

# A Study of a Handwritten Plate from the Third Century A.H.

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## *Introduction:*

Yemen has a number of ancient mosques which have wonderful artistic masterpieces of ornamentation, decoration and scripts. The Great Mosque in Sana'a contains most of such unique relics, the most important being manuscripts, those of the copies of the Quran in particular. The Western Library in the Great Mosque in Sana'a has 12000 parchments of Qurānic texts, among which there are more than one hundred ornamented Qurānic copies dating back to the first five centuries of Hijra. (1)

In the Eastern Library of the Great Mosque there are more than one thousand Qurānic copies listed in an unpublished bibliography. The most important of these Qurānic copies, consisting of 40000 folios, were all found hidden in the ceiling of the Great Mosque in Sana'a. (2)

Among the manuscripts of the Qurānic copies in the Western Library is the parchment on which are written the Quranic verses of the present study.

I have been bent on studying them in respect to script, drawing and dotting besides the name of the sūrah and the number of its verses, hoping that the study will be a step forwards an extensive study of the old Qur'ānic copies in Sana'a.

Following is the plate of the study under No. (1)

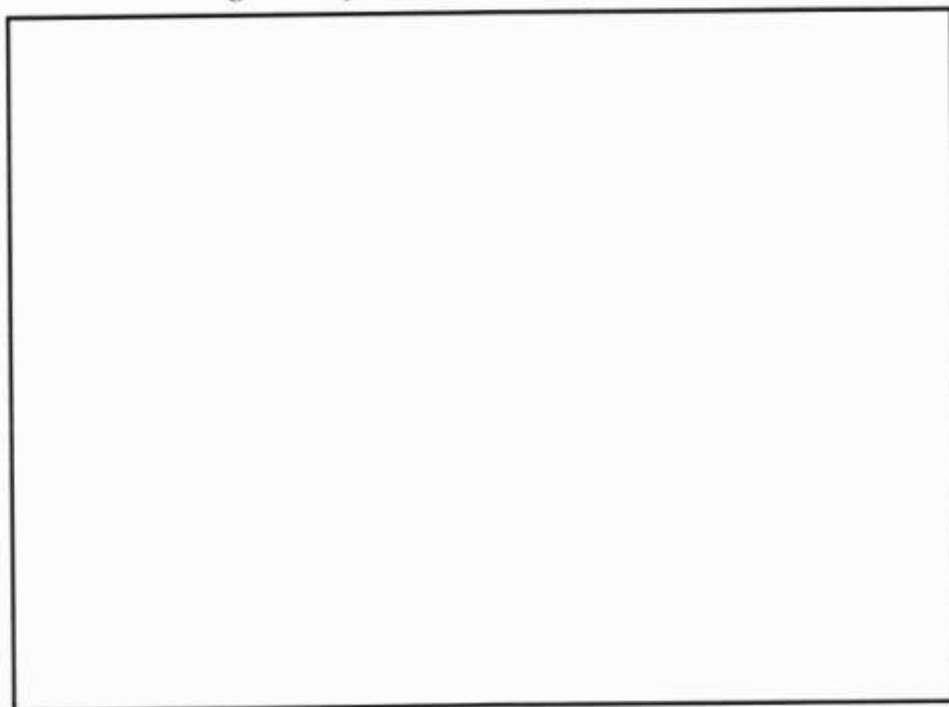


Plate No.1 (plate of study)

- *Content: Sūrat Al-a'la (LXXXV) verse 5 till the end, and Sūrat Al-ghashiyah (LXXXV), verses 1-7.*
- *Calligraphy: Kufic.*
- *Vellum from 3rd /9th century.*
- *Location : the Western Library, Great Mosque, Sana'a, Yemen.*
- *Calligrapher: unknown.*

المصاحف القديمة في صنعاء، وأبتدئ دراستي في وضع لوحة الدراسة وأرقمها  
بالرقم (١).



اللوحة (١)

□ اللوحة تحتوي على آيات من سورة الأعلى من الآية ٥- الآية ١٩ أخر السورة ثم اسم السورة وعدد آياتها ٢٦ ثم تحتوي على آيات من سورة الفاتحة من الآية ١ - ٧.

Handwriting and the art of calligraphy are two faces of the same coin; therefore, when talking about the script used in writing the Qur'ānic copies till the 3rd century A.H., we have to deal with two points:

A. The Arabic script that was accessible to the Prophet's Companions was attributed to three men from Ṭay in Baqqah(3), some Anbarīs learned it from them (4), and finally the people of Ḥīrah (5), learned it from those of Anbār. (6)

Next, the Prophet's Companions learned the 'Arabic script from the people of Ḥīrah. It is reported that 'Amīr Al-sha'biy (7), said: " I asked the immigrants whence they had learned handwriting and they said: from the people of Ḥīrah. We asked the people of Ḥīrah the same question and they said: from the people of Anbār".(8)

B. As for the type of calligraphy used in writing the Qur'ānic copies during the time of the Companions, it was the Kūfic calligraphy, for the following reasons:

FIRST: It is narrated that Hishām b. Muhammad b. Al-Sāib (9) said: " This script of ours is called Al-jazm. It was first used in Baqqah by some people from Ṭay (10).

SECOND: Al-Batliyūsi (b. Al-Sayyid) (d. 521 A. H.) said:

"The people of Ḥīrah have the jazm script which is the script of Qur'ān copies. The Kūfis learned that script from them.(11)

THIRD: The Kūfic calligraphy was so called although it was not Kūfī in origin, but it was borrowed from the people of Ḥīrah wherefrom the immigrants learned the jazm script, i.e. the Qur'ānic script, which has been predominantly called Kufic due to the reputation of Kūfa as a great Islamic city of that era.

C. The improvement of Kufic calligraphy:

Kūfic was the script used in writing the Qur'anic copies of the provinces (12), but the quality of the script improved throughout Islamic history. Kūfic calligraphy improved to assume the features of plates 2 and 3 in the 3rd century A.H.

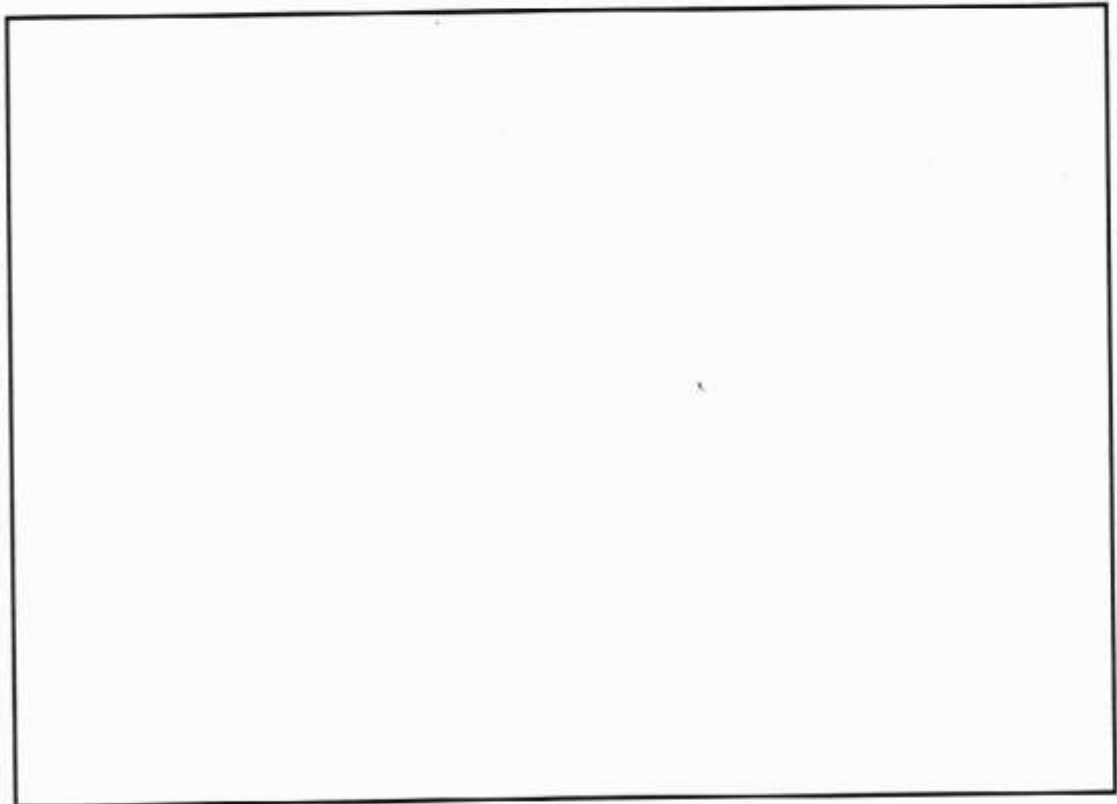
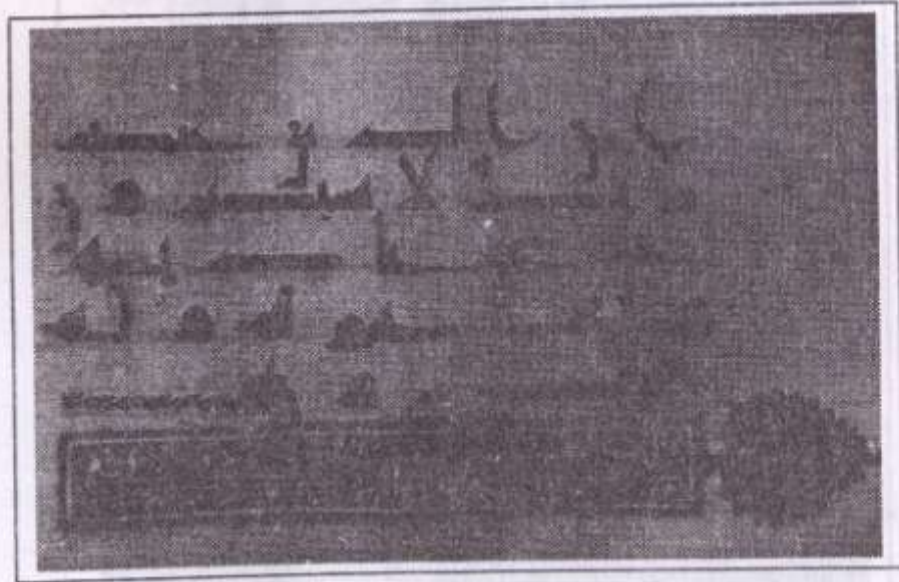
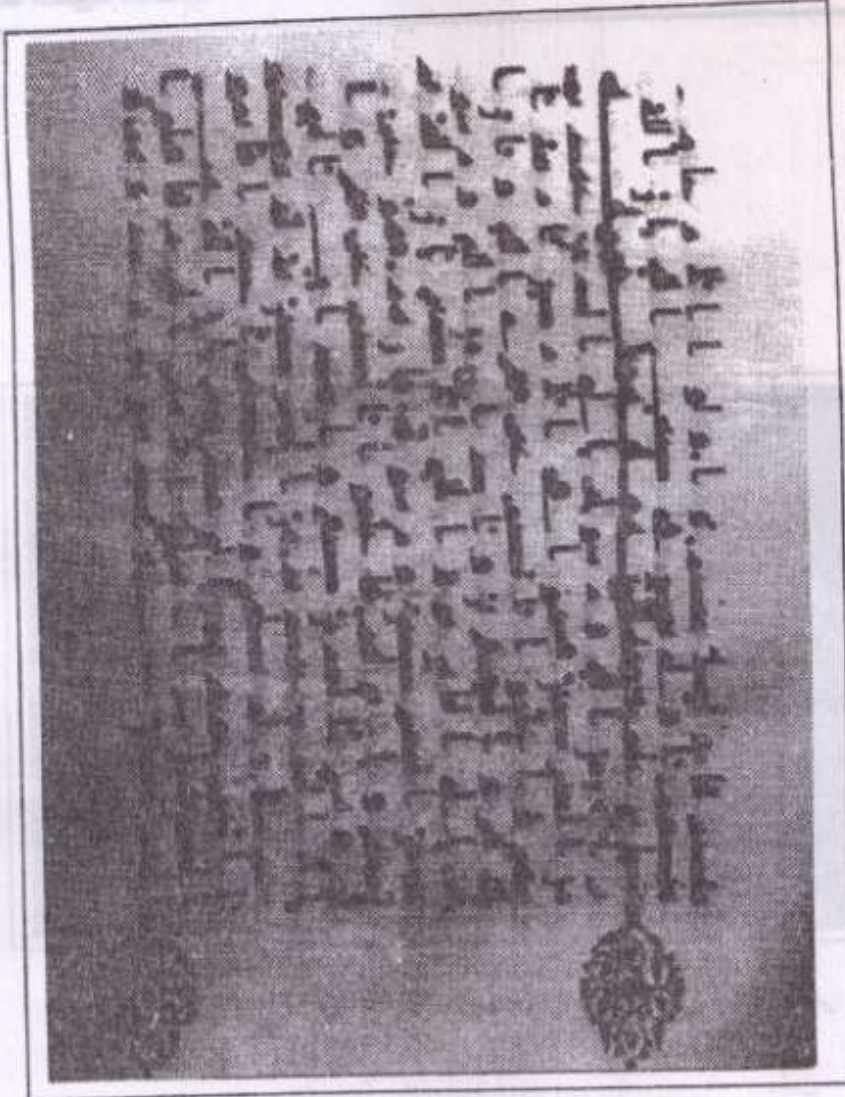


plate 2: VIII, 75-IX,5, in Kūfic on vellum, 3rd / 9th century, Near East, Iraq or Persia.  
Tehran, Iran Bastan Museum, 4251.



اللوحة (٢) : كتبت الآية ٢٠٦ آخر آية سورة الأعراف ثم اسم سورة الأفعال... بالخط الكوفي الرق من القرن الثالث الهجري التاسع الميلادي.





اللوحة (٣): كتبت الآية ٧٥ آخر آية بسورة الأنفال ثم اسم سورة التوبة.. ومن الآية ١-٥ من سورة التوبة بالخط الكوفي الرق من القرن الثالث الهجري.



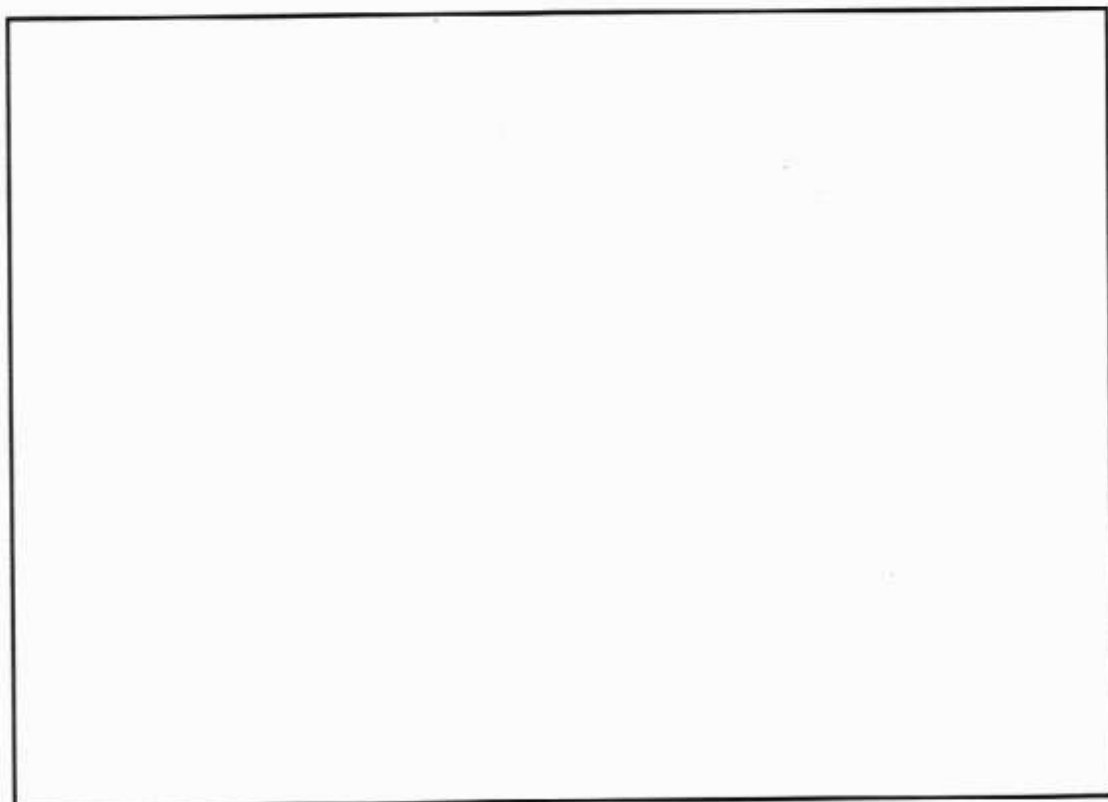


plate 3: VII, 206, followed by *sūrah* heading of VIII, in Kūfic on vellum, 3rd /9th century, Near East, Iraq or Persia. Tehran, Iran Bastam Museum, 4289.

The shape of the plate of the present study very much resembles that of the above- mentioned plates taken from: Martin Lings, *The Qur'ānic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (13) regarding the type of script, the shape of the letters, the good quality of the script, dotting, decoration and the mention of the name of the sūrah.











There are other pieces of evidence that indicate that the script was Kufic from the third century A.H. Martin Lings illustrates the features that characterize the Kufic script in the 3rd century A.H., in his book " *The Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*":



" The third century of Islam which mainly coincides with the ninth century of Christianity, marks the outset of two remarkable developments of Kufic, one in the East and the other in North Africa, each sufficiently different from the original to warrant a different name. But the Arabs make no verbal distinction between the three scripts in question, except that they occasionally refer to the derivatives as Al- Kūfī Al- Fārisī (Persian Kufic) or Al- Kūfī Al- Baghdādī (Baghdad Kufic) Al- Kūfī Al- Maghribī (Western Kufic) . Both of these are lighter and more dynamic and more potentially decorative than the parent script which is sometimes called "square Kufic" or "rectangular Kufic" by Western scholars on account of the predominance of vertical and horizontal strokes. By contrast the Eastern derivative is characterized





not only by the disappearance of the long thick horizontal lines, except in one or two letters, but also by the marked increase of diagonals and letters of triangular shape.

For this reason, it is sometimes known as bent Kufic. It has a wide variety of forms: in some the unjoined letters are spaced from each other, though not so widely spaced in the rectangular Kufic"(14).

The description given by Martin Lings of the two plates he attributes to the third century A.H. applies to the plate of our study with respect to the following points:

1. The letter ḥā remains in the plate of the study in the word (  ) thick and horizontal, and so does the letter khā' in (  ). The two letters seem identical in shape not in sound because of the absence of dots.
2. Some words have the polygonal shape, particularly in the letter kāf and the hamza over the ya', in the words (  ) and (  ).
3. Triangles with bent sides:
  - a) First type: the wāw everywhere (  ).
  - b) Second type: the fā and qāf separated from preceding letters, (      ) .

c) Third type: the  $\vec{r}\bar{a}$  in (  ) and (  ).

4. The space within a single word (  ) space between  $\vec{r}\bar{a}$ , and hamza (  ), a space between dhāl and kāf (  ) a space between hamza and fā (  ) a space between dhāl and alif.

These qualities of the letters along with the similarities between the three plates, show that the writing took place in the 3rd century A.H.

As for the script of the plate of the study, it is definitely Muhaqqaq Kufic, by virtue of the properties that characterize the Muhaqqaq script, for it is characterized by straight strokes (15). It belongs to the family of Kufi scripts, for the square shape is evident in it and also the properties of precision and letter closeness. (16)

Second: Al- Rasm : before dealing with the "rasm" (inscription / drawing) of this plate, we have to point out the basis of comparison and the definition of "rasm".

Linguistically, "rasm" means "a trace, but here it means Qurānic inscription, i.e. its inscribed letters".

The original inscription is that whose forms are reliable and which is referred to in case of controversy about recitation (17) In all that the reference will be the Qurānic copies of Imam ʿUthmān which he sent to the provinces, as we will see.

Al- Ṣuyūṭī said (18): The Arabic rule is to write down or transcribe the utterance with alphabetic letters taking into consideration the matters of initiation and pausing.

Grammarians had formulated principles and rules, but the transcript of the leading Qurānic copy (Al-muṣḥaf Al-Imām) disagrees with those principles and rules in respect to some letters.

Imām Mālik was once asked: "Is it permissible that the Qur'an be written with such spelling as has been innovated by people?" He replied: "No. It should be written in the original form" (19).

The source of the argument is perceived in Al-Dānī's narration. He said that Khalaf b. Hamdān related from Ahmad Al-Makki, from Ali, from Al-Qusm, from Mahdī b. Shuba, from Abī Ishāq, from Muṣāb b. Saʿd, who said: "I witnessed the event of tearing the old copies of the Qur'ān by ʿUthmān. People then approved of that, or (he said) nobody blamed him for it." (20)

This is regarded as silent consensus by the Companions regarding the ʿUthmānī inscription. The plate of the present

study has to be compared with the ʿUthmānī inscription adopted by Muslim scholars, particularly those of Al-Azhar University, who cosigned it on the 10th of Rabīʿ Thānī, 1337 A.H. Those scholars were Muhammad ʿAlī: K̤halaf Al-Ḥusainī, the head of Egyptian Qurʾānic reciters, Ḥafnī Nasif, Nasr Al-Adilī, Mustafa ʿAnanī, Ahmad Al-Iskandarī, and the worthy sheikh of Al-Azhar. This version is called al-Amīrī Muṣḥaf.(21)

If you scrutinize the inscription of the two Qurʾānic texts in plates 1 and 4, you will notice complete correspondence, excepting three words:



بِفَعْلِهِ، غُشَاءً أُحْرَى ⑥ سُنْقَرِيكَ فَلَا تَنْسَى ⑦  
 إِلَّا مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ إِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ الْجَهْرَ وَمَا يَخْفَى ⑧ وَنَبِيرَكَ  
 لِلْبَيْرَى ⑨ فَذَكَرَ إِنْ نَفَعَتِ الذِّكْرَى ⑩ سَبَّحُكُمْ  
 مَنْ يَحْتَسِبُ ⑪ وَيَتَجَنَّبُهَا الْأَشْقَى ⑫ الَّذِي يَصَلَّى  
 النَّارَ الْكُبْرَى ⑬ ثُمَّ لَا يَمُوتُ فِيهَا وَلَا يَحْيَى ⑭  
 قَدْ أَفْلَحَ مَنْ تَزَكَّى ⑮ وَذَكَرَ اسْمَ رَبِّهِ فَصَلَّى ⑯  
 بَلْ تُؤَثِّرُونَ أَخْبِيَةَ الدُّنْيَا ⑰ وَالْآخِرَةَ خَيْرًا وَأَبْقَى ⑱  
 إِنَّ هَذَا لَنِ السُّحُفِ الْأُولَى ⑲ صُحُفِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ  
 وَمُوسَى ⑳


(M) سُورَةُ الْعَاشِيَةِ مَكِّيَّةٌ  
 وَأَيَّانَهَا سِتُّ وَعِشْرُونَ آيَةً

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

هَلْ أَتَاكَ حَدِيثُ الْعُنَيْبَةِ ① وَجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ خَشِيعَةٌ ②  
 عَامِلَةٌ نَاصِبَةٌ ③ تَصَلَّى نَارًا حَامِيَةً ④ تُسْقَى مِنْ عَيْنٍ  
 عَائِيَةٍ ⑤ لَيْسَ لَهُمْ طَعَامٌ إِلَّا مِنْ ضَرِيحٍ ⑥ لَا يُسْمِنُ  
 وَلَا يُغْنِي

1. Al- ghāshiya: This word is written in the title of the sūrah in the forth plate with ( ا ) (alif) after ( غ ) (ghayn), thus ( الغاشية ) while in the first plate the alif is absent. This has nothing to do with the Uthmānī inscription, for in the original Uthmānī inscription the titles of the sūrahs were not included since they are not Qur'anic Verses.

Abū Dāwūd Al- Sajistānī Said: " 'Abdullāh narrated that Wahab narrated from Yazīd, who said that Hammād quoted Abī Hamza saying: " I showed Ibrāhīm a copy of Qur'an belonging to me where the sūrahs are given titles. Thereupon Ibrāhīm said: Delete these (titles), for Ibn Mas'ūd would disapprove of this and say: Don't include in Allah's Holy Book what does not belong to it. (22)



Apart from that the two plates (1) and (4) have the Uthmānī shape of the word within the sūrah, thus (  ) without a written "alif" which retains its pronunciation in the body of the sūrah according to all ten schools of authentic varieties of recitation.(23)

2. As for qualifying the sūrah in plate (4) as Meccan, such indication was a late addition and did not show in the early Qur'anic copies. Abū Dāwūd Al- Sajistānī narrated through the same chain of the above - mentioned narrators that Ibn

Mas'ūd said: "Keep the Qurān intact and do not introduce into it what does not belong to it". (24)

Al-sajistānī also narrated through the same chain of narrators that Ibrāhīm said: "It used to be said: Keep the mushaf (Qur'an) intact, (25)" and also his saying: Keep the Qur'an intact.(26) Therefore the early copies of the Qur'an did not include the designations: "Meccan" and "Medinan" till there were innovated such oblongs between the sūrahs to include such designations therein.

3. The word (  ) (āmila) was written in plate (4)

(  ) , while in plate (1) it is (  )

without a written alif, which is uttered by all reciters of the ten fully authentic varieties of recitation. (27)

I have not come across any mention of the inscription of this word in Al-Muqni' by Abī 'Āmr Al-Dānī, nor in Al-Itqān. But I noticed something said by 'Āmr Al-Dānī about some words regarding the shape which can be taken as evidence: "I have found that in some of the old antique Medinan and Iraqi Qur'anic copies". (28) He also said in another statement, "I scrutinized that in the original Iraqi Qur'an copies, because I did not have any other references for an appropriate text."(29)

I asked professor Yusuf Dhannūn (30) in Sana'a during his visit to it in Ramadan of the year 1417 A.H. about that,

whereupon he replied: "Since inscription (Rasm) books do not mention that, old copies of the Qur'ān can be consulted, for they are more authentic than contemporary copies". It is worthwhile mentioning here that <sup>U</sup>thmān sent several copies of the Qur'ān to the provinces, Such copies sometimes differed in inscription (31) and that perhaps explains the situation.

Finally I find it convenient, while talking about inscription, to say that the <sup>U</sup>thmānī inscription is regarded as a fundamental condition for accepting the valid recitation, for a valid or correct recitation must meet three requirements:(32)

- 1- agreement with the <sup>U</sup>thmānī inscription.
- 2- agreement with one grammatical rule or another.
- 3- uninterrupted chain of narrators.


If we survey the various authentic recitations of the Qur'ān we will notice that the two plates (1) and (2) can be recited in agreement with all those recitations, as follows:

1- (  ) sūrat Al- a'lā, verse 16.

Abū 'Amr read it with the third person → (yā),

while others read it with the second person → (tā) (33)



No diacritical points occur in the plate of our study except in this word. The diacritical points used are not in the shape of two dots above the letter or atop it, as is the practice in such cases, but in the shape of two short strokes or lines in red placed above (ﺀ) and two others under it, thus (  ). The scribe wanted to indicate the two possible readings, using short strokes in place of dots.

2- ( تصلى ) sūrat Al- ghāshiyā, Verse 4.

Shu'ba and the two Baṣṛīs, i.e. Abū 'Amr and Yaqub read ت (t) with ḍamma /u/ while others read it with fathā /a/. (34)

So, through comparing the inscription of plate (1) with that of plate (4) and referring to the authentic recitations, we conclude that the text of plate (1) agrees with the 'Uthmānī style of inscription.

3- Al- Shakl:

1. Definition: to provide a piece of writing with diacritical points to indicate grammatical functions.

'I, Jam means dotting the written material. Al- Shakl indicates disambiguating and clarifying.(35)

Al- Shakl, as a technical term, has had a wider meaning to comprehend all types of vocalization signs attached to all the letters:

ḍamm /u/, kasr /i/, fath /a/, nunuation, hamz, sukūn, shadda, madd, waṣl, ...etc. to avoid ambiguity and misunderstanding.

A synonym for "Shakl" is "ḍabt". The art of ḍabt is a science by which are known the changeable characteristics of the letter, ...i.e. fath, ḍamm, kasr, sukūn, shadda, and madd. The synonym of "ḍabt" is "shakl" (36) "Al- naqt" is used to denote what "dabt" and "shakl" denote. Besides it is used to mean 'I jām which specifies each letter and has the form of dots used singularly or dually to distinguish between dotted letters and their corresponding dotless ones. (37)

These signs of vocalization (al- shakl) do not affect the actual structure of the letter.(38)

2.The history of al- Shakl: The Syrians who inhabited Syria, on embracing Christianity, translated into their language, Syriac, the holy Books, specially the gospels, and they wanted to vocalize their words when they recited them in synagogues and churches, lest they should make errors. Therefore, they innovated big dots to be placed above or below



the letter. That was in the Syriac script known as "Estrangelo Script" which is like the Qur'ānic script of Muslims. (39)

Historians agree that Arabs in their early days did not know the vocalization of letters and words, for that was unnecessary because of their faultless speech, undefiled inborn disposition and eloquence. But when many new nations, including non-Arabs who did not know Arabic, embraced Islam, incorrectness in speech began to encroach upon the language of the Qur'ān ; therefore, vocalization was adopted in order to keep the Qur'ān intact (40).







Therefore, we are not sure whether Arabs imitated the Syrians or not. Dotting started in the era of the Companions. Qatāda said (41). " They started adding dots, and then grouped (verses) into fives (42) and tens. (43), (44) Abu 'Amr said : " This indicates that it was the Companions and the prominent among their successors who began using dots and marking verses into fives and tens, for Qat'ada's report is narrated from them he being one of the Companions'(45) successors. The Companions, however, did not assign a special method to follow, and did not generalize the process of dotting to cover all the Qur'ānic







utterances, but it seems that theirs were just facilitating attempts (46).

This is evident in the consensus of the scholars of dotting that dotting in a systematic precise way was practised by the tabi'in (the Companions' successors) , and the first to do that for the purpose of vocalization was Abu al-ʿAswad al-Duʿalī, (47) at the request of Ziyād b. Abih (48) (49) during the Umayyad Caliphate.

### 3. The Procedure of dotting

#### a. Fatha, Damma, Kasra and nunnation.

On scrutinizing the plate, it is noticed that Fatha is represented by a dot above the beginning of the letter as is evident in the red dot above the letter ( ر ) rā' in the word (  ) and above the letter ( ك ) kāf in (  ). Damma is made a dot either preceding or succeeding the letter. The damma dot above the nun ( ن ) in His Saying (  ). is placed before the letter. As for the dot following the letter, the examples illustrating that are the words (  ) and (  ). Kasra is a dot below the beginning of the letter as in (  ) and

(  ). Nunnation is two dots above the letter for fatḥh nunnation placed horizontally , e.g. (  ). Damm nunnation is two dots following the letter, e.g. (  ) and (  ). Kasra nunnation is two horizontal dots under the letter, e.g. (  ) and (  ).

The source of this dotting goes back to the following steps:

Abū al-ʿaswad Al-Duʿlī chose a man from ʿAbd-al-Qais to add the dots, saying to him. Take the Qurʾān and a pigment contrasting with the color of ink. On opening my lips, put one dot above the letter; on rounding them, put the dot next to the letter; on (lowering the lower lip) indicating Kasra put the dot below it. If any of these vowels are followed by /Ghunna/ (nasalization) (50), double the dot.(51) So he started with the Qurʾān and continued till he came to its end. Later on he wrote the synopsis attributed to him.(52)

It is obvious, therefore, that in the plate of the study the approach of Abū al-ʿAswad al-Duʿlī in dotting is adopted in respect to Fatḥha, Ḍamma, Kasra, and nunnation. This is also mentioned in the Book of Maṣāḥif. (53)

It is necessary, however, to comment on the *ḍamm* that occurs before the letter and the position of nunnation as referred to in the books of dotting (*naqt*).

Regarding the damma in front of the letter, Abū al-ʿAswad, according to a narration by Muḥammad b. Yazīd Al-Mubarrid (54) said: "If you see me pronounce the letter by rounding my lips, place a dot in front of the letter". (55) As for the position for nunnation, the narration of Abī al-ʿAswad does not specify the differences between *ḍamm* nunnation, *fath* nunnation and *kasr* nunnation. Nevertheless, al-Muḥkam says (about nunnation): "If the noun with the nunnation ends in *kasra*, I put two dots below it, one to stand for the vowel and the other for nunnation, whether the sound is single or doubled. If the letter is with *ḍamma*, I put two dots after the letter also, and do the same if it is with *fatha*." (56)

But the plate of the study shows that there are differences regarding *fath* nunnation, in that two dots are placed above the letter rather than in front of it, as Abū ʿAmr mentions. That was more precise for the purpose of differentiation between the *fath* nunnation and the *ḍamm* nunnation.


Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī shows that in the case of *kasr* nunnation two dots are placed below the letter, the upper dot being for the vowel and the lower for the nunnation before


pharyngeal letters (sounds), i.e. ha' , ha' and 'ayn before which, it is agreed, nunnation should be explicit. Therefore it was necessary to place a dot above the pharyngeal letter (sound) to indicate that nunnation is to be pronounced explicitly, e.g. ( سميع عليم ) , ( لعلي حكيم ) ( جرف هار ). This applies to hā', hā' and 'ayn , as well as hamza. (57) This does not exist in the plate of the study, but only nunnation is represented under the letter for kasr horizontally all the time, for the rules of pronouncing nunnation fully is a special branch in the science of tajwid (good recitation of Qurān)which is not incumbent to indicate through dotting, as in ( حور سايه ) .

Abu 'Amr said :'' As for khā' and ghayn, those who pronounced nunnation fully in their context made the two dots one above the other as shown before, but those who hid nunnation ('Ikhfā'), i.e. keeping only nasalization in their context, made the two dots next to each other.(58) This does not occur in the plate of the study, for kasr nunnation is represented by two horizontal dots below the letter without dotting the following letter, as is clear in Allah's saying :( حور سايه ) . Abū 'Amr also said : "If the coloured noun is followed in the three grammatical cases, i.e.



accusative, genitive and nominative, by the other letters of the lexicon, whether made with the tongue or the lips, but not the pharyngeal, the two dots indicating the vowel and nunnation are placed successively one after the other, the preceding one next to the letter being the vowel and the following one the nunnation.(59) If the letter is followed by one of four letters :  $\bar{r}\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{l}\bar{a}m$ ,  $\bar{n}\bar{u}n$  or  $\bar{m}\bar{i}m$ , a shadda is placed on each of them to indicate that the nunnation is assimilated in it ; that is, it turned along with it, because of assimilation, into one doubled letter.(60)

But in the plate of the study the fath and kasr nunnation is represented by two dots one above the other next to alif, as in (  ). In the case of damm, two dots one

above the other are placed after the letter, as in (  )

(  ), (  ), (  )

(  )



Kasr nunnation is represented by two horizontal dots below the letter as mentioned above, as in

(  )

The yellow dots representing the hamza have faded in many positions due to longevity which has extended for no less than eleven centuries. But the hamza remained in eight



positions, in 

The shape of hamza was always ( نَا ) when it occurred initially whether it was with fatha or kasra; medially, as in (  ) the yellow dot appeared in this form (  ).

Al-Kharrāz in his poem (61) said: "We use yellow (dots) for the articulated (letters) and red (ones) for the negligible".


He means if the hamza had to be articulated, it was written yellow whether it occurred initially, medially or finally.(62)

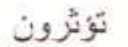
The vowel with hamza, when occurring initially, in the plate of our study, it was a red dot for fatha placed above the yellow dot. A kasra was a red dot below the yellow one beneath the letter.


That agrees with what is mentioned in the commentary (sharḥ) of Mawrid al- Zamʿān (63) regarding every articulated hamza.


But this does not apply to the word ( سَنَفْرَنْك ), for the hamza is represented in the plate of the study by a yellow dot before the letter indicating thereby that it is a hamza and it has the damm because it precedes the letter,

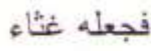
like a red dot placed before the letter to indicate a ḍamma, as mentioned above.

This disagrees with al-Muḥkam regarding the same word (  ). Al-Muḥkam says. "The hamza was written a yellow dot in that word, and its vowel was made a red dot before it if it was a ḍamma.(64)

Concerning the word (  ), the author of al-Muḥkam said: " If this is dotted, the hamza is written as a yellow dot in the waw itself, and its vowel is made a red dot preceding it, if it is a ḍamma.(65)

In the plate of the study the yellow dot representing hamza in the wāw has vanished, but a red dot is still there before it (  ). Or, no yellow dot has ever been placed there, for in some varieties of Qur'ānic recitation and narrations, like the narration of Warsh from Nāfi, the hamza is changed into wāw.(66) The red dot after the waw remained to indicate that it is pronounced a wāw. The two red dots above the initial letter indicate that it is pronounced tā' along with changing the hamza into wāw, therefore they were, along with the dot after the wāw, in red. However, the former interpretation is more likely.

As for (  ), the hamza is written a yellow dot not after alif, but above it. This is what appears in the plate of the study, and it is more weighty in the view of scholars of dotting. Concerning this word, Abū ‘Amr Al-Dānī said, "The Qurānic copies also agree that the accusative alif be deleted if preceded by alif, as in غشاء, and it may be the one written and it is the former that is omitted. However, the first opinion is more in agreement with analogy.(67) Al-Kharrāz preferred the first opinion.(68)

In Sharḥ Talkhiṣ Al-Fawā'id Wa-Taqrīb Al-Mutāb'aid (69) a'lā Aqīlat Atrāb Al-Qaṣā'id (70) we find : Qurānic copies are unanimous on writing any word whose lām is a hamza with fatḥ occurring after a fatḥa or alif, like the dual alif or nunnation, with one alif, e.g... (71) (  ).

If it is said : " How did our predecessors choose to represent the hamza, which is one of the letters, with a yellow dot, while a dot is used to stand for vowels?"


The answer would be : "They agreed on that, for it was given a shape. Since it was assigned a shape like the vowels, it shared them the sign. But the hamza is made yellow, while the vowels are red, to distinguish it from them, for it is a (consonant) letter, while they are just vowels for those letters.

But the people of Iraq disagreed with those of Medina, in that they represented the hamza with a red dot as they did the vowels. The practice of the people of Medina, i.e. making the hamza sign yellow to distinguish it from vowel signs, is more reasonable and reliable.


Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Jizi narrated from Muhammad b. al-ʿAṣbagh al-Imām, from Abdullāh b. ʿIsa, who said : 'Qālūn (72) said : "In the Qur'anic copies of Medina, any (consonant) letter marked with a yellow dot has a hamza". (73)




## 2. Sukūn (vowellessness)


No sign representing vowellessness occurs in the text at all. But it is noticed that (  ) has the dot above mim


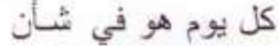
to represent fath, as in (  ) (  )


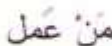

But (  ) has no signs of vowelization with mim or


nūn, as in (  ) (  ) This









agrees with Ibn Mujāhid's opinion that vowellessness is not to be represented by dots. He said : "A vowelless letter is not dotted in the Qurān, as in (  ) (74)




Nothing is to be added above the alif of (  ), but the alif


in (  ) in His saying (  ) is dotted because the dot stands for the hamza. (75)


Abu 'Amr sees that if the vowelless nūn is followed by one of the six pharyngeal letters, vowellessness is represented by a short stroke or a small circle, while a dot is placed only on the pharyngeal that follows it, as in (  ), (  ), (  ).(76)

However, vowellessness is not indicated in this case in the plate of the study, either, as in (  ).

3. Shadda : No sign is used in the plate of the study to stand for double letters at all, but a dot is used only to indicate the vowel of the doubled letter, e.g. the kasra for sīn in (  ) and the fathā for dhāl in (  ) and for mīm in (  ), and for nūn in (  ), the ḍamma for sad in (  ) and the fathā for lām in (  ). The fathā is not indicated for kāf in (  ) for the alif maqsurah ( ي ) will suffice as it will for (  ) also and because Qur'ānic reciters differ in reading it in respect of 'Imāla (/a/ gliding towards (but not changed into /i/ or /ā/ towards /ī/) and Taqlīl (between /a/ and /i/ or /ā/ and /ī/). (77)

I cannot figure out why the fathā of the doubled letters in (  ), (  ) and  is not represented by a dot.





However, in the plate of the study, the fathā of the first nūn is represented by a dot in (  ) because of the assimilation of identical letters, i.e. the first vowelless nūn and the second nūn with fathā. The two letters have become one double letter. The fathā of the double letter is

indicated over the first nun instead of a shadda. But in this case Abu 'Amr Al-Dani indicates the doubling of the letter by placing the shadda on the second *nūn* not on the first, citing an example; ( من نور ) (78). He indicates the assimilation of the first vowelless *nūn* to *yā'* according to those who regard it a complete assimilation, and thus the shadda is placed above the *yā'*, as in ( من يقول ). In the plate of the study this is not indicated even with a fatḥa in (  ), neither above the vowelless assimilated *nūn*, nor above the *yā'*. If we assume that Abū 'Amr Al-Dānī has pointed out that the assimilation of the *nūn* to the *yā'* is accompanied by nasalization according to some people, in this case the *nūn* is treated in either of two ways :

One way is to leave the *nūn* without *sukūn* (vowellessness mark) and the letter following it without shadda, but with a dot only; the other way is to retain the *sukūn* mark above the *nūn* because of its evident nasalization, and the Shadda is placed above the letter following it. (79)

Abū 'Amr also has pointed out that the vowelless *nūn* before the letters of *ikhfā'* (non-articulation) is not marked with *sukūn*, nor is the letter following it marked with shadda, but is provided with a dot above it only.(80)



In the plate of the study this is not indicated in (  ) and (  ), whereas the mim in (  ) is dotted, but the mim in (  ) is not, as mentioned above.

4. The mention of the title of the Sūrah and the number of its verses :

This is referred to the narrations of Abū 'Ubayda and others about Ibn Mas'ūd's saying : "Keep the Qur'ān intact and do not mix anything with it." (81)

Thus the Holy Qur'ān used to be written without the name of the Sūrah or the number of its verses, with the exception of indicating the end of each verse with three dots.

Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (82) said : "They did not approve of anything in these Qur'ānic copies except the three dots at the head of the verses." (83)

'Alī Hurawī (84) has pointed out that the most acceptable interpretation of Ibn Mas'ūd's saying, "Keep the Qur'ān intact ", in his opinion, is "Don't mix with it, on teaching it, other divine books revealed before it." (85)

Nowadays all Qur'ānic copies include the titles of the Sūrahs and the numbers of their verses, not excepting the 'Amirī copy, which has enjoyed the approval of the scholars and the Sheikh of al-Azhar University, as mentioned above.



But for extra precaution, those additional pieces of information are enclosed within a closed oblong separated from the proper Qur'ānic text, as has been shown in plate 4, in order to keep the Qur'ān distinct from anything else.

Now we have to check the number of the verses of Sūrat al-Ghashiyā mentioned at the head of the Sūrah. In the plate of the study it is 26. It is also 26 in the 'Amīrī Qur'ānic copy. Ibn Al-Jawzī (86) said: "Sūrat Al-Ghashiyā is 26 verses unanimously."(87)

In the book Bashir al-Yusr "Sharh (88) Nazimat al-Zahar (89) Fi 'Ilm al-Fawasil"(90) it is said : "It is said that the number of the verses of Surat al-Ghashiya is 26 to everybody."

## Conclusion

We have noticed the fingerprints of the third century A.H manifested in the script, inscription and dotting. We have concluded also, by comparing all that with what Martin Lings said and portrayed, that the script belonged to the third century A.H.

It is observed that, although a period of eleven centuries has passed since this text was written, the Qur'ānic materials in these verses have not altered and they are the same as they are in the modern *Amīrī* copy. All this confirms the fact that Allah has kept the Qur'ān intact and verifies the truthfulness of Allah's promise in his saying: "We have, without doubt, sent down the Message; and we will assuredly guard it (from corruption)." (91)

Thus, this is an eternal miracle indicating the greatness of the Qur'ān and its everlasting light.

## Notes :

1. from a leaflet issued by the General Committee of Relics and Museums in Sana'a, proceedings, of a seminar about protecting Yemeni manuscripts, held in 10-12 Rabī' I, 1413 A.H./ 7-9 Sept. 1992 A.D., in the House of Manuscripts, Old Sana'a, next to the Great Mosque, Jointly with the National Committee and the UNESCO.
2. Maṣāḥif Sana'a, a book with an introduction by Mrs Huṣṣa al-Sālim al-Ṣabāh, director of the House of Islamic Relics in Kuwait, p.5, Dar al-Āthār al-Islāmiyyah in Kuwait, National Museum of Kuwait, Jumada I-Sha'bān 1405 A.H./ March 19th-May 19th. 1985 A.D..
3. "Baqqah" is the name of a location near Hirah. It is said that it was a fortress, two parasangs from Hīt, which was taken a residence by Judhaymah al-Abrash, the King of Hirah. This is mentioned in "al-ʿAqd al-Farīd" by Ibn Abd Rabba, the Andalusian (4/157/in the form "Baqa"). Al-ʿAqd al-Farīd, Dār Al-Kitāb Al-ʿArabī ed., Beirut, 1381/1962.
4. Al-Anbār is a town on the Euphrates to the west of Baghdad. It was built in the Persian era and rebuilt by Abū Al-ʿAbās al-Saffāh. It was called al-ʿAhrā'. When Arabs conquered it, they called it al-Anbār. It was conquered by Khālīd bin al-Walīd, during the rule of the first Caliph, Abū Bakir al-Ṣiddīq in 12 A.H..  
Mujam al-Buldan, Yaqut al-Hamawi (2/376); al-Bidayah Wal Nihayah, al-Hafiz bin Kathir (6/348-349), Maktabat al-Ma'arif ed., Beirut, 1408/1988.
5. Hīrah was a town three miles away from Kūfa, the residence place of some Arabs in the pre-Islamic era. It is called al-Hīrah al-Rawhā- Mujam al-Buldān, Yāqūt Al-Hamawī (2/375-376).

6. Futūḥ al-Buldān, al-Baladhiri, 3rd. part (p.579), al-Bayān al-Arabī ed., 1957.
7. He is Abū ‘Amr, ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥīl Al-Sha‘bī Al-Yamānī (by origin), al-Kūfī. He was the scholar of Kūfa, well-versed in all religious and mudane knowledge. He was born, as some say, in 20 A.H. and died in 104 A.H.  
See Waffiyyāt al-A‘yān by Ibn Khillikān - (3/1120, Dār Ṣādir ed., Beirut.
8. Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif, al-Sajistānī, which is narrated through al-Sijistānī's chain of narrators going back to ‘Āmir al-Shu‘bī, and then the emigrants (p.9) - al-Maṣāḥif, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1405/1985.
9. He is Abul-Mundhir Hishām b. Abī Al-Naḍr Muhammed b. al-Sā‘ib Al-Kalbī, the Kūfī genealogist, who was the best in his field of genealogy. He was the author of "al-Jamhara" in literature. He was a well-known calligrapher who wrote many literary works. He died in 20 A.H. - see Waffiyyāt Al-A‘yān by Ibn Khillikān (6/82).
10. Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif by al- Sajistānī, p10.
11. Al-Iqtidāb fī Sharḥ Ādab al-Kitāb, Baṭliyyūsī b. al-Sayyid, al-Maktaba al-Adabiyyah, Beirut, 1901 A.D., p.89.
12. al-Mawrid Magazine (4/1982,p.12). An article by Mr. Yūsuf Dhanūn, al-Mawrid Magazine, Vol. 15, No.4, Winter 1986.
13. Martin Lings, the Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination, 1st. ed. 1976.
14. Ibid., p.16

15. *Ṣubḥ al-A' Ashā*, al-Qalqashandī, (3,15,51,53), Dār al-Kutub Al-Maṣriyyah ed., 1939. 1st article, p.218.

16. *Al-Wazarā Wal-Kuttāb*, Ibn `Abūs al-Jahshayari, Cairo ed., al-Bāb al-Halabī, 1938, p.23.

17. *Dalīl Al-Ḥayrān*, *Sharḥ Mawrid al-Zam'ān fī Rasm Wa-Ḍabṭ al-Qur'ān* by the learned scholar al-Kharrāz, and al-sharḥ by Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Marāghinī al-Tunisī (p.11), Maktābat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyyah- Cairo.

18. *al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (2/213), Dar Al-Ma'rifa ed., Beirut.

19. *al-Muqni fī Rasm Maṣāḥif al-Amsār* by Abī `Amr 'Uṭhmān b. Sa'īd al-Dānī (d. 444 A.H.) (p.19), Maktābat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyyah, Cairo.

20. *Ibid.*, p.18.

21. This is quoted from *Dār al-Kitāb al-Arabī*, Beirut, Lebanon. I have relied on this copy because it is approved by al-Azhar University, and because the books consulted on its writing were those specialized in inscription, as is mentioned in the introduction to this Qur'ānic copy: "Its spelling is taken from what the scholars of inscription said about the Qur'ānic copies sent by 'Uṭhmān b. 'Affān to Basrah, Kūfa, Syria and Mecca, and the copy he assigned to the people of Medina and the one he kept for himself and the copies transcribed from those copies.

As for the few letters the spelling of which those Qur'ānic copies differ about, the most common spelling is selected, taking into consideration the reading of the reciter for whom the copy is written in order to show his special reading. The rules deduced by scholars of inscription from various spellings are observed, according to the narration

of the two Sheikhs: Abū ‘Amr al-Dānī and Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Najāh, the latter being preferred in case of controversy.

All in all, every letter in this copy corresponds to its corresponding letter in one of the six Qur’ānic copies mentioned above.

In all that we depend on what was verified by the Scholar Muhammed b. Muhammed al-Umawī al-Sharīshī, known by the name al-Kharrāz, in his poem “Mawrid Al-Zamān” and what is said by its commentator, Sheikh Abdul-Wāhid b. ‘Ashir al-Ansāri al-Andulusī.

22. kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif, p.154.

23. The Ten Authentic Types of Recitation, Sheik Muhammed Karīm Rājih, P.592. Dār Muhājir al-Madīna al-Munwwarah ed., 1411/1992.

24. Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif, pp. 154-155.

25. Ibid., pp.156-157.

26. Ibid.,

27. The Ten Authentic Types of Recitation, p.592.

28. Al-Muqni, p. 30.

29. Ibid., p. 31.

30. Yousuf Dannūn is from Mosul City, Iraq. He was born in 1932 and graduated in the College of Teachers in 1951. He worked as an educational supervisor in the field of artistic education. He has been awarded the licence of calligraphy by the most prominent calligrapher in the Islamic World, i.e. the late Hāmid al-Umadī, in 1966. He is the author of a

number of works, published in manuscript, and articles published in scientific periodicals. He took part in preparing and organizing a lot of international celebrations in Baghdad and Morocco and contributed to their activities. He taught calligraphy and history in several Iraqi and Foreign Universities. He is a member in several Organizations all over the Arab Countries. At present, he is the Chairman of the Organization of Calligraphers in Mosul and a member of the Consultation Committee for Culture and Arts in Nineva, and a full-time researcher.

31. Al-maṣāḥif, p. 56.
32. Dalīl Al-Hayrān, Sharh Mawrid Al-Zamʿān, pp. 40-41, in brief.
33. See al-Nashr fi al-Qiraʿāt al-ashr (2/400) by al-Hafiz Abi al-Khair Muhammad b. Mahammad al-Dimashqi, Known by his nickname "Ibn al-Jazri", who died in 833 A.H., Beirut: Dar al-Fikr Beirut, and al-Ghāyah fi al-Qiraʿāt al-ashr, by al-Hafiz Abi Bakr Ahmad b. al-Husain b. Mahran al-Naysaburi, who died in 381 A.H., investigated and reviewed by Muhammad Ghayāth Junbāz Sharikat al-Ubay-Kan ed., Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Sharikat al-ʿUbaykān ed., , 1405/1985. and al-Budūr al-Zāhira fi al-Qiraʿāt al-ashr al-Mutawātira, by Abdul-Fattāh al-Qādī, p.341, Dār al-Kitāb al-Arabī, Beirut: 1401/1981.
34. Al-Nashr (2/400); al-Ghāya with comments, p. 291; al-Budūr al-Zāhira, p.341.
35. Taj al-ʿArūs, al-Zabīdī, entry: shakl.
36. Dalīl al-Hayrān, sharh Mawrid al-zamʿān. fi Rasm wa-Dabt al-Qurʿān, al-Kharrāz, commentary by Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Marghinī al-Tunisi, p315.
37. Ibid. p.315



38. The Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination, Martin Lings, p.18.
39. Ibn al- Nadīm, Fahrisit , Leipzig ed. 1871, p.12.
40. Briefly from Manāhil al-'Irfān Fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān , Muḥammād abdul- 'Azīm al-Zarqānī, Dar al-Kutab al-'Ilmiyyāh ed., Beirut, 1409/1988.
41. He is Qatadah b. Da'amah b. Qatāda al-Sudūsī, born blind and was interested in knowledge so much that he became a hafiz (of Qur'ān and fiqh). He died in Wāsit in 117 A.H. at the age of 56-Mashāhīr 'Ulamā' al- 'Amsar Wa "A' lam Fuqaha' al-'Aqtar by Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 154-Dār al-Wafā' ed., Manṣūrah, 1411/1991.
42. i.e. They added a sign after each five verses.
43. i.e. They added a sign after each ten verses.
44. Al-Muḥkam Fī Naqt al-Maṣāḥif, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. sa'īd al- Dānī, revised by Dr-'Izzat Ḥasan, p.2- Dār al-Fikr ed., Damascus, 1407/1986.
45. Ibid., pp2,3.
46. Introduction by Dr-'Izzat Ḥasan to Al-Muḥkam, p.30
47. Abu al-'Aswad Zālim b. 'Amr b. Sufyān b. Jandal al-Dāyfi or al-Du'ālī. He was one of the well-known Tabi'īn. He accompanied 'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib and took part in the battle of Siffin with him. He was from Basrah, and was an intelligent sensible man. He was the first to establish grammar. It is said that 'Alī suggested to him a start : "Speech is three parts :noun, verb and article." Then he told him to carry on . Abū al-'Aswad died in Basrah, in 69 A.H. because of an epidemic plague when he was 85 years old from Wafiyat al-'A'yān (2/535-539).

48.He is Ziyād b. Abīh. His father's name is 'Ubayd. Mu'āwiyah claimed that he was his brother, therefore he was then called Ziyād b. AbīSufyān. He was born in 1 A.H. So he lived at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, and was convred to Islam at the time of Abū Bakr. Mu'āwiyah appointed him governor of some provinces. He visited Damascus and died in 53 A.H. He is described as one of the smart, shrewd Arabs.

49.Al-Muḥkam, p.3.

50.Nasalization (Ghunna) means nunnation.

51.Al-Muḥkam, p.4.

52.Ibid

53.Ibid., p.162

54.He is the master of grammar, Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-'Akbar al-'Azdī al-Basrī, the grammarian and historian, the author of "al-Kāmil". He got a portion of his learning from Abī 'Uthmān al-Māzinī and Abī Hātim al-Sajistānī. He was a scholar, handsome, eloquent and truthful. He wrote many books and was expert in grammar. He died in early 286 A.H. Tahdhīb Siyyar A'lām Al-Nubalā' by al-Dhahabī, revised by Aḥmad Fāyiz Al-Ḥimṣi, Mu'assasat al-Risālah ed., Beirut, 1413/1992.

55.Al-Muḥkam, p.6

56.Ibid., p.68

57.Ibid ., (in brief), pp.68-69

58.Al-Muḥkam (in brief) pp. 68-69.

59.Al-Muḥkam (in brief) pp. 68-69.

60.Ibid., p.69

61. Mawrid al-Zam'ān Fī Rasm Wa Ḍabṭ al-Qur'ān, al-Kharrāz, p 353.
62. Dalīl al-Hayrān, Sharh Mawrid al-Zam'ān, Ibrahīm Ahmad Al-Marghīnī al-Tūnisī p.353. See also al-Muḥkam, Abū 'Amr, p.124 (summarized).
63. Dalīl al-Hayrān, p.354.
64. Al-Muḥkam, pp. 133, 137.
65. Ibid., pp. 142, 143.
66. The change (Ibdāl) here is in accordance to the vowel preceding it-about "Ibdal" See Kitāb al-Qira'āt al-a'shr al-Mutawatirah by Muhammad Karīm Rājī, p.639.
67. Al-Muqni' , p.34.
68. Dalīl al-Hayran, Sharh Mawrid al-Zam'ān Fī Rasm Wa Ḍabṭ al-Qur'ān, p.91.
69. By Abī Al-Baqā', 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Fāṣīh.
70. By al-Imām Abī Muḥammad Qāsim b. Fīrah b. Khalaf b. Ahmad al-Shātibī.
71. p.52 (in brief), Shu'ūn al-Maṭābi' al-Amiriyyah ed. , 1411/1990. The commentator finished it in 791 A.H. as mentioned in the book itself, p.99.
72. Qālun is 'Īsa bin Mikhā b. Wardan, Mawla of Banī Zuhrah, Abū Musa, nicknamed Qālūn, the Reciter of Medina. It is said that he was a step son of Nāfi. He took care of him and called him Qalun because of his excellent recitation. "Qālūn" in Latin means "good". He was born in 120 A.H. He recited the Qur'an in the presence of Nafi' several times and used to write from Nāfi' - Ghāyat Al-Nihāyah Fī Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā' by Ibn al-Jazrī (1/610/no. 2509), Dār Al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah ed. Published by G. Bergstraesser - 1351/1932 ed.1, 1402/1982 ed.z.

73. See 'Al- Muḥkam Fī Naqṭ Al-Maṣāḥif, pp. 147, 148.
74. Sūrat Al-Raḥmān, verse 26.
75. Al-Muḥkam (in brief), p. 211.
76. Ibid., p.73.
77. **تَرْكِي** and **فَصْلِي** were pronounced by the two brothers (i.e., Hamza and al-Kisa'i) and Khalaf with 'Imāla, while Warsh pronounced them with Taqlil. See al-Qirā'āt al-Budūr al-Zāhira Fī Al-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr al-Mutawatirah, p.343. The two words are not provided with fatha along with shadda, but only with shadda in the copy of the narration of Warsh from Nāfi', p.593. Maṭābi' Qaṭār al-Waṭaniyyah. Revised by Abdullah b. Ibrāhim al-Anṣārī, who also supervised its printing. Published on the expense of Sheikh Saḥīm b. Ḥamād Āl-Thānī.
78. See Al-Muḥkam, p 73-74.
79. Ibid., (in brief) p.74
80. Al-Muḥkam (in brief), p.75.
81. Al-'Itqān (2/208).
82. His name occurs as such in al-'Itqān. In Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif, the chain of narrators (Sanad) is mentioned, and then it is said: Yaḥya said (without mentioning the name of his father). He is Yaḥya b. Kaṭhīr al-Yamāmi Abū al-Naṣr, from Basrah. He lived in Yamāmah and died in 129 A.H. He is trustful, but he used tadrīs and mursal - See Fuqahā' al-'Aqṭār by Ibn Ḥibbān (p.304/ no. 1537).
83. Narrated by Abū Dāwūd in Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif, p.161.
84. Al- 'Uṭhmāniyyah-Haydar Abad, India, 1384/1964. Al-Hurawi is Abu al-Qasim b. Salām al-Baghdādi, Abū 'Ubayd, the faqīh and judge, the author of al-Taṣānīf. He

was born in Bahrat. He was well-versed in grammar and Arabic. He learned hadith and fiqh. He died in Mecca in 223 A.H. - Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (6/444)- (d. in 838 A.D.)

85. Gharīb al-Ḥadīth by al-Hurawi (summarized (4/48), Dar al-Ma'ārif

86. Ibn al-Jawzī is the Sheikh, Imām, scholar, Hāfiz and commentator. Abū al-Faraj Abul-Raḥmān b. 'Ali al-Qarashī al-Taminī al-Bakrī al-Baghdai, born in 509 or 510 A.H. He was an excellent preacher, the author of many books. But he wrote without checking what he wrote -Siyar 'A'lām al-Nubala by Al-Dhahabi, revised by Aḥmad Fāyiz al-Ḥimṣi (3/147/5387)

87. Funūn al-Afnān Fī 'Uyūn 'Ulūm al-Qur'an by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) p.322. Revised by Dr Ḥasan \_\_ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-'Itr, Dār al-Basha'ir al- 'Islāmiyyah ed., Beirut, 1408/1987.

88. By Abdul-Fattāh al-Qāḍī.

89. By al-Shāṭbī (d. 590/1194), al-Jihāz al-Markazī lil-Kutub al-Jami'iyah Wal-Madrasiyyah ed. Egypt, 1397/1977.

90. p. 160.

91. Sūrat al-Ḥijr, verse 9.

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