A Qurānic Amulet on Papyrus: P.Utah.Ar. 342

W. Matt Malczycki

Introduction

Qurānic texts on papyrus are fairly rare: the late Sergio Noja Nosedá found only seven published fragments of the Quran on papyrus.¹ He could have added the *P.Bad.* v 143 through *P.Bad.* v 153 and the unpublished P.Duke.inv.274 to this total.² With the possible exceptions of P.Michael. inv. 23 and P.Nosedá.Koranic, all of these texts were amulets. P.Utah.Ar. 342 is similar to these other papyri. It contains all of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112) and Sūrat al-Falaq (Q 113), most of Sūrat al-Nās (Q 114), and the first thirteen verses of Sūrat Yā' Sīn (Q 36). The four *sūras* are parts of prayers and rituals for the sick, dying, and dead. According to *ḥadīth* literature, as the prophet Muḥammad lay dying he uttered Sūrat al-ikhhlāṣ and Sūrat al-falaq (also called al-ma'ūdḥātayn).³ Also according to *ḥadīth* literature, sūra Yā'-Sīn is one of the *sūras* one should recite over the dying and dead. In addition to the Fātiḥa (Q 1) and Sūrat al-Mulk (Q 67), Sūrat Yā' Sīn, Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, Sūrat al-Falaq, and Sūrat al-Nās are among the most commonly recited *sūras* in times of sickness, dying, death, and burial.⁴ They are also among those that appear most frequently in Qurānic papyrus amulets.⁵

1 Nosedá, A third 316.

2 A digital image of P.Duke.inv.274 is available at Duke University's website: <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/274.html>.

3 For the *ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī relates in reference to the last three *sūras* of the Quran, see al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* 74–79. In other editions of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, one can find these *ḥadīths* in the chapters about the moral excellence of the Quran (*faḍā'il al-qurān*).

4 Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Mājah relate *ḥadīths* that say that Sūrat Yā' Sīn was appropriate for prayers for the dying and in funerals. In most editions of *ḥadīth* collections, one can find these *ḥadīths* under the chapters relating to funerals (*al-janā'iz*) (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* vol. 5 pt. 2, 543; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, 7:212). Al-Tirmidhī describes Sūrat Yā'-Sīn as “the heart of the Qurān” (al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat* 196–198). This passage is in the chapter entitled “*Faḍā'il al-qurān*” in most editions of al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmi'*. These are only a few of the references to the *sūras* in question that one can find in the *ḥadīth* literature.

5 *P.Bad.* v 147 contains the first lines of Sūrat Yā' Sīn. *P.Bad.* v 145, 151, and 153 contain part or all of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ. *P. Bad.* v 143 contains each of the last three *sūras*. P.Duke.inv.274 contains Sūrat al-Falaq and Sūrat al-Nās.

P.Utah.Ar. 342 (21.2 × 32.5 cm)

This is a good quality brown papyrus with a small papyrus cord in the upper middle part of the papyrus. The verso has traces of writing, but it seems that these were washed out.⁶ On the verso the four vertical folding marks are also clearly visible. There is one fold in the centre, another fold mark 2.12 cm to the right of centre, another fold mark 2.9 cm to the left of centre, another fold mark 5.9 cm left of centre, and another fold mark 9.8 cm left of centre.

The recto contains separate texts on the right and left sides of the centre fold. The margin between the right and left sides of the text ranges from 2.5 to 3.5 cm. The text runs parallel to the fibres. The ink is black and the strokes are thicker than normal for a papyrus-era text. The right side of the recto contains all of *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* and *Sūrat al-Falaq*. It also contains *Sūrat al-Nās* albeit with some omissions—the scribe omits the second verse (*malik al-nās*), the third verse (*ilāh al-nās*), and the word *al-nās* from the fifth verse. There is an intermittent vertical lacuna on the right side that ranges between 0.3 and 1 cm wide and runs through the text beginning between 4 and 4.5 cm from the right margin.

The left side of the recto contains most of the first thirteen verses of *Sūrat Yā' Sīn*. The left side text contains many more lacunae than the right side, including a large one (6 × 6.5 cm) in the centre that would have contained most of lines 7–11. Lines 11–12 are badly damaged, but enough text remains to offer a reconstruction. Lines 13–16 are all but obliterated, so the edition that follows is based on the amount of text that the scribe could most probably have fit on the remainder of the page. It seems that the scribe made an effort to imitate an angular script in the first few lines, but overall the script is more curved than angular. There are no consonantal diacritical marks, and there are also no symbols to separate the verses.

In the Arabic edition that follows, I have attempted to be as faithful to the original papyrus text as possible. To that end, I have not added consonantal diacritical marks, *tanwīn*, *hamza*, or any other letters or pronunciation signs except when filling in lacunae and adding scribal omissions. I have added the missing verses and words in angular brackets, but I have not corrected the scribe's use of the plural where, according to the canonical edition of the Quran, he should have used the singular. The word *Allāh* is spelled with *shadda* and *alif qaṣīra*.

6 Lola Atiya's inventory says that the recto is blank and that text is on the verso. She also says that two scribes were at work. A closer analysis reveals that this was not the case (Atiya, *University* 32).

The English translation that follows is an adaptation of the pertinent passages of Arberry's *The Koran Interpreted*.⁷ The chapter and verse numbers from the canonical version of the Quran appear in double parentheses. In cases in which the scribe broke words between two lines, the English equivalents are also broken in the translation. One is forced to admit that the bracketing of the portions of English words is arbitrary, but there seems to be no other way to be true to the text. The rest of the punctuation marks are standard papyrological symbols.

Translation: Right Side

- 1 ((Q 112)) In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
- 2 ((1)) Say: 'He is God, One, ((2)) God the Everlasting Refuge, ((3)) who has not
- 3 [be]gotten, and has not been begotten ((4)) and equal to him is not
- 4 anyone.'
- 5 ((Q 113)) In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
- 6 ((1)) S[ay:] 'I take refuge with the Lo[rd] of the [Day]break ((2)) from the evil of what He has created,
- 7 ((3)) from the evil of darkness when it gathers,
- 8 ((4)) and from the evil of women who blow on knots
- 9 ((5)) and from] the ev[il] of an envier when he envies.'
- 10 ((Q 114)) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
- 11 ((1)) Say: 'I take refuge with the Lord of men ((2)) the King of men, ((3)) the God of men, ((4)) from the evil of the whisperer,
- 12 the withdrawer,⁸ ((5)) who whispers in the brea-
- 13 sts ⟨of men⟩ of *jinn* and me-
- 14 -n
- 15 ((Q 36)) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

⁷ Arberry, *The Koran* 353–354.

⁸ Here I have diverged from Arberry and translated al-Khanās as "the withdrawer." *Al-Khanās* refers, of course, to the Devil, who withdraws at the mention of God.

Translation: Left Side

- 1 ((1)) Yā' Sīn ((2)) By the Wise Quran ((3)) thou art truly among the Envoys
 2 ((4)) on] a straight path ((5)) the sending down of the All-mighty,
 3 the All-]wise ((6)) that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers
 4 [were] never warned, so they are heedless. ((7)) The Word has been
 realised against
 5 [most] of them, yet they do not believe. ((8)) Surely We have put
 6 [on] their necks fetters up to the chin,
 7 [so their] heads are rais[ed; ((9)) and We have put] before them
 8 [a bar]rier and [behind them a barrier;] and We have covered them up,
 9 so they [do not see. ((10)) Alike it is] to them
 10 [whether thou hast warned] them [or thou hast not warned them, they
 do not bel]ieve. [((11)) Thou only
 11 warnest him who [follows the Remembrance and] who fears the A[ll]-
 merciful
 12 [in the Unseen;] so give them⁹ good tidings of forgive[ness and a gener-
 13 ous wage. ((12)) Surely it is We who [bring the dead to life
 14 [and write down what they have forwarded and what they have left
 behind; Every-]
 15 [thing We have numbered in a clear register.]
 16 [((13)) Strike for them a similitude—the inhabitants of the city ...]

The Text: Right Side

- ١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ٢ قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم
 ٣ يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا
 ٤ احد
 ٥ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ٦ ف[ل] اعود ر[ب] ال[ف]ل[و] من سر حلو
 ٧ و من سر ع[ا]سق ادا وف

9 Arberry's translation reads "him" instead of "them." Arberry, *The Koran* 144. However, as will be explained below, the papyrus uses the plural rather than the singular.

- ٨ و من [سـ] [ر] البصاف
 ٩ في العقد و من سر حاسد اذا حسد
 ١٠ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ١١ قل اعود رب الناس (ملك الناس اله الناس) من الوسواس
 ١٢ الخناس الذي يوسوس في صد
 ١٣ ور (الناس) من الخسه و البنا
 ١٤ س
 ١٥ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

The Text: Left Side

- ١ س و القرآن الحكيم اك لم المرسلين
 ٢ [على] صراط مستقيم بربل العرير
 ٣ [الرحـ] لم لسدر فوما ما اند (ر) اناهم
 ٤ [فـ]هم عافلون لقد حق القول على
 ٥ اكثر [هم فـ]هم لا [يومون انا جعلنا
 ٦ في ا] عافهم اعلال فهي الى الادفال
 ٧ [فهم] مفعمحمو [ن و جعلنا] من س اند [يهم
 ٨ [سـ]دا و [من خلفهم سـ] فاع [شنيهم
 ٩ فهم] لا يصرون و سواء [علمهم ا
 ١٠ [نذرت]هم [ام لم تنذرهم لا يؤمـ] سون [انما
 ١١ [تنذر] من [اتبع الذكر و] حسي [ا] الرحمن
 ١٢ [بالغيب] فسرهم معقر [ة و اجر كر
 ١٣ م انا نحن نحـ] [الـ] حوتق
 ١٤ [و نكتب ما قدموا اوء اثرهم و كل
 ١٥ [شيء احصينه في امام مبين
 ١٦ [واضطرب لهم مثلاً] اصحب القرية اذ]

Notes: Right Side

1. The scribe attempted to imitate the Kufic script, and there are some paleographic features of the script that are more typical of early texts than later ones.¹⁰ There are, for example, incomplete final upward strokes of the *nūn* (right side lines 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, and 13; left side lines 1, 4, 5, and 11), horizontally elongated oblique strokes of the *kāf* and *šād* (right side lines 2 and 3), and hooked *dāls* (right side lines 2 and 3).

The horizontal extension of the letter *ḥā'* in *al-rahmān* (the Merciful) is an example of *mashq*, the technique in which scribes lengthen words horizontally to fill lines for aesthetic effect.¹¹

The downward horizontal curved *nūn* that is extended without being completely returned to the horizontal axis of the line is typical of Arabic handwriting from the first through the third Islamic centuries.¹²

2. The horizontal extension of the oblique stroke of the final *dāl* and the small upward right hook of this stroke in the words *aḥad* (one) and *al-ṣamad* (the everlasting refuge) are typical of second/eighth-century scripts.¹³ The horizontal extension of the letter *šād* in the word *al-ṣamad* also is common in the Kufic scripts of all eras. The angularity of the script in these first two lines gives the impression that the scribe was trying to execute and perform the Kufic script in the first few lines.

3. The horizontal extension of the oblique stroke of the letter *kāf* and the upward right hook of this stroke in the words *yakun* and *kufiwan* is typical of second/eighth-century penmanship.¹⁴ The scribe uses *alif* to indicate the

10 The script of P.Utah. Ar. 342 resembles what François Déroche describes as “the New Style” in his *The Abbasid Tradition: Qurans of the 8th to 10th Centuries*. Here Déroche argues that the traditional categories of *kūfī* and *naskhī* are not totally accurate, and, accordingly, he introduces a new category, “the New Style.” The New Style is more round than *kūfī* scripts but not as round as *naskhī* scripts. Déroche says that the New Style first appears in non-Quranic texts datable to the third/ninth century and in Quranic manuscripts datable to the fourth/early tenth century (Déroche, *The Abbasid* 132–137).

11 For *mashq*, see Abbott, *The rise* 23–28. Al-Sijistānī relates that as early as four generations before his time, some scholars disliked the use of *mashq* in Quranic texts (al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* 134).

12 Gruendler, *The development* 100–104.

13 *P.Khalili* 1, 29–32.

14 Gruendler, *The development* 88–92; *P.Khalili* 1, 34–37.

accusative case of the word, *kufiwan*, although there are no marks to indicate *tanwīn*. The *alif* in this word bends down to the right at the bottom, a tendency typical of early scripts.¹⁵

4. From this line forward, the script becomes more curved as the scribe abandoned his attempt to imitate Kufic. Although some of the *dāls/dhāls* have the upward hook typical of early papyri, all of them after line 4 in the right side lack this feature.¹⁶ All of the scribal tendencies from this point forward suggest a third/ninth-century date of composition.

8. In the word *al-naḥḥāthāt*, the scribe of P.Utah. Ar. 342 writes *mater lectionis alif* after the *fā'* but not after the *thā'*. According to al-Dānī, the word *al-naḥḥāthāt* should be spelled without *alif*, although in modern editions of the Quran, one finds *alif qaṣīra* in place of *mater lectionis alif*.¹⁷

9. The rightward bend of the *yā'* in *fī* is typical of all papyrus-era texts.¹⁸

11. In the canonical versions of the Quran, there are two more verses than there are here. These verses come between the words *bi-rabb al-nās* and *al-waswās*. These two verses are short (two words each), and both end with the word *al-nās*.¹⁹ Such omissions are common in Quranic papyri.

Notes: Left Side

1. Size is the main difference between the scripts of the right and left sides. In the left side of the text, the scribe writes his letters smaller, avoids *mashq* entirely, and decreases the space between lines. This reduced size of the letters is most apparent in the final forms of *sīn*, *nūn*, and *yā'*. None of the letters with the exception of the *kāf* in line 1 exhibit features common in early papyri.

¹⁵ Abbott, *The rise* plate v; *P.Khalili* I, 27–29.

¹⁶ *P.Khalili* I, 29–32.

¹⁷ al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Muqni'* 24.

¹⁸ Gruendler, *The development* 112–116; *P.Khalili* I, 38–42.

¹⁹ Ibn Wathīq al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) mentions that some people added words to this *sūra* and thereby lengthened it, but he does not say that there are any instances of its having been shortened (1988, 150).

2. The scribe spells *ṣirāṭ mustaqīm* with *mater lectionis alif*. According to al-Dānī (d. 462/1070), the *‘ulamā’* of all regions agreed that it should be written without it.²⁰

4. In the last word of the line, *‘alā*, one sees the omission of the *alif maqṣūra* that is typical of Arabic papyri.²¹

6. The orthography of the word *aghlāl* here is interesting. Al-Dānī says that scribes spelled *aghlālan* with *alif qaṣīra* (or no *alif* at all) in place of the *mater lectionis alif* between the *lāms*, and with *tanwīn faṭḥa* seated on a prosthetic *alif* marking the accusative case at the end of the word. Here the scribe uses the *mater lectionis alif* between the first and second *lāms* and omits the *alif* of *tanwīn faṭḥa*. Al-Dānī does not record this spelling of *aghlāl*.²²

12. The phrase *fa-bashshirhum* merits comment because it ends with the third person plural enclitic pronoun *-hum* whereas the now-standard version of the Quran contains the singular *-hu*. If line 11 were intact, one could examine it to find out if the scribe treated the verb *ittab‘a* the same way.

This is not a variant known from the different lists of *qirā’āt*. Rather, scribal error explains the scribe’s use of *-hum* instead of *-hu* as well as the missing *āya*. Verse 11 of Sūrat Yā’ Sīn reads *innamā tundhiru man-ittab‘a al-dhikra wa khashiya al-raḥmāna bi-l-ghaybi fa-bashshirhu bi-maghfiratin wa-‘ajrin karīmīn*. The conjunctive particle *man* is singular and indeclinable; however, it can convey a collective meaning (i.e. those, those who).²³ Perhaps the scribe assumed that he was to take *man* to mean “those who” rather than he who and then added *-hum* to *fa-bashshir-* accordingly.²⁴ That a *constructio ad sensum* lies behind this variant is an attractive thought as it appears in many other Quranic

20 al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Muqni‘* 97.

21 Hopkins, *Studies* 57–60.

22 al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Muqni‘* 19.

23 For a treatment of *man*, see Wright, *Grammar* 2:273.

24 Another explanation for the use of *-hum* is that the scribe made a careless mistake because of the context in which verse 10 appears. Throughout this part of Sūrat Yā’-Sīn, God is speaking to the Prophet about other groups of people: those who have heard no revelation (verse 6), those who refuse to listen to revelation (verse 7), those whom God has shut off from the light of revelation and punished (verses 8–10), and the dead (verse 13). The first person subject is always plural. The second person subject is always singular. With the exception of verse 10 all third-person subjects and objects are plural. Therefore, the third person singular that one finds in verse 10 is, in a sense, out of place.

papyrus fragments. Regardless of how one explains it, the use of the plural pronoun here does not change the meaning of the verse. It is a minor variation that is most likely due to scribal error.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889), *Sunan Abī Dāwūd. Jāmiʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa al-asānīd wa maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa al-sunan wa al-masānīd*, Cairo 2001.
- . *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, ed. A. Jeffery, Leiden 1927.
- al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070), *Al-Jāmiʿ fī mā yuḥtāju ilayhi min rasm al-maṣḥaf*, ed. Gh.Q. Ḥamad, Baghdad 1988.
- al-Dānī (d. 462/1070), *Kitāb al-Muqniʿ fī rasm masāḥif al-amṣār maʿa kitāb al-naqt*, ed. O. Prezl, Istanbul 1932.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448), *Fath al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 9, ed. ʿA al-ʿA. ibn Bāz, Riyadh 2000.
- Ibn Mājah (d. 273/887), *Sunan Ibn Mājah. Jāmiʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa al-asānīd wa maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa al-sunan wa al-masānīd*, ed. Jamīʿat al-Maknaz al-Islāmī, Cairo 2001.
- al-Mubārakfūrī (d. 1353/1934), *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī bi-sharḥ jāmʿi al-Tirmidhī*, ed. ʿA. al-R. ʿUthmān, Medina 1968.
- Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936), *Kitāb al-sabaʿa fī al-qirāʾāt*, ed. Shawqī Dayf, Cairo 1972.
- Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385 /995), *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Y.ʿA. Tawīl, Beirut 1996.
- al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyīn wa al-lughawīyīn*, Cairo 1973.

Secondary Sources

- Abbott, N., *The rise of the north Arabic script and its Qurʾānic development, with a full description of the Qurʾān manuscripts in the Oriental institute*, Chicago 1939.
- Alain, G., The geometry of early Qurʾānic manuscripts, in *Journal of Quranic Studies* 9 (2007), 78–110.
- ʿAlī, ʿA.A.Y., *The meaning of the holy Qurʾān*, Beltsville, Maryland 1989.
- Anawati, G.C., Trois talismans musulmans en arabe provenant du Mali (marché de Mopti), in *Annales Islamologiques* 11 (1972), 287–339.
- Arberry, A.J., *The Koran interpreted*, 2 vols. in one book, New York 1996.
- Arkoun, M., Introduction: An assessment of and perspectives on the study of the Qurʾān, in A. Rippin (ed.), *The Quran: Style and contents* (The formation of the classical Islamic world 24), Burlington, VT 1982, 297–332, repr. 2001.
- Atiya, L., *University of Utah Arabic collection. Marriot Library, University of Utah* (photocopy), n.d.

- Baalbaki, R., The treatment of qirāʾāt by the second and third century grammarians, in A. Rippin (ed.), *The Qurʾān: Formative interpretation* (The formation of the classical Islamic world 25), Burlington, VT 1985, 159–180, repr. 1999.
- Blair, S., *Islamic calligraphy*, Cairo 2006.
- Böwering, G., Recent research on the construction of the Qurʾān, in G.S. Reynolds (ed.), *The Qurʾān in its historical context*, New York 2008, 70–87.
- Canaan, T., The decipherment of Arabic talismans, in E. Savage-Smith (ed.), *Magic and divination in early Islam* (The formation of the classical Islamic world 42), Burlington, VT 1937, 125–178, repr. 2004.
- Déroche, F., *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, deuxième partie Manuscrits Musulmans, tome I, 1: Les manuscrits du Coran aux origines de la calligraphie coranique*, Paris 1983.
- . *The Abbasid tradition: Qurans of the 8th to 10th centuries*, Oxford 1992.
- . *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, Paris 2000.
- . New evidence about Umayyad book hands, in *Essays in honor of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid*, London 2002, 611–642.
- . Written transmission, in A. Rippin (ed.), *The Blackwell companion to the Qurʾān*, Oxford 2006, 172–186.
- Diem, W., Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie I: Die Schreibung und Vokale, in *Orientalia* 48 (1979), 247–258.
- . Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie II: Die Schreibung der Konsonanten, in *Orientalia* 49 (1980), 67–106.
- . Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie III: Endungen und Endschreibungen, in *Orientalia* 50 (1981), 176–192.
- Dols, M.W., The theory of magic in healing, in E. Savage-Smith (ed.), *Magic and divination in early Islam* (The formation of the classical Islamic world 42), Burlington, VT 1992, 87–102, repr. 2004.
- Fedeli, A., Early evidences of variant readings in Qurʾānic manuscripts, in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (eds.), *Die dunklen Anfänge: Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam*, Berlin 2005, 293–316.
- Grob, E., *Documentary Arabic private and business letters on papyrus: Form and function, content and context*, New York 2010.
- Grohmann, A., The problem of dating early Qurans, in *Der Islam* 33 (1958), 216–231.
- . Die Entstehung des Koran und die ältesten Koran-Handschriften, in *Bustan: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kultur, Politik, und Wirtschaft der Islamischen Länder* 2 (1961), 33–38.
- Gruendler, B., *The development of the Arabic scripts from the Nabatean era to the first Islamic century*, Atlanta 1994.
- Hamdan, O., The second maṣāḥif project: Step towards the canonization of the Qurʾānic text, in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (eds.), *The Qurʾān in context: Historical and literary investigation into the Quranic milieu*, Leiden 2010, 795–835.

- Hamès, C., La notion de magie dans le Coran, in C. Hamès (ed.), *Coran et talismans. Textes et pratiques magiques en milieu musulman*, Paris 2007, 17–49.
- Hopkins, S., *Studies in the grammar of early Arabic*, Oxford 1984.
- Hoyland, R., Epigraphy and the linguistic background of the Qurʾān, in G.S. Reynolds (ed.), *The Qurʾān in its historical context*, New York 2008, 51–69.
- al-Imam, A.ʿA., *Variant readings of the Qurʾan: A critical study of their historical and linguistic origins*, Washington and London 2006.
- Ibn Warraq, Some additions to A. Jeffery and I. Mendelsohn, and some pages from the Samarqand Qurʾān codex, in Ibn Warraq (ed.), *Which Koran? Variants, manuscripts, linguistics*, Amherst, New York 2011.
- Jeffery, A., *Materials for the history of the text of the Quran*, Leiden 1937–1951.
- and I. Mendelsohn, The orthography of Samarqand Qurʾān codex, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 62 (1942), 182–195.
- Kaplon, A., What are those few dots for? Thought on the orthography of the Qurra papyri, the Khurasan documents, and the inscription of the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock, in *Arabica* 55 (2008), 91–112.
- Khan, G., Standardisation and variation in the orthography of the Hebrew bible and Arabic Qurʾān manuscripts, in *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–1991), 53–58.
- Leemhuis, F., From palm leaves to the internet, in J. Dammen McAuliffe (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to the Qurʾān*, Cambridge 2006, 145–162.
- Loebenstein, H., *Koranfragment auf Pergament aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna 1982.
- Loth, O., Zwei arabische Papyrus, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 34 (1880), 685–691.
- Manzoor, S.P., Method against truth: Orientalism and Qurʾānic studies, in A. Rippin (ed.), *The Quran: Style and contents* (The formation of the classical Islamic world 24), Burlington, VT 1987, 399–416, repr. 2001.
- Noseda, S.N., A third Koranic fragment on papyrus: An opportunity for revision, in *Rendiconti* 137 (2003), 313–326.
- Padwick, C.E., *Muslim devotionals: A study of prayer manuals in common use*, Rockport, MA 1961, repr. 1997.
- Puin, G.-R., Observations on early Qurʾānic manuscripts in Ṣanāʾ, in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qurʾān as text*, Leiden 1996, 107–112.
- Rāḡib, Y., Les plus anciens papyrus arabes, in *Annales Islamologiques* 30 (1996), 1–19.
- Reynolds, G.S. (ed.), *The Qurʾān in its historical context*, New York 2008.
- Reynolds, L.D. and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and scholars: A guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin literature*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1991.
- Rezvan, E.A., The Qurʾān and its world VII. Talisman, shield, and sword, in *Manuscripta Orientalia* 4 (1998), 24–34.

- . The Qurʾān and its world v. Language, the unconscious, and the ‘real world,’ in *Manuscripta Orientalia* 4 (1998), 26–39.
- Robin, C.J., La réforme de l’écriture arabe à l’époque du califat médinois, in *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006), 319–364.
- Sadheghi, B. and U. Bergman, The codex of a companion of the prophet and the Qurʾān of the prophet, in *Arabica* 57 (2010), 343–436.
- and M. Goudarzi, Ṣaḥāʾ 1 and the origins of the Qurʾān, in *Der Islam* 87 (2012), 1–129.
- Schoeler, G., *The oral and the written in early Islam*, ed. J.E. Montgomery, trans. U. Vagelpohl, New York 2006.
- . The codification of the Qurʾān: A comment on the hypotheses of Burton and Wansbrough, in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (eds.), *The Qurʾān in context: Historical and literary investigation into the Quranic milieu*, Leiden 2010, 779–794.
- Versteegh, C.H., *The Arabic language*, New York 1997.
- Watt, W.M., *Bell’s introduction to the Quran*, Edinburgh 1970.
- Whelan, E., Forgotten witness: Evidence for the early codification of the Qurʾān, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118 (1998), 1–14.
- Wouters, A., From papyrus scroll to papyrus codex: Some technical aspects of ancient book fabrication, in *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–1991), 9–19.
- Wright, W., *Grammar of the Arabic language*. Revised and edited by W. Robertson Smith and M.J. de Goeje, 2 vols, 1859, repr. 2 vols. in 1, Cambridge 1999.