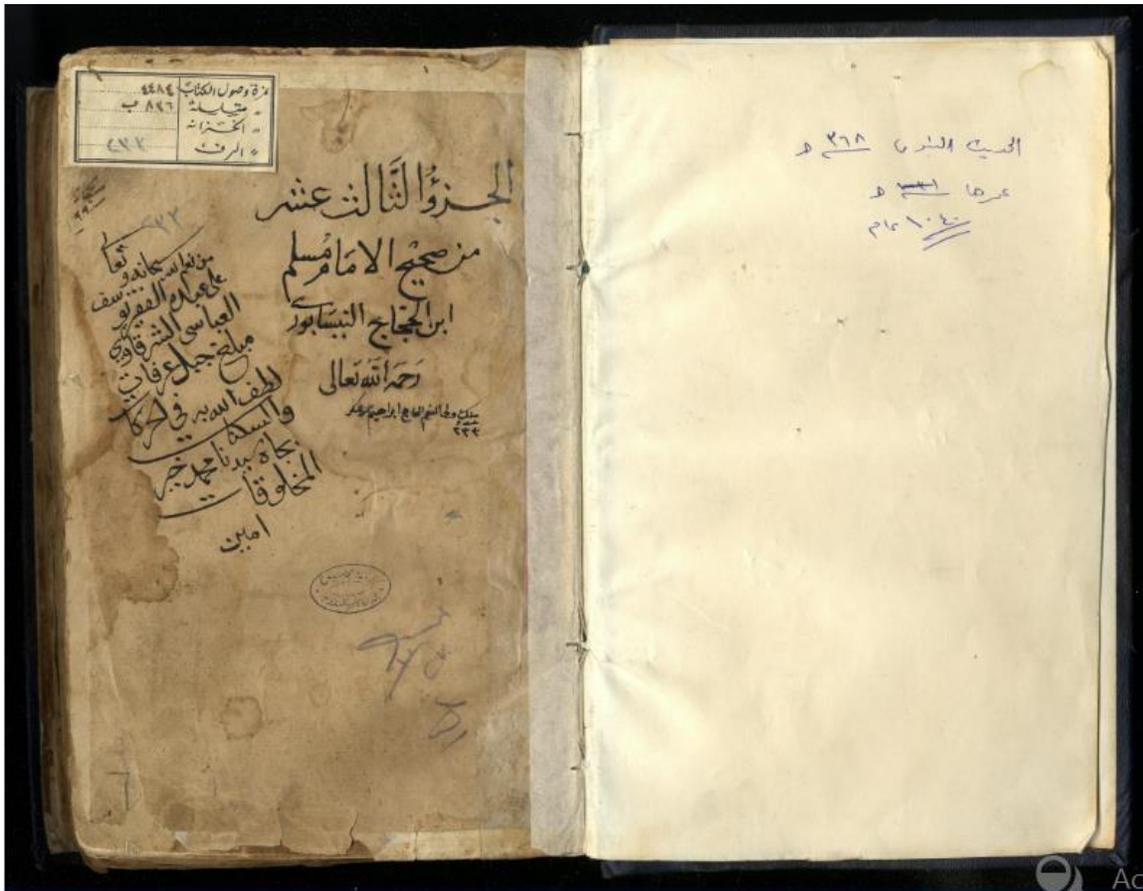


Illus. 2.3. MS BA 233, fol. 115r.



Illus. 2.4. MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 6v-7r: two different hands.

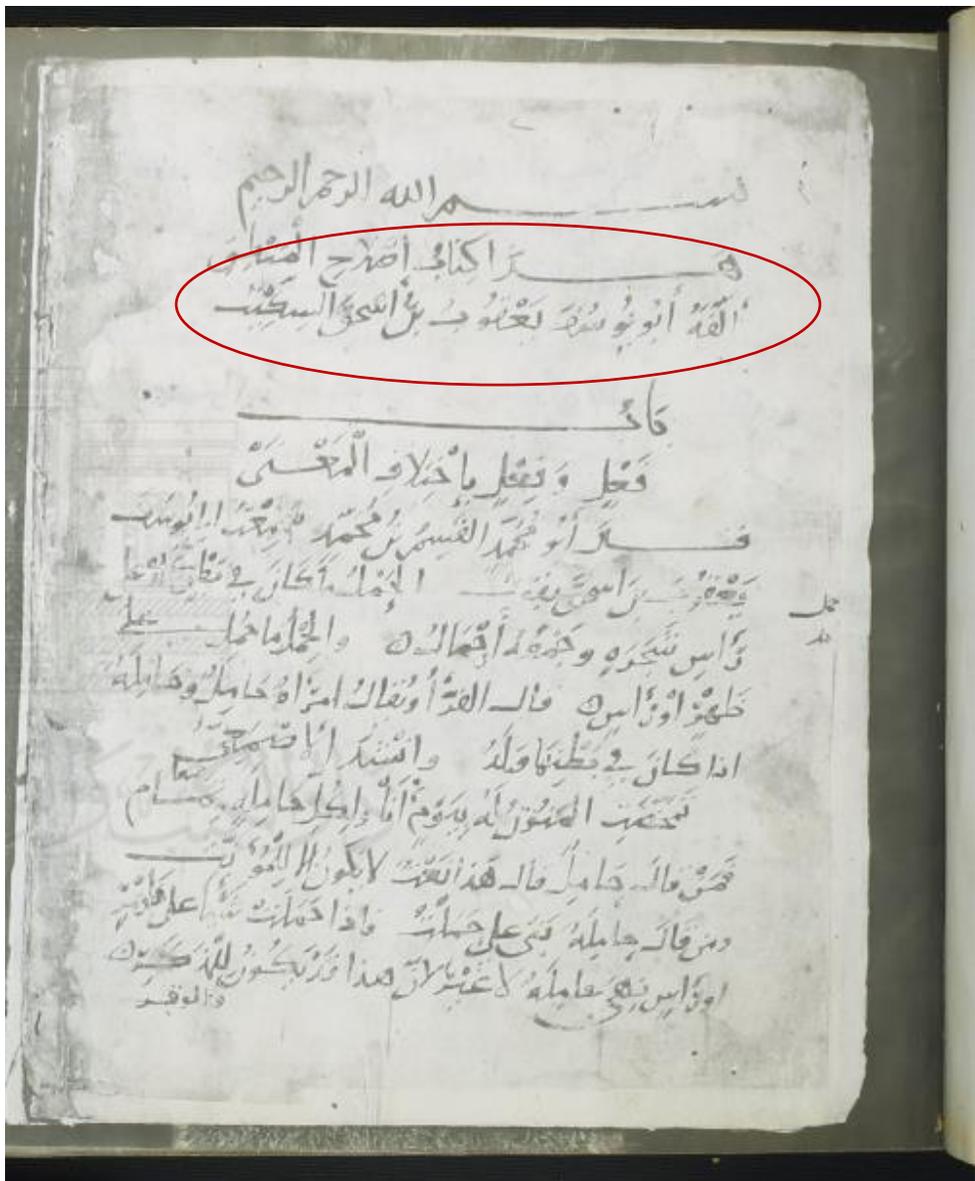
7.2. Paratexts



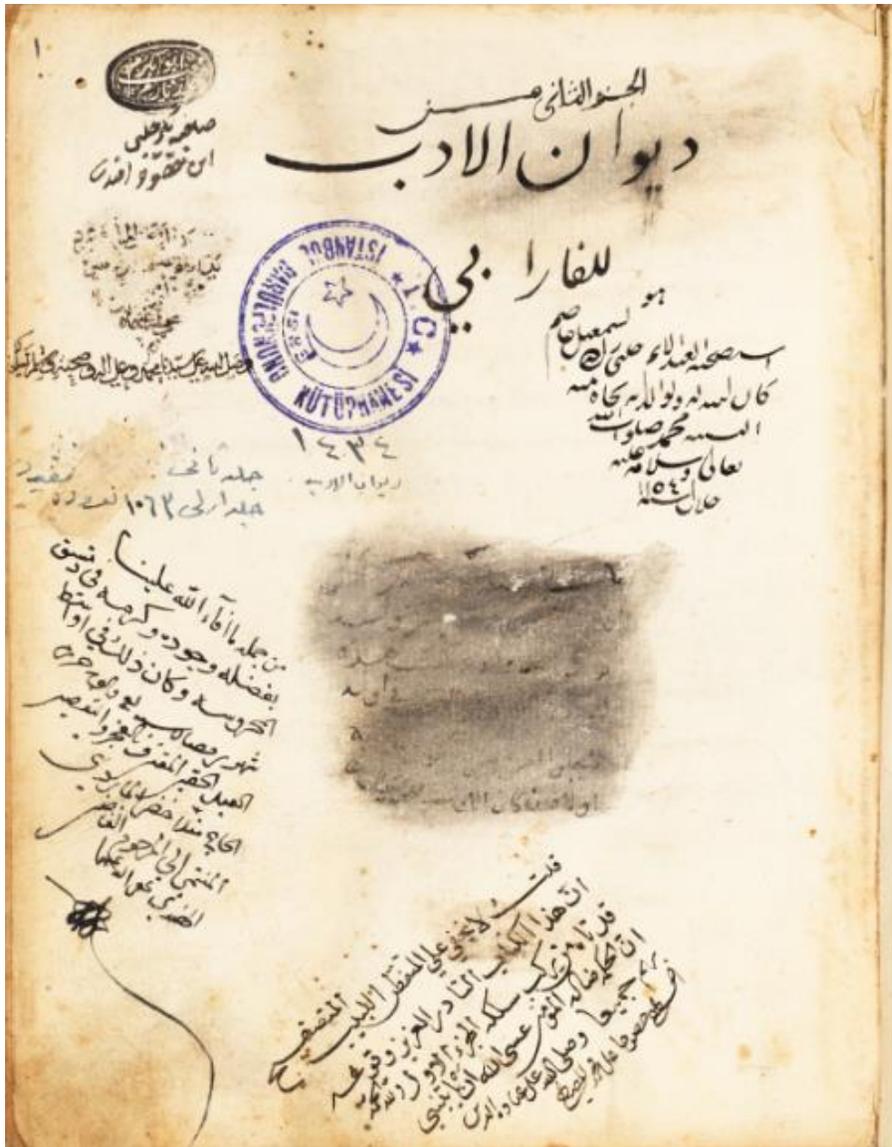
Illus. 3.1: the title page that is provided by mistake to MS BA 233.



Illus. 3.2: MS BA 233, fol. 1v-2r: the beginning of the manuscript.



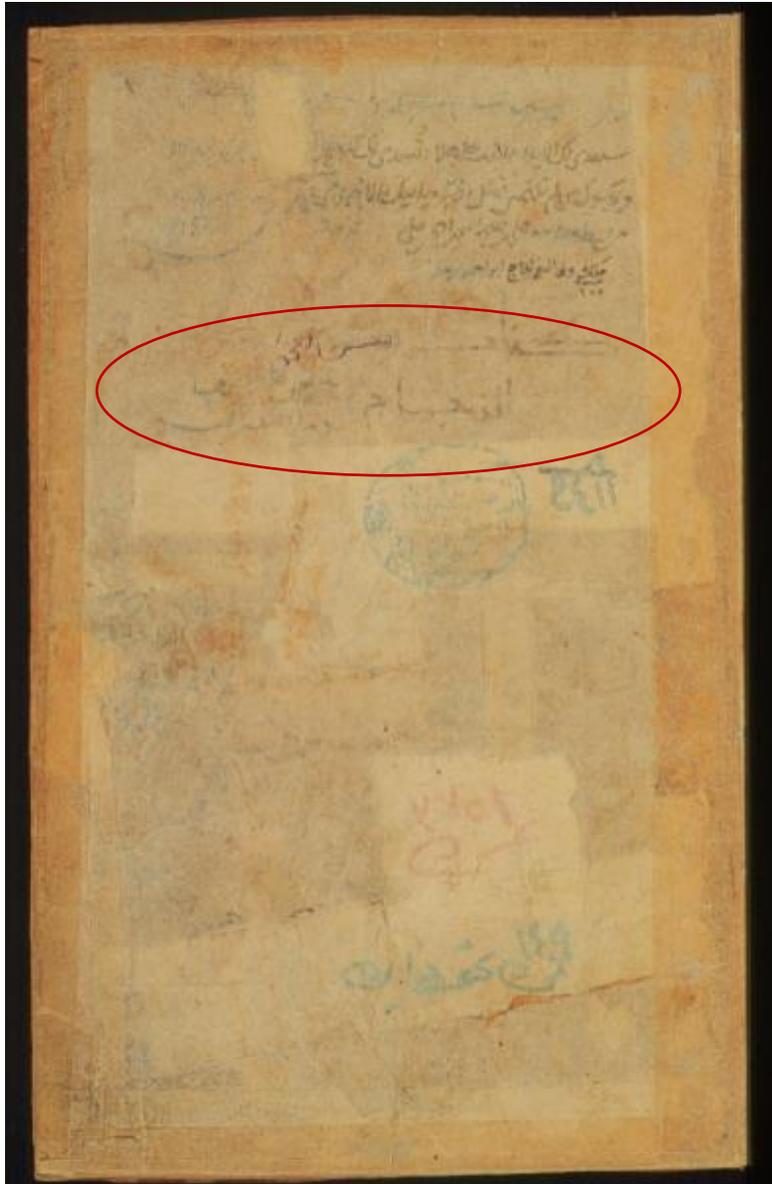
Illus. 3.3: MS, DK 6155 Hā', fol. 1v, Microfilm copy: the title and the author's name in the preface.



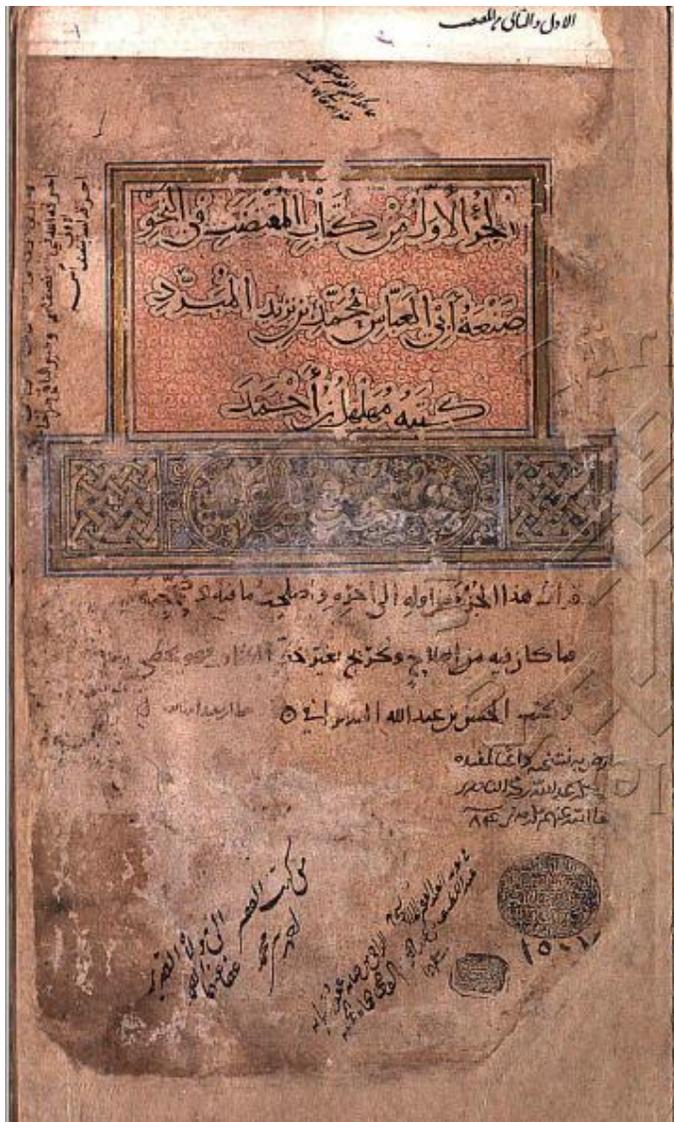
Illus. 3.4: MS IUL A 1434, fol. 1r.

و انبت جيز بهوه الجبل والجن الكسب ابي جيز واجهده فالجيز والجد ابي نزل
 وحيوه فالجيز ابي كسفة فالكشف ورجوه فائز جيز ايهام فانهن واسد بقية
 اذا استوع بعض الاستماع واستد الشجرة ابي اسدل واستعد مقد من اسه عن السج
 ابي الخس واشتق عتته ابي ثقب جفتها واشتق ملاعب واستجهر الغرس اذا استوع
 سبه وصهه تة الشمس فانتبهن ابي اذ ابنة ذاب وعصوه فانحصه وانجهر ابي لجر
 بالتراب من العبر وهو وكحة الاخر **و** قال وتبري الضب حقيما مابنا نانا برثة مابعير
 وامانة ظبه شيفه فاعبر من العبر واعمر به ايا ابي اعمر وخجامة العبر فاعبرت
 ابي جستها فاعبرت وفلمه فانطبا ابي شقة فاستوق وانطبا اللز وعينه بالويرة واعبر
 فوة ابي افترت عليه الثوب فانقذ وقشيرة فانقش وانكذ بقية واذا استوع
 بعض الاستماع **و** قال دوا اليرمة بصف الثور والكلاب فانصاع جابنة الوحشي وانكذت
 ياجت لا انا الطلاب والطلب **و** انكذت الخوم ابي نائوت وكسرة فاكسب
 وانهم ايا ابي سال **و** مجزة فالجيز واجت ابي الجار **و** جسا ايا فانتجس ابي مجزة
 فانتجس وطمسة فانتجس ابي مجاه فانتجس في ايا فانتجس وقسمة فانتجس مناله
 وانكذت في ابي دخل وانكذت ابي انكب وانهم سوا ابي استبق **و** انكذت
 الغرس ابي اسوع يسيبه **و** الخمص الجذع اذا استكس وزنه **و** خفصة فاختص
 وقبضة فاختص وانقذ صوا ابي ذجوا **و** الخوط الغرس يسيبه ابي لجر وانكذت
 الجبل ابي نساظا وبه وانكذت ابي نزل **و** اندلع لسانة ابي جيز وانذرع ابي ندم
 ودفوه فاندفع وانذرع الغرس ابي اسوع يسيبه وانذرع ابي الجديش واسلع
 ابي اشق **و** قال من بارو جيزه ودام فاسلع **و** قشعيت البرخ السحاب
 فاسلع وقلعة فانتلع وانكذت الرطب سبه وقلعة فانتلع وانكذت جيزه

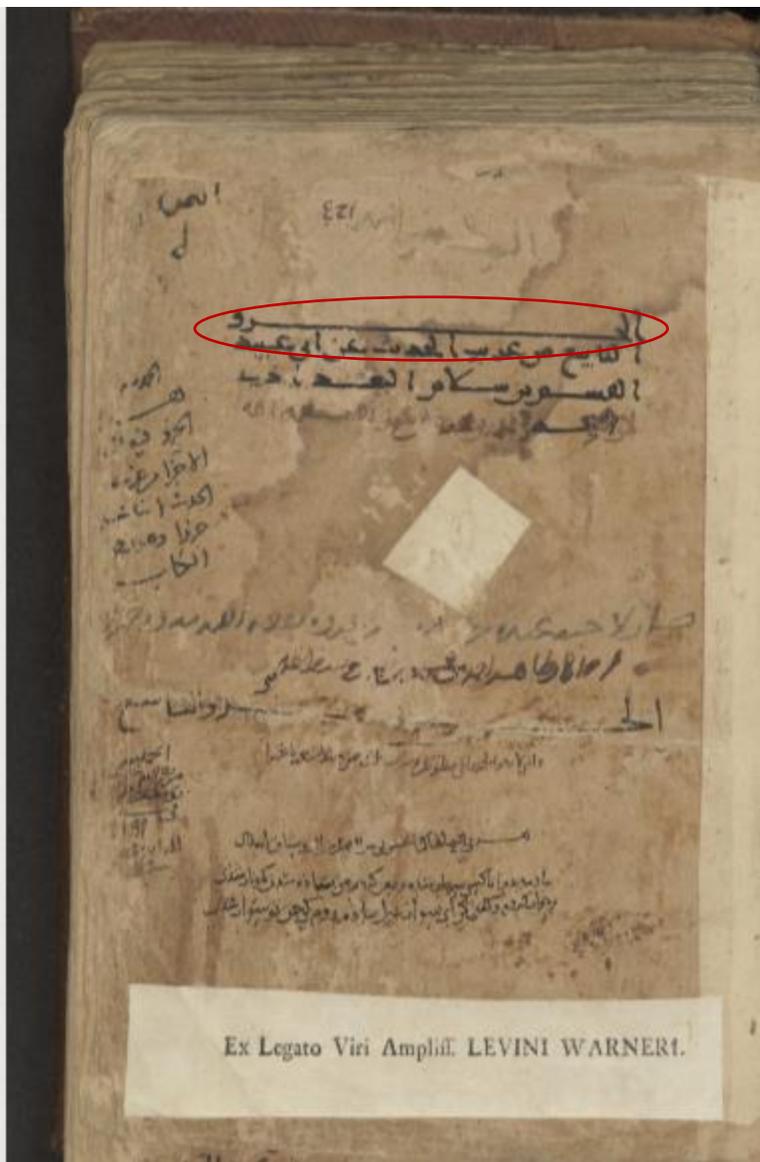
Illus. 3.6: MS IUL A 1434, fol. 2r.



Illus. 3.8: MS DK 149 Nahw, fol. 1r: most of the title has become illegible.



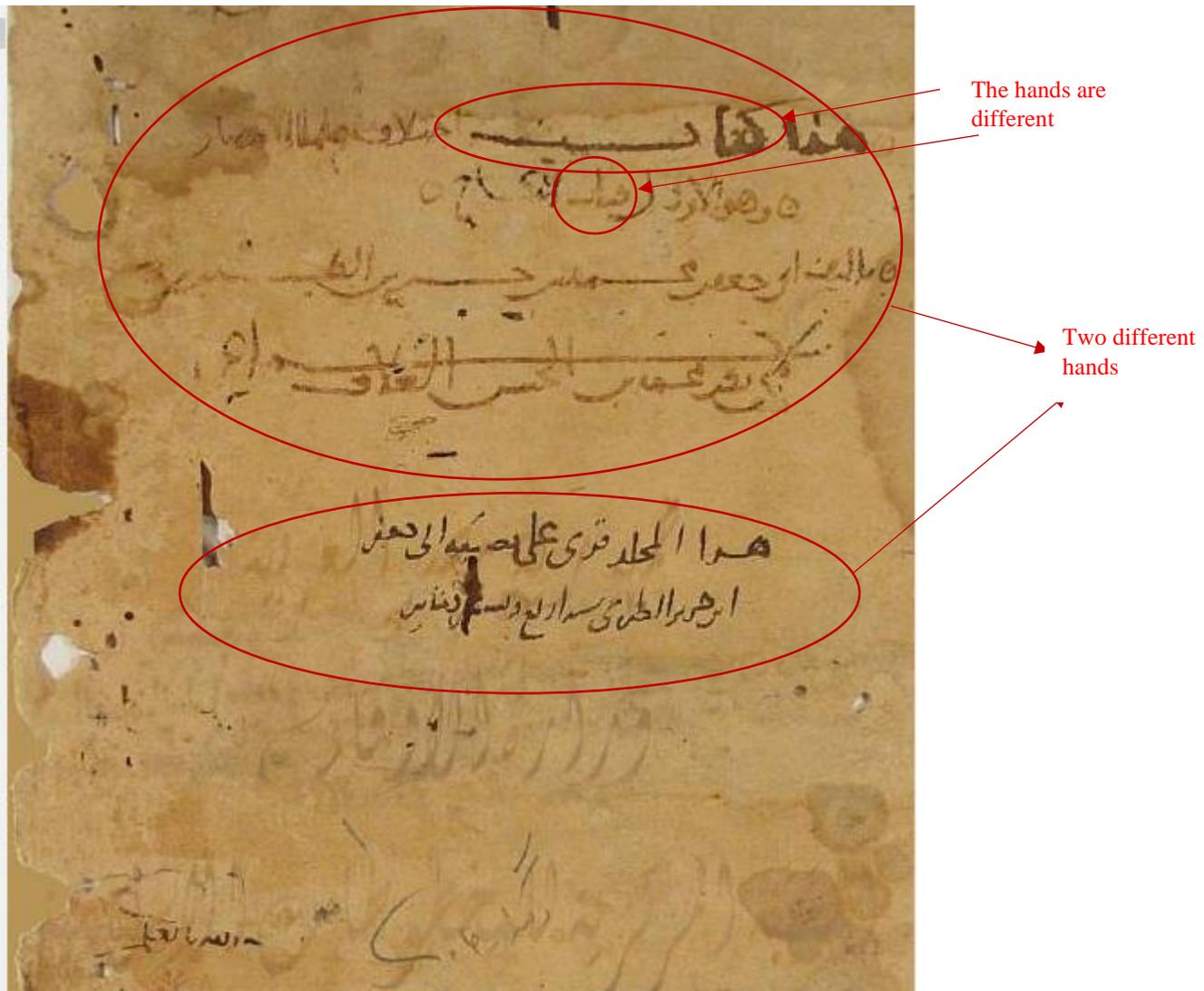
Illus. 3.9: MS Fazil 1507, fol. 1r: the title page.



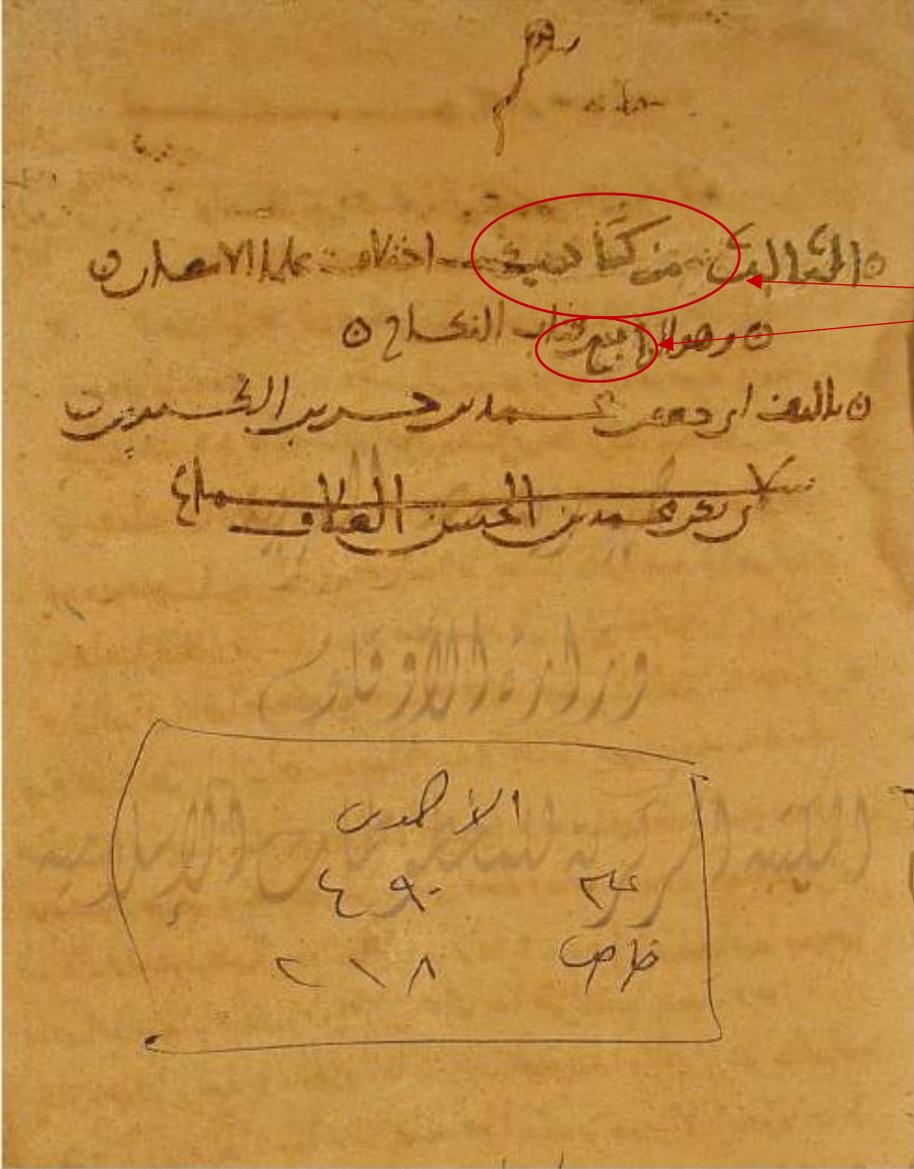
Illus. 3.10: MS UL Or. 298, fol. 1r: the word *al-juz* is elongated.



Illus. 3.11: MS DK 852 Tawhīd, fol. 1r.



Illus. 3.12. MS MMMI 44, part 1, fol. 1r: the title page of part 1.



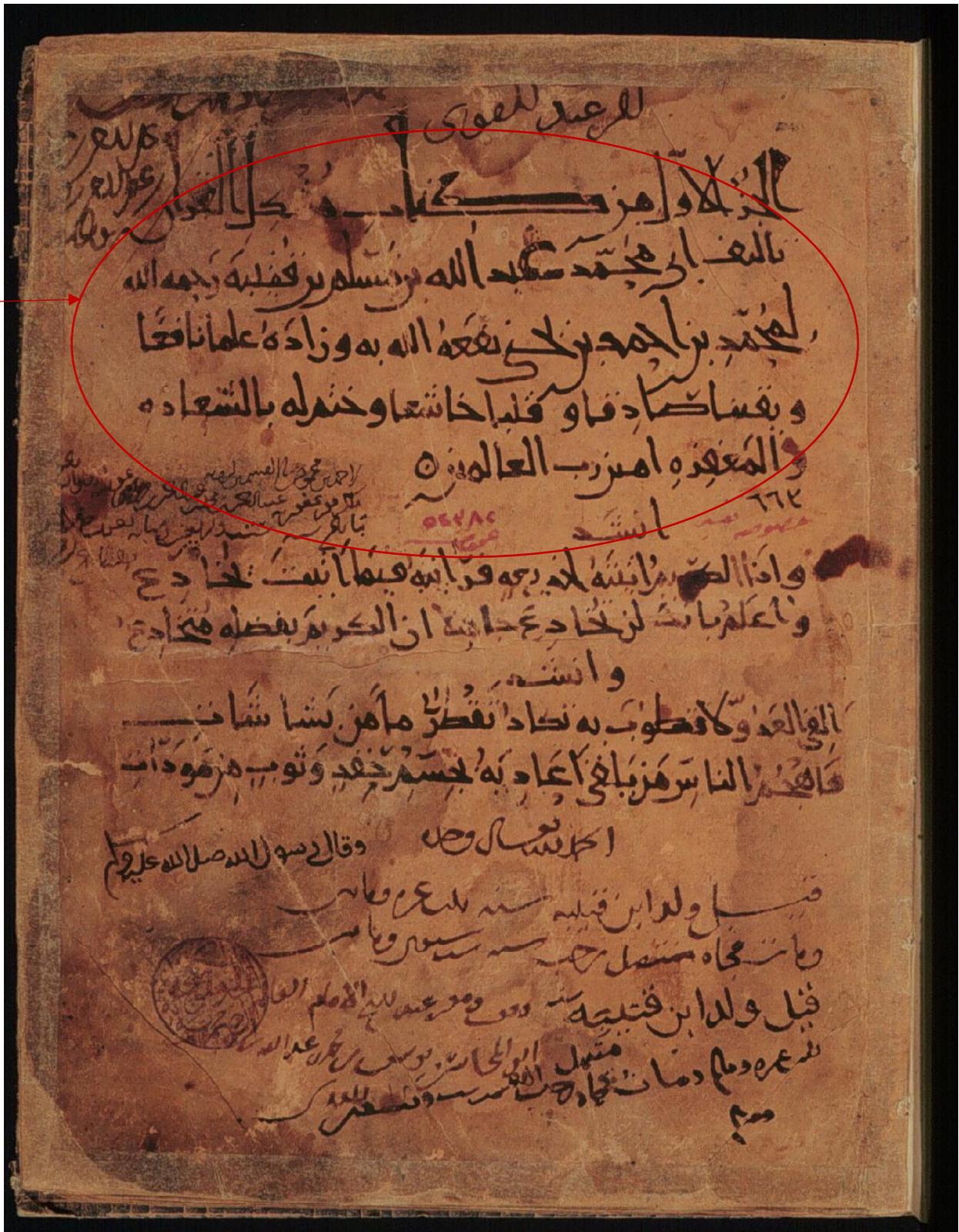
The hand is different

Illus. 3.13: MS MMMI 44, part 3, fol. 1r: the title page of part 3.



Illus. 3.17: MS DK 139 Naḥw, part 3, fol. 1r: title page.

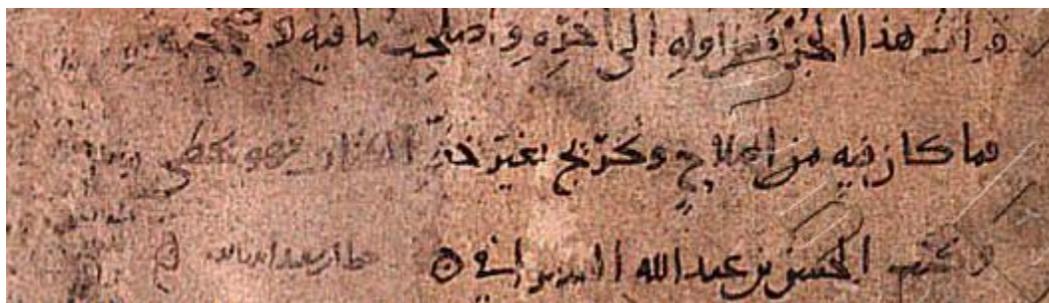
Title,
author,
and the
copyist



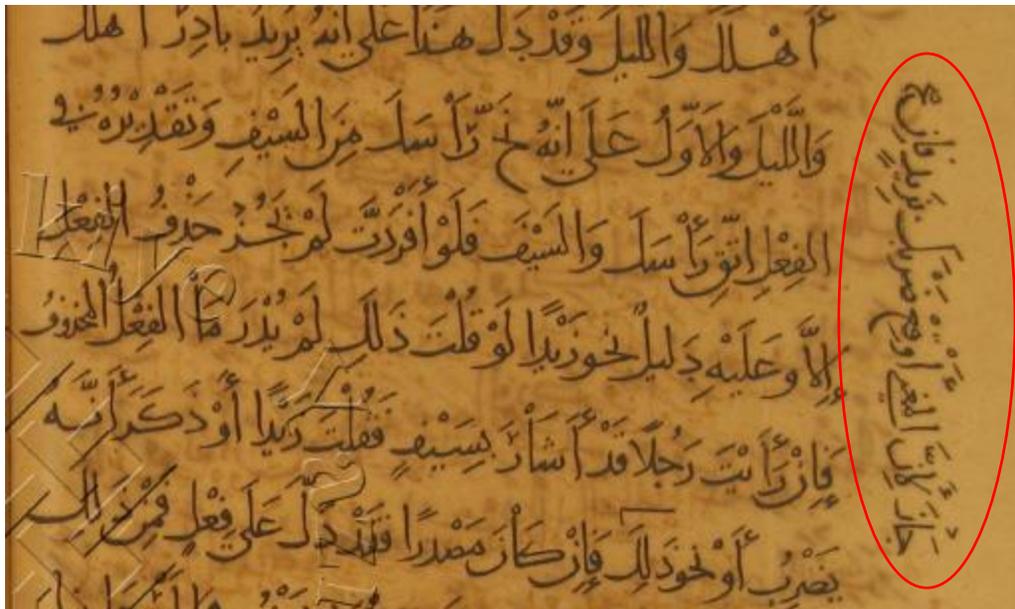
Illus. 3.18: MS DK 663 Tafsir, the title page (without numbering).



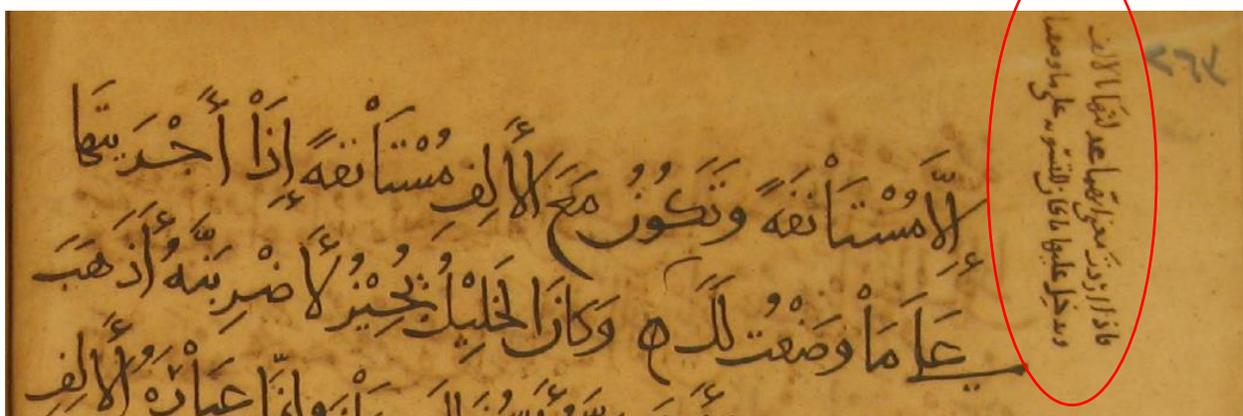
Illus. 3.19: MS Reis 904, fol. 1r.



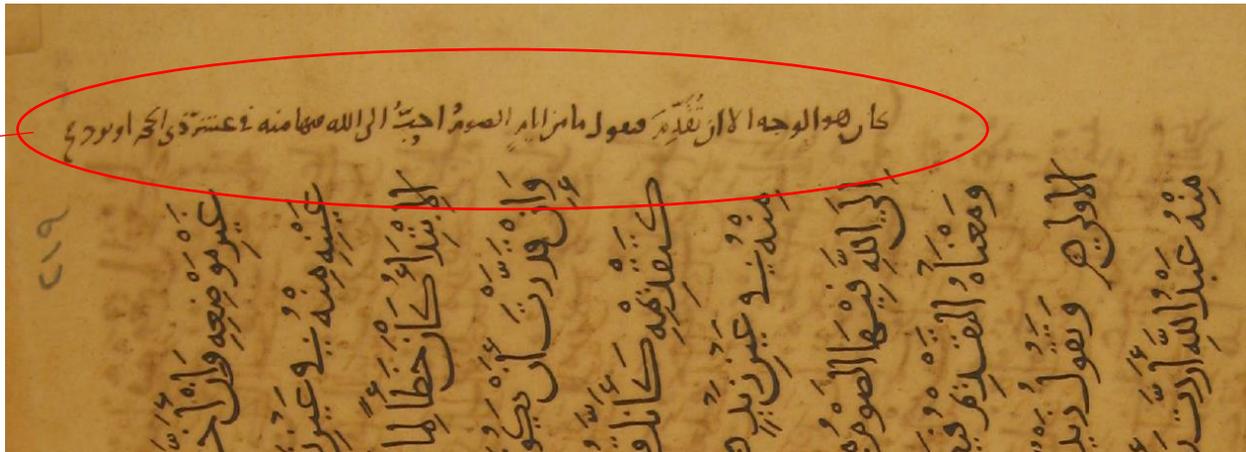
Illus. 3.20: MS Fazil 1507 fol. 1r: note by al- Sīrāfi on the title page.



Illus. 3.21: Fazil 1508 fol. 97v: an insertion of omission in the same hand as the text body, thus, not the hand of al-Sīrāfī.

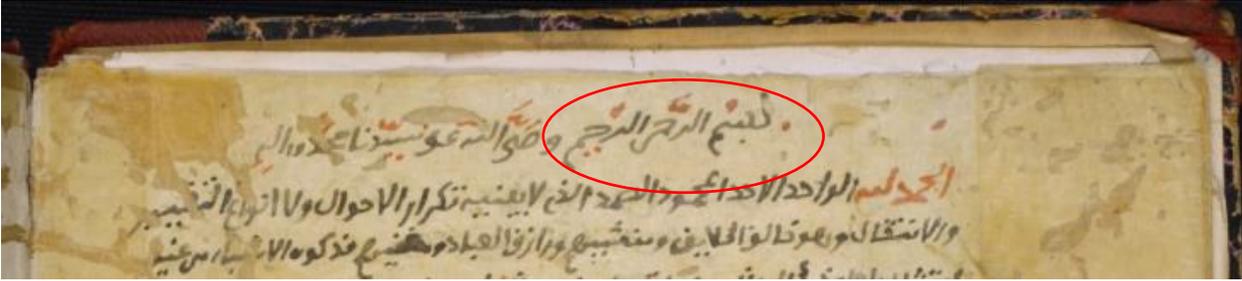


Illus. 3.22: MS Fazil 1508 fol. 132 v: an insertion of omission in the hand of al-Sīrāfī. This is because this insertion of omission is different from the hand of the text, but similar to al-Sīrāfī’s hand as seen in illus. 3.20.

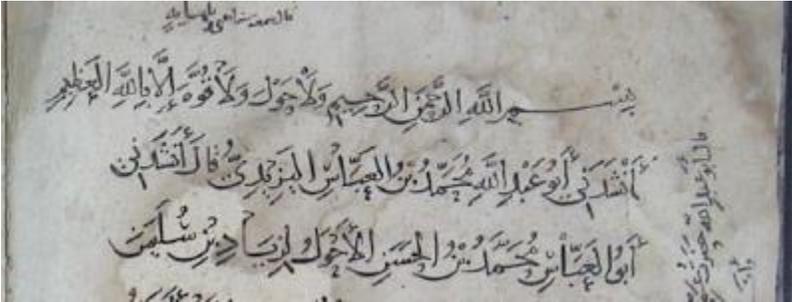


The hand of al-Sīrafi

Illus. 3.23: MS Fazil 1508 fol. 110 v; Illus. 3.22: MS Fazil 1508 fol. 132 v: an insertion of omission in the hand of al-Sīrafi as it is different from the text body’s hand and similar to al-Sīrafi’s hand when comparing to his note in illus. 3.20.



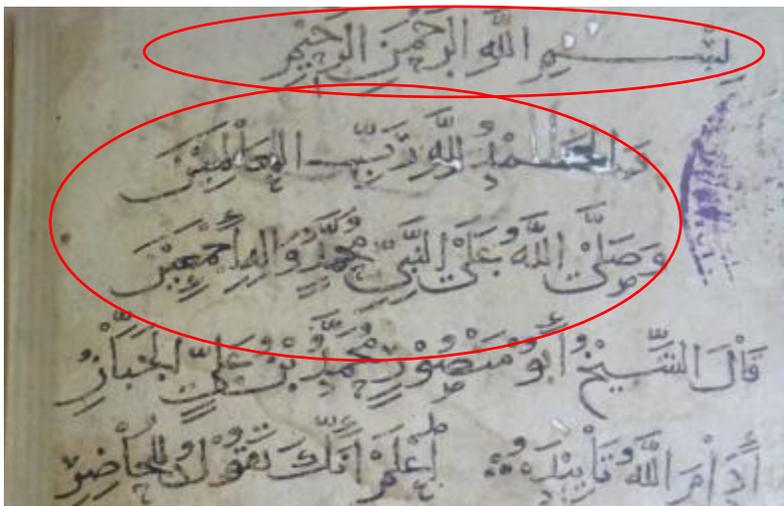
Illus. 3.24: MS DK 19598 Bā’, fol. 1v: the *basmalah* without “Allāh.”



Illus. 3.25: MS Reis 904, fol. 1v.



Illus. 3.26: MS Şehid 1842, fol. 1v: the *basmalah* is divided into two lines, and the *sīn* is very close to the *bā*'.



Illus. 3.27: MS MRT 37 Lughah, fol. 1v.

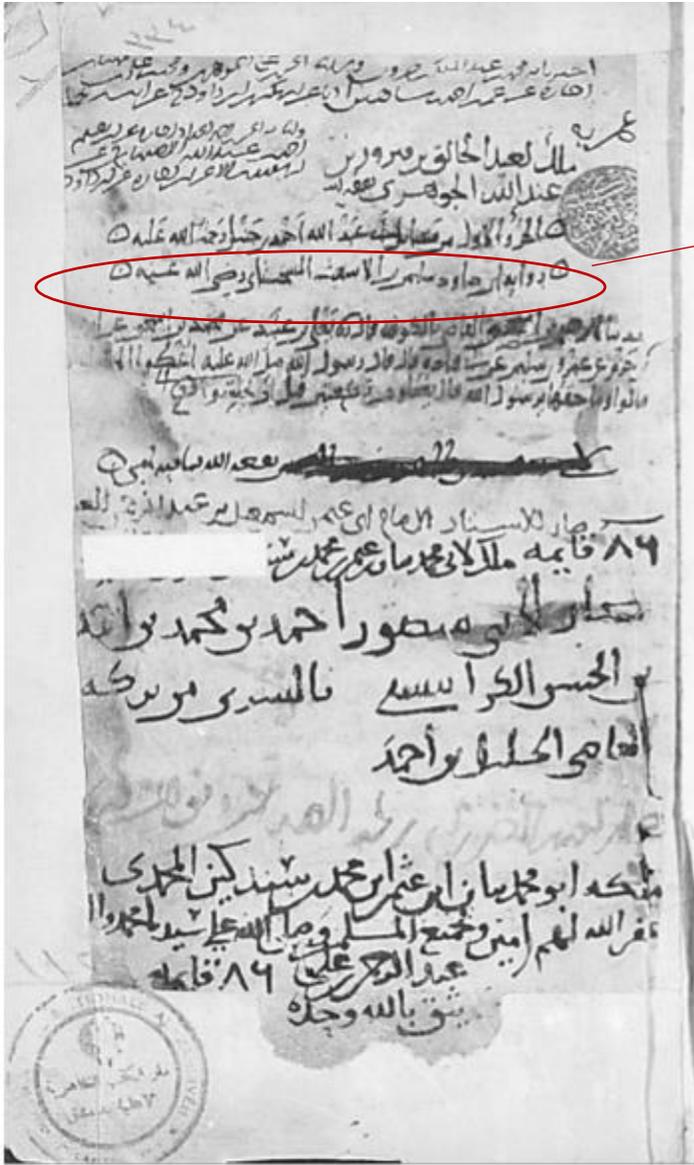


Illus. 3.28: MS MMMI 44, part 3, fol. 1v.



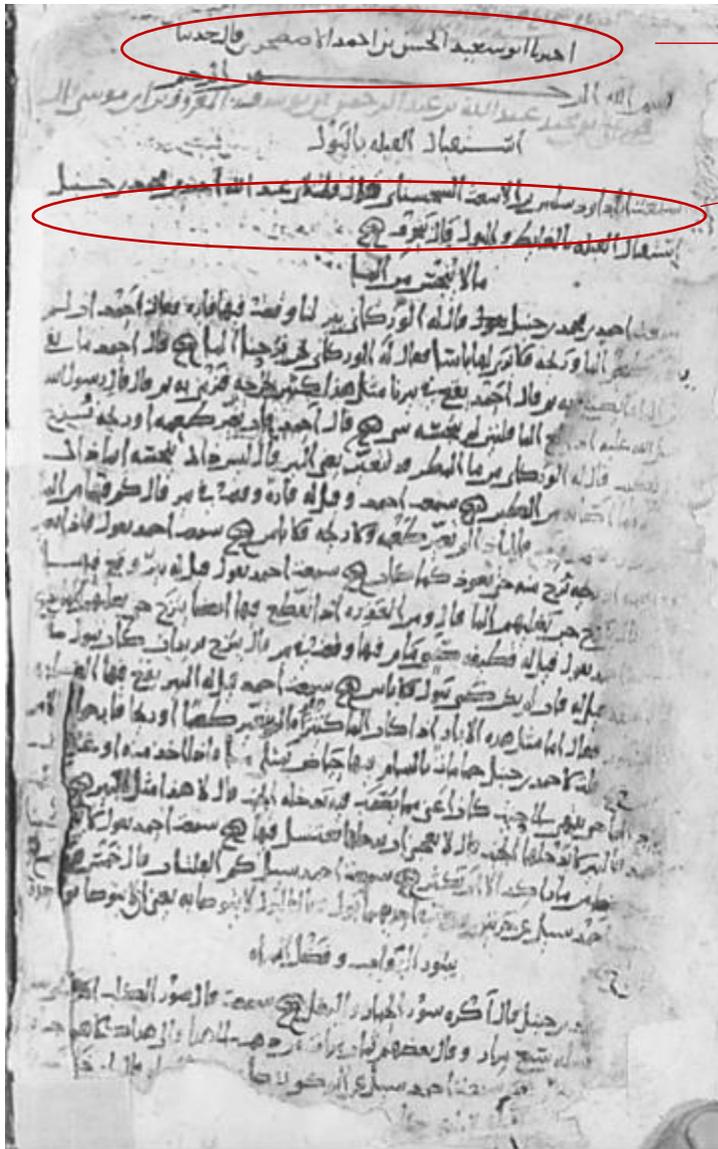
the
isnād

Illus. 3.29: MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol. 6v.



A remark by the transmitter of the book.

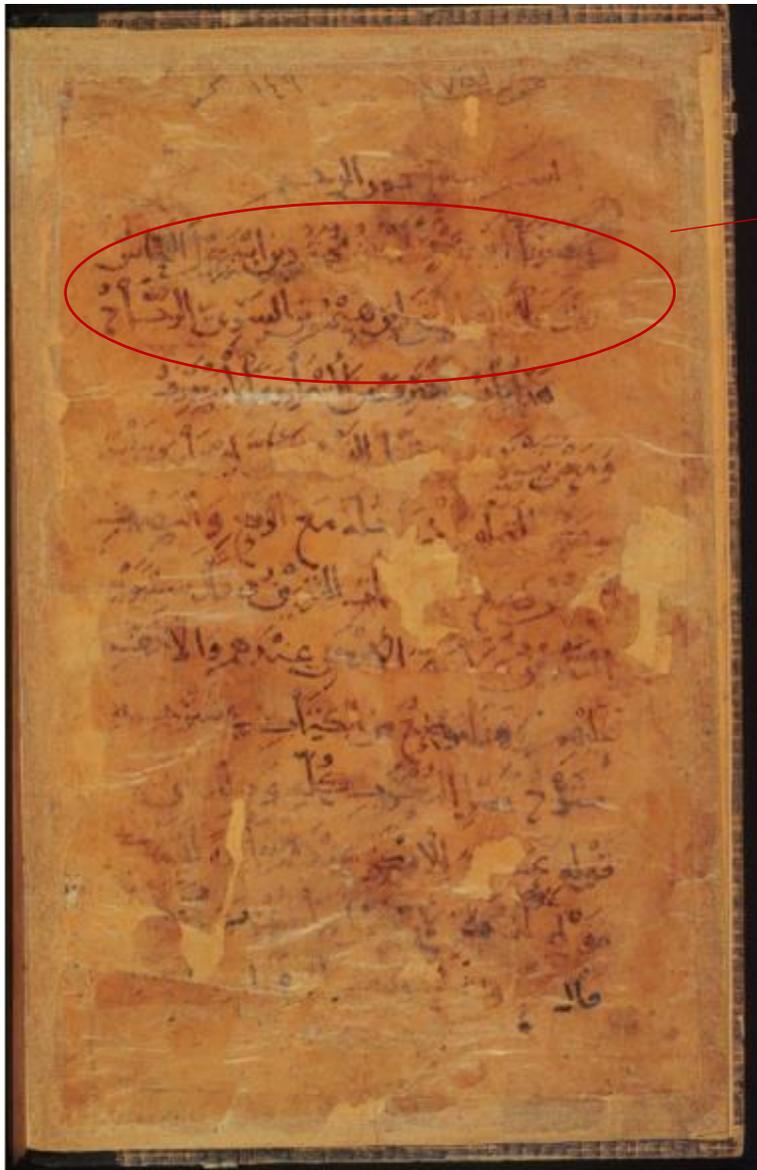
Illus. 3.30: MS ANL1125, fol. 1r.



the *isnād* before the *basmalah*

the *isnād* after the *basmalah* linked to the first theme

Illus. 3.31: MS MAW 1125, fol. 1v.



the
isnād

Illus. 3.32: MS DK 149 Nahw, fol. 1v.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي جعل لنا سبيل الرشاد وهدانا بنور الكتاب ولم يجعل
له عوجا بل نزله قريبا مفصلا بينا آياته الباطنة والظاهرة من سره ولا من
خلقه وشرقه وكثرته ورقعه وعظمته وشمائه وجوارحه
وسفناه وهدى ونورا وقطع منه بمعجز النافع أطعام الكافرين
وأمانه بحسب النظر عن حيل المتكلمين وجعله مثلا لا ينزل على
طول التلاوة ومسموعا لا تجمه الأذان وعصا لا تخلو عما عثره
الرزق ويحسب الانتفض عما به ومفعد الانتفض فوائده وسبحه
سالف الكتب وجمع الكثير من معانيه في القليل من لفظه
وذلك في قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أو تثبت جو أمع
الكلمة فإن شئت أن تعرف ذلك فتدبر قوله كما العفو
وأمر بالعرف واعرض عن الجاهلين كيف جمع له بهذا الكلام
كل خلق عظيم لأن في أخذ العفو حلة القاطعين والصفح عن
الظالمين وإعطاء الماتعير وفي الأمر بالعرف تقوى الله و
صلة الرحم وصون الأسمان عن الكذب ونحو الطرف
عن الجرمات وإنما سمر هذا أو ما أشبهه عرفا ومعروفا
لأن كل غير مدققة وكل قلب يطمين إليه وفي الأعراس
عن الجاهلين الجحيم والجلل وتذرية المفتر عن مفاهاة السفيه
ومنانة عه الخوج ٥ وقوله إذ ذكر الأرض فقال أخرج منها
ماها ومرعاها كيف دل بتبيين على جميع ما أخرجت من
الأرض فواتها وصانع الانام من العشب والشجر والحجر
والنمر والعصف والمطبخ والنبات والنار والماء لأن الماء
من العبدان والماء من النبات سبيل أنه إذا ذكرا قول الله

Illus. 3.33: MS DK 663 Tafsiṛ, p. 1: part of the introductory section.



Illus. 3.34: MS DK 149 Nahw, fol. 98v: part of the preface, including the methodology.

هذا الكتاب من كتب علي بن ابي طالب
عليه السلام في الرد على الرداءة وسلك
طريق الحق والعدل في الرد على الرداءة
وهو كتاب اثنى عشر مائة من كتاب الماحين السنة وهو من كتاب
فقه ائمة فكتاب استاذ حنفية الماهل الذين يفتوا في العلم المسمى
بالحق عليه بالبرهان في الرد على الرداءة وهو من كتب
علم الكوفة واليهما ناس من كتب الاثر والعدوان
وزايد مع ذلك من كتب الموزة بخلاف الرداءة واضع الفقه في
غير موصوفان ذلك المعتزلة في شهرهم وهو من كتب الرداءة
فانهم خصال الرداءة وحشواها الاطمة انه من كتب الرداءة
المعتزلة واستقاموا وانذ عالمها ما واخاها وانها
ما اهل النظر والاحكام فكل علموا اجساد انهم
تعتبر الرداءة ولا حقوق الرداءة كان زمانا نانيا من
انها علم وحذرا من احد انهم حكمة الالهة منهم وتعلم من
اسماهم بل ان الرداءة منه وحذرا لانه ونعته المعتزلة
عنها وانما غيره من السقا تحمله العطف الذي دخله والرداءة
التي صاروا يعلم ان فض نفسه ناز وبعها واكتفاها كذا
عليها فيه ويحلي بالبرهان قولها وعاب بعضها بمذهب
هو نقول منها بل نقول بها ونفد اليها ولا نرى من
ينبغي من سفر صاحب الكتاب المعتزلة والعزب عليها
وزمها بالبرهان قولها وقد افندت في الرداءة
وابطال التوحيد وحذرا لمدونتهم العزب عليهم السلام
والا لله المار من وهو كتب مشهورة معتزلة
كتاب الرداءة الناح ابطال الرداءة الاحترام ونهاه
من علم ان الرداءة لا تورد الاله على ثوبه ولا في القول

Illus. 3.35: MS DK 852 Tawhīd, fol. 1v: part 1 of the introductory section.

دالة على ما قبله
 وقوله في حقه
 والاحوال وان مرتبه
 ومنها كتاب
 والحق في رزقهم فيه انه من امر من عباده واسبقهم في كل شيء
 فيما فعلهم ولا نطق لهم ولا حيز لهم وقد الله في حقهم
 والله ليس في حقهم من امر يعلمه في حقهم انه لا يبعد وان
 من كونه في عباد في النازل طول الابد سعة ما غير حكم
 واعلم بما في العباد على الذنوب ومنها كتاب
 يعرف بحساب الزمرد ذكر فيه الاما ابا عليهم السلام
 ابراهيم وبنو عيسى ومحمد صل الله عليهم فظفرو بها من حكم
 انها اعجاز يوم ان لا يدرى بها من غيرها محترقون ان العباد من حكم
 غير حكم وان فيه ما فيها وخطا وكلاما شريفا وحقا في ما
 ترجمه على الحمد خاصة بونه انه محمد صل الله عليه
 ومنها كتاب يعرف بحساب الاما بطعن فيه
 على المخلصين والاعزاز من حكم ان الله صل الله عليه استخلف عليهم
 زجلا بعينه واسمه ونسبه وامرهم ان يقدوه ولا يقدوا
 عليه وان يطيعوه ولا يعصوه فاحصوا جميعا الا في التبر
 حنيفة او سنة على ان ان الله اذ لا الرجل عن الموضع الذي وضعه
 فيه رسول الله صل الله عليه وانما يواخيره استحقاقا منهم
 بامر رسول الله صل الله عليه وانما يواخيره استحقاقا منهم
 فمن كان هذا قوله في رب العالمين في الانبياء والمرسلين وفي
 سلف الائمة الصالحين المتوسمين في شدة تعجب من سنة المعجزة
 وكثرة علمها وقد كذب على الله تعالى وعلى انبياء المرسلين
 وعلى اصحاب القاهرة مني وانا اعوذ بالله ذا شرمه
 كتابه وامنه عليه جزا حقا وشيئا حقا وشيئا حقا وشيئا حقا
 وكثرة احوالهم وبالله استعين

Illus. 3.36: MS DK 852 Tawhīd, fol. 2r: part 2 of the introductory section.



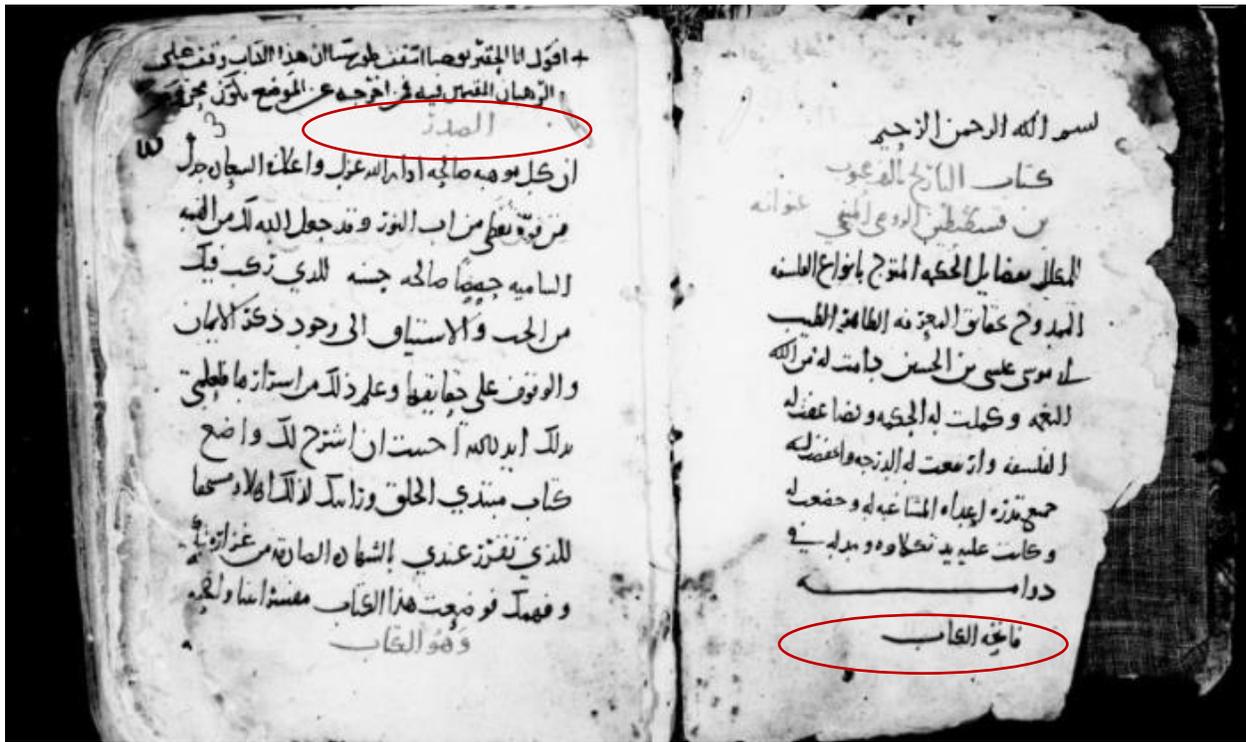
Illus. 3.38: MS Lal. 1905, fol. 1v, 2r.



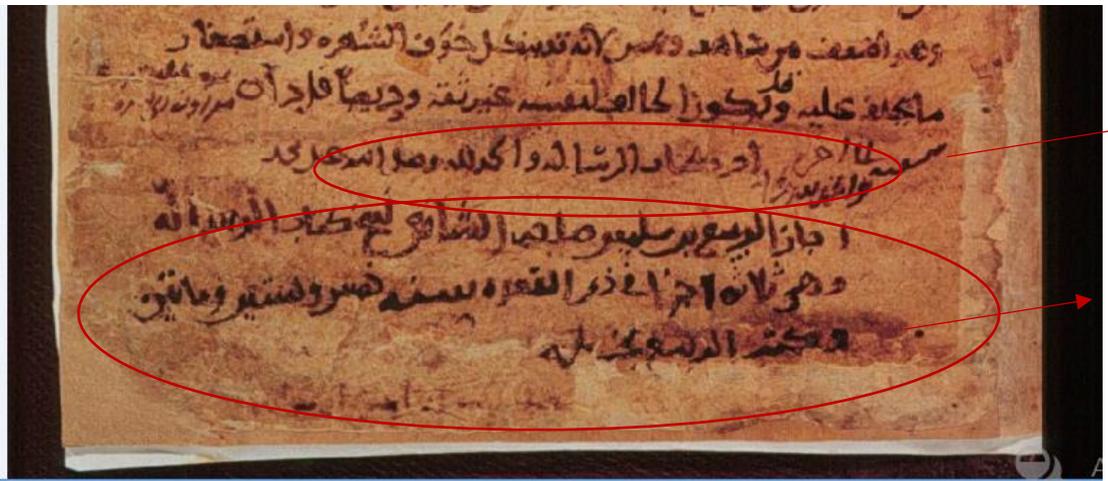
Illus. 3.39: MS Fazil 1541, fol. 1v, 2r.



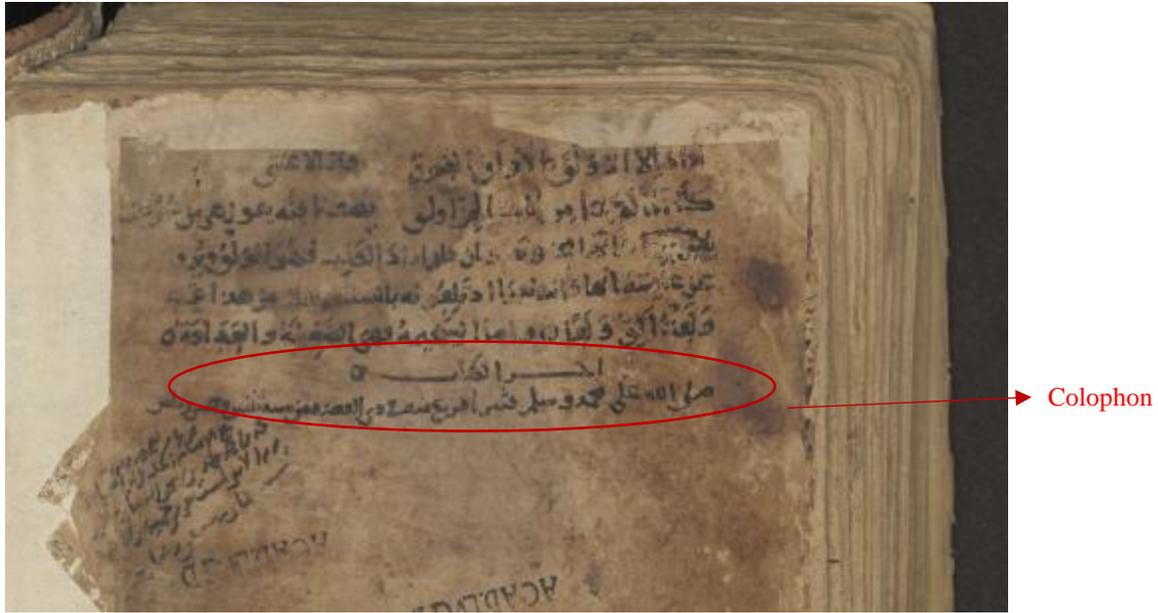
Illus. 3.40: MS Fazil 1541, fol. 2v, 3r.



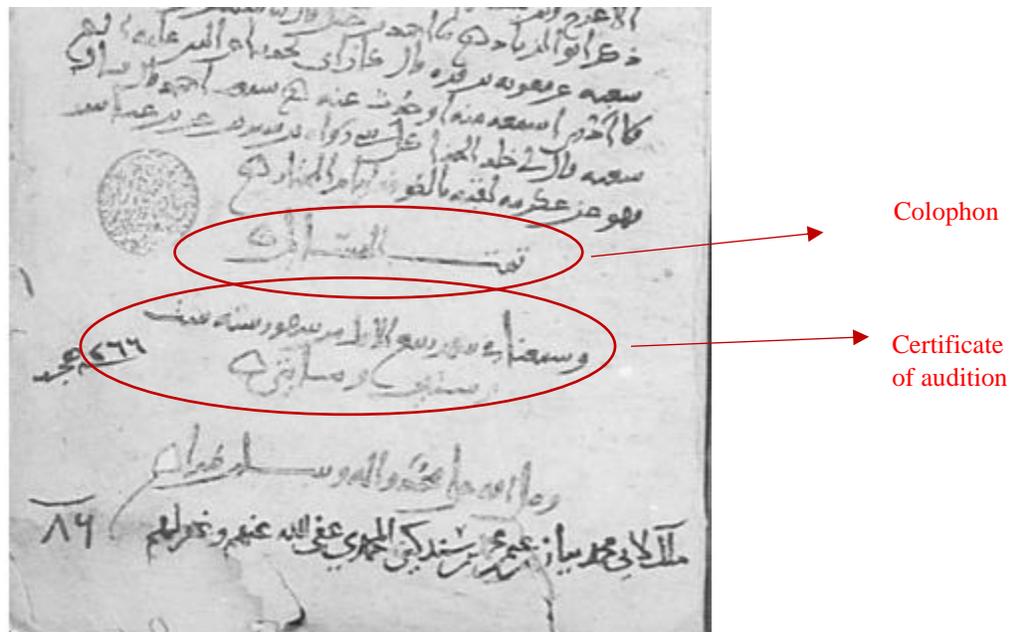
Illus. 3.41: MDSK Ar. 580, fol. 2v-3v.



Illus. 3.42: MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh, fol.75r: colophon and *ijāzat naskh* by al-Rabʿī.



Illus. 3.43: MS UL Or. 298: the colophon.



Illus. 3.44: MS MAW 1125, fol. 89r.

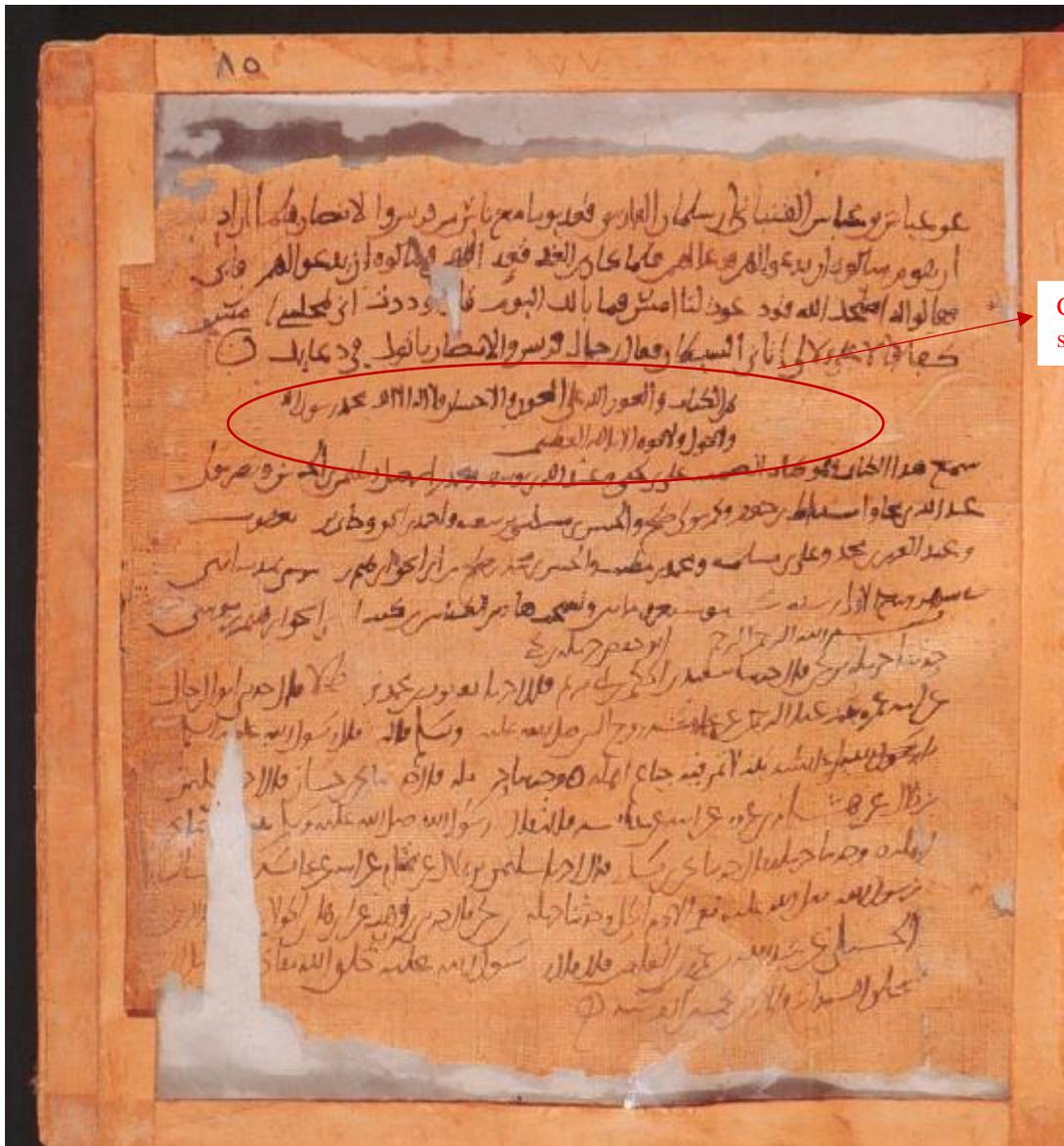
اهلها واما ابي دصه تترك فهو يقوم ليقه بلحقه الى الله من الذرير في التركيبات
 الخزوية الاذ فراد فان من غير انما له هذه الصا من واحد لم يتبع فيمن انبتة فينا
 فانما يتبع بذلك اذ اهو من الصا من غير انما له هذه الصا من واحد لم يتبع فيمن انبتة فينا
 تمت المقالة الاولى من كتاب الفصول
 خالصه في الطب في اللسان الخارجة عن الطبعه المعروف
 بكتاب العليل والاعراض التي ذكر فيها
 الخا من ذلك المجدى على عونه واحسانه
 من قبله من يد حنين بن اسحق المطيب
 والمهندس حمد السالك بن

Colophon of the section

من اهلها واما ابي دصه تترك فهو يقوم ليقه بلحقه الى الله من الذرير في التركيبات
 الخزوية الاذ فراد فان من غير انما له هذه الصا من واحد لم يتبع فيمن انبتة فينا
 فانما يتبع بذلك اذ اهو من الصا من غير انما له هذه الصا من واحد لم يتبع فيمن انبتة فينا
 تمت المقالة الاولى من كتاب الفصول
 خالصه في الطب في اللسان الخارجة عن الطبعه المعروف
 بكتاب العليل والاعراض التي ذكر فيها
 الخا من ذلك المجدى على عونه واحسانه
 من قبله من يد حنين بن اسحق المطيب
 والمهندس حمد السالك بن

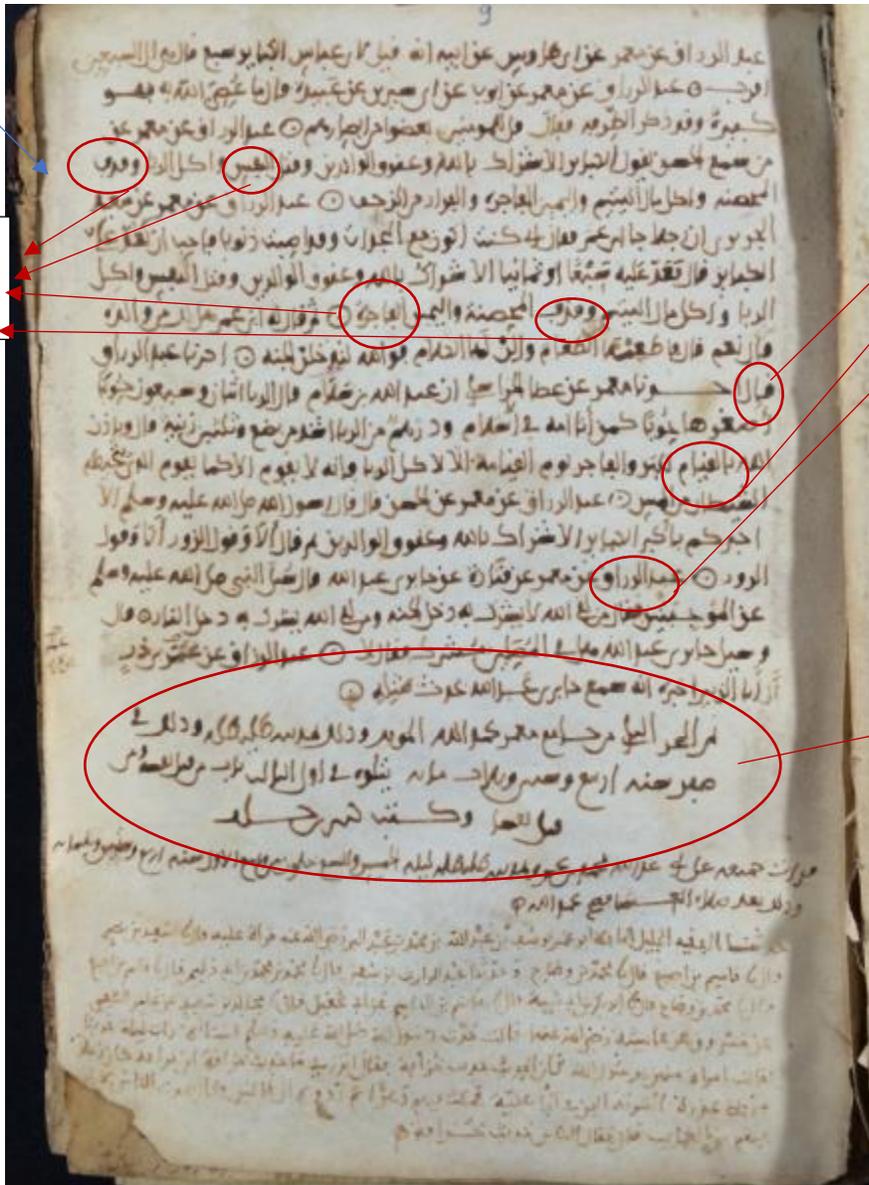
المقالة الثانية من كتاب الفصول في التوضيح في الاشياء الخارجة
 عن الطبيعه المعروف بكتاب العليل والاعراض التي ذكر فيها
 قال الفاضل في النور وقد ذكرت في هذه المقالة كما بلغ جميع الامراض البسطه
 المغزده وللجبه وشمها اجناسا وانواعا كثيرة ما نعتد من ذلك ان يذكر المشاب
 كل واحد منها ويصل متدا في ذلك من الاشياء البسطه المغزده التي تسمى بمشابهة
 الاجزاء فاحد بعد ذلك في ذكر الالحاظا التي كجه الحاشية ولانها قد ذكر
 بحسب الراي الذي يعتقد العظم الذي يقولون ان الجوهر الذي تحدث عنه الكون
 والفساد جوهر تسمى بعنقه بعضه وتغيره وتغيره من حال الى حال لا يحفظ
 كل من حيث يتصل كل عضو من اجزاء الجسم ان يكون اما سويا مع واما انما
 اتصال اجزاء العنصر ونفس الراي الذي يعتقد العظم الذي يقولون ان الجوهر لا يتصل
 ولا يتحد بعضه ببعض ويظنون ان في تركيب كل جسم قضا وتلك متاخر له في كونه

Illus. 3.45: MS BNF arabe 2859, fol. 23r.



Colophon of the section

Illus. 3.46: MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth, p. 85.

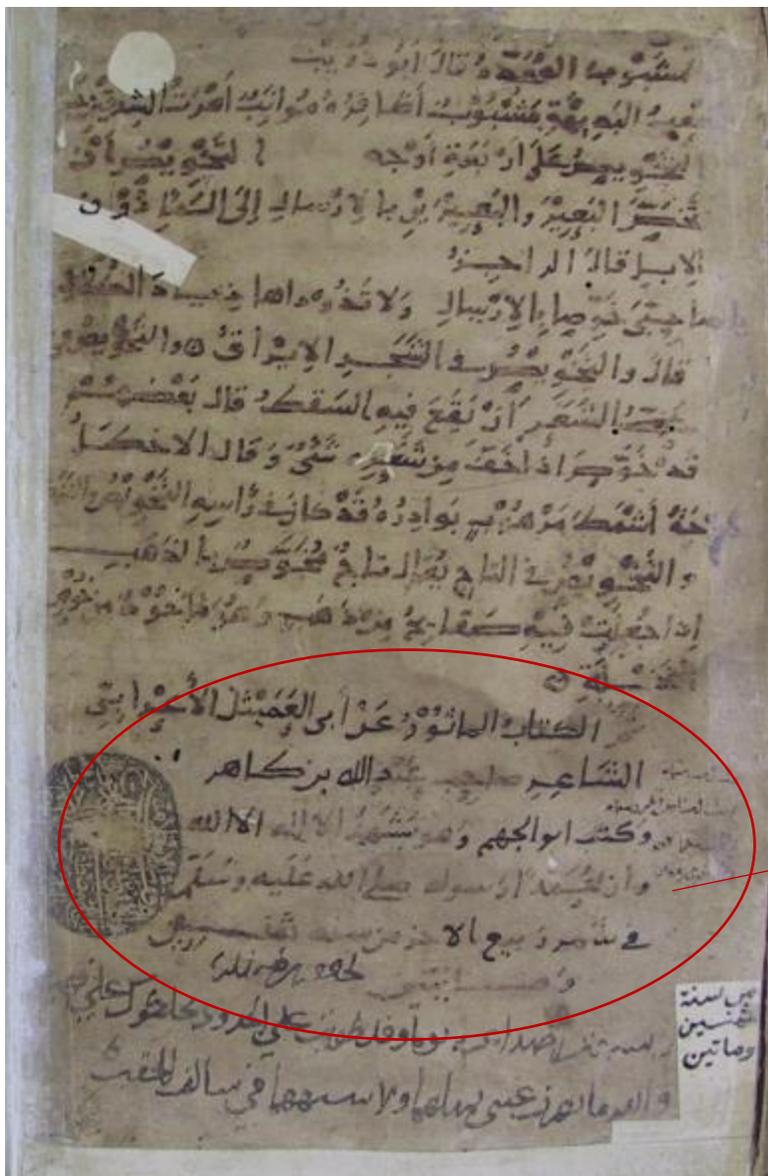


One point under the *fā'*

One point above the *qāf*

Colophon of the section

Illus. 3.48: MS Saib 2164, fol. 9r: the pointing of the *fā'* and *qāf*, and the colophon.



colophon

Illus. 3.49: MS Vel. Ef. 3139, fol. 33v.



قال الله تبارك وتعالى هو الذي يقبل التوبة عن عباده ايرى عباده
وتقول اخذت هذا عندك ومنك ٥ وكذلك من يكون
مكان عن يقول لقيت افرق ان عن وجد شي فلا تفرق ان
ايرى عنه ٥

علي معني عند

قال الله تبارك وتعالى ولهم على ذنب ايرى عندي ذنبك ٥

الامكان الام

قال الله تبارك وتعالى ما خلقناهما الا بالحق الا ليق

كتاب المشكل

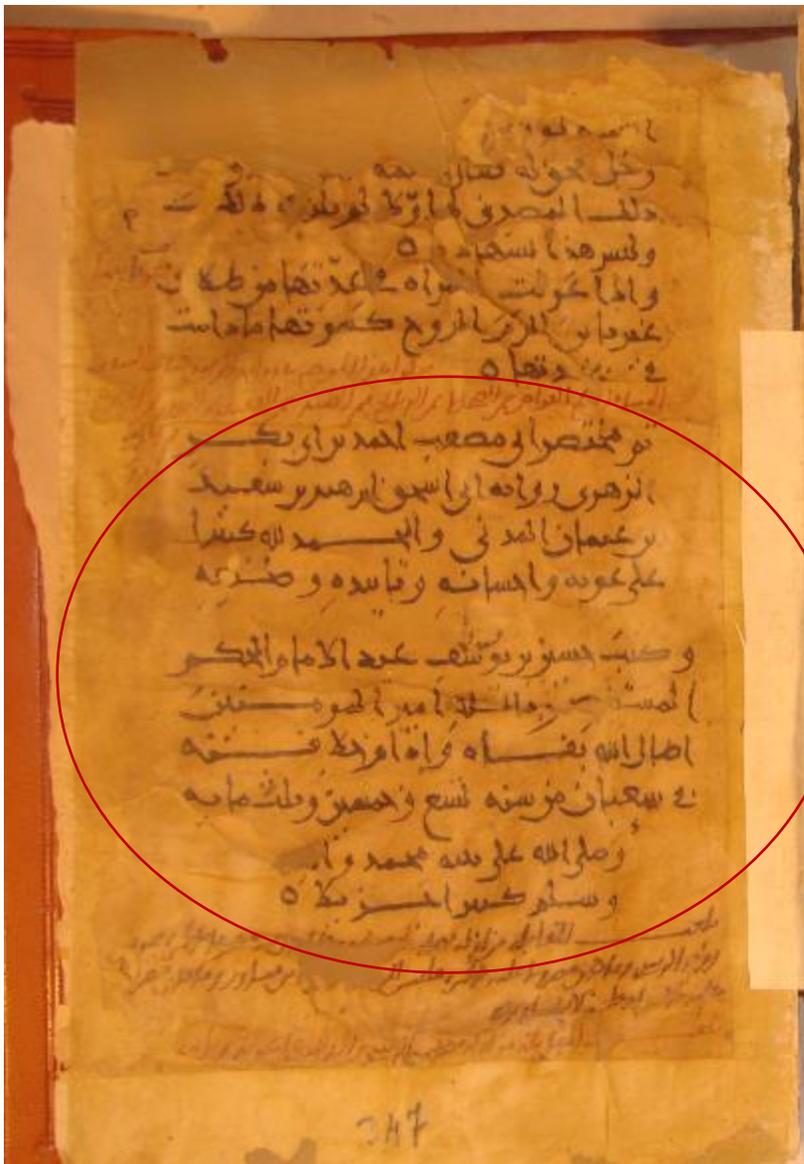
والحمد لله اولا واخرا وصل الله على محمد النبي سرمد ادينا
واله وسلم كثيرا وحسبنا الله حيوتنا وبعد وفاتنا
ونعم الوكيل والمعين ربنا ونعم المولى ونعم النصير ٥

وكتب محمد بن احمد بن يحيى رحمه الله في شهر ربيع الاخر
من سنة تسع وسبعين وثلاثمائة رحمه الله كاتبه ومن نظر
فيه من المسلمين امين رب العالمين ويقول سوف يبل يدي
ويبقى الكتاب وقال

اراثارنا يدل علقافا نظروا بعد نالي الاثار

اللهم انعمنا بما علمتنا وعلمتنا ما نفعنا به وزدنا علما
ينفعنا ٥ الحمد لله لجمع محمد الله ما علمنا منها
وما لم تعلم على جميع نعم الله ما علمنا منها وما لم تعلم
لدي جميع خلق الله ما علمنا منها وما لم تعلم ٥

Illus. 3.51: MS DK 663 Tafsir, p. 165: the colophon.



Illus. 3.52: MS Qar. 874/62, p. 347: the colophon.

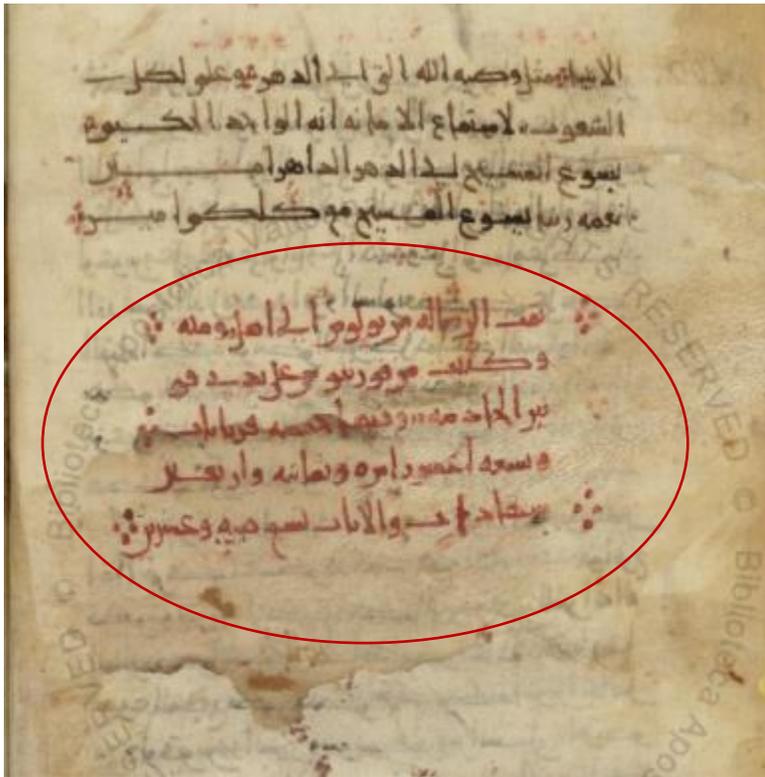
الحروف المعجمة من اللاتين والحرف النسخي
 146

في مخارج الحروف واعدادها
 اعلم ان الحروف تسعة فثمانين متحركة وثلاثة وثلاثون ساكنة
 وحرفوا الهزلة منها: والجمهورية السدسة التي تسمى القس ان حزن منحة
 والتشفيوثة الصعيفة التي تسمى معة القس. والحروف العربية اربع وعشرون
 مخارجا يخرج الواو والميم من الثمسين ويخرج الجيم والسين والذال من طرف اللسان
 اللسان بينه وبين وشك الجيم. ويخرج الطاء والداد من طرف اللسان
 والطرف الشمالية. ويخرج النون للتحقيق من الجاهل منم ويخرج الذال والنون
 واللام من وسط اللسان ويخرج العين والفاء من وسط الخلق. ومن ادناها
 يخرج العين والحاء. ويخرج القير والالف والحاء من اقص الخلق. ويخرج
 الضياء من الزاوي والسين من طرف اللسان والواو من الشمالية. ويخرج
 الصاد من اقص اللسان كما توفد من الجيم. وانفله ليللا يخرج الحاء
 ويخرج الفاء من طرف السقف الفعلي والطرف الشمالية العليا. والفتحة موشة
 عشرة اجزى الحاء والحاء والسين والسين والطاء والذال والفاء والحاء
 والفاء والحاء. وكلها بعد امد من الحروف التي تحذف من متحركة
 وقال سبعة يخرج حروف العربية ثمانية وعشرون حروفها وانما حروف ثمانية وعشرون
 في قوله لا تخرج حروف الالف والنون والباء وغيرها يجعل يخرجها كلها من مخرج
 واحد وهو وسط اللسان. ومن هذه الحروف جزوف شمس ضلعة ويحذف
 كسرى ونون. ما ما الضلعة منها ما الضلعة والطاء والحاء والذال والذات والعين
 والفاء والباء وسحب ضلعة لانه لا يجوز لك مد صوتها. وما الضلعة
 من الزاوي والضاد والفاء والطاء والسين والحاء والعين والذال والفاء
 والحاء والفاء والسين. وانما حروف ثمانية وثلاثون الحروف الساكنة بقا
 من الحروف والذات والسين والذات والسين والذات والسين والذات والسين
 والذات والسين والذات والسين والذات والسين والذات والسين والذات والسين

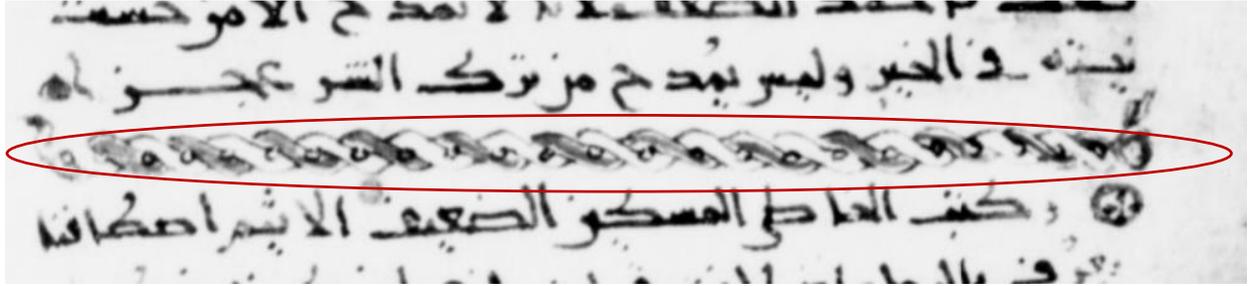
ان
 من الله جل جلاله
 الحمد لله رب العالمين
 والصلوة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
 اجمعين

Illus. 3.54: MS Şehid 2552, fol. 146r: part of the colophon.

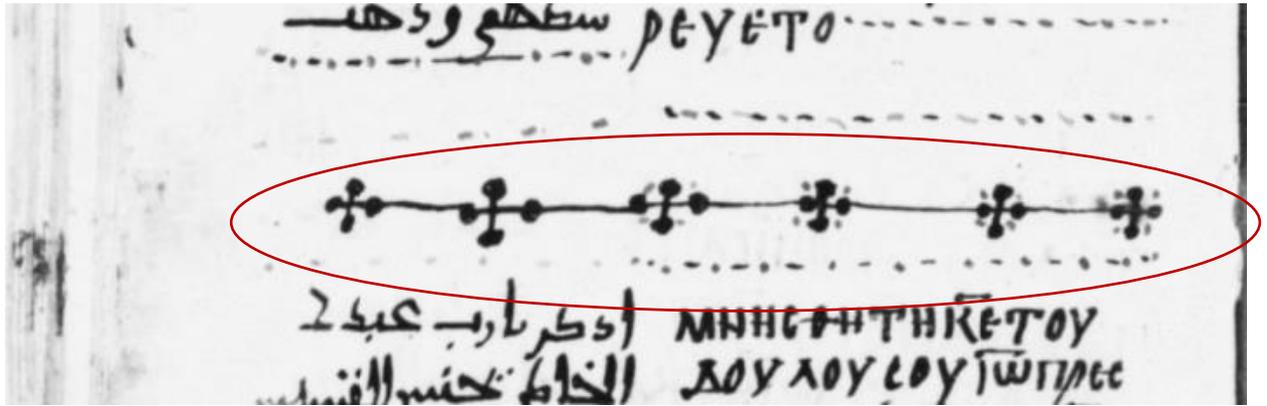
Illus. 3.56: MS MMMI 44, part 1, fol. 22r: the colophon and two *ṣahḥ* marks.



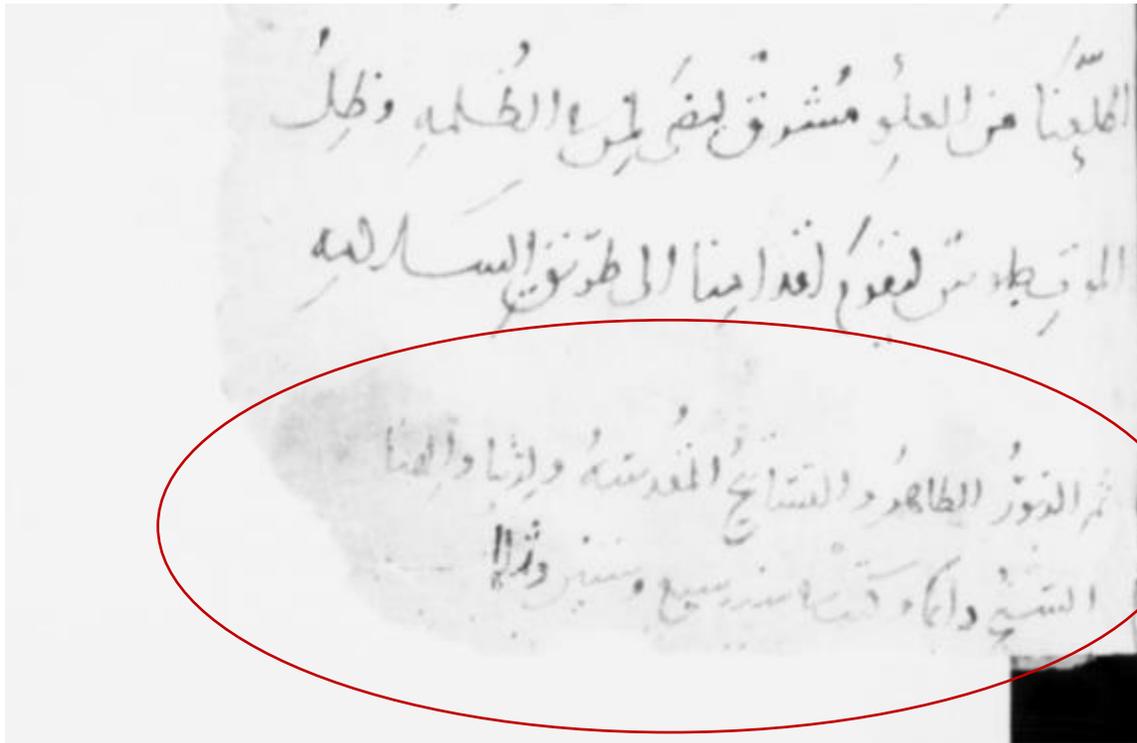
Illus. 3.57: MS Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 102v: the colophon.



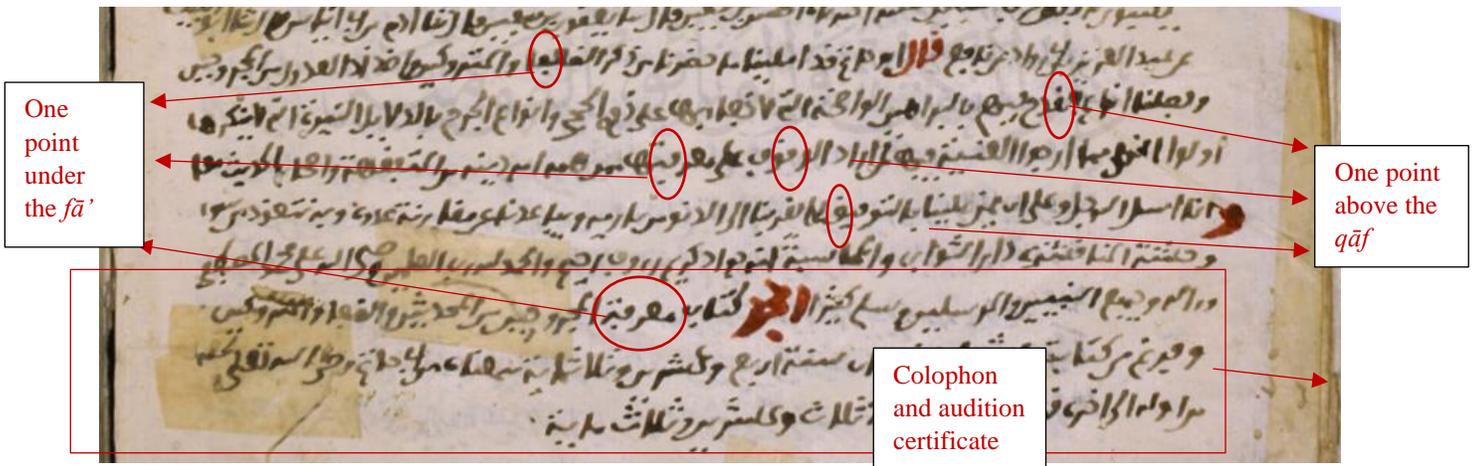
Illus. 3.58: MS MDSK Ar. 72, fol. 118v: a decoration band indicates the completion.



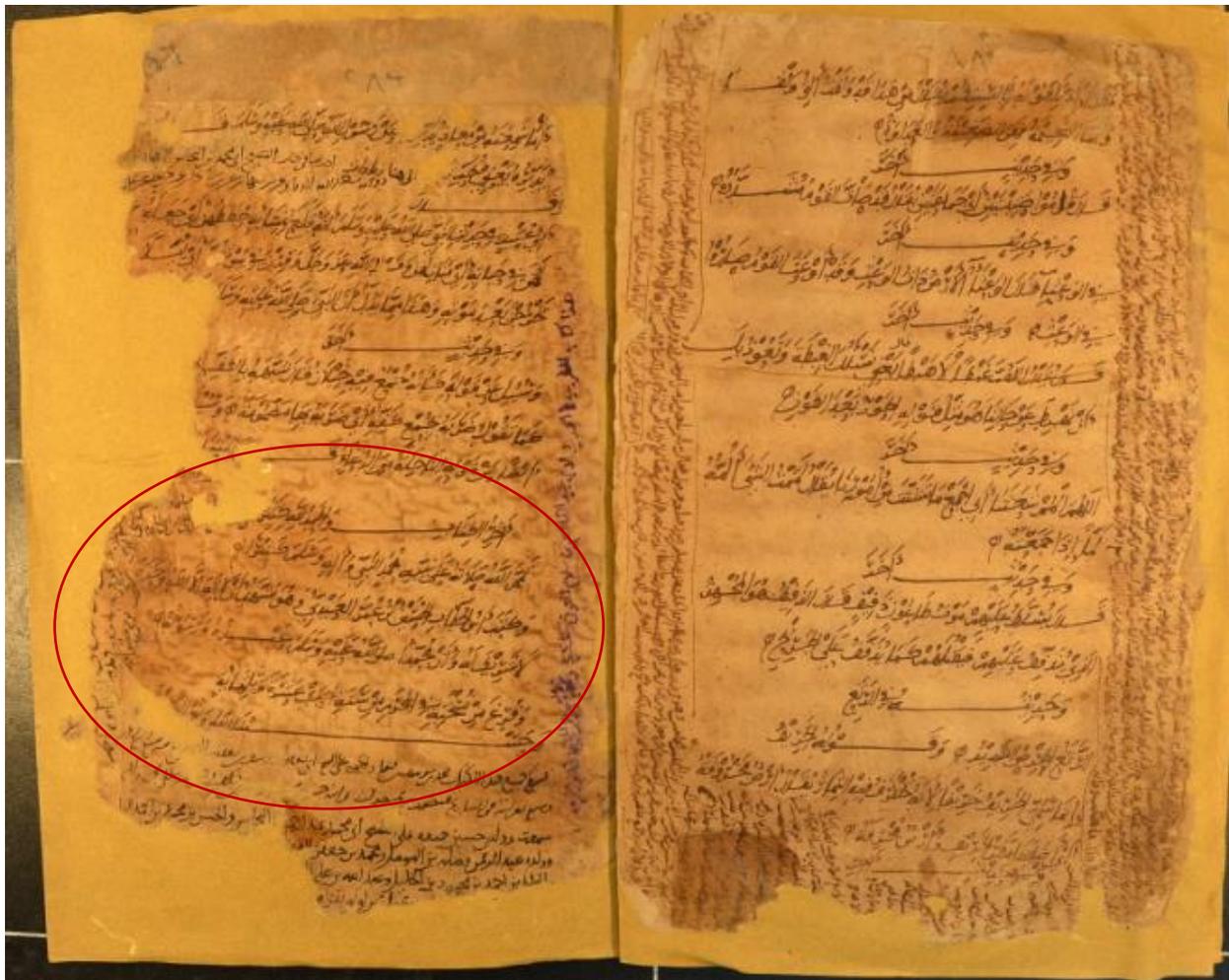
Illus. 3. 59: MS MDSK Ar. 116, fol. 205v: a band decorated with the sign of the cross to indicate the completion.



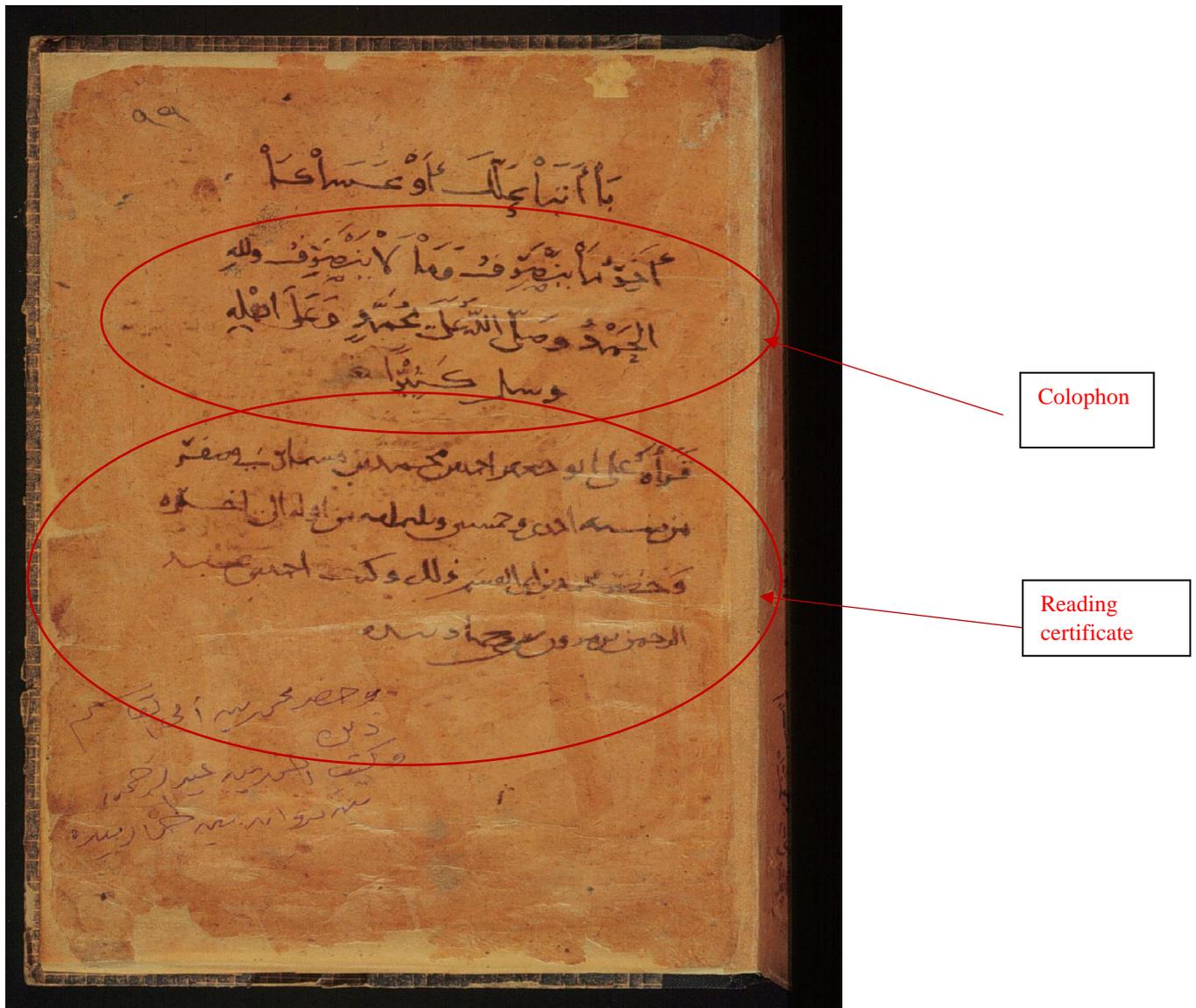
Illus. 3.60: MS MDSK Ar. 30, fol. 190r: the colophon.



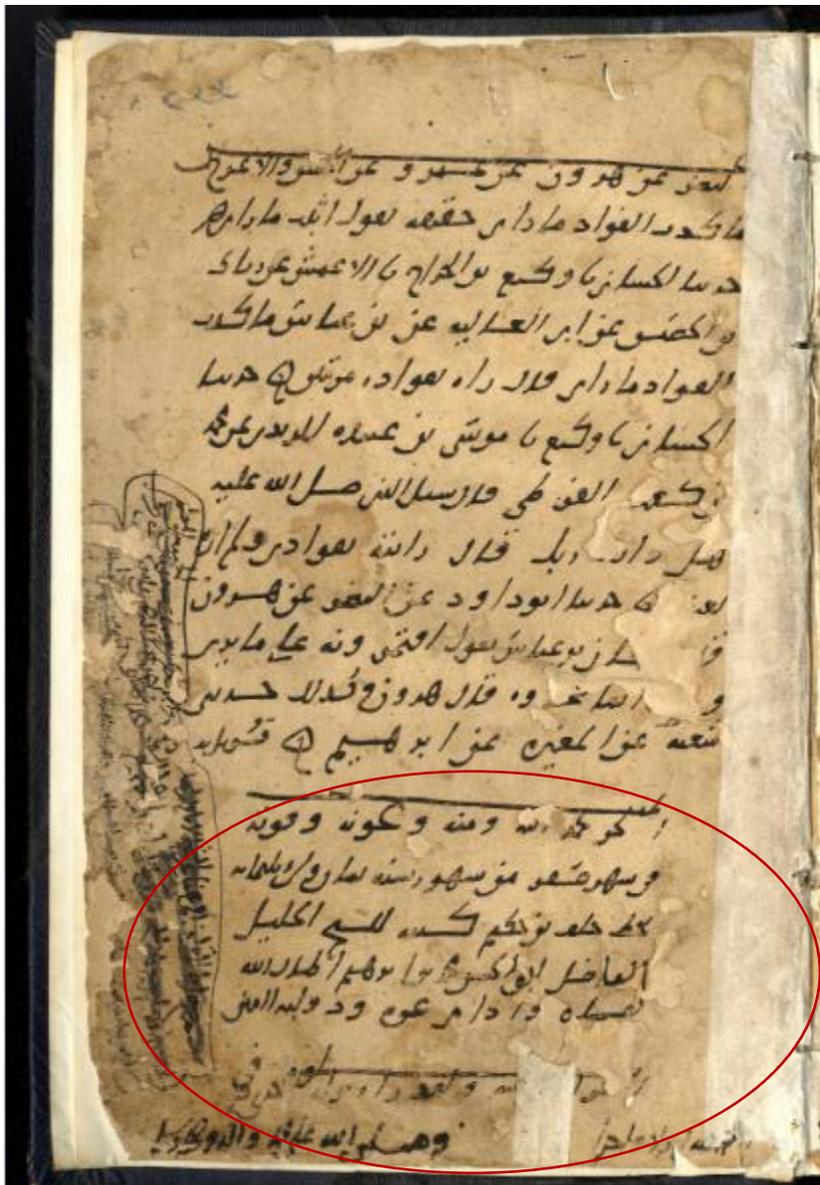
Illus. 3.61: MS DK 19598 Bā', fol. 183v: the pointing of the *fā'* and *qāf*, and the colophon and audition certificate.



Illus. 3.62: MS AZ, 'Āmm 9028, Khaṣṣ 926 Ḥadīth, p. 289: the colophon.



Illus. 3.63: MS DK 149 Nahw, fol. 99r: the colophon and the reading certificate.

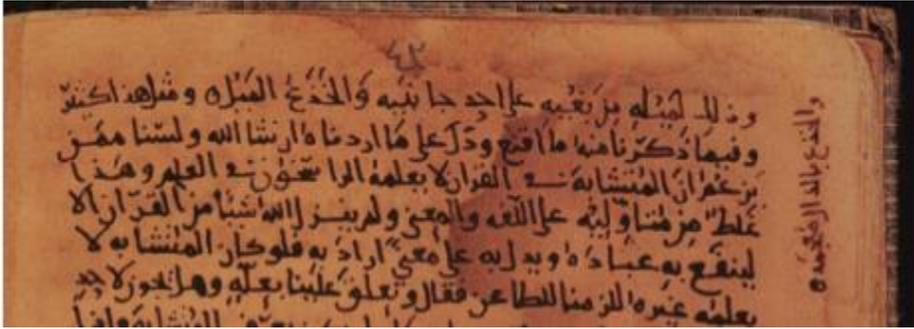


Illus. 3.64: MS BA 233, fol. 233r: the colophon.

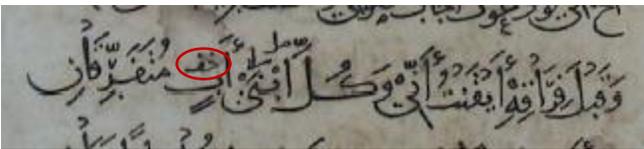


Illus. 3.65: MS BA 233, fol. 230v-231r: two different hands in the manuscript.

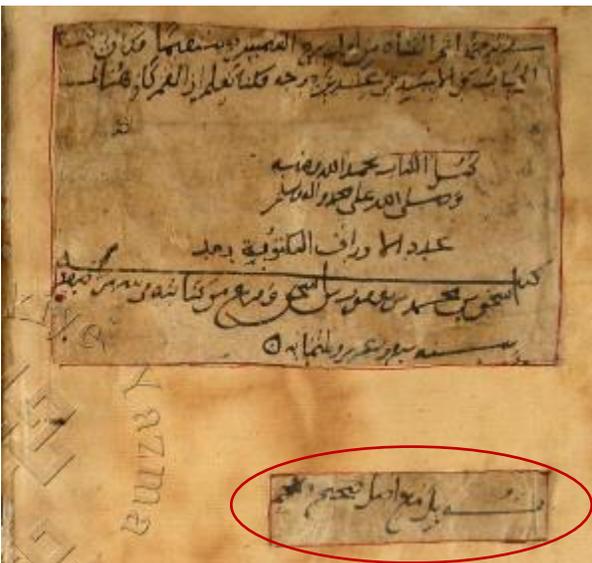
7.3. Elements of clarity and correctness



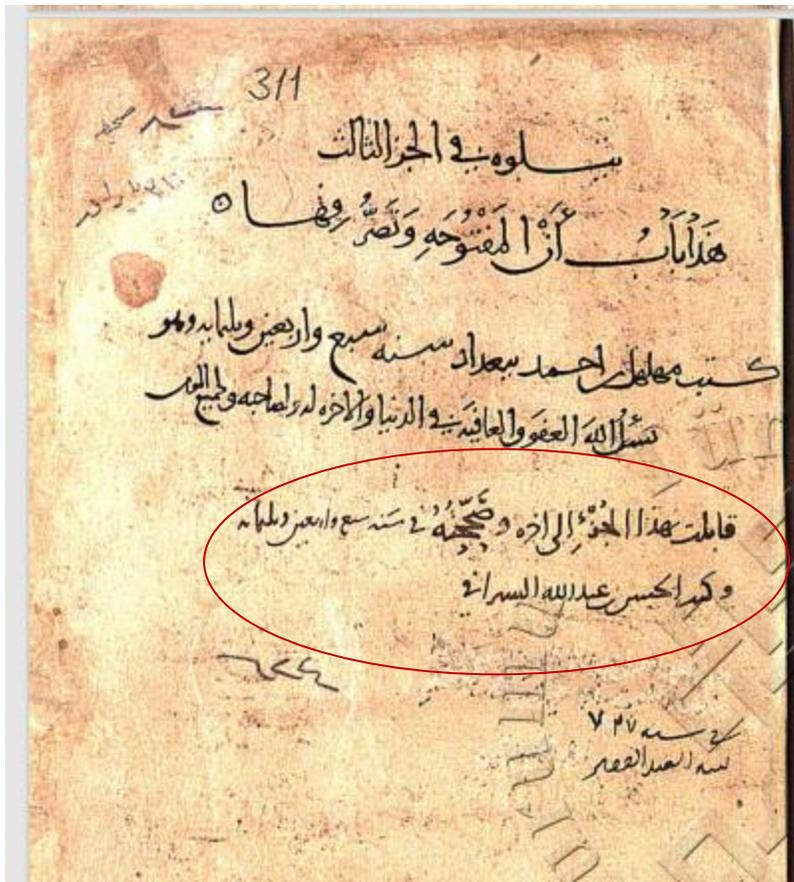
Illus. 4.1: MS DK 663 Tafsīr, p.34: writing the *dabī* in the right margin.



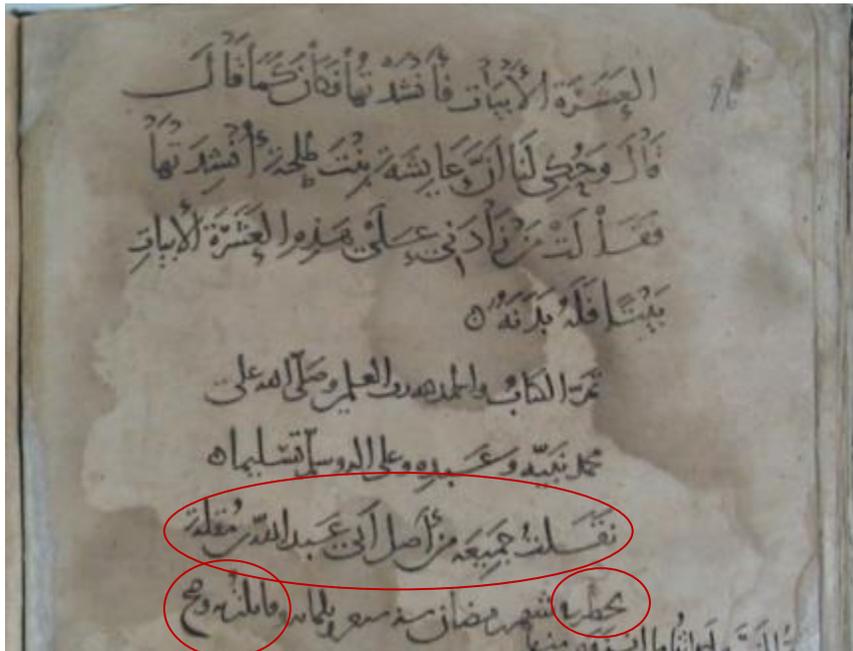
Illus. 4.2: MS Reis 904, fol. 24r: the mark *khiff*.



Illus. 4.3: MS Car. Ef. 1508, fol. 244v: collation statement at the end of the manuscript.



Illus. 4.4: MS Fazil 1507, fol. 311r: al-Sīrāfī's note of collation and correction at the end of the manuscript.



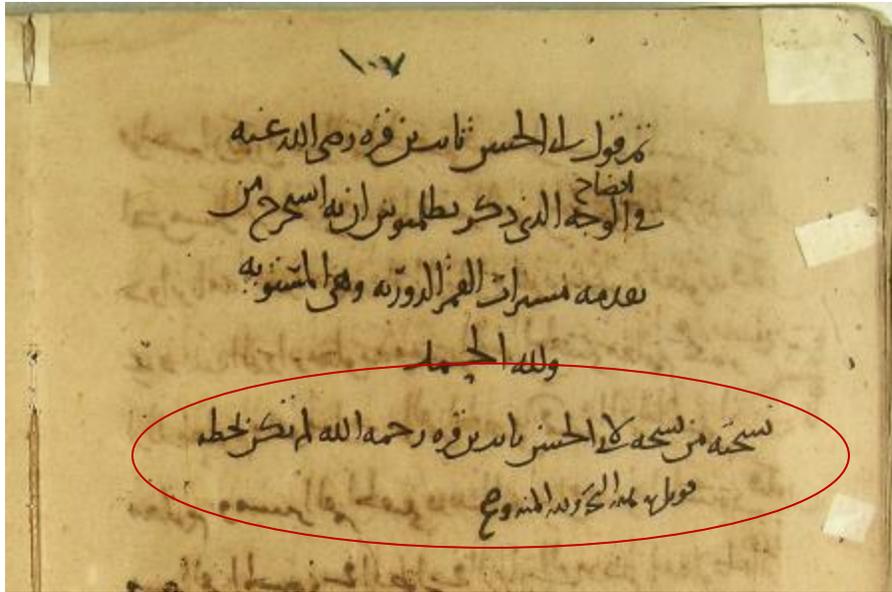
Illus. 4.5: MS Reis 904, fol. 96v: collation note linked to the colophon and indicating the *Vorlage*.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

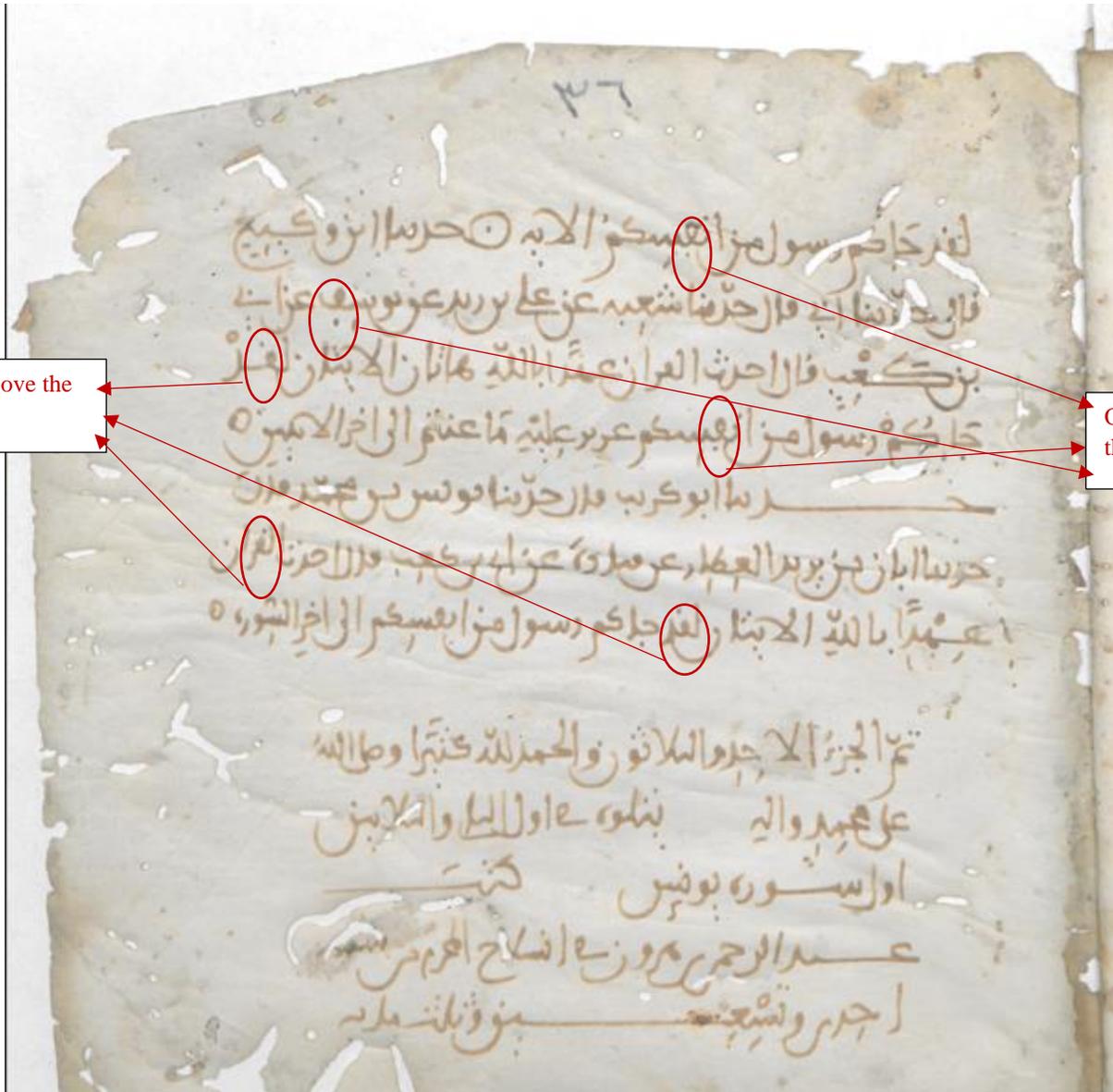
اذا اردت ان تعرف طول الساعه الساعه لراس الحري والرخام
 القامه فخذ ارماس ساعه واحده من ساعه راس الحري
 فاحطها حسنا واصره في حسه امام حمله المبلد الى سبعين
 حروا واسمها اجمع على حمله الحرد وهو خمسون وما به
 وما خرج واحطه ثم احطه قوسا وانقصها من سبعين حروا
 واحط ما تبقى حسنا واصره في اسي عشر واسمها اجمع
 على ما كره حطه فما خرج فهو اصابع الظله

لسي جمع ذلك من دستور ابى الحسن باب سوره رضى الله عنه **الخطه**
 وكذا اسمي كماله من اهل بيتهم في ذي الحجه سنة ستين وثلثمائة
 طالب هذه الدستور وروح الله العبد

Illus. 4.6: MS Fazil 984, fol. 45v: collation note linked to the colophon and indicating the Vorlage.



Illus. 4.7: MS Fazil 984, fol. 54v: collation note after the colophon indicating the *Vorlage*.



Illus. 4.8: MS Qar. 791 (Jīm 31), fol. 36r: the pointing of the *fā'* and *qāf*.



One dot above the qāf

One dot under the fā'

Illus. 4.9: MS Qar. 874/62, p. 330: the pointing of the *fā'* and *qāf*.

Appendix 1: Charting the core corpus briefly in chronological order¹

Here I chart the specimens of the core corpus in a table that summarizes the data, including the shelfmark, the date of copying, the author, the title, and the copyist. The details and the illustrations that belong to each item are indicated. In addition, the table provides a short description of the manuscripts in terms of the corrections and notes, the layout, and the script. The items are arranged chronologically. The subjects of the manuscripts are also given.

Shelfmark	Page item details and/or Illustrations	Date of copying	Author	Title	copyist	corrections & notes	Layout	Script	Topic
MS DK 41 Uṣūl Fiqh	(p. 39/illus. 2.1, 3.16, 3.29, 3.42)	Before 30 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 265/[24 July 879]	Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī	<i>Al-Risālah</i> (“The Epistle”)	Al-Rabī‘ ibn Sulaymān (direct student)	Many corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: leaving space before the new heading - Text division: small space; dotted circle	- Naskh - One hand - Routined - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	Fiqh
MS Vel. Ef. 3139	(p. 41/illus. 3.49)	Rabī‘ al-Ākhar 280/ [June-July 893]	Abū al-‘Amaythal ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khulayd (d. 240/854)	<i>Al-Ma‘thūr fīmā ittafaqa lafẓuhu wa-ikhtalafa ma‘nāhu</i> (“The	Abū al-Jahm	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - No title page - No frame	- Abbasid book hand - One hand - Professional	Lexicography

¹ This chart is based on list of labels provided by prof. Gruendler. Many thanks to her.

				Transmitted [Book] on Homonymous”)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No catchwords - Chapter division: leaving space before the new heading - Text division: small space; dotted circle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Medium line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script (oblique stroke: <i>lā'</i> / <i>zā'</i>) - Script adhering to baseline - Stable stroke thickness 	
MS MMMI 44, part 1 and 3	(p. 42/illus. 3.12-15, 3.28, 3.56)	294/906	Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923)	<i>Ikhtilāf 'ulamā' al-amṣār</i> (“The Disagreement among the Scholars of the Capital Cities”)	Not given	Few corrections and notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: title marked by separate line, leaving space before the new heading. - Text division: small space; dotted circle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New style - One hand - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script adhering to baseline 	Fiqh

								- Stable stroke thickness	
MS AZ, 9028 'Āmm 926 Khaṣṣ Ḥadīth	(p. 43/illus. 3.62)	al-Muḥarram 311[/April-May 923]	Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224/838)	<i>Gharīb al-ḥadīth</i> ("The Rare Vocabulary of Ḥadīth")	Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Umar al-'Aydī (<i>ḥadīth</i> scholar)	Many corrections and notes	- Plain layout - No title page - No frame -No catchwords - Chapter division: titled marked by a separate line - Text division: small space; circle with stroke; <i>hā'</i> for <i>intahā</i>	- Naskh? - one hand - Routed - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Oblique script - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	<i>Ḥadīth</i> philology
MS DK 19598 Bā'	(p. 42/illus. 3.24, 3.61)	Sha'bān 324[/May-June 936]	Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965)	<i>Ma'rifat al-majrūhīn min al-muḥaddithīn</i> ("The Knowledge of the Impugned Transmitters of Prophetic Traditions")	Not given	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled marked by coloured ink - New chapter: unmarked - Text division: Not found - Text highlighting: coloured ink	- Abbasid book hand - One hand - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Oblique script - Script moving	<i>Ḥadīth</i>

								from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	
MS Car. Ef. 1508	(p. 44/illus. 3.37)	Şafar 327 [November-December 938]	Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (d. 272/886)	<i>Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā ʿilm aḥkām al-nujūm</i> (“The Book of the Introduction to the Science of the Decrees of the Stars”)	Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ishāq	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - Table of contents - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled by the thick pen - New chapter marked by new line - Text division: small space; dotted circle	- New Style? - One hand - Routed - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Large script - Wide line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke sickness	Astronomy
MS Şehid 2552	(p. 45/illus. 3.54)	9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 338/[30 May 950]	Al-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn Saʿīd al-Muʿaddib (fl. 338/949)	<i>Kitāb Daqāʿiq al-taṣrīf</i> (“Details of Morphology”)	The copyist is likely the author	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page (added later) - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: elongated headings - New chapter: marked by new line - Text division: small space; dotted circles	- New style - One hand - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script	Grammar

							- Text highlighting: elongation	(oblique stroke: <i>tā'</i> / <i>zā'</i>) - Script moving from the baseline - Stable stroke thickness	
MS DK 852 Tawhīd	(p. 45/illus. 3.11, 3.35-6)	Jumādā I 347/[April-May 976]	Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad al-Khayyāt (d. ca. 300/913)	Kitāb al-Intiṣār wa-l-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Rāwandī al-mulḥid mā qaṣada bihi min al-kadhib ‘alā al-Muslimīn wa-l-ta‘n ‘alayhim (“The Book of the Triumph and the Refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī the Heretic Concerning the Lies He Aimed at Muslims and Attacking Them”)	Not given	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: the text contains the views of Ibn al-Rāwandī and the commentary of al-Khayyāt. Ibn al-Rāwandī’s views begin with elongated <i>qāla</i> (“he said”). - Text division: small space; dotted/circle - Text highlighting: by elongation	- Naskh - One hand - Routined - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Oblique script - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	Theology
MS Fazil 1507, 1508	(p. 46/illus. 3.20-3, 3.47)	347/[358-9]	Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898)	<i>Al-Muqtaḍab fī al-naḥw</i> (“The Epitome on Grammar”)	Copyist: Muḥalhil ibn Aḥmad Corrector: Al-Sirāfi	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled marked by a separate line; elongating the word <i>bāb</i>	- Naskh similar to the unique Qurānic MS of Ibn al-Bawwāb (MS Chester Beatty Is 1431) - One hand	Grammar

							("chapter") in the heading - Text division: dotted circle/circle with a stroke	- Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Large script - Wide line spacing - Wide word spacing - Vertical - Script seems to be Moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	
MS DK 149 Naḥw	(p. 47/illus. 3.8, 3.32, 3.34, 3.63)	Before Ṣafar 351/[March-April 962]	Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923)	<i>Mā yaṣarifu wa-mā lā yaṣarīf</i> ("Triptotically and Diptotically Inflected Nouns")	Not given	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled marked by a separate line - Text division: small space; dotted circle	- Naskh similar to the unique Qurānic MS of Ibn al-Bawwāb (MS Chester Beatty Is 1431) - One hand - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Large script - Wide line spacing - Wide word spacing - Vertical script (oblique)	Grammar

								stroke: <i>lā'</i> / <i>zā'</i>) - Script seems to be Moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	
MS DK 139 Nahw, part 3	(p. 48/illus. 3.17, 3.50)	351/[962-3]	'Amr ibn 'Uthmān Sibawayh	<i>Kitāb Sibawayh</i> ("The Book of Sibawayh")	Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad ibn Khalaf al-Qaṣṣār (scholar copied it for himself)	Many corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame -No catchwords - Chapter division: titles marked by headings include elongating and writing the words <i>hādḥā bāb</i> ("This is the chapter") in thick pen - New chapter marked by new line - Text division: small space; dotted circle/circle with a stroke	- Naskh - Routined - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script (oblique stroke: <i>lā'</i> / <i>zā'</i>) - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	Grammar
MS Fazil 1541	(p. 49/illus. 3.39-40)	353/[964-5]	Ibn Durayd (321/933/4)	<i>Kitāb al-Jamharah</i> ("The Book of the Multitude")	Not given	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page (added later?) - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: marked by thick pen and	- New style - One hand - Professional - Thick line - Small script - Narrow line spacing	Lexicography

							<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a separate line; elongating the word <i>bāb</i> in the heading. - Text division: small space; dotted circle - Text highlighting: elongation of words such as <i>qāla</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script moving from the baseline - Stable stroke thickness 	
MS BA 233	(p. 49/illus. 2.2, 2.3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.64)	Šafar 358/[December 968 - January 969]	Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl Abū Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Bustī (d. 307/919-20)	A fragment of <i>Tafsīr al-Bustī</i> (“Commentary of al-Bustī”)	Khalaf ibn Ḥakam (professional copyist; for a patron)	Few corrections and notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plain layout - No title page - No frame - Catchwords: e. g. 23v. - Chapter division: titled by a separate line - New chapter marked by new line - Text division: circles provided with stroke; small space - Text highlighting: elongation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abbasid book hand - Two hands (one hand: fol. 1r-177v, 219r-231r; the second: 178r-218v, 231v-233r) - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - First hand: Vertical script (oblique stroke: <i>lā’ /zā’</i>); second hand: all 	Qur’ānic exegesis

								oblique script - Script moving from the baseline - Stable stroke thickness	
MS Reis 904	(p. 51/illus. 3.19, 3.25, 3.66, 4.2)	Ramaḍān 370/[March-April 981]	Ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310/922)	<i>Marāthī wa-ash‘ār fī ghayr dhālika wa-akhbār walughah</i> (“Dirges and Poems on Other Themes, Accounts, and Language”)	Muḥammad ibn Asad ibn ‘Alī al-Qāri’(d. 410/1019; teacher of Ibn al-Bawwāb)	Many corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled by a separate line - Chapter marked by a new line - Text division: dotted circles/circles provided with stroke; small space	-Naskh similar to the unique Qurānic MS of Ibn al-Bawwāb (MS Chester Beatty Is 1431) - One hand - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Large script - Wide line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical - Script moving from the baseline - Stable stroke thickness	Literature
MS Fazil 948	(p. 52/illus. 3.7)	370/[June-July 981]	Thābit ibn Qurrah (d. 288/901)	<i>Kitāb Abī al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah fī ālāt al-sā‘āt allatī tusammā rukhāmāt</i> (“The Book of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit	Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn al-Ṣābi’ al-Ḥarrānī (d. 384/994)	Few corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - Traces of <i>miṣṭarah</i> : fol. 42r - No catchwords	- Naskh - One hand - Routined - Thick line - Large script - Wide line spacing	Astronomy and time measurement

				<p>ibn Qurrah Timekeeping Machines that Are Called Sundials”), <i>‘Amal shakl mujassam dhī arba‘a ‘ashrata qā‘idah fī kurah ma‘lūmah</i> (“The Construction of a Solid Figure with Fourteen Faces Inscribed into a Given Sphere”), <i>Qawluh fī ṭdāh al-wajh alladhī dhakara</i> <i>Baṭlaymūs anna bi-hi istakhraja man taqaddamahu masīrāt al-qamar al-dawriyyah wa-hiya al-mustawiyah</i> (“His Utterance about the Explanation of the Way that Ptolemy mentioned That by It His Predecessor Worked out the Regular Cycles of the Moon and They Are Similar”)</p>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chapter division: titled marked by a separate line - New chapter: marked by new line - Text division: three dots; dotted circle; small space - Illustrations: fol. 44v, 45r, 58v 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness 	
MS IUL. Ar. 1434	(p. 53/3.4-3.6, 3.53)	Şafar 372/[July-August 982]	Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (d. 350/961)	<i>Dīwān al-adab</i> (“The Diwan of Literature”)	Abū Naşr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bāqillānī (professional copyist)	Few corrections and notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plain layout - No title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abbasid book hand (main text) - Two hands: only one page written in a 	Lexicography

							<ul style="list-style-type: none"> titles marked by elongation the word <i>bāb</i> in the heading; three dots at the beginning and end of the heading - Text division: dotted circle - Text highlighting: coloured ink; elongating the word <i>qāla</i> before the verses of poetry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> later hand (fol. 1v) - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small script) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script tends to be adhering to a baseline - Stable stroke thickness 		
MS 1728	Lal.	(p. 54)	Dhū al-Qa'dah 372/[April-May 983]	Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz [(d. 296/998)]; collected by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 355/947)	<i>Al-Juz' al-thāliṭh/al-rābi' min shi'r Abī al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mu'tazz</i> ("The Third and Fourth Parts of The Poetry of Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mu'tazz" [(d. 296/998)])	'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad	Many corrections and notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled marked by thick pen - New chapter marked by new line - Text division: small space - Text highlighting: elongation: in particular <i>qāla</i> at the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New style - One hand - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script moving 	Literature

							beginning of a new poem	from baseline - Varying stroke thickness	
MS Şehid 27	(p. 54)	Sha'bān 374/[December 984-January 985]	Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī (d. 377/987)	<i>Kitāb al-Ḥujjah li-l-a'immaḥ al-sab'ah min qurrā' al-amṣār</i> ("The Book of Evidence of the Seven Most Eminent [Qur'ān] Readers of the Capital Cities")	Al-'Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī Mawwās al-Kātib (d. 401/1010 - 11)	Many corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled marked by a separate line - New chapter marked by new line - Text division: circle; small space - Text highlighting: elongation of the words <i>qāla</i> ; <i>ikhṭalafū</i> ("they had different views") to highlight different opinions	- Naskh similar to the unique Qurānic MS of Ibn al-Bawwāb (MS Chester Beatty Is 1431) - One hand - Professional - Thick line - Large script - Wide line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness	Qur'ānic Readings
MS DK 663 Tafsīr (p. 55/illus.3.18, 3.33, 3.51, 4.1)		Rabī' II 379/[July-August 989]	Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889)	<i>Mushkil al-Qur'ān</i> ("Difficulties in the Qur'ān")	Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā	Many corrections and notes	- Plain Layout - Title page - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled marked by thick pen - New chapter marked by new line	- Abbasid book hand - One hand - Professional - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small)	Qur'ānic philology

							- Text division: small space; dotted circle	- Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script -Script tends to be adhering to the baseline - Stable stroke thickness	
MS Fazil 43	(p. 56)	Jumādā I 395/[March-April 1005]	Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923)	Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān ("Meanings of the Qur'ān")	Not given	Few corrections and notes	- Plain Layout - Title page (added later) - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titles marked by a new line and thick pen; three dots before and after the heading (likely added later) - New chapter marked by new line - Text division: small space; circle with a stroke - Text highlighting: underlying with a red line (likely added later)	- Naskh? - One hand - Routed? - Medium thickness (neither thick nor thin line) - Medium size (neither large nor small) - Narrow line spacing - Narrow word spacing - Vertical script - Script tends to be adhering to the baseline - Stable stroke thickness	Qur'ānic philology
MS Lal. 1905	(p. 56/illus. 3.38)	Jumādā I 396/[March-April 1006]	Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889)	<i>Kitāb al-Kuttāb</i> ("The Book of the Scribes"),	Al-'Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn	Many corrections and notes	- Plain layout - Title page - No frame	- Naskh similar to the unique	Etiquette and philology

				also known as <i>Adab-al-Kātib</i> (“The Rules of Conduct of the Scribe”)	Abī Mawwās al-Kātib (d. 401/1010 - 11)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Catchwords (likely added later) - Chapter division: titles marked by a separate line; elongating the word <i>bāb</i> in the heading - New chapter marked by a new line - Text division: small space; undotted circle - Text highlighting: by elongation, in particular <i>qāla</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qurānic MS of Ibn al-Bawwāb (MS Chester Beatty Is 1431) - One hand - Professional - Thick line - Large script - Wide line spacing - Wide word spacing - Vertical - Script moving from baseline - Stable stroke thickness 	
MS MRT 37 Lughah	(p. 57/illus. 2.4)	398/[1007-8]	Abū Maṣūūr Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Jabbān (fl. 416/1025)	<i>Sharḥ Faṣīḥ Tha‘lab</i> (“Commentary of The Eloquent of Tha‘lab”)	Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭalībānī	Few corrections and notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plain layout - Title page: added later - No frame - No catchwords - Chapter division: titled by a separate line, elongating the word <i>bāb</i> in the heading - New chapter: marked by new line - Text division: small space; dotted circle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Naskh similar to the unique Qurānic MS of Ibn al-Bawwāb (MS Chester Beatty Is 1431) - Two hands (the second is a later hand of someone who filled the missed part: fol. 3r-6v.) - Professional - Thick line 	Philology

								<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Large script- Wide line spacing- Wide word spacing- Vertical- Script tends to be adhering to the baseline- Stable stroke thickness	
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Appendix 2: Secondary corpus

Shelfmark	Date of copying
MS BNF arabe 2859 (illus. 3.45)	232/[846-7]
MS UL Or. 298 (illus. 3.10)	252/[866-7]
MS MDSK Ar. 151	253/[867]
MS MAW 1125 (illus. 3.30-31, 3.44)	266/[879-80]
MS DK 2123 Ḥadīth (illus. 3.46)	276/[880-81]
MS MDSK Ar. 72 (illus. 3.58)	284/[897-8]
MS Vat. Ar. 13 (illus. 3.57)	Dated to the 3 rd /9 th century based on stylistic criteria
MS MDSK Ar. 2	328/[339-40]
MS MDSK Ar. 4	353/[964-5]
MS Qar. 874/62 (illus. 3.52)	359/[969-70]
MS Saib 2164 (illus. 3.48, 3.55)	Rabī' I 364/[January-February 975]
MS Berlin Petermann II 589	364/[974-5]
MS MDSK Ar. 30 (illus. 3.60)	367/[977-8]
MS Ch. B. Ar. 3051	Rabī' I 370/[September-October 980]
MS DK 6155 (ill. 3.3), 4580 Ḥā'	Before 372/[982-3]
MS Şehid 1842 (illus. 3.26)	Jumādā I 376/[September-October 986]
MS MDSK Ar. 580 (illus. 3.41)	Salkh Jumādā II 379/[4-5 October 989]
MS Leipzig Vollers 505-01, 02, 03	380/[990-1]
MS MDSK Ar. 116 (illus. 3.59)	385/[995-6]
MS Qar. 791 (Jīm 31), 403 (illus. 4.8), MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 2), 65, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 4), 66, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 8), 66, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 12), 66, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 19), 66, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 31), 67, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 36), 67, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 42), 67, MS Qar. 912 (Jīm 47), 6 al-Ṭabarī, <i>Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān</i>	391/[1000-1001]