

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY
OF THE TEXT OF THE QUR'ĀN

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THE OLD CODICES

THE KITĀB AL-MAṢĀḤIF OF IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD TOGETHER
WITH A COLLECTION OF THE VARIANT READINGS FROM
THE CODICES OF IBN MAṢŪD, UBAI, 'ALĪ, IBN 'ABBĀS,
ANAS, ABŪ MŪSĀ AND OTHER EARLY QUR'ĀNIC AUTHOR-
ITIES WHICH PRESENT A TYPE OF TEXT ANTERIOR TO
THAT OF THE CANONICAL TEXT OF 'UTHMĀN

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TEXT OF IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD'S KITĀB AL-MAṢĀḤIF

PREFACE

The material in the present volume is offered to students of Islam as a contribution to the problem of the history of the Qurān text. For many years the present writer has been collecting materials for a critical text of the Qurān, and in 1926 agreed with the late Prof. BERGSTRÄSSER to collaborate in the much bigger task of preparing an Archive of materials from which it might be some day possible to write the history of the development of the Qurānic text. It is hoped that it will be possible to publish shortly, as one step in that plan, a text of the Qurān with apparatus criticus giving the writer's collections of textual variants gathered from the Commentaries, Lexica, Qirā'at books and such sources. Meanwhile Dr PRETZL, BERGSTRÄSSER's successor at Munich, has begun to organize the Archive for the Korankomission set up by the Bavarian Academy at BERGSTRÄSSER's initiation, and has already assembled a goodly collection of photographs of early Kūfī Codices and early unpublished *qirā'at* works.

The need of the moment is the publication of material that will bring the subject into discussion amongst Islamic scholars. This is a field of Islamic study which offers almost unbroken ground, and presents numerous problems for investigation. One of them is the question of the Old Codices which represented the pre-Uthmānic stage of the Qurān text. It was the merest chance that led the present writer to unearth the MS of the *Kitab al-Masāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd which now lies in the Zāhirīya Library at Damascus, and which is apparently the sole surviving example of the little group of *Masāḥif* books which studied the state of the Qurān text prior to its canonization in the standard text of Uthmān.

The text of this work of Ibn Abī Dāwūd is presented here as accurately as it can be settled on the basis of this unique MS.

The MS is an early one finished on the 17th of Jumādā al-Ākhira of the year 682 A.H = 1283 A.D, and with every *juz'* are given the *isnāds* of the authorities through whom the text had descended.

The original from which this text was copied had apparently lost some leaves and suffered some disarrangement. The only serious case of such disarrangement where part of the material of one chapter is found inserted into and breaking the connection of another chapter, has been tacitly corrected in this edition. The MS also contains a number of explanatory interpolations which in this edition have been enclosed in square brackets [], round brackets () being used for small particles etc. which had dropped out through the negligence of the scribe. The Zāhiriya MS is imperfect at the beginning, but probably only one or two leaves are missing. In its present state it consists of 100 folios 17 × 10 cm, the text varying from 21 to 23 lines to the page.

The MS as a whole is well written though sparingly pointed, so that the difficulties of establishing the text are mostly such as arise from the nature of the subject matter. Occasionally a later hand has inserted vowels or made a correction on the margin, not always happily. The greatest difficulty has been with the *isnāds* quoted by the author, and although all available controls were applied to them, there may still be some that will not stand the scrutiny of *isnād* critics. The assistance of Muslim savants in this matter was not very helpful for we could not overcome the principle that every *isnād* that led to a statement at variance with orthodoxy was ipso facto condemned.

Much of the material given by Ibn Abī Dāwūd regarding the history of the text of the Qurān, though extremely unorthodox, yet agrees so closely with conclusions one had reached from quite other directions that one feels confident in making use of it, however weak orthodoxy may consider its *isnāds* to be. It seemed therefore, important to expose the text at once to the criticism of scholarship. The most significant material, naturally, is that concerning the Old Codices, and for this reason the text itself has been prefaced by a collection of the textual variants that have survived to us from the various non-'Uthmānic Codices, whether

primary or secondary. In the cases of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubai b. Ka'b, whose readings are important from another point of view, all the readings have been given, but in the others as a rule only those variants which assume a consonantal text differing in some respect from the standard text of 'Uthmān. The standard text is quoted from the Egyptian standard edition of 1342, though I have not slavishly followed its orthography, intelligibility being more important than consistency. The verses are quoted according to the Kūfan verse numbering given in the 1342 edition followed by the number of the verse in FLÜGEL's edition; where FLÜGEL's numbering agrees with the Kūfan numbering only one verse number is given.

These variants from the Old Codices have been read over with several Muslim savants in the East, in the hope of testing them by the criticism of those whose acquaintance with the text is more intimate than any Western scholar can hope to attain. Invariably these savants took the position that the 'Uthmānic text is perfect and unchallengeable, and the variants must therefore be regarded as conscious or unconscious corruptions of this text. Some contested the authenticity of the variants, arguing that they were nothing more than deliberate tampering with the text by later heretics who sought to gain currency for their heretical readings by attributing them to these ancient authorities. Others, though they were but few, were willing to admit the variants, but explained them by the theory that in the early days many of the Companions made for themselves copies of the Qurān in which they inserted for their own private edification many explanatory additions, synonyms for words that they did not fully understand, and such like annotations. The text they recited, however, was the original text as it was delivered by the Prophet and afterwards written out officially by 'Uthmān. Thus the variants that have come down from them are only those little peculiarities that were remembered as having been in their private copies, and so have no value whatever for the study of the text.

Modern scholarship naturally cannot accept so easy a way out of the difficulty, for it is quite clear that the text which 'Uthmān

canonized was only one out of many rival texts, and we need must investigate what went before the canonical text. On the one hand it seems likely that in canonizing the Madinan text-tradition, 'Uthmān was choosing the text that had all the chances of being nearest the original. On the other hand there is grave suspicion that 'Uthmān may have seriously edited the text that he canonized. It was therefore worth attempting an assembling of all the material that has survived from the rival texts. It is unfortunate that not sufficient has survived to enable us to get a real picture of the text of anyone of them. Such material as is available at the moment, however, is here offered to the criticism of scholars. Some of the variants seem linguistically impossible, and indeed are occasionally noted as such in the sources which quote them. Some give one the impression of being the inventions of later philologists who fathered their inventions on these early authorities. The great majority, however, merit consideration as genuine survivals from the pre-'Uthmānic stage of the text, though only after they have passed the most searching criticism of modern scholarship by scholars approaching them from different points of view, shall we be free to use them in the attempted reconstruction of the history of the text.

If sufficient interest is created among students of Islam to enable systematic search to be made, it is possible that we may yet recover some of the other *Masāḥif* books or copies of some of the early *qirā'at* works of ad-Dāni, al-Mahdawī, al-Ahwāzī or Ibn 'Atīya.

My special thanks are due to two Oriental savants, Mūsā Jārullah Rostovdānī of Kazān and Shaikh Sayyid Nawwār of Cairo, both of whom have read with me all the *shādhīh qirā'at* from the Old Codices and taught me many things that a Christian can hardly learn for himself. Thanks also are due to Dr OTTO PRETZL who photographed for me the Zāhiriyā MS and to Amīn al-Khānijī for his personal care over the printing of the Arabic text in Cairo. Finally there is due an expression of thanks to the Trustees of the de Goeje Foundation whose generosity made possible the publication of the volume in its present form.

Cairo, 1936

ARTHUR JEFFERY

INTRODUCTION

Critical investigation of the text of the Qur'ān is a study which is still in its infancy.¹⁾ Within the fold of Islam it seems never to have attracted much attention. The growth of the Qur'ān is evidence that there was some interest in the question in the early days of Islam¹⁾ but with the fixing of the text *ne varietur* by the Wazirs Ibn Muqla and Ibn 'Isā in 322 A.H. at the insistence and with the help of the savant Ibn Mujāhid († 324)²⁾, and the examples made of Ibn Miqsam († 362) and the unfortunate Ibn Shanabūdh († 328) who persisted in making use of the old readings after this fixing of the text³⁾, such interest as there was seems to have come to an end. Variant readings within the limits of the Seven systems⁴⁾ that were admitted as canonical by the decision of Ibn Mujāhid naturally continued to be studied by a limited group of scholars, and the readings of the other uncanonical Readers occasionally received attention, more parti-

¹⁾ *Fihrist* 36 mentions a number of works on *Ikhtilāf al-Masāḥif*, such as those by Ibn 'Āmir († 118), al-Farrā' († 207), Khalaf b. Hishām († 229), al-Madā'īnī († 231), al-Warrāq and one Muhammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān. There was also a work with a similar title by Abū Ḥātim († 248) cf. *Fihrist* 59², a work derived from al-Kisā'i († 189) entitled *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Maṣāḥif Ahl al-Madīna wa Ahl al-Kūfa wa Ahl al-Baṣra 'an al-Kisā'i*, and a *Kitāb al-Masāḥif wa 'l-Hijā'* by Muhammad b. 'Isā al-Isfahānī († 253). Ibn Miqsam († 362) is also said to have composed a *Kitāb al-Masāḥif* (*Fihrist* 33⁶), but the three famous *Masāḥif* books were those of Ibn Abī Dāwūd († 316), Ibn al-Anbārī († 327) and Ibn Ashta al-Isfahānī († 360), cf. *Itqān* 13.

²⁾ Vide Massignon's *al-Hallāj*, I, 241 and Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qurantexts*, 152 ff. Some account of the man will be found in al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, V, 144—148, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 116—119, and Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, I, 139—142, No. 663.

³⁾ On Ibn Miqsam see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 499; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 2945; Miskawaihi *Tajārib* (ed. Amedroz), I, 285; and on Ibn Shanabūdh see Ibn Khalikān (tr. de Slane), III, 16—18; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 302—304 and Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 2707.

⁴⁾ The Seven were Nāfi' of Madina († 169), Ibn Kathīr of Mecca († 120), Ibn 'Āmir of Damascus († 118), Abū 'Amr of Baṣra († 154), 'Āsim of Kūfa († 128), Hamza of Kūfa († 158) and al-Kisā'i of Kūfa († 189).

cularly the systems of the Ten¹⁾ and the Fourteen²⁾, who were nearest to canonical position, though at times others also were included³⁾. No definite attempt, however, was made to construct any type of critical text of the Qur'ān⁴⁾, and for the most part textual studies were confined to questions of orthography (*rāsm*) and pause (*wagf*). Thus the older variants, even though they were known to be represented in some of the older Codices, for the most part survived only in the works of two classes of savants, firstly certain exegetes who were interested in the theological implications of such variants, and secondly the philologists who quoted them as grammatical or lexical examples.

It is thus that in the Qur'ān Commentaries of az-Zamakhsharī († 538)⁵⁾, of Abu Hayyān of Andalus († 745)⁶⁾, and the more recent Yemenite writer ash-Shawkānī († 1250)⁷⁾ who seems to have used some good old sources no longer available to Western scholars, we find recorded a goodly number of old variants representing a different type of consonantal text from that officially known as the 'Uthmānic text, and in the philological works of such writers as al-'Ukbarī († 616) the blind philologist

¹⁾ To the Seven were added Abū Ja'far of Madīna († 130), Khalaf of Kūfa († 229) and Ya'qūb of Baṣra († 205) to make the Ten. Islamic scholarship is still divided over the question as to whether seven only or all ten are canonical.

²⁾ To the Ten were added Ibn Muḥaiṣin of Mecca († 123), al-Yazidī of Baṣra († 202), al-Ḥasan of Baṣra († 110) and al-A'mash of Kūfa († 148) to make the Fourteen.

³⁾ We hear of books composed on the Eight Readers, the Eleven Readers, the Thirteen Readers, and sometimes these included Readers not in the usual lists as given above. Thus the *Rauḍat al-Huffāz* of al-Mu'addil includes the readings of Ḥumaid b. Qais, Ibn as-Samaifa^c and Talha b. Muṣarrif (see Pretzl "Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung" in *Islamica*, VI, p. 43). Also the Cairo MS of the *Sūg al-Ārūs* of Abū Ma'shar at-Tabarī contains numerous *mukhtārāt* beyond the canonical authorities, and the lost *Kāmil* of al-Hudhalī, though it is a work on the Ten, is said to have contained readings of forty extra Readers (*Nashr* I, 90).

⁴⁾ A possible exception is the case of Abū Mūsā al-Qazwīnī to whom my attention has been drawn by Prof. Massignon, and who seems to have prepared a text in which varied coloured dots represented alternative readings in the text. Some samples of this process are actually found in some Kūfic Codices of the Third and Fourth Centuries, but so far as I know never consistently carried out.

⁵⁾ The *Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1856.

⁶⁾ *Al-Bahr al-Muhiṭ*, 8 vols., Cairo, 1328 A.H. printed at the charges of the Sultān of Morocco, and unfortunately in the latter volumes printed in great haste and consequent inaccuracy.

⁷⁾ *Fath al-Qadīr*, 5 vols., Cairo 1349. In his MS the author used the text of Warsh 'an Nāfi', i.e. the Madinan text tradition, but in the printing of this edition the publishers have stupidly changed it in every case to the Kūfan text tradition of Hafs 'an 'Āsim which is the one current in Egypt at the present day.

of Baghdađ¹⁾, Ibn Khālawahī († 370)²⁾ the savant of the Hamdānid Court of Saif ad-Dawla at Aleppo, and the even more famous Ibn Jinnī († 392)³⁾, a not inconsiderable amount of such material has been preserved, which in some cases, indeed, proves to be one source from which it came to the Exegetes.

To apply this material to a critical investigation of the text of the Qur'ān seems never to have occupied the attention of any Muslim writer. In the *Itqān*⁴⁾, as-Suyūṭī's great compendium of Muslim Qur'ānic science, we have recorded a great deal that concerns matters of the Muslim Massora, matters of considerable interest for the history of the exegesis of the Qur'ān, but very little that bears on the investigation of the text.

Nor has the subject attracted much attention in the West. Nöldeke opened it up in 1860 in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Qorāns*, and Goldziher drew attention to its importance in the first lecture of his *Richtungen*⁵⁾, but it received no systematic treatment until Bergsträsser undertook his *Geschichte des Qorantexts*⁶⁾ as the third part of the revised edition of

¹⁾ *At-Tibyān fi 'l-I'rāb wa 'l-Qirā'at fi Jami' al-Qur'ān* on the margin of Jamal's supercommentary to Jalalain, 4 vols., Cairo 1348. (It was also printed separately at Cairo in 1302 and 1306, and with Jamal at Teheran in 1860 A.D.). Of his *I'rāb al-Qirā'at ash-Shāhdhā* there is a broken MS in the possession of Dr. Yahuda of London and a complete MS discovered by the present writer in the East and now in the Mingana collection at Selly Oak.

²⁾ Ibn Hālawahī's *Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser, Stambul 1934. (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, VII). There are also variants recorded in his *I'rāb Thalāthīn Suwar* of which three MSS are known.

³⁾ *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muhtasab des Ibn Jinnī*, von G. Bergsträsser, München 1933. (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1933, Heft 2). There are good MSS of the *Muhtasab* now available and it is hoped that the complete text may be published shortly. It is probable that other works of Ibn Jinnī would repay examination for there are not a few uncanonical variants quoted in the Commentaries from Ibn Jinnī which do not figure in Bergsträsser's lists.

⁴⁾ *Soyutī's Itqān on the Exegetical Sciences of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1857. (*Bibliotheca Indica*). ?!

The recent work of az-Zanjānī, *Tārikh al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1935, may perhaps represent the beginning of a new day. The author is visibly inspired by Western work on the Qur'ān, and although bound hand and foot by the necessity of defending the orthodox position, he has made a useful assemblage of material from which others may start.

⁵⁾ *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, being the Olaus Petri Lectures at Upsala, published as No. VI of the De-Goeje Foundation.

⁶⁾ Erste Lieferung 1926: zweite Lieferung 1929; the third and concluding section has now been issued by his pupil and successor at München, Dr. O. Pretzl. Bergsträsser envisaged a much larger plan for a history of the text of the Qur'ān based

Nöldeke's work, and with characteristic thoroughness began to work down to bed-rock on the subject. It is an extraordinary thing that we still have no critical text of the Qur'ān for common use. Flügel's edition which has been so widely used and so often reprinted, is really a very poor text, for it neither represents any one pure type of Oriental text tradition, nor is the eclectic text he prints formed on any ascertainable scientific basis. Some of the Kazan lithographs¹⁾ make an attempt at giving the Seven canonical systems on the margin, but only very incompletely. The same is true of the curious Teheran lithograph of 1323, which prints parts of the text in Kūfic script (with interlinear naskhi) and parts in ordinary script, with a selection of the Seven on the margins. The best text so far available is the Egyptian standard edition of 1342 (1923)²⁾ of which there are several later prints. This edition attempts to present a pure type of text according to one tradition of the Kūfan school as represented by Hafṣ 'an 'Āsim, though unfortunately some corruptions have crept in owing to the use by its editors of younger authorities on the Kūfan tradition instead of going back to older and better sources³⁾.

The orthodox Muslim theory of the text is well known. According to this theory the Prophet arranged to have the revelations written down immediately they were revealed and used to collate once every year with the Angel Gabriel the material that had

on an assemblage of materials on a vast scale, and of which the publication of a critical text of the Qur'ān by the present writer was to form part. (See his preliminary statement, "Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Qoran" in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1930, Heft 7). The tragedy of the summer of 1933 which deprived Germany of one of her finest Arabists and the writer of a close personal friend, has necessarily delayed this project and somewhat changed it. Dr. Pretzl, however, has undertaken to continue with the plan and a new scheme for it is being elaborated. (See Pretzl, "Die Fortführung des apparatus criticus zum Koran" in *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, Heft 2).

¹⁾ E.g. the folio edition of 1857.

²⁾ Bergsträsser has given an account of it in *Der Islam*, XX (1932), Heft 1 in his article "Koranlesung in Kairo".

³⁾ Two of these older sources have been made available in careful editions in the *Biblioteca Islamica* by Dr. Otto Pretzl, viz. the *Taisir* and the *Muqni'* of ad-Dāñī († 444) the Spanish Muslim savant. — *Das Lehrbuch der Sieben Koranlesungen von Abū 'Amr ad-Dāñī*, 1930, and *Orthographie und Punktierung des Korans: zwei Schriften von Abū 'Amr ad-Dāñī*, 1932. In the "Anmerkungen" to this latter text Pretzl notes a number of cases where the editors of the Egyptian standard text have deviated from the older tradition.

thus far been revealed. In the last year of his life they so collated it twice¹⁾. When the Prophet died the text of the Qur'ān was thus already fixed, and all the material gathered in an orderly fashion though it had not yet been written out, at least not in book form. Under the Caliphate of Abu Bakr took place the writing of it out in a first official recension. Later, in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān it was discovered that all sorts of dialectal peculiarities had crept into the recitation of the text, so 'Uthmān formed a Committee, borrowed from Hafṣa the copy made by Abū Bakr, and on its basis had a standard Codex written out in the pure dialect of Quraish. Copies of this were made and sent to the chief centres of the Muslim empire where they became Metropolitan Codices, and all other Codices that had been formed were ordered to be burned. This was the Second Recension and all modern editions produced in the East are supposed to be exact reproductions of the text (though not of the form) of this 'Uthmānic Recension²⁾.

Very little examination is needed to reveal the fact that this account is largely fictitious. Nothing is more certain than that when the Prophet died there was no collected, arranged, collated body of revelations. Recent research by Dr. Bell of Edinburgh and Prof. Torrey of Yale has suggested that there is internal evidence in the Qur'ān itself that the Prophet kept in his own care a considerable mass of revelation material belonging to various periods of his activity, some of it in revised and some of it in unrevised form, and that this material was to form the basis of the *Kitāb* he wished to give his community before he died. Death, however, overtook him before anything was done about the matter. If this is so we are at a loss to know what became of this material, which obviously would have been the community's most precious legacy³⁾. The earliest strata of tradition

¹⁾ *Itqān*, 146.

²⁾ Thus in the Preface to the above-mentioned Egyptian Standard edition (student's edition of 1344) we read —

"Its consonantal text has been taken from what the Massoretes have handed down as to the Codices which 'Uthmān b. Affān sent to Baṣra, Kūfa, Da-mascus and Mecca; the Codex which he appointed for the people of Madina, and that which he kept for himself, and from the Codices which have been copied from them".

³⁾ There is a Shi'a tradition (Kāshānī, *Sāfi*, p. 9) that before his death the Prophet

available to us make it quite certain that there was no Qur'ān left ready as a heritage for the community. The Prophet had proclaimed his messages orally, and, except in the latter period of his ministry, whether they were recorded or not was often a matter of chance. Some pieces of revelation material seem to have been used liturgically and so probably would have been written. Some pieces he himself caused to be written down in permanent form as they were of a definite legislative character¹⁾. Besides these there were numerous portions, generally small pieces, though sometimes pieces of considerable extent, that were in the possession of different members of the community, either memorized or written down on scraps of writing material that happened to be handy. Certain individuals among the early Muslims, perhaps even a little before the Prophet's death, had specialized in collecting or memorizing this revelation material. They and their successors became known as the *Qurrā'* — the Reciters, later the Readers, who constituted as it were the depository of revelation. Tradition says that it was the slaughter of a great number of these at the Battle of Yamāma in 12 A.H. that caused interest to be aroused in getting all the revelation material set down in permanent written form, lest with the passing away of the *Qurrā'* much of it should be lost²⁾.

That Abū Bakr was one of those who collected revelation material was doubtless true. He may possibly have inherited material that the Prophet had stored away in preparation for the *Kitāb*. That he ever made an official recension as the orthodox theory demands is exceedingly doubtful. His collection

called 'Alī and told him that this material was hidden behind his couch written on leaves and silk and parchments, bidding him take it and publish it in Codex form. It is also sometimes suggested that this material assembled by the Prophet was the nucleus of Abū Bakr's collection. In neither case, however, can we feel much confidence in the statements.

¹⁾ There are of course elaborate stories of the amanuenses of the Prophet, and there can be no doubt that he did employ amanuenses for his diplomatic correspondence. That certain of these amanuenses were at times called upon to write out special pieces of revelation is not at all impossible. It is difficult to take seriously, however, the theory that considers them as a body of prepared scribes waiting to take down revelations as they were uttered.

²⁾ Ya'qūbi (ed. Houtsma), II, 152; *Fihrist* 24; ad-Dāni, *Muqni'* 4 ff. and c.f. Nöldeke-Schwally II, 11 ff. There are many references to material that was lost at Yamāma that should have formed part of the Qur'ān.

would have been a purely private affair, just as quite a number of other Companions of the Prophet had made personal collections as private affairs. It was after the death of the Prophet that these collections became important. We have well-known stories of how 'Alī, Sālim, Abū Mūsā and others had collections, and there are traditions which give lists of those who had commenced making collections or memorizing during the lifetime of the Prophet. As no two of these lists agree with one another to any great extent one is driven to conclude that while it was known that such collections were made there was no accurate information, save with regard to a few names, as to who made them¹⁾. Orthodox theory, even to the present day, has insisted that the word *jama'a* "to collect" used in these traditions means nothing more than "to memorize" and so does not imply that the collection was made in written form. As, however, 'Alī brought along what he had collected on the back of his camel, as some of the collections had come to have independent names, and as 'Uthmān, after sending out his official copies to the Metropolitan cities, had to order all other copies to be burned, there cannot be the slightest doubt that there were written collections.

What we find in early Islam, as a matter of fact, is only what we might have expected to find. Different members of the community who were interested began to collect in written form so much as they could gather of the revelation material that had been proclaimed by the Prophet. Later, with the gradual expansion of the Muslim empire, some of these collections began to acquire notoriety as they came to be in some sort authoritative in different centres. Naturally it would be those collections that could claim some completeness that would attain to this position of eminence. Thus we read that the people of Hōmṣ and Damascus followed the Codex of Miqdād b. al-Aswad²⁾, the Kūfans that of Ibn Māsūd, the Baṣrans that of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, and the Syrians in general that of Ubai³ b. Ka'b (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 86). Here we have the beginning of Metropolitan

¹⁾ Ibn al-Jazari, *Nashr* I, 6; *Fihrist*, 27; Bukhāri (ed. Krehl) III, 397; Ibn Sa'd *Tabaqāt*, II, ii, 112—114. See also Nöldeke-Schwally II, 8—11.

²⁾ This name is probably a mistake for Mu'ādh b. Jabal, as indeed Bergsträsser has noted, (*Corantext*, 173).

Codices, each great centre following that collection, or perhaps we may say that type of text, which had local fame.

Now when we come to the accounts of 'Uthmān's recension, it quickly becomes clear that his work was no mere matter of removing dialectal peculiarities in reading, but was a necessary stroke of policy to establish a standard text for the whole empire. Apparently there were wide divergences between the collections that had been digested into Codices in the great Metropolitan centres of Madīna, Mecca, Baṣra, Kūfa and Damascus, and for political reasons if for no other it was imperative to have one standard Codex accepted all over the empire. 'Uthmān's solution was to canonize the Madīnan Codex¹⁾ and order all others to be destroyed. It is very significant that the Qurā' were violently opposed to 'Uthmān because of this act²⁾, and there is evidence that for quite a while the Muslims in Kūfa were divided into two factions, those who accepted the 'Uthmānic text, and those who stood by Ibn Mas'ūd, who had refused to give up his Codex to be burned³⁾.

There can be little doubt that the text canonized by 'Uthmān was only one among several types of text in existence at the time⁴⁾. To canonize the Madīnan text was doubtless the natural thing to do, since in spite of the fact that Kūfa early came to have the reputation of being par excellence the centre of Qurānic studies, the prestige of Madīna, the Prophet's own city, must at that time have been enormous, and the living tradition would doubtless have been most abundant there. We may even say that a priori the Madīnan text had all the chances in its favour of being the best text available. Nevertheless it is a question of the utmost importance for any study of the history

¹⁾ Assuming that there was a Madīnan Codex. The stories of 'Uthmān's Committee in the *Muqni'* and in Ibn Abī Dāwūd certainly suggest that Madīna had depended largely on oral tradition and that this Committee of 'Uthmān made a first hand collection by taking down the material directly from the depositories and demanding two witnesses for every revelation accepted.

²⁾ It will be remembered that the Ibādites made the charge against 'Uthmān that he had tampered with God's word.

³⁾ Ya'qūbī, *Historiae* II, 197; Ibn al-Athir III, 86, 87; Qurṭubī I, 53.

⁴⁾ Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 83 quotes from Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh († 194) the statement that many of the Companions of the Prophet had their own text of the Qurān, but they had passed away and their texts had not survived. This same fact is evidenced by the recurring reference to *al-ḥarf al-awwal* where what is meant is a reading from the time of the Prophet which is different from that in the 'Uthmānic text.

of the Qurānic text, whether we can glean any information as to the rival types of text that were suppressed in the interests of 'Uthmān's standard edition.

In the works of the exegetes and the philologists we not infrequently come across variant readings that have been preserved from one or other of these displaced Codices. Sometimes the reference is merely to a "Codex of the Ṣahāba" or "a certain old Codex" or "in certain of the Codices" or "in the former text" (في بعض المصاحف في الحرف الأول). At times it is to one of the cities "a Codex of Baṣra", "a Codex of Homṣ", "a Codex of Ahl al-'Aliya" (Baghawī II, 52). Sometimes it is to a Codex in the possession of some particular person, as "a Codex belonging to al-Hajjāj" (Khal. 122; Gin. 60), or "a Codex belonging to the grandfather of Malik b. Anas" (*Muqni'* 120), or a Codex used by Abū Ḥanīfa (see Massignon's *al-Hallāj*, I, 243 n. 5), or one of Hammād b. az-Zibriqān (Khal. 55; *Muzhir* II, 187). Mostly, however, the references are to the well-known old Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai^b b. Ka'b, etc., which were known to go back to the time before the canonization by 'Uthmān of one standard type of text.

The amount of material preserved in this way is, of course, relatively small, but it is remarkable that any at all has been preserved. With the general acceptance of a standard text other types of text, even when they escaped the flames, would gradually cease being transmitted from sheer lack of interest in them. Such readings from them as would be remembered and quoted among the learned would be only the relatively few readings that had some theological or philological interest, so that the great mass of variants would early disappear. Moreover, even with regard to such variants as did survive there were definite efforts at suppression in the interests of orthodoxy. One may refer, for instance, to the case of the great Baghādād scholar Ibn Shanabūdh (245—328), who was admitted to be an eminent Qurānic authority, but who was forced to make public recantation of his use of readings from the Old Codices.

Ibn Shanabūdh's was not the only case, and such treatment of famous scholars¹⁾ was not encouraging to the study of the

¹⁾ In the accounts of Ibn Shanabūdh will be noticed the effort made to paint

variants from the pre-'Uthmānic period. That orthodoxy continued to exert this same pressure against uncanonical variants is revealed to us from many hints from the period subsequent to Ibn Shānabūdh. For example, Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr* VII, 268, referring to a notorious textual variant, expressly says that in his work, though it is perhaps the richest in uncanonical variants that we have, he does not mention those variants where there is too wide a divergence from the standard text of 'Uthmān. In other words, when we have assembled all the variants from these earlier Codices that can be gleaned from the works of the exegetes and philologists, we have only such readings as were useful for purposes of *Tafsīr* and were considered to be sufficiently near orthodoxy to be allowed to survive²⁾.

Modern Muslim savants almost invariably set aside the variants recorded from the Old Codices on the ground that they are *Tafsīr*, or as we should say, explanatory glosses on the 'Uthmānic text, and they roundly condemn such ancient scholars as Ibn Khālawayh and Ibn Jinnī for not knowing the difference between *Qirā'āt* and *Tafsīr*. It is clear, however, that only such *qirā'āt* as were of the kind that could be used for *tafsīr* had any likelihood of being preserved.

The Maṣāḥif Books

In the fourth Islamic century there were three books written on this question of the Old Codices which had some influence on later studies. These were the works already mentioned of Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn Ashta and Ibn Abī Dāwūd. In each case the book was entitled *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, and in each case the work,

him as an ignoramus and a weak-minded person. This was the usual procedure with regard to all those suspected of unorthodox views and is not to be taken seriously. It is perfectly clear from the sources that he was a famous scholar and drew large numbers of students, who in those days as in these did not flock to listen to the ignorant and weak-minded.

²⁾ An interesting modern example occurred during the last visit of the late Prof. Bergsträsser to Cairo. He was engaged in taking photographs for the Archive and had photographed a number of the early Kūfic Codices in the Egyptian Library when I drew his attention to one in the Azhar Library that possessed certain curious features. He sought permission to photograph that also, but permission was refused and the Codex withdrawn from access, as it was not consistent with orthodoxy to allow a Western scholar to have knowledge of such a text.

while dealing with the 'Uthmānic text, its collection, orthography, and the general Massoretic details with regard to it, dealt also with what was known of the Old Codices which it had replaced. The most famous of the three was that of Ibn al-Anbārī († 328), a work which was doubtless composed before the canonization by Ibn Mujāhid of the Seven Readers. The work is lost but from the use made of it by later writers such as-Suyūṭī¹⁾, one gathers that it contained a certain amount of *Tafsīr* as well as information as to the readings from the Old Codices. The work of Ibn Ashta († 360) seems to have been of somewhat similar scope. He was a pupil of Ibn Mujahid and wrote a special work *al-Mufid* on the subject of the uncanonical variants²⁾, besides this work on the Codices which was also used by as-Suyūṭī³⁾. The only work of this kind that has survived, however, is that of Ibn Abī Dāwūd († 316) which, unfortunately, seems to have been the narrowest in scope of them all.

'Abdallāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Ash'ath Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd⁴⁾ as-Sijistānī was born in 230 A.H. the son of the Imām Abū Dāwūd whose collection ranks third among the canonical collections of Ḥadīth. He was born in Sijistān but his father took him early on his travels and he is said to have visited Khorasān, Isfahān, Fars, Baṣra, Baghdaḍ, Kūfa, Madīna, Mecca, Damascus, Egypt, al-Jazīra and ath-Thughūr. In every place where there were scholars his father set him to learn from them, so that he may be said to have been the pupil of most of the great savants of his day⁵⁾. There is a story that when he came to Kūfa he had only one dirham which he spent on thirty bushels of broad beans. Each day he ate a bushel of the beans and by the time they were finished he had mastered a thousand Traditions (or some say 30,000) from the Kūfan teacher Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajj.

His chief fame all his lifetime was as a Traditionist. There is a story that he returned to Sijistān in the days of 'Amr b. al-

¹⁾ Cf. *Itqān* 428 and numerous quotations in *ad-Durr al-Manthūr*.

²⁾ Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt* II, 184.

³⁾ *Itqān* 13 and 428.

⁴⁾ For his life see Ibn Khallikān (Eg. ed.) I, 268, 269; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 1779; Dhahabi *Liber Class.*, II, 80; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārikh Baghdaḍ* IX, 464—468; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt ad-Dhahab* II, 168, 273.

⁵⁾ He is generally known as the pupil of Mhd b. Aslam at-Tūsī and 'Isā b. Zaghba. Al-Khaṭīb IX, 464, 465 gives a list of his various teachers, and the Readers from whom he drew his Qur'ānic knowledge are listed by Ibn al-Jazārī.

Laith and some of his fellow townsmen gathered together to request him to recite to them Ḥadīth that he had learned on his journeyings. He refused on the ground that he had no book, but they retorted "What need has the son of Abū Dāwūd of books?" So he submitted with good grace and dictated a great number of Traditions from memory. When he got back to Baghdād he found that the story had preceded him and the Baghdādis were saying that he had fooled the innocents of Sijistān. But when they hired scribes to go to Sijistān and bring back copies of what Ibnu Abī Dawūd had dictated there, they found that on comparing them with the authorities in Baghdād they could find only six mistakes in all that he had dictated from memory.

In Qur'ānic studies he was a pupil of Abū Khallād Sulaimān b. Khallād († 261), Abū Zāid 'Umar b. Shabba († 262), Yūnus b. Habīb († 267), Mūsā b. Ḥizām at-Tirmidhī (c. 260), and Ya'qūb b. Sufyān († 277), and was one of the teachers of Ibnu Mujāhid († 324) and an-Naqqāsh († 351). He wrote a number of works on Qur'ānic subjects. In the *Fihrist*, pp. 232, 233 we find mentioned:

A book of *Tafsīr* (see also *Fihrist* 34¹¹; Dhahabī, II, 80; al-Khaṭīb, IX, 464).

Kitāb an-Nāsikh wa'l-Mansūkh (see *Fihrist* 37²⁵; Dhahabī, II, 80).

Kitāb Naẓm al-Qur'ān.

Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān.

Kitāb Sharī'at at-Tafsīr.

Kitāb Sharī'at al-Maqāri.

Dhahabī also mentions a book called *al-Qur'ān*, which probably means his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*), which is also sometimes called, though with less justice, *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Maṣāḥif*. Al-Khaṭīb mentions a book on *qirā'āt* which may refer to the *Maṣāḥif*-book or may be another work, for Abū 'l-Maḥāsin in *an-Nujūm az-Zāhira* (Eg. ed. III, 222) mentions him as a writer on *qirā'āt*.

There are a number of traditions going back to him that are not pleasing to orthodoxy and so there was put into circulation the legend that his father had branded him as a liar, and therefore no attention is to be paid to material that is dependent on his authority. This, of course, is tendential, and the biographers

¹¹) *Fihrist* 36¹¹ attributes this book to his father Abū Dāwūd the Traditionist.

usually regard him as trustworthy (لِي), the *Mughnī* even noting that his father's branding him as a liar was over something other than *Hadīth*¹). To the last he seems to have held the respect of his townspeople for there is a pleasing story of how when he was old and blind he used to come and sit on the mimbar while his son Abū Ma'mar would sit on the step below him with the book. From his book the son would mention the particular *hadīth* and then from memory the old man would go on reciting to the people.

Of his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* there are three manuscripts known, one in the Zāhiriya Library at Damascus (Hadīth, No. 407), one in the Egyptian State Library (Qira'āt, No. 504), and one in my own possession. Both these latter, however, are copies of the Zāhiriya MS, so that we are really dependent on the one manuscript for establishing the text.

The number of actual variants given in this text is very small and obviously represents only those that happened to be found in his particular collection of traditions. Most of the variants he notes are also to be found in other Qur'ānic works. His chief importance is that he brings before us so many Codices of which we have no mention as such in any other source at present available. The Codices of Ibnu Maṣ'ud, Ubai b. Ka'b, Ḥafṣa, Anas and others are mentioned in numerous other sources, but though we find numerous references to *shādhah* readings of such early authorities as 'Ubaid b. 'Umair, 'Ikrima, al-A'mash, Sa'id b. Jubair and others we did not know of actual Codices of theirs, though in some cases we strongly suspected their existence. An interpolation in the text (p. 50) might seem at the first glance to be seeking to avoid the implications of this fact by making Ibnu Abī Dāwūd say that he uses the word *muṣḥaf* (Codex) in the sense of *harf* or *qirā'a* (reading) so that the variants he quotes need not be regarded as coming from actual written Codices. There can be little doubt, however, that when he speaks of the *muṣḥaf* of So and So he really means a written Codex. In the case of some of the Codices he mentions

¹⁾ But see Ibn al-'Imād II, 273. Ad-Dāraqutnī in al-Khaṭīb, IX, 468 says — أَنَّ الْأَكْثَرَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ كَفِيرٌ لِمَنْ يَعْلَمُ فِي الْكِتَابِ عَلَى الْحَدِيثِ which leaves it indefinite as to where his weakness was.

we have, of course, ample evidence from other sources of their independent existence, and in the case of some others the nature of the variants quoted strongly suggests that they must have been derived from written Codices.

There are a few other Old Codices mentioned in other works which are not given by Ibn Abī Dāwūd. Adding them to his lists in the interests of completeness we can draw up the following scheme of the Old Codices.

(a) Primary Codices:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Sālim † 12. | Zaid b. Thābit † 48. |
| ‘Umar † 23. | [‘A’isha † 58.] |
| Ubai’ b. Ka'b † 29. | [Umm Salama † 59.] |
| Ibn Mas‘ūd † 33. | ‘Abdallah b. ‘Amr † 65. |
| ‘Alī † 40. | Ibn ‘Abbās † 68. |
| Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī † 44. | Ibn az-Zubair † 73. |
| Hafṣa † 45. | ‘Ubaid b. ‘Umair † 74. |
| | Anas b. Mālik † 91. |

(b) Secondary Codices:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| ‘Alqama b. Qais † 62. | } |
| Ar-Rabi' b. Khuthaim † 64. | |
| Al-Hārith b. Suwaid c. 70. | |
| Al-Aswad † 74. | |
| Hittān † 73. | |
| Talha b. Muṣarrif † 112. | |
| Al-A‘mash † 148. | |
| Sa‘id b. Jubair † 94. | |
| Mujāhid † 101. | |
| ‘Ikrima † 105. | |
- All of which are based on
the Codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd.

It is of course obvious that all the information we can gather regarding the text of these early Codices is of the utmost importance for the textual criticism of the Qur‘ān. This in the absence of any direct manuscript evidence¹⁾ gives us our sole

¹⁾ It was at first thought that Dr. Mingana's find in the palimpsest leaves published by him in 1914, *Leaves from three Ancient Qur‘āns possibly pre-Othmanic, with a list of their Variants*, might provide us with fragments of one of these

witness to the types of text which ‘Uthmān’s standard text superseded. It is possible, as we have already seen, that in choosing the Madinan text tradition for canonization ‘Uthmān chose the best of the texts available. We can never know this for certain the one way or the other unless the unexpected happens and we recover some considerable portion of one of the rival texts. A collection of the variants still surviving from the Old Codices is our sole means of forming any judgment as to the type of text they presented.

The question arises, of course, as to the authenticity of the readings ascribed to these Old Codices. In some cases it must be confessed there is a suspicion of readings later invented by the grammarians and theologians being fathered on these early authorities in order to gain the prestige of their name. This suspicion is perhaps strongest in the case of distinctively Shī‘a readings that are attributed to Ibn Mas‘ūd, and in readings attributed to the wives of the Prophet. It is also felt in regard to some of the readings attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās, who as the “übermensch des *tafsir*” (Goldziher, *Richtungen* 65) tended to get his authority quoted for any and every matter connected with Qur‘ānic studies. On the whole, however, one may feel confident that the majority of readings quoted from any Reader really go back to early authority.

The more difficult question is that of defective transmission. Occasionally in reading the Commentaries one finds a reading that is commonly known as coming from a certain early Reader attributed to quite another source. Where authorities can be weighed it is generally possible to decide which attribution is correct, but in cases where a variant is quoted by only one source which is otherwise known for the carelessness of its citation of authorities, one can never be sure that that particular variant is correctly attributed to the Reader given. A similar problem of accurate transmission naturally attaches to the variants themselves. Being uncanonical variants there was none of the

earlier Codices. Closer examination, however, has shown that neither they nor the curious variants found by him in Syriac in a MS of Barsalibi (see *An ancient Syriac Translation of the Kur‘ān exhibiting new Verses and Variants*, Manchester, 1925), have any relation to the text of these Old Codices with which we are here concerned. See Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qurantexts*, pp. 53–57 and 97–102.

meticulous care taken over their transmission such as we find for the canonical readings, and we not infrequently have various forms of the variant attributed to the same Reader in different sources. In such cases nothing can be done but to give them all in the hope that further information may enable us to decide between them. Some of the variants in the form in which they have survived to us seem linguistically impossible, and in certain cases this has been noted in the source which quotes the variant. The defect is doubtless due to faulty transmission, and it is possible that some scholar may even now spot where the corruption lies and restore us the original reading.

Bergsträsser in his preliminary collection of the uncanonical readings of Ibn Mas'ud and Ubai¹⁾) made an attempt to estimate the value of these two texts as compared with the 'Uthmānic text. With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value. It is true that in some cases the uncanonical variants from these Old Codices may be interpreted as improvements on the 'Uthmānic text, as e.g. ل instead of لـ in II, 137/131 may have been suggested by motives of piety: or expansions thereof as in II, 275/276 where the added بـ يوم النـيـام may be regarded as an explanatory inflation. In such cases the 'Uthmānic text would seem to be the more primitive text which the other types assume as their basis. But on the other hand there are equally many cases where the facts point the other way. For instance in II, 9/8 the 'Uthmānic بـ جـادـعـون may be regarded as an attempt to soften the idea of deceiving Allah which is suggested by the alternative reading بـ دـعـون: or دـ in II, 196/192 may have been set for theological reasons instead of لـ, or the present form of II, 240/241 may be taken as an expansion of the simpler form given in the other Codices. Bergsträsser drew attention to the number of cases where the variant in the Old Codices was merely a synonym for the word in the text but the cases are about evenly balanced for the simpler word being in the 'Uthmānic text or in the variant.

Remembering that we have in our hands only a very small portion of the variants from these Codices, and that what we have consists in the main only of such variants as were not too

¹⁾ *Geschichte des Qorantexts*, pp. 60—96.

unorthodox, we may take the following collections as the base for our further investigation into the earliest stage in the formation of the text of the Qur'ān.

The material which follows is taken from the writer's collections made with a view to a critical text of the Qur'ān. They will of course appear in their place in the apparatus criticus to that text when it appears, but the assembling of them here under the individual names was essential that scholars might be able to deal critically with the evidence of each Codex as a whole. The main sources from which the variants have been drawn are:

- Abū Ḥayyān, *Al-Bahr al-Muhiṭ*, 8 vols., Cairo 1328.
- Alūsi, *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa Sab' al-Mathāmī*, 30 vols., Cairo, n. d.
- Baghawī, *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*, 7 vols., Cairo 1332 (On margin of the *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*).
- Baidāwī, *Anwār at-Tanzīl wa Asrār at-Ta'wīl*, 5 pts., Cairo 1330.
- Balawī, *Kitāb Alif Bā'*, 2 vols., Cairo 1287.
- Bannā', *Ithāf Fudalā' al-Bashar fī l-Qirā'at al-Arbā'ata 'ashar*, Cairo 1317.
- Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, 8 vols., Cairo 1327.
- Farrā', *Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, Ms. Stambul, Nuru Osmaniya 459.
- Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Insāf*, ed. Gotthold Weil, Leiden 1913.
- Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī al-Labīb*, 2 pts., Cairo 1347.
- " " " *Tahdhīb at-Tawādīh*, 2 pts., Cairo 1329.
- Ibn Jinnī, *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muhtasab des Ibn Ğinnī*, von G. Bergsträsser, München 1933.
- Ibn Khālawaih, *Ibn Hālawaihs Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser, Stambul 1934.
- Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 20 vols., Cairo 1307.
- Ibn Ya'ish, *Commentary to the Mufassal*, ed. Jahn, 2 vols., Leipzig 1882.
- Khafājī, *Ināyat al-Qādī wa Kifāyat ar-Rādī*, 8 vols., Cairo 1283.
- Marandī, *Qurrat 'Ain al-Qurrā'*, Ms. Escorial 1337.
- Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, vol. 2, Hyderabad 1312.
- Nasafī, *Madārik at-Tanzīl wa Haqā'iq at-Ta'wīl*, 4 vols., Cairo 1333.
- Nisābūrī, *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān* (on the margin of *Tafsīr at-Tabarī*).
- Qunawī, *Hāshia 'alā l-Baidāwī*, 7 vols., Stambul 1285.

- Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmī li Ahkām al-Qur’ān*, 2 vols. (all so far published), Cairo 1935.
- Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al-Qadīr*, 5 vols., Cairo 1349.
- Sibawaih, *Le Livre de Sibawaih*, ed. Derenbourg, 2 vols., Paris 1889.
- Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1857.
- Suyūṭī, *Ad-Durr al-Manthūr fī ’t-Tafsīr al-Ma’thūr*, 6 vols., Cairo 1314.
- Suyūṭī, *Al-Muṣhir*, 2 vols., Cairo 1282.
- Ṭabarī, *Jāmī al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, 30 vols., Cairo 1330.
- Ṭabarsī, *Majma’ al-Bayān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*, 2 vols., Teheran 1304.
- ‘Ukbārī, *Imlā’ fī ’l-Ifrāb wa ’l-Qirā’āt fī Jāmī al-Qur’ān*, 2 pts., Cairo 1321.
- ‘Ukbārī, *Ifrāb al-Qirā’āt ash-Shādhah*, MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1649.
- Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1861.

THE OLD CODICES

(a) Primary Codices.

- Codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd.
- Codex of Ubai b. Ka'b.
- Codex of ‘Alī.
- Codex of Ibn ‘Abbās.
- Codex of Abū Mūsā.
- Codex of Hafṣa.
- Codex of Anas b. Mālik.
- Codex of ‘Umar.
- Codex of Zaid b. Thābit.
- Codex of Ibn az-Zubair.
- Codex of Ibn ‘Amr.
- Codex of ‘Ā’ishah.
- Codex of Sālim.
- Codex of Umm Salama.
- Codex of ‘Ubaid b. ‘Umair.

CODEX OF IBN MAS'UD † 33

'Abdallah b. Mas'ud (sometimes quoted in the sources as 'Abd Allah and sometimes as Ibn Umm 'Abd)¹⁾ was a Companion and one of the early Muslims who could boast that he had joined the faith earlier than 'Umar. As a youth he had herded cattle for 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'aīt and so was sometimes referred to contemptuously as the Hudhalī slave (*Tabarī, Annales*, I, 2812). When he became a Muslim he attached himself to the Prophet and became his personal servant. He went on the Hijra to Abyssinia and also to Madīna and was present at both Badr and Uhud. It was his boast that he had learned some seventy Sūras directly from the mouth of the Prophet, and tradition has it that he was one of the first to teach Qur'ān reading (Ibn Sa'd, III, i, 107). He seems not to have been a great success when tried in an official capacity, but at Kūfa, to which the Caliph sent him, he became famous as a Traditionist and as an authority on the Qur'ān. Tradition tells that he was one of the four to whom Muhammad advised his community to turn for instruction in the Qur'ān²⁾. It was doubtless his close personal contact with the Prophet over so many years that gave such prestige to his opinions on Sunna and Qur'ān.

We have no information as to when he began to make his Codex. Apparently he began to collect material during the lifetime of the Prophet and worked it up into Codex form when he was established at Kūfa and was looked to as the authority on Qur'ānic matters. At any rate we find his Codex in use there and followed by the Kūfans before the official Recension was made by 'Uthmān. When 'Uthmān sent to Kūfa the official copy of his standard text with orders that all other texts should

¹⁾ Sources for his life are — Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 396 ff; Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣd al-Għāba*, III, 256—260; Ibn Ḥajar, *İṣāba* II, 890—893; *Tahdhīb* VI, 27, 28; Ibn al-Jazari, *Tubaqāt* No. 1914; Ibn Sa'd II, ii, 104 ff, III, i, 106 ff.

²⁾ خذل القرآن من أربعة — Nawawī, 372; Bukhārī (ed. Krehl) III, 396.

be burned, Ibn Mas'ud refused to give up his copy, being indignant that the text established by a young upstart like Zaid b. Thābit should be given preference to his, since he had been a Muslim while Zaid was still in the loins of an unbeliever¹⁾). There seems to have been considerable difference of opinion in Kūfa over this question of the Codex, some accepting the new text sent by 'Uthmān, but a great many continuing to hold by the Codex of Ibn Mas'ud²⁾ which by that time had come to be regarded as the Kūfan text. The strength of the position of his Codex in Kūfa is well illustrated by the number of secondary Codices of which some information has come down to us and which followed the text of Ibn Mas'ud. It was from its vogue in Kūfa that his Codex came to be favoured by Shi'a circles, though one is not disposed to accept as genuine all the Shi'a readings that are attributed to his Codex, nor indeed those found in Sunnī sources in favour of Ahl al-Bait.

It was well known in the early days of Islam that one peculiarity of Ibn Mas'ud's Codex was that it did not contain Sūras I, CXIII and CXIV, i.e. the *Fātiḥa*, which is an opening prayer to the book, and the *Mu'awwidhatānī* with which it ends³⁾. Modern scholarship on quite other grounds holds that these were not originally part of the Qur'ān but are of the nature of liturgical additions. That Ibn Mas'ud knew of these passages as used liturgically is evident from the fact that we have preserved to us notes of words in which he differed from the customary way of reading them.

A second peculiarity equally well known was that the order of Sūras in his recension differed considerably from that of 'Uthmān's recension. Two lists giving this Sūra order have been preserved to us, which do not, however, entirely agree with one another. The earlier is that given by Ibn an-Nadīm (377)⁴⁾ in the *Fihrist* p. 26 (ed. Flügel) on the authority of Al-Fadl b. Shadhān († before 280), which runs as follows:

¹⁾ Ibn Abi Dāwūd p. 13 ff.

²⁾ Ibn al-Athir *Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg) III, 86, 87.

³⁾ On them see Nöldeke-Schwally I, 108 ff. The *Fātiḥa* was apparently added to some copies that gave Ibn Mas'ud's text. Cf. *Itqān*, 152, 187 and the statement of Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 26.

⁴⁾ This is the date he is said to have finished the *Fihrist*: the date of his death is uncertain.

2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 10¹), 9, 16, 11, 12, 17, 21, 23, 26, 37, 33, 28, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 22, 13, 34, 35, 14, 47, 31²), 39, (40 bis 46)³), 40, 43, 41, 46, 45, 44, 48, 57, 59⁴), 32, 50, 65, 49, 67, 64, 63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 51, 52⁵), 54, 69, 56, 68, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 85, 84, 96, 90, 93, 94, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, 112.

The Sūras missing here are 1, 15, 18, 20, 27, 42, 99, 113, 114. That Sūras 1, 113, 114 were omitted in his Codex we have already seen, but as variants from all the others omitted here are found quoted from him the material of which they are composed must have been in his Codex. Indeed they are all to be found in the list of his Sūras given in the *Itqān*. When we examine these missing Sūras we discover that 15 is the last in the ال series; 18 comes immediately before the كعبه Sūra (19) and is suspected to have had some connection therewith (Goossens in *Der Islam XIII*, 211); 20 is the sole ط سūra; 27 is the ط سūra which breaks in between two ط سūras; 42 is the ح سعف سūra which breaks into the ط سūras, so that one may suspect that there is something behind their omission in the *Fihrist*. Yet in view of the fact that the missing Sūras are in the list in the *Itqān*, and the *Fihrist* itself expressly says that it reckoned 110 Sūras whereas there are only 105 in the list, the probability is that the list as we have it has been defectively written.

The second list is in the *Itqān* of as-Suyūti (ed. Calcutta,

¹) In Tabarī, *Annales*, I, 2963 the Sūra of Yūnus which is the Tenth Sūra in modern editions is called the Seventh as here. Schwally suggests a misprint in the text of Tabarī of الساقية for الساقية, but against this see Bauer in *ZDMG*, LXXV, 15.

²) The text reads الفر which is the title of Sūra 54, but as this is given later under the title افتريت الساقية we must with Flügel, *Anmerkungen* 14 correct to لفان which, as Schwally notes, is confirmed by the *Itqān*.

³) اخوات means the group of Sūras beginning with ط and is here doubtless but an introductory title to the group of six succeeding Sūras.

⁴) This ح سعف which gave Schwally trouble and was also a puzzle to Flügel is clearly but part of the title of Sūra 59. There was a group of Sūras called المساجد viz. Sūras 57, 59, 61, 62, 64 (See Bauer in *ZDMG*, LXXV, 16).

⁵) *Fihrist* says that some gave 52 as coming before 51.

p. 151), quoting from Ibn Ashta a statement going back to Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Hamid (+188), who related traditions from al-A' mash and others of Ibn Mas'ūd's school¹). This list runs:

2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 10, 9, 16, 11, 12, 18, 17, 21, 20, 23, 26, 37, 33, 22, 28, 27, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 15, 13, 34, 35, 14, 38, 47, 31, 39, 40, 43, 41, 42, 46, 45, 44, 48, 59, 32, 65, 68, 49, 67, 64, 63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 52, 51, 54, 56, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 77, 75, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 85, 84, 96, 90, 93, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 99, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, 112, 94.

Here we find missing besides the expected 1, 113, 114, the Sūras 50, 57, 69, for whose omission no reason can be suggested save that they may have dropped out by scribal error. Well known variants are quoted from each of them and they are all in the list in the *Fihrist*. The two lists correspond sufficiently closely for us to supply the missing members of the one from the other, and we may treat them as variants of a common tradition as to the Sūra order in Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex.

The value of this tradition is another matter²). It is not a priori likely that the arrangement of material in any of the rival Codices would have followed the same combination into Sūras as in the text established for 'Uthmān by Zaid b. Thābit. In the accounts of that official Recension we find bits of material coming in and the Committee considering the most appropriate place to put them, and it is against all probability that the composite Sūras made up of bits of Meccan and bits of Madinan material, of very different date and provenance, would have been fitted in exactly the same way by different collectors. Neither is it likely that the different collectors would have chosen the same titles for the Sūras. The traditions as to the Sūra order, in the case of this and of other of the Old Codices, come from persons who were familiar with the 'Uthmānic Sūra order, but knew that the material was differently disposed in the other

¹) Ibn Hajar *Tahdhīb*, II, 75—77.

²) There is a statement in the *Fihrist*, p. 26 from Mhd b. Ishāq, that there were many Codices in existence purporting to be exemplars of Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex, but no two of them agreed with one another. Ibn an-Nadīm claims to have seen a very old copy in which the *Fatīha* was included.

Codices, and so constructed a Sūra list to express the difference^{1).} The variant readings which follow are necessarily arranged according to the order of the present official text. Sometimes in the sources the variant is expressly said to come from the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd. More often it is merely given as a reading (*ḥarf* or *qirā'a*) of Ibn Mas'ūd. Occasionally also readings are given as coming from the Companions of Ibn Mas'ūd, but as these obviously represent the tradition as to his text they are included here. In view of the great importance of the readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubai, all readings from them that survive are included in the lists even where they do not depend on a different consonantal text from that of 'Uthmān. It has also seemed worth while to note the places where they are specially recorded as supporting the *textus receptus*.

¹⁾ An alternative theory is that when the 'Uthmānic text was in general currency the material in Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex was arranged in new copies made thereof under the Sūra headings of the 'Uthmānic text, though not in the same order. It is obvious, of course, that later writers using material from one of these Old Codices would quote it according to Sūra and verse of the 'Uthmānic text.

SŪRA I

- 4/3: مَالِكٌ — He agreed with TR against the alternative reading مَلَكٌ which, however, some gave from him also.
 6/5: إِهْدِنَا — أَرْشَدْنَا.
 7/6: مَنْ — الَّذِينَ : . So read also by Zaid b. 'Alī and Ibn az-Zubair.
 7: غَيْرٌ — غَيْرٌ : . So read by 'Alī and Ibn az-Zubair.

SŪRA II

- 2/1: الْكِتَابُ تَزَبَّلٌ — ذَلِكَ : . which involves بَخْدَعُونَ — بَخْدِعُونَ : 7/6: غَشْوَةً — غَشْوَةً or some said غَشْيَةً. Given from Friends of
 Ibn Mas'ūd.
 9/8: بَخْدَعُونَ — بَخْدِعُونَ : . So read by Abū Ḥaiwa.
 14/13: إِلَى شَيَاطِينِهِمْ — بِشَيَاطِينِهِمْ : . So also Ubai.
 17/16: فَاضَاءَتْ — فَلَمَّا أَضَاءَتْ : .
 18/17: صُمَّ بِكُمْ عَيْنَاهُ — صُمَّ بِكُمْ عَيْنَيْهِ : . So read by Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa and
 Hafsa.
 20/19: بَخْنَطَفْتُ — بَخْنَطَفْتُ : . Thus read by 'Alī.
 كُلَّمَا — كُلَّمَا . Purely orthographic variant.
 مَرَوْا فِيهِ وَمَصَوْا فِيهِ — مَشَوْا فِيهِ . See also Ubai's reading.
 لَادَهَبَ — لَدَهَبَ , which makes the following بِمَا a zā'ida.
 23/21: أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَى عِبَادِنَا — نَزَلْنَا عَلَى عِبَادِنَا : .
 24/22: أَعِيدَتْ or أَعْتَدَتْ — أَعِيدَتْ : .

- 25/23: مُطَهَّرَاتٍ - مُطَهَّرَاتٌ. So read by Zaid b. 'Ali.
- 26/24: وَبِعَوْضَةٍ - مَا بِعَوْضَةٍ without بِعَوْضَةٍ, but others say he read بِعَوْضَةٍ. So read by Ru'bā b. al-'Ajjāj and others.
- يُضَلُّ بِهِ كَثِيرٌ وَيَهْدِي بِهِ كَثِيرٌ - يُضَلُّ بِهِ كَثِيرًا وَيَهْدِي بِهِ كَثِيرًا. So Zaid b. 'Ali and Ubai.
- مَا يُضَلُّ بِهِ إِلَّا الظَّالِمُونَ - مَا يُضَلُّ بِهِ إِلَّا الظَّالِمُونَ.
- 31/29: عَرَضَهُنَّ - عَرَضُهُنَّ. See also Ubai's reading.
- 32/30: مَا أَعْلَمْتُنَا - مَا عَلِمْنَا. See also Ubai.
- فَوَسُوسَ لَهُمَا - فَازْكَرْهُمَا. So read also by al-A'mash.
- 40/38: بَعَهْدِي - بِعَهْدِي. So read by Talhā b. Muṣarrif.
- أَذْكُرُوا - أَذْكُرُوا.
- تَكْتُمُونَ - تَكْتُمُوا.
- يَعْلَمُونَ - يَظْلَمُونَ.
- لَا يُؤْخَذُ - لَا يُقْبَلُ.
- يَقْتَلُونَ - يُذْبَحُونَ.
- 51/48: أَتَخْتَمُ - أَتَخْذَلُ with Idghām.
- تَعْشِلُوا - تَشْتُقُوا.
- 61/58: قَتَاعَهَا - قَتَاعَهَا. So Qatāda, Ibn Waththāb and others.
- ثُورَهَا - فُورَهَا. As read by 'Alqama and Ibn 'Abbās.
- مَصْرَ - مَصْرًا. So Ubai, al-A'mash and al-Hasan. It was also written thus in some of the 'Uthmānic Codices.
- وَنَذَكَرُوا or some said وَنَذَكَرُوا - وَذَكَرُوا.
- 68/64: سَلَ - آتَعُ.
- 70/65: الْبَقَرَ - الْبَقَرَ. So read by Ubai, Ikrima and Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar.
- مَشَابِهٍ or يَشَابِهٍ which latter was the reading of al-Hasan and al-A'mash.
- 72/67: فَتَذَكَّرَتُمْ - فَادَارُتُمْ. Read thus by Abū Ḥaiwa.

- 74/69: قَسَّا - قَسَّا. So read by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.
- فَسَّا - فَسَّا. So also Zaid b. 'Ali.
- يَعْبُدُونَ or تَعْبُدُوا - تَعْبُدُونَ: حَسْنَةٍ - حَسْنَةٍ, supporting the reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i and Ya'qūb.
- تَوَلَّا عَنْهُ (?). Al-A'mash: تَوَلَّا - تَوَلَّتُمْ.
- فَلَيْلٌ - قَلِيلٌ, a reading which some gave from Abū 'Amr also.
- 85/79: طَوْبِيَّا - فَرَبِيَّا.
- وَإِنْ يُؤْخَذُوا تَفْلُوْهُمْ - وَإِنْ يَأْتُوكُمْ أَسْرَى تَفْلُوْهُمْ. So read also by Al-A'mash.
- مَنْ فَعَلَ - مَنْ يَفْعَلُ.
- 87/81: أَفَكُلَّ مَا - أَفَكَلَهَا. Purely orthographical variant.
- 89/83: مُصَدِّقًا - مُصَدِّقٌ: So given in Ubai's Codex.
- 96/90: بِيَتْرَحِّهِ - بِيَهْرَحِّهِ.
- 100/94: نَفَضَةٌ - نَبَذَةٌ.
- عُوْهَدُوا - عَاهَدُوا. So read also by al-Hasan.
- 101/95: مُصَدِّقًا - مُصَدِّقٌ: Thus also Ibn Abī 'Abla.
- هُمَا بِضَارِبِينَ - هُمْ بِضَارِبِينَ.
- 104/98: أَرْعُونَا or some said رَاعُونَا - رَعِيَّا.
- 105/99: وَلَا الْمُشْرِكُونَ - وَلَا الْمُشْرِكِينَ: So read by Abū'l-'Āliya and al-A'mash also.
- مَا نَنْسِيكَ مِنْ - مَا نَنْسِغَ من آيَةٍ أَوْ نَنْسِهَا إِنَّا نَتَبَرَّرُ مِنْهَا أَوْ مِنْهُمَا: آيَةٍ أَوْ نَنْسِخُهَا تَبَرَّرُ بِمِنْهَا.
- 108/102: سَأَلَ - سَأَلَ, making Mūsā the one who asked.
- 111/105: هُودًا أو نَصَارَائِنَا: Some say that he here read هُودِيًّا or نَصَارَائِنَا as Ubai.
- 114/108: خَيْفَانٌ - خَانِفَانٌ: (Ibn Khālawayih 155 wrongly gives it as خَنَانٌ).

- وَكُنْ تُسْأَلَ – وَلَا تُسْأَلُ : 119/113.
- لَا تُغْنِي – لَا تَعْزِي : 123/117.
- أَطَالِمُونَ – الظَّالِمِينَ : 124/118.
- يَقُولُانَ رَبِّنَا – رَبِّنَا : 127/121.
- أَرِهِمْ مَنَاسِكَهُمْ وَتَبْ عَلَيْهِمْ – أَرِنَا مَنَاسِكَنَا وَتَبْ عَيْنَنَا : 128/122.
- أَوْصَى : He agrees with the Hafs text against the of the Syrian and Madinan Codices.
- أَنْ يَا بَنِي – يَا بَنِي : As read also by ad-Dahhāk.
- بِهَا – بِهَا : 137/131. As was read also by Ibn 'Abbās.
- أَشَاجُونَا – أَشَاجُونَا : 139/133. So read by Ibn Muḥaīṣin and Abū's-Sammāl.
- (?) قَبْلَهُ – شَطَرَهُ : 144/139. see Ubai's reading here.
- وَلَكُلٌ جَعَلْنَا قِبْلَةً بِرَضْوَنَهَا – وَلَكُلٌ وِجْهَهُ هُوَ مُوْلَيْهَا : 148/143. Mansūr from Ibn Mas'ūd.
- فَوَالِي – فَوَالِي : 149/144.
- أَيْنَمَا – حَيْثُ مَا : 150/145.
- أَنْ لَا – أَنْ : 158/153. Similarly in Ubai's Codex.
- يَطْوَفَ – يَطْوَفَ : 159/154. So Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and Mujāhid. Making Allah the subject. So read also by Talhā.
- يُنْضَرُونَ – يُنْضَرُونَ : 162/157.
- لَيْسَ الْبِرُّ – لَيْسَ الْبِرُّ : 177/172. as read by all save the Kūfans. Al-
- لَا تَحْسِنَ الْبِرَّ : Al-mash, however, said that Ibn Mas'ūd read and Ibn Abī Dāwūd gives it as لَا تَحْسِنَ أَنَّ الْبِرَّ.
- أَنْ – أَنْ : As read also by Ubai.
- فَيْلَ – فَيْلَ :
- وَالْمُوْفِينَ – وَالْمُوْفِينَ :

- So Ubai. يَعْهُدُهُمْ – يَعْهُدُهُمْ : 178/173. القَصْصُ – الْقَصْصُ : So Abū'l-Āliya.
- فَاتَّبَعَ – فَاتَّبَعَ taking it as a verb, so read by Mu'ādh and Ibn Abī 'Abla.
- أَيَّامٌ مَعْدُودَاتٍ – أَيَّامٌ مَعْدُودَاتٍ : 184/180. So Ibn Dharr read.
- أُخْرَى – أُخْرَى :
- تَطَوَّعَ بِخَيْرٍ – تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا :
- أَرْفُوتُ – أَرْفُوتُ : 187/183.
- وَلَا تَقْتُلُوهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ حَتَّى يَقْتُلُوكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِنْ قَاتَلُوكُمْ لَا تَقْتُلُوهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ حَتَّى يَقْتُلُوكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِنْ قَاتَلُوكُمْ which was the reading of Hamza and al-Kisā'i.
- أَقِيمُوا – أَقِيمُوا : 196/192. So read by 'Alī and 'Alqama.
- وَالْعُمْرَةُ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ – وَالْعُمْرَةُ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ : 197/193. Similarly 'Alī read لِلْبَيْتِ which some gave from Ibn Mas'ūd.
- فَلَا رُفُوتُ وَلَا فُسُوقُ وَلَا جِدَالٌ – فَلَا رُفُوتُ وَلَا فُسُوقُ وَلَا جِدَالٌ : 198/194. Abū Ubaid said he added وَخَيْرُ الزَّادِ النَّقْوَى – فَإِنْ خَيْرُ الزَّادِ النَّقْوَى
- مِنْ رِيمَكْ فِي مَوَسِّعِ الْمَحْجَعِ – مِنْ رِيمَكْ : and Ibn Abī Dāwūd says he لا جِنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ تَبْغُوا فَضْلًا مِنْ رِيمَكْ فِي مَوَسِّعِ الْمَحْجَعِ فَابْتَغُوا حِيشَدْ.
- نَصِيبُ مَا أَكْتَسَبُوا – نَصِيبُ مِمَّا كَسَبُوا : 202/198. So read by al-
- A'mash also.
- لِمَنْ أَنْقَ أَللَّهُ – لِمَنْ أَنْقَ : 203/199.
- وَسَشْهِدُ اللَّهَ – وَسَشْهِدُ اللَّهَ : 204/200. as the reading of Ubai.
- ظَلَالٌ – ظَلَالٌ : 210/206. As Qatāda, Abū Ja'far and ad-Dahhāk. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, however, says he read as Ubai أَنْ يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ فِي طَلَالٍ مِنَ الْغَيَّمِ.

253/254: **مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ** — **as**, **مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ** — **منْ بَعْدِهِمْ** منْ: **‘Amr b. ‘Ubaid.** A purely orthographic variant.

255/256: **الْقِيَامُ — الْقِوَامُ**: It was the reading of ‘Umar and ‘Alqama.

السَّمَوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ which involves **وَسَعَ كُرْسِيٍّ** — **وَسَعَ كُرْسِيًّا**.

257/259: **الظُّوايْغِيْثُ — الظُّلْفَوْتُ**: So read also by al-Hasan.

259/261: **وَهَذَا شَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَ — وَشَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَةَ**: though some say **هَذَا طَعَامُكَ وَشَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَةَ**, and others that he read as Ubai here.

260/262: **فَقَدْ فَحْدَ قَبْلَ فَحْدٍ** instead of **فَقَدْ فَحْدَ**, and also **فَقَلَ أَوْمَ** — **فَقَلَ أَوْمَ**: **فَقَلَ أَوْمَ**, as Ubai and al-A‘mash.

261/263: **فَصُرْهُنَ — فَصَرْهُنَ**: which was the reading of Hamza, Ya‘qūb, al-A‘mash and Abū Ja‘far.

266/268: **إِعْنَابٌ — أَعْنَابٌ**: So read by Ya‘qūb.

267/269: **تَامِمُوا — تِيمِمُوا**:

267/270: **تَعْضُدُوا — تُعْضُدُوا**: So read by ‘Āsim al-Jahdāri.

271/273: **فَنَعَمْ مَا — فَنَعَمْ**:

272/274: **وَيَكْفِرُ — وَيَكْفِرُ** without.

275/276: **لَا يَقُولُونَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ — لَا يَقُولُونَ**: though some place the addition **يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ** after the word **اللَّهُ**.

279: **فَأَيْقَنُوا — فَأَذَنُوا**:

280: **ذَا — ذُو**: as in the Codices of Ubai and Uthmān.

281: **فَنَظَرَةٌ — فَنَظَرَةٌ**: Though some say the reading was **فَنَظَرَةٌ**.

282: **تَرْدُونَ — تُرْجَعُونَ**:

283: **فَتَذَكَّرُهَا الْأُخْرَى — فَتَذَكَّرُ إِحْدَى هَمَّا الْأُخْرَى**:

نَضَاءُ الْأَمْرِ — **فِي الْأَمْرِ**: i.e. with *idāfa*. So Ubai.

212/208: **رُبِّيَتْ — رُبِّيَّتْ**: As Ibn Abī ‘Abla. See also Ubai’s reading.

213/209: **أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ فَآخْفَلُوكُمْ — أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ**: Likewise Ubai.

علي الإسلام. Tabārī adds **عَنْهُ مِنْ أَنْحَقِ** — **فِيهِ مِنْ أَنْحَقِ**.

214/210: **وَزَلَّلُوكُمْ فَرَازَلُوكُمْ (وَ) يَقُولُ حَقِيقَةَ الرَّسُولِ — وَزَلَّلُوكُمْ حَتَّى يَقُولُ الرَّسُولُ**: **وَزَلَّلُوكُمْ شُمْ زَلَّلُوكُمْ** — **وَيَقُولُ** others.

217/214: **عَنْ فِتَالٍ — فِتَالٌ**: So read also by al-A‘mash.

219/216: **كَبِيرٌ — كَبِيرٌ**: which was the reading of Hamza and al-Kisā’i.

أَكْبَرٌ — **أَكْبَرٌ**: Note Ubai’s reading.

222: **يَنْطَهُرُنَ — يَطَهُرُنَ**: So Ubai.

226: **آلَيَا — يُولُونَ**: Note Ubai’s variant here.

فَاقْوِيْهِنَ — **فَادِو**: See also Ubai.

228: **بِرَدَتِهِنَ — بِرَدَهِنَ**: Which was Ubai’s reading also.

229: **إِلَّا أَنْ بُخَافُوا أَنْ** **تُخَافُوا — بَخَافُوا**: Some, however, said he read **لَا يُقْوِمُوا حُقُوقَ**.

233: **يُكَمِّلَ الرَّضَاةَ — يُتَمَّ الرَّضَاةَ**: As Ibn ‘Abbās.

234: **تَضَارَرٌ — تَضَارَرٌ**: So read by ‘Umar, al-Hasan and Abān b. Uthmān.

وعلى الوارث ذي الرحم المحرم مثل ذلك — **وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ**.

236/237: **مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تُجَامِعُوهُنَ — مَا أَمْ تَمْسُوهُنَ**:

237/238: **تُجَامِعُوهُنَ — تَمْسُوهُنَ**.

238/239: **وَعَلَى الصَّلَاةِ — وَالصَّلَاةِ**.

240/241: **كُبَّ — وَالَّذِينَ يَتَوَقَّونَ مِنْكُمْ وَيَذَرُونَ أَرْوَاجًا وَصِيَّةً لِأَرْوَاجِهِمْ**: **عَلَيْكُمُ الْوَصِيَّةُ لِأَرْوَاجِهِمْ**: See also Ubai.

241/242: **الْمُطَلَّقَةُ — الْمُطَلَّقَاتُ**: As Ubai.

249/250: **إِلَّا قَلِيلٌ — إِلَّا قَلِيلًا**: which was the reading of Ubai and al-A‘mash.

فَنَادَاهُ جِبْرِيلُ - فَنَادَتْهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ يُصْلِي فِي الْحَرَابِ
39/33: It is to be noted that Ibn 'Abbas and some of the
يَا زَكَرِيَا . Seven read يُشْرِكَ for يُشْرِكَ in v. 34.
Some said he read يُشْرِكَ in v. 34.

42/37: So read by 'Abdallah b. 'Umar.

وَأَرْكَحِي وَأَسْجُدِي فِي الْسَّاجِدَيْنَ - وَسَعْدِي وَأَرْكَحِي مَعَ الْأَرْكَعَيْنَ
43/38:

45/40: Cf. v. 33.

وَقَالَ (perhaps as in v. 37).
إِذْ قَالَتْ

48/43: So Hamza and al-Kisā'i.

لَا يَةً لَآيَاتٍ - يَا يَاتِ - يَا يَاتِ
49/43: likewise for لَآيَاتٍ لَآيَاتِ - يَا يَاتِ - يَا يَاتِ

فَانْفَخْ فِيهِ - فَانْفَخْ فِيهِ though some thought this was the
reading of Ubai.

وَفَتَكُونُ - فَيَكُونُ So read also by Talha b. Muṣarrif.

وَجِئْتُمْ بِآيَاتٍ مِنْ - وَجِئْتُمْ بِآيَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُونَ
50/44: وَرَبِّكُمْ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَا جِئْتُمْ بِمَا مِنْ آيَاتٍ وَأَطِيعُونِي فِيمَا
أَذْعُوكُمْ إِلَيَّهِ
فَامَّا - وَامَّا:

فَأَوْتِيْمَ - فَبَوْتِيْمَ So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

64/57: عَدْلٌ - سَوَاءٌ:

73/66: إِنْ يُؤْتَى - أَنْ يُؤْتَى So Talha and al-Jahdari.
عِنْدَ اللَّهِ - يَدِ اللَّهِ

74/67: بَخْصٌ - بَخْصٌ:

75/68: تَامِّيْنَةٌ - تَامِّيْنَةٌ So Ibn Waththāb and al-Ashhab in what
was said to be Tamīm dialect. See also Ubai's reading.

(أَوْتِيْ) (i. e. from) يُوَدِّه - (بَوْتِيْ) (bis).

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ إِنْ تَامِّيْنَةٌ Omitted in his Codex.

79/73: تَدَرِّسُونَ - تَدَرِّسُونَ So Ibn 'Abbas and Talha.

بِضَارْزَ - بِضَارْزَ، the reading of 'Umar, and ad-Daḥḥāk, but
some said he read بِضَرْزَ.

283: فَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ عَلَى سَنَنِ فَلَمْ - وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ عَلَى سَفَرِ وَلَمْ
(a plural form).

284: يُعَذِّبُ، as the reading of al-A'mash, so يُغَنِّرُ - فَيَغَنِّرُ.

285: وَأَمَّنَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ - وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ: so read by 'Alī.

كَتَابِهِ وَلِنَاسِهِ وَرَسُولِهِ - كَتَبُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

though others say he read تَفَرَّقْ as did
Abū Razīn.

SURA III

2/1: الْقَيْوُمُ as in II, 255/256.

3/2: أَنْزَلَ - نَزَلَ.

7/5: وَإِنْ تَأْوِلْهُ إِلَّا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ - وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ: or others
say تَأْوِلَهُ إِلَّا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ.

13/11: بِرَوْنَمْ - بِرَوْنَمْ as read by Ikrima, Talha and others.

18/16: شَهَدَهُمْ اللَّهُ - شَهَدَهُمْ اللَّهُ as Ubai, Ibn as-Samaifa and al-Jahdari.
أَنْ لَا - أَنَّهُ لَا

الْفَاعِمُ - قَائِمًا.

19/17: الْخَيْفَةُ - الْأَسْلَمُ. See also Ubai's reading here.

21/20: فَاتَّلُوا الَّذِينَ - يَقْتَلُونَ الَّذِينَ So read by al-A'mash. See also
Ubai's reading.

30/28: تَوَدْ - وَدَتْ So read by Ibn Abī 'Abla.

33/30: مَالَ مُحَمَّدٌ - مَالَ عُمَرَانَ: à reading also given from the
Imāms of Ahl al-Bait.

37/32: كُلَّ مَا - كُلَّا: a purely orthographic variant.

- 80/74: وَلَنْ يَأْمُرُكُمْ – وَلَا يَأْمُرُكُمْ: .
- 81/75: الَّذِينَ أَوْتُوا الْكِتَابَ – الَّذِينَ: So Ubai and Mujāhid. مُصَدِّقًا – مُصَدِّقًا, as in II, 95.
- 91/85: لَوْ – وَلَوْ: So read by Ubai and Ibn Abī ‘Abla
- 92/86: بَعْضَ مَا – مِمَّا: .
- 101/96: تَتَلَقَّى – يَتَلَقَّى: So al-Hasan and al-A‘mash.
- 104/100: وَلَيْكُنْ – وَلَتَكُنْ: So read by Abū Nahik and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.
- الْمُنْكَرُ وَيَسْتَعْنُونَ بِاللَّهِ عَلَىٰ مَا أَصَابُهُمْ وَلِلَّهِكَ – الْمُنْكَرُ وَلِلَّهِكَ: .
So ‘Uthmān and Ibn az-Zubair.
- 105/101: جَاهَمُ – جَاهَمُ: .
- 111/107: يُنْصَرُوا – يُنْصَرُونَ: So Ubai and Zaid b. ‘Alī.
- 118/114: بَدَا – بَدَتْ: .
- 120/116: يُبَصِّكُمْ قُرْحَ – تَهْسِمُكُمْ: cf. v. 166.
- 121/117: شُبُرِيُّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ – شُبُرِيُّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: .
- 122/118: وَلَهُمْ – وَلَهُمَا: .
- 133/127: وَسَارَعُوا – وَسَارَعُوا: Likewise Ubai.
- 144/138: رُسُلٌ – الرَّسُلُ: So read by Ḥittān b. ‘Abdallah, and Ibn ‘Abbās.
- 146/140: فَتَلَ – فَتَلَ: The reading of Ibn Kathīr and Nāfi‘. But some said he read قَدْ فَتَلَ as Ṭalḥa. See also the reading of Ubai and Ibn ‘Abbās.
- رَبِيعُونَ – رَبِيعُونَ: So ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Hasan and others.
- بَصِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ – بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ: بَصِيرٌ: 156/150.
- يَفَلَ – يَفَلَ: which was the reading of Nāfi‘, Ibn ‘Āmir, Hamza, al-Kisā‘ī and Ya‘qūb.
- فَتَلُوا – فَتَلُوا: So read also by Ubai.

- وَلَنْ يَأْمُرُكُمْ – وَلَنْ يَأْمُرُكُمْ: 171/165.
- الْفَرْجُ – الْفَرْجُ: So Mu‘ādh and Ibn Abī Lailā.
- يُخْوِفُكُمْ – يُخْوِفُكُمْ: 175/169. So Ibn ‘Abbās, Ikrima, and ‘Atā’. See also Ubai’s reading here.
- سَيْكَنْتُ – سَنْكَنْتُ: 181/177. So read by al-Hasan.
- يَقُولُونَ – قَالُوا: So Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.
- يُقَالُ لَهُمْ وَقُولُ لَهُمْ: and some said يُقَالُ لَهُمْ though some said يُقَالُ لَهُمْ and some said يُقَالُ لَهُمْ.
- وَلَذَا حَذَرُوكُمْ مِنْ – وَلَذَا حَذَرَ اللَّهُ مِيشَقَ الَّذِينَ أَوْتُوا الْكِتَابَ: 187/184. So read that instead of الَّذِينَ أَوْتُوا الْكِتَابَ he read الَّذِينَ أَتَيْنَاهُمْ أَتَيْنَاهُمْ – أَتَيْنَاهُمْ.
- فَيَنْ أَلَىٰ فَاجْشَةَ فَعَلَيْهِ – بِمَا أَنْفَقَ: 188/185. فَلَا تَحْسِبْنِمْ: omitted in his Codex.
- SURA IV
- تَسَاءَلُونَ – تَسَاءَلُونَ: 1. So read also by al-A‘mash.
- وَبِالْأَرْحَامَ – وَبِالْأَرْحَامَ: 2. So al-A‘mash.
- أَحْسَنْتُمْ أَحْسَنْتُمْ – إِنْسَنْتُمْ: 6/5. or some said أَحْسَنْتُمْ and others أَحْسَنْتُمْ (though these doubtful.)
- رُشَدًا – رُشَدًا: 3. So as-Sulamī and Isā ath-Thaqafī.
- ضَعَفَأَنَا – ضَعَفَأَنَا: 9/10. So read by ‘Alī. Others say he read ضَعَافَأَنَا. See also Ubai’s reading here.
- وَمَنْ يَأْكُلْ أُمُولَ الْبَيْتَانِ ظَلَّمَ فَإِنَّمَا يَأْكُلْ فِي بَطْنِهِ نَارًا وَسَوْفَ يَصْلِي سَعِيرًا: 10/11. He read this verse.
- بِالْقَاتِحَشَةِ – الْقَاتِحَشَةِ: 15/19.
- وَالَّذِينَ يَفْعُلُونَهُ – وَالَّذِينَ يَأْتِيهِمْ: 16/20.
- وَلَا أَنْ تَعْضُلُوهُنَّ – وَلَا تَعْضُلُوهُنَّ: 19/23.

أَنْ يَفْعَشُ - أَنْ يَأْتِيَنَّ يَفْعَشُونَ. Involving the omission of مِهْنَةٍ. See also Ubai's reading here.

20/24: قِنْطَارًا مِنْ ذَهَبٍ - قِنْطَارًا.

اللَّا - الَّتِي:

- وَرَبِّكُمُ الَّتِي فِي حُجُورِكُمْ مِنْ نِسَائِكُمُ الَّتِي دَخَلْتُمْ بِهِنَّ - وَرَبِّكُمُ الَّلَّا كَيْ دَخَلْتُمْ بِإِمَانِهِنَّ

24/28: He agreed with TR against the alternative - وَالْمُحْصَنَتُ.

وَ أَجْلَ لَكُمْ - وَأَجْلَ لَكُمْ without.

وَمِنْهُنَّ إِلَى أَجْلِ مُسْمِيٍّ - مِنْهُنَّ So Ubai and Ibn 'Abbās.

25/30: The reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i, Khalaf and al-Hasan. أَحْصَنَ - أَحْصَنَ:

فَالصَّوَاحُ قَوَافِتُ حَوَافِطُ - فَالصَّالِحَتُ قَنْتَنَتُ حَنْفَطَتُ لِغَيْبٍ: So Talḥa.

فَاصْلِحُوا إِلَيْهِنَّ وَالَّتِي - اللَّهُ وَالَّتِي

الْمُضَاجُعُ - الْمُضَاجُعُ. So ash-Sha'bī and an-Nakha'i. See also Ubai's reading.

37/41: يَا الْبَخْلٌ - يَا الْبَخْلٌ, supporting the reading of Hamza and al-Kisā'i.

40/44: تَمَلُّكٌ - ذَرَقٌ.

43/46: سُكْرَى - سُكْرَى. So Sa'id b. Jubair and al-A'mash. See also Ubai's reading.

مِنْ غَيْطٍ - مِنْ الْغَيْطِ - مِنْ الْعَلَاطِ. So az-Zuhri. Some say he read

نِسَاءَكُمْ - النِّسَاءُ.

فَامْوَا - فَتَبَسَّمُوا

46/48: وَمِنَ الَّذِينَ - مِنَ الَّذِينَ

53/56: فَإِذَا لَا يُؤْتُونَ - فَإِذَا لَا يُؤْتُونَ: As Ibn 'Abbās, though some said he read يَأْتُونَ.

55/58: صَدٌ - صَدٌ (Pass.). So read also by Ibn 'Abbās, Ikrima, and al-Jahdari. See also Ubai's reading here.

56/59: كُلٌّ مَا - كُلٌّ مَا: A purely orthographic variant.

57/60: سَنْدَخَلُهُمْ - سَنْدَخَلُهُمْ: So Ibn Waththāb and an-Nakha'i.

59/62: وَإِلَى الرَّسُولِ - إِلَى الرَّسُولِ:

60/63: يَهَا - يَهَا: So read by 'Abbās b. al-Faḍl.

66/69: قَلِيلٌ - قَلِيلٌ as in the Codices of Anas, Ubai and that of Damascus.

74/76: فَسُوتُونِيهِ - فَسُوقَتُ نُورِتِيهِ:

75/77: أَخْرِجْنَا مِنَ الْقَرِيقَةِ الَّتِي - أَخْرِجْنَا مِنْ هَذِهِ الْقَرِيقَةِ الظَّالِمِ أَهْلَهَا: كَانَتْ ظَالِمَةً

79/81: وَإِنَّا كَنَّا هَمَّا عَلَيْكَ وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ - وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ as Ubai, but others said وَإِنَّا كَنَّا هَمَّا عَلَيْكَ وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ and yet others قَضَيْنَا هَمَّا عَلَيْكَ وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ which was given as the reading of Ibn 'Abbās.

81/83: بَيْتٌ مُبَيِّثٌ مِنْهُمْ (يَا مُحَمَّد) - بَيْتٌ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْهُمْ:

84/86: مِنْ بَأْسٍ - بَأْسٍ: يَكْفَى - يَكْفَى So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

88/90: أَرْكَسُوهُمْ - أَرْكَسُوهُمْ or some said رَكْسُوهُمْ. See also the reading of Ubai.

91/93: رَكْسُوا - أَرْكَسُوا or some said رَكْسُوا - أَرْكَسُوا

92/94: وَمَا يَكُونُ - وَمَا كَانَ:

يَنْصَدِقُوا - يَنْصَدِقُوا So Ubai.

مُتَبَاعَاتٍ - مُتَبَاعَاتٍ Likewise Ubai.

94/96: مُؤْمِنًا - مُؤْمِنًا: So Ibn 'Abbās and Mhd b. 'Alī (i.e. Mhd b. al-Hanafiyya).

أَنْ يَصُدُّوكُمْ — أَنْ صَدُوكُمْ
instead of إِنْ.

حَرْمَمْ — حَرْمَتْ:

وَالْوَقِيَّةَ — وَالْوَقِيَّةَ.

وَالْمَنْطَوْهَةَ — وَالْمَنْطَوْهَةَ. So read by Abū Maisara also.

وَمَا أَكَلَ السَّبْعَ — وَمَا أَكَلَ السَّبْعَ. So Ubai, Sa‘id b. Jubair and Ibn ‘Abbas. Some, however, said that he read وَأَكَلَ السَّبْعَ.

مُكْلِينَ — مُكْلِينَ. So al-Hasan, Ikrima and others.

فَامْوَأْ — فَامْوَأْ. As in IV, 46.

أَعْجَزْتَ — أَعْجَزْتَ. As al-Hasan and others.

وَالسَّارِقُونَ وَالسَّارِقَاتُ — وَالسَّارِقُونَ وَالسَّارِقَاتُ. See Ubai's reading here.

أَيْمَانُهَا — أَيْمَانُهَا.

شَرِيعَةَ — شَرِيعَةَ. So also Abū Razīn.

يَسْرُعُونَ — يَسْرُعُونَ. Read thus by Isā ath-Thaqafī.

أَعْزَزَ — أَعْزَزَ.

الْكُفَّارَ — الْكُفَّارِ.

مَوْلَىكُمْ — وَلِيَّكُمْ:

وَالَّذِينَ يُفْسُدُونَ — الَّذِينَ يُفْسُدُونَ (with addition of وَ).

مِنَ الَّذِينَ أَشْرَكُوا — وَالْكُفَّارَ. See also Ubai's reading.

— مَنْ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ وَغَضِبَ عَلَيْهِ وَجَعَلَ مِنْهُمُ الْفَرَقَةَ وَالْخَنَازِيرَ — . من غضب الله عليهم وجعلهم فرقة وختان بتر. See Ubai.

وَمَنْ عَدَدُوا — وَمَنْ عَدَدُوا. Some gave him as Ubai, others وَعَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ.

وَعَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ : others said وَعَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ : الظَّاغُوتَ :

وَعَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ : others said وَعَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ : وَعَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ :

عَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ : others said وَعَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ : عَدَ الظَّاغُوتَ :

الْقَاعِدُ — الْقَاعِدُونَ 95/97.

الْفَصَرَرِ — الْفَصَرَرِ. A reading also given from the Prophet.

101/102: He omitted as did Ubai.

إِسْتَهْرَرْتُمْ — أَطْهَانْتُمْ.

عَنْهُ — عَنْهُ.

فَسْتُوْرِيَّوْ — فَسْوَنَّ نُوْرِيَّوْ 114:

128/127: So al-A‘mash. Some, however, say he read أَنْ صَالَحًا.

129/128: كَانَهَا مَعْلَمَةً — كَانَهَا مَعْلَمَةً. See also Ubai's reading.

135/134: غَنِيٌّ أَوْ فَقِيرٌ — غَنِيٌّ أَوْ فَقِيرٌ. So also Ubai and Ibn Abī Ishaq.

142/141: بِرُوْنَ — بِرُوْنَ. Read thus also by Ibn Abī Ishaq.

143/142: مَذَدِّيَّيْنَ — مَذَدِّيَّيْنَ. So Ubai also.

146/145: وَسَوْتَ — وَسَوْتَ بُوْتَ:

سَوْتِيَّيْنَ — سَوْتَ بُوْتِيَّمَ:

157/156: شَبَّةَ — شَبَّةَ. The reading also of Zaid b. ‘Alī and Abū Nahik.

162/160: وَالْمُقْبِرُونَ — وَالْمُقْبِرُونَ. Read thus by Ubai, Anas, al-Jahdari and Sa‘id b. Jubair.

166/164: لَكَنَ اللَّهُ — لَكَنَ اللَّهُ. As was read also by as-Sulamī and Ubai.

176/175: أَنْ لَا تَضْلُلُوا — أَنْ تَضْلُلُوا. So Ubai and Zaid b. ‘Alī.

SURA V

1: أَحْلَلْتُ لَكُمْ بَيْرَةَ — أَحْلَلْتُ لَكُمْ بَيْرَةَ. So Ubai and Zaid b. ‘Alī.

2: أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الْحَرَامَ — جَاءَنِي الْبَيْتُ الْحَرَامَ. So Ibn ‘Abbas and al-A‘mash.

2/3: أَحْلَلْتُمْ — حَلَّتُمْ. So Ubai and Zaid b. ‘Alī.

So al-A‘mash, Zaid b. ‘Alī, and Ibn Waththāb.

سِيَطَانٍ (بُصْطَانٍ) - بُسْطَانٍ - بَسْطَانٍ (which some wrote
or بُسْطَانٍ or بُصْطَانٍ).

كُلَّ مَا - كُلَّا
a purely orthographic variant.

67/71: وَمِنْ رَبِّكَ إِنَّ عَلَيَّ مَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ - منْ رَبِّكَ: a Shi'a reading.

69/73: يَا أَيُّهَا - إِنَّ: So Ubai.

وَالصَّابِرِينَ - وَالصَّابِرِينَ
So Ubai and others. It does not fit,
however, with يَا أَيُّهَا.

70/74: كُلَّ مَا - كُلَّا
a purely orthographic variant.

79/82: يَنْهَوْنَ - يَنْهَاوْنَ
So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.

89/91: عَفَّتِ الْأَيْمَانُ - عَفَّدْتِ الْأَيْمَانَ
So Abū 'l-Āliya and Ibn Waththāb.

أَيَامٌ مُتَبَاعَاتٍ - أَيَامٌ
So Ubai.

95/96: فَجَزَاهُ مِثْلٌ - فَجَرَاهُ مِثْلٌ

107/106: الْأَوَّلَيْنَ - الْأَوَّلَيْنَ
So Ibn 'Abbās. It was the reading of Hamza and Ya'qūb. See also the reading of Ubai.

114: تَكُونُ - تَكُونُ
So read by al-A'mash.

115: قَالَ اللَّهُ إِنِّي مُنْزَّلٌ
قَالَ سَأَنْزُلُهَا - قال الله إنني منزلها:

118: فَعَادُكَ - فَأَنْتُمْ عَادُوكَ
فَعَادُكَ - فَأَنْتُمْ عَادُوكَ:

الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ or الغَفُورُ الرَّحِيمُ - الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ

SURA VI

16: يَصْرِفِ اللَّهُ - يُصْرِفُ
So Ubai.

19: وَإِنِّي - وَإِنِّي:
وَإِنِّي - وَإِنِّي:

23: وَمَا كَانَ فَتَنَهُمْ - ثُمَّ لَمْ تَكُنْ فَتَنَهُمْ
as Ubai and al-A'mash.
Others, however, say he read شَمَّ مَا كَانَ.

25: وَفِرًا - وَفِرًا: So read by Talha b. Musarrif.

27: فَلَا تُكَذِّبْ - وَلَا تُكَذِّبْ: So Mu'adh and Zaid b. 'Ali. Some said that he added أَبْدًا like Ubai.

50: مَلِكُ - مَلِكُ: So Sa'id b. Jubair, 'Ikrima and al-Jahdari.

52: بِالْعَدْوَةِ - بِالْعَدْوَةِ: So Abū'l-Āliya.

56: ضَلَّتْ - ضَلَّتْ which was the reading of Qatāda, Talha and Abū'l-Āliya.

57: يَنْصُ بِالْحَقِّ - يَنْصُ بِالْحَقِّ: So Ubai and an-Nakha'i.
اسْرَعْ - خَيْرْ

61: تَوَفَّاهُ - تَوَفَّهُ: So read by al-A'mash.

63: خَيْنَةَ - خَيْنَةَ: So Zaid b. 'Ali and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.

71/70: تَرْتَدْ - تَرْتَدْ

آسْهَوَهُ الشَّيْطَانُ - آسْهَوَهُ الشَّيْطَانُ: So Ubai and others.

آتَيْنَا - آتَيْنَا: as Ibn 'Abbās, though some say he read آتَيْنَا.

93: يَقُولُونَ أَخْرِجُوا - اخْرِجُوا:

الْهَوَانِ - الْهَوَانِ: Which was the reading of 'Ikrima also.

94: شُرَكَاءُكُمْ الَّذِينَ زَعَمْتُمْ أَنَّهُمْ فِيهِمْ شُرَكَاءُ
أَنَّهُمْ لَكُمْ شَفَاعَاءَ

تَنْطَعَ مَا بِيَنَكُمْ - تَنْطَعَ بَيْنَكُمْ: So al-A'mash and Mujāhid.

95: فَلَقَ الْحَبَّ - فَلَقَ الْحَبَّ: So read by al-A'mash.

99: يَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ حَبًّا - نَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ حَبًّا: the reading also of al-A'mash.

جَنَّاتٍ - جَنَّاتٍ: As 'Ali, al-A'mash and others.

أَنْظَرُوا - أَنْظَرُوا: So Ubai.

100: وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ شُرَكَاءَ مِنْ أَنْجَنَ - وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ شُرَكَاءَ أَنْجَنَ وَخَلَمْ: وَهُوَ خَلَمْ

105: لِيَقُولُوا - وَلِيَقُولُوا: with omission of وَ.

دَرَسَتْ، درَسَ - درَسَتْ: but some said درَسَ and others said درَسَتْ.

لِيَبْيَهَ - لِيَبْيَهَ: لِيَبْيَهَ - لِيَبْيَهَ.

وَمَا يُشْرِكُهُمْ إِذَا جَاءَهُمْ - وَمَا يُشْرِكُهُمْ أَنَّهَا إِذَا جَاءَتْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ : 109
أَنَّهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ .

111: قَيْلًا - فَيْلًا: So read by Ubai and Talha b. Muṣarrif.

125: يَصْعُد - يَصْعُد. So Talha and Abū Nahik. See also Ubai's reading.

136/137: لِشْرِكَائِهِمْ - لِشْرِكَائِهَا.

138/139: حَرْجٌ - حَرْجٌ: So read by Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and others.

139/140: خَالِصٌ - خَالِصٌ: So Ibn 'Abbās and al-A' mash. Others said خَالِصٌ as was also given from Ibn 'Abbās and al-A' mash.
فِيهَا سَوَاء - فِيهِ شَرْكَاهُ .

145/146: طَعْمَةٌ - يَطْعَمَهُ: So Ubai. Some friends of Ibn Mas'ud read طَعْمَةٌ, as did 'A'isha.

أَهْلٌ يَهُ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ - أَهْلٌ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ يَهُ .

148/149: وَلَوْ شَاء - لَوْ شَاء .

153/154: وَهَذَا صِرَاطُ رَبِّكُمْ - وَإِنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي: though some said وَهَذَا صِرَاطُ رَبِّكُمْ . See Ubai.

154/155: الَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا - الَّذِي أَحْسَنَ: See also Ubai's reading.

158/159: آيَةٌ - بَعْضُ آيَتِي: (bis) So read by Ubai and Ja'far b. Muhammad.

159/160: فَرَقُوهُا: He supported Hafs against the فَرَقُوهُا of Hamza, al-Kisā'i, 'Alī and al-Hasan.

SURA VII

20/19: أُورَى - وُرَى.

فَالَّوَارِبَنَا الَّا تَفْنِزُ - فَالَّا رَبَنَا ظَلَّنَا أَنْتَسَنَا إِنْ لَمْ تَفْنِزْ لَنَا وَتَرْحَمَنَا: 23/22
أَنَا وَتَرْحَمَنَا.

26/25: حَيْرٌ - ذَلِكَ حَيْرٌ: So read also by Ubai.

34/32: أَجَاهُمْ - أَجَاهُمْ: So Ubai and Isā ath-Thaqafi.

38/36: إِذَا تَدَارَكُوا - إِذَا ادَّارَكُوا: So Ubai. Some said he read إِذَا أَدَّرَكُوا .

40/38: الْجَهَلُ الْأَضَفَرُ - الْجَهَلُ: and others الْجَهَلُ الْأَضَفَرُ or الْجَهَلُ .

سَمٌ - سَمٌ: So Qatāda and Abū Razin.

الْمَخْبَطٌ - الْمَخْبَطٌ: So Abū Razin and Talha.

47/45: قُلْبَتْ - صُرْفَتْ: So al-A' mash and Sālim.

57/55: نُشْرًا - بُشْرًا: the reading of Ibn Āmir, al-Hasan and Qatāda.

105/103: أَنْ - عَلَى أَنْ: though some said that he read يَأْنَ as Ubai.

127/124: يَذَرُكَ - يَذَرُكَ: like Anas and Nu'aim b. Maisara. See also Ubai's reading which some gave from Ibn Mas'ud here.

إِلَيْنَكَ - إِلَيْنَكَ: As al-Hasan, 'Alī and others.

128/125: يُورِثُهَا - يُورِثُهَا: So read by al-Hasan and Ibn Waththāb.
الْعَاقِفَةَ - الْعَاقِفَةَ: It was Ubai's reading also.

137/133: يَعْمَلُ - يَصْنَعُ:

145/142: يَاحْسَنُهَا - يَا حَسِنَهَا:

148/146: حَلِيمٌ - حَلِيمٌ: the reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i and others.
By some it is given as the reading of the Friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

149/148: رَبَّا - رَبَّا: the reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i and others.

154/153: صَبَرَ - سَكَّ: See also Ubai's reading.

170/169: إِنَّ الَّذِينَ أَسْتَسْكُنُوا - وَالَّذِينَ يُسْكُنُونَ: So al-A' mash. See also Ubai's reading.

171/170: وَنَذَرُوا - وَنَذَرُوا:

187: يَهَا - عَنْهَا: So read also by Ibn 'Abbās.

SURA VIII

1: يَسْأَلُوكُمُ الْأَنْفَالَ - يَسْأَلُوكُمُ عنِ الْأَنْفَالِ: as read by many others.

Given from the Friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

2: فَرَقْتُ - وَجَلَّتْ: See also Ubai's reading.

3: بَيْنَ - تَبَيْنَ:

4: هَذَا - ذَلِكُمْ:

5: إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ - إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ: but some said he read

6: لَمَعَ - اَنْ تُصِيبَنَّ - لَا تُصِيبَنَّ: So Ubai and many others, but some said he read

7: اَنْ تُصِيبَ

8: لَا تَخُونُوا - تَخُونُوا: (second occurrence)

9: لَكُمْ which necessitates instead of هُمْ - يَنْتَهُوا:

10: بِالْعُدُوَّةِ الْأَعْلَى وَهُمْ بِالْعُدُوَّةِ السُّفْلَى - بِالْعُدُوَّةِ:

11: فَشَرَدْ - فَشَرَدْ: which some gave also from al-A'mash.

12: لَا يَحْسَبَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَنَّهُمْ سَبَقُوا - لَا يَحْسَبَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا:

Others, however, only note the addition of اَنَّهُمْ سَبَقُوا.

SURA IX

In Ibn Mas'ud's Codex this Sūra had the Basmala.

1: لَئِسَ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ - كَيْفَ يَكُونُ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ:

2: عَهْدٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَذِمَّةٌ: But some said he read

3: دِمَّةٌ - ذِمَّةٌ:

4: يُبَشِّرُهُمْ - يُبَشِّرُهُمْ:

5: عَلَيْهِ - عَلَيْهِ: So read by 'Alqama and others.

6: يُضْلِلُ - يُضْلِلُ: which was the reading of al-Hasan and Ya'qūb.

7: رَزَّيْنَ لَهُمْ سُوءٌ - رَزَّيْنَ لَهُمْ سُوءٌ: So read also by Zaid b. 'Ali.

38: شَاقْلَمْ - أَنَّا قَلَمْ: It was the reading of al-A'mash.

47: زَادُكُمْ - زَادُكُمْ: So read also by Ubai and Ibn Abi 'Abla.

51: يُصِيبُنَا - هَلْ يُصِيبُنَا - لَنْ يُصِيبُنَا: but some say he read as did Talha.

54: تَقْلَلَ - تَقْلَلَ:

61: أَذْنُ خَيْرٍ وَرَحْمَةً - أَذْنُ خَيْرٍ:

61/62: رَحْمَةً - رَحْمَةً: Which was the reading of Hamza, al-A'mash and 'Ali.

81/82: يَأْنُ قَعَدُوا حَنْفَ - يَسْقَدُهُمْ حَلْفَ:

106/107: غَورُ رَحِيمٍ - عَلِمْ حَكِيمٍ:

107/108: لَمَنْ حَارَبَا - لَمَنْ حَارَبَ: So read by al-A'mash also.

109/110: فَانْهَارَ يَوْمَ قَوْاعِدَهُ - فَانْهَارَ يَوْمَ:

110/111: وَلَوْ قُطِعَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ - أَنْ تَقْطَعَ قُلُوبُهُمْ: Some gave Talha's reading as from the Friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

See also Ubai's reading.

111/112: يَا تَجْنَبَةً - يَا تَجْنَبَةً: a reading given from 'Umar and al-A'mash also.

الثَّائِبَيْنَ الْعَالَمَيْنَ الْحَمَادَيْنَ الْسَّائِيْنَ الْرَّاكِيْنَ - الْثَّائِبَيْنَ etc. etc. so Ubai.

112/113: الْسَّاجِدَيْنَ الْأَمْرَيْنَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَالنَّاهِيْنَ وَالْمَخَافِظَيْنَ - وَالْمَخَافِظَيْنَ So Ubai.

117/118: مَا زَاغَتْ قُلُوبُ طَائِفَةٍ - مَا كَادَ يَرْيَغُ قُلُوبُ فَرِيقٍ: See Ubai.

119/120: مِنْ - مَعَ: So read by Ibn 'Abbas also.

120: الصَّادِقَيْنَ - الصَّادِقَيْنَ: So read by Ibn 'Abbas.

122/123: مِنْ كُلِّ طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ عَصِيَّةٌ - مِنْ كُلِّ طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ:

123: أَنْقَلَبُوا - رَجَعُوا:

126/127: لَا تَرَى - لَا يَرَوْنَ: as Ubai and al-'Amash, but some say he read لَمْ تَرَى.

127: مَرَّتِينِ وَمَا يَنْدَكُرُونَ - مَرَّتِينِ شُمَّ لَا يَتَوَوَّنَ وَلَا هُمْ يَدْكُرُونَ

SURA X

- 2: عَجَبٌ - عَجِيباً: Ibn 'Abbās so read also.
- 4: حَفَّا أَنَّهُ - حَفَّا أَنَّهُ: So read by Abū Ja'far and al-A'mash.
بَدَا - بَدَأْتُوا: So Ubai.
- 11/12: لَقَضَيْنَا إِلَيْهِمْ أَجَلَهُمْ - لَقَضَيْنَا إِلَيْهِمْ أَجَلَهُمْ: So Ibn Muhaisin and al-A'mash.
- 16/17: لَا أَنْذِرْتُكُمْ or لَا أَنْذِرْتُكُمْ - لَا أَنْذِرْتُكُمْ: So read by Ibn 'Abbās.
- 19/20: أَمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ عَلَى الْهُدَىٰ - أَمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ: So Ubai, and given by some from 'Āsim.
- 22/23: يُسِيرُكُمْ - يُسِيرُكُمْ: So read by al-Hasan.
جَرِينَ يَكُمْ - جَرِينَ يَمْ: So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.
- 24/25: رُخْرَفَهَا - رُخْرَفَهَا: So Ubai and Isā ath-Thaqafi.
وَأَرَيْتَ - وَأَرَيْتَ: So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.
- 30/31: شَلُوٰ - شَلُوٰ: So read by Ibn Abī 'Abla. See also Ubai's reading.
- 35/36: لَا يَهْدِي - لَا يَهْدِي: the reading of Hamza, al-Kisā'i and al-A'mash,
- and said by some to have been the reading of Zaid b. 'Alī.
- 36/37: يَفْعَلُونَ - يَفْعَلُونَ: As in VI, 35.
- 42/43: يَسْتَعِنُ - يَسْتَعِنُ: As in VI, 35.
- 51/52: أَئْمَ إِذَا - أَئْمَ إِذَا مَا: So read by Zaid b. 'Alī.
- 58/59: فَأَفْرَحُوا - فَلِفَرَحُوا: As Ubai and many others.
- 78/79: يَكُونَ - تَكُونَ: So read by al-Hasan and Ibn Abī Lailā.
- 81: سَمْرُ - أَسْمَرُ: The reading of Ubai also.
- 89: تَبَعَّا - تَبَعَّا: So Ubai.
- 90: إِنَّهُ لَإِلَهٌ - إِنَّهُ لَإِلَهٌ: So read by Ubai also.

- 92: نَجَبَكَ - نَجَبَكَ: So read by Ubai and Ibn as-Samaifa.
يَا بَدَائِكَ - بَدَائِكَ: Some however, say he read بَدَائِكَ.
- 98: فَهَلَّا - فَهَلَّا: So read by Ubai also.

SURA XI

- 12/15: إِلَيْهِ - عَلَيْهِ: جَاءَهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ - جَاءَهُ مَلَكُ:
- 13/16: بِسْمِ - بِعَشْرِ سُورٍ: So Ubai.
- 16/19: بَاطِلًا - بَطِلًا: قَوْمٌ فَقَالَ يَا قَوْمٌ - قَوْمٌ:
- 28/30: أَتَنِي رَحْمَةً مِنْ عِنْدِهِ: He omitted the words أَتَنِي رَحْمَةً مِنْ عِنْدِهِ.
- 38/40: كُلُّ مَا - كُلُّ مَا: A purely orthographic variant.
- 41/43: بَعْرِيَّهَا - بَعْرِيَّهَا: He supported TR against the alternative reading بَعْرِيَّهَا.
- 44/46: مَرْسَيْهَا - مَرْسَيْهَا: as read by Isā ath-Thaqafi and al-A'mash.
- 46/48: وَاسْتَوْتُ عَلَى الْجُبُودِيِّ وَقُضَى الْأَمْرُ - وَقُضَى الْأَمْرُ وَاسْتَوْتُ عَلَى الْجُبُودِيِّ: أَنْ تَسْأَلَنِي - فَلَا تَسْأَلْنِي:
- 49/51: مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا الْقُرْآنِ - مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا: مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا الْقُرْآنِ - مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا:
- 57/60: يَسْتَخْلِفُ - يَسْتَخْلِفُ: So read by Hubaira 'an Hafs.
- 71/74: فَائِمَّةٌ وَهُوَ جَالِسٌ - فَائِمَّةٌ وَهُوَ فَاعِدٌ - فَائِمَّةٌ: and فَائِمَّةٌ but others say فَائِمَّةٌ وَهُوَ فَاعِدٌ - فَائِمَّةٌ: إِيمَانَهُ أَنَّهُ قَدْرَهُ أَنْ يَقْرَأَهُ instead of فَائِمَّةٌ.
- 72/75: شَيْخٌ - شَيْخًا: So Ubai and al-A'mash.
- 74/77: يُجَادِلُهُمْ - يُجَادِلُهُمْ: أَنَّ يَكُونُ لِي وَلَدٌ - أَلَدُ:
- 78/80: الْحَمَائِثُ - الْسَّمِئَاتُ: يُجَادِلُهُمْ - يُجَادِلُهُمْ: الْحَمَائِثُ - الْسَّمِئَاتُ:

81/83: He omitted the words **وَلَا يَنْفِتُ مِنْكُمْ أَحَدٌ** but some say **وَلَقَدْ وَفَيْنَا إِلَيْهِ أَهْلَكُمْ الْأَعْجُوزُ** that after he added **أَمْرَاتُكُمْ** (reminiscent of XXVI, 170, 171).

101/103: **أَنْتَ** — **أَنْتَ**:

اللَّاتِي كَانُوا يَدْعُونَ — الَّتِي يَدْعُونَ
زَادُوهُمْ — زَادُوهُمْ

102/104: **وَ** **كَذَّلِكَ — وَكَذَّلِكَ**:

105/107: So al-A'mash. Others say he read **يَأْتِي** like Ubai.

111/113: **إِنْ كُلُّ إِلَاءٍ — وَإِنْ كُلُّ لَهَا**: See also Ubai's reading.

113/115: So read by Zaid b. 'Ali.

116/118: So read by Ubai.

SURA XII

8: **عُصْبَةٌ — عُصْبَةٌ**. So read by 'Ali.

10: **مِنْهُمْ وَيَسْأَمُونَ — مِنْهُمْ**:

لَا تَقْتُلُوهُ وَاجْعَلُوهُ — لَا تَقْتُلُوْهُمْ يُوسُفَ وَالْقُوَّةُ.

Ghāibat. He supported the reading of TR here and in v. 15.

12: **نَلْهُو وَنَسْأَمُ — بَرَّئْهُ وَسَلَّمَ**:

17: **نَنْضَلُ — نَسْتَقِيقُ**:

18: **فَصَرَّمَا جَيْلَادًا — فَصَرَّمَا جَيْلَادًا**. So Ubai and Isā ath-Thaqfī.

22: **جَعَلْنَاهُ حَكِيمًا وَعَلِمًا — أَتَبَيَّنَهُ حَكِيمًا وَعَلِمًا**:

23: **وَغَلَقْتُ أَبْوَابَهَا وَنَزَّعْتُ أَثْوَابَهَا — غَلَقْتُ الْأَبْوَابَ**:

Hifāṣt. He agreed with TR, though some said he read like Ibn as-Samaifa.

25: **وَجَدَاهَا — أَفْلَانَا**:

31: **مَكَانًا — شَكَانًا**. So read by Mu'adh.

See also Ubai. Some, however, said he read **حَاشَ اللَّهُ** like Abū 'Amr and al-Yazidi, or **حَاشَ اللَّهَ**.

33: **شَرَّا — بَشَّرَا**: though others said **بَشَّرَا** and others **شَرَّا**.

35: **عَنَّى — حَتَّى**:

36: **عَنْبَانًا — خَمْرًا**: said to be in the dialect of Hudhail.

37: **خَبِيزًا — خُبِيزًا**:

43: **سُنْبَلَاتٍ — سَكَابَلٍ**: and also in v. 46. So read by Ja'far as-Sādiq.

47: **فِي سُنْبَلَةٍ قَائِمَةٍ أَنْقَى لَهُ — فِي سُنْبَلَةٍ**:

49: **يَعْصِرُونَ — يَعْصِرُونَ**: See also Ubai's reading.

62: **لِفَتَيْهِ — لِفَتَيْهِ**: as the non-Kūfan reading.

64: **خَيْرُ الْمُحَاذِظِينَ — خَيْرُ حَافِظِينَ**: some say, however, that he read this instead of **أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ**.

65: **تَبَغَّى — تَبَغَّى**: So read by Abū Haiwa.

69: **دَخَلُوا عَلَيْهِ عَرْقَ يُوسُفَ أَخَاهُ — دَخَلُوا عَلَى يُوسُفَ إِلَيْهِ أَخَاهُ**:

70: **وَجَعَلَ — جَعَلَ**:

76: **فَأَذْنَ مُؤْذَنٌ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَخْرُجَ الْعَبْرَ — ثُمَّ أَذْنَ مُؤْذَنٌ**:

71: **عَلَيْهِ — عَلَيْهِ**:

72: **صَوْعَ — صَوْعَ**: So Zaid b. 'Ali and Ibn Waththāb. See also Ubai.

76: **كُلُّ ذِي عِلْمٍ عَالِمٌ** or **كُلُّ ذِي عَالِمٍ** or **كُلُّ ذِي عِلْمٍ**:

77: **فَأَسْرَهَا — فَأَسْرَهَا**: So read also by Ibn Abī 'Abla.

83: **لَا يَعْلَمُ أَنْ — عَسَى اللَّهُ أَنْ**:

87: **فَضْلٍ — رَوْحٍ**: See also Ubai's reading.

88: **فَأَوْفِ لَنَا الْكِيلَ وَأَوْفِرِ رِكَابَنَا — فَأَوْفِ لَنَا الْكِيلَ**:

- هَذَا أَخْيَ يَبْنِي وَبَنِيهِ فُرْتَى — هَذَا أَخْيَ 90: .
- جَاءَ الْبَشِيرُ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيِ الْعَبْرِ — جَاءَ الْبَشِيرُ: 96: .
- أَبْوَيْهِ وَإِخْوَتَهُ — أَبْوَيْهِ 99/100: .
- عَلَمَتَنِ آتَيْتَنِ — عَلَمَتَنِ آتَيْتَنِ 101/102: and .
- يَمْشُونَ عَلَيْهَا، وَالْأَرْضَ يَمْشُونَ — وَالْأَرْضَ يَمْشُونَ 105: but some say .
- وَالسَّمَاءَ وَالْأَرْضُ آتَيْتَنِ عَظِيمَتَانِ .
- هَذِهِ — هَذِهِ 108: .
- كُنْدِبُوا — He agreed with the Kūfans, though others said he
read كُنْدِبُوا as the non-Kūfan reading. 110: .

SURA XIII

- فَطَاعَ — قَطَاعَ: 4: So read by Ibn Dharr.
- يَسْقِيَهَا مِنْ مَاءٍ وَاحِدٍ — يُسْقِي بِمَاءٍ وَاحِدٍ وَنَفْضُلُ بَعْضَهَا عَلَى بَعْضٍ . So read also by Ubai and Ibn Qais.
- يَزِيدُ — تَرْدَادُ: 8/9: but others say he read .
- وَمَنْ هُوَ سَارِبٌ — سَارِبٌ: 10/11: .
- مَعَافِيَهُ — مُعَافَيَهُ: 11/12: So read by Ubai and an-Nakha'i.
- يَدْعُونَ وَالَّذِينَ — وَالَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ: 14/15: omitting .
- فَادْعُوا وَمَا دُعَاهُ — وَمَا دُعَاهُ: 16/17: So Ubai.
- أَفَتَخَذُمُ — أَفَأَنْخَذْتُمْ [i.e. with omission of \ and idghām of ت with ت] or أَفَتَخَتمُ: 19: as read also by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.
- يَقْدِرُ لَهُ — يَقْدِرُ: 26: So Ibn Dharr.
- سَبَطٌ — سَبَطٌ: as also Abū 'l-Barhashīm. See also Ubai's reading.

- وَمَا أَرْسَلْتُ مِنَ الرَّوْسِلِ وَأَنْزَلْتُ عَالَمِينَ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ إِلَّا يَأْفِي 30/29: He read as did Ubai. Cf. قَوْمِيْمِ لِتَلَوِّنَهَا عَلَيْهِمْ وَبَيْنِهَا لَهُمْ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ Sūra XIV, 4.
- يَأْتِيَنَ — يَأْتِيَنَ: 31/30: So 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās and Ja'far b. Mhd.
- دَارِمَهُ — دَارِمَهُ: 31: Read thus also by Ubai and Mujāhid.
- صَدُوا — صَدُوا: 33: See also Ubai's reading.
- مَثَلُ — مَثَلُ: 35: So 'Alī and as-Sulamī. Some, however, said he read مَثَلُ. See also Ubai's reading.
- وَالَّذِينَ هَاتِئُنَمِ الْكِتَابَ يَقْرَهُونَ بِمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ 36: Some say he read as Ubai وَالَّذِي أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ فَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ مُخْتَلِفَاتٌ but وَالَّذِينَ آتُوا يَقْرَهُونَ يَدَهُمْ مَنْ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ and وَالَّذِينَ يَعْرِفُونَ أَجَرَ وَيُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْكِتَابِ يَقْرَهُونَ بِمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ هُوَ الْحَقُّ يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ others said he read .
- مِنْ قَبْلِكَ فَاسْكَنَاهُمُ الْأَرْضَ — مِنْ قَبْلِكَ: 38: .
- الْكُفَّارُ — الْكُفَّارُ: 42: See also Ubai's reading.

SURA XIV

- أَخْرَجْتُمُ — إِذْ أَنْجَكُمْ: 6: .
- قَالَ — تَأَذَّنَ: 7: .
- وَقَالَ مُوسَى لِقَوْمِهِ أَتَنْ — وَلَئِنْ: .
- (?) إِنْ أَعْنِ حَوْلِيْلَ — إِنْ عَذَّابِيْ لَشَدِيدٌ: .
- أَتَنْ كَفَرْتُمْ — إِنْ تَكْفِرُوا أَنْتُمْ: 8: .
- عَادَ وَسُوْدَادًا — عَادَ وَسُوْدَادًا: 9: [i.e. beginning a new clause governed by the coming verb].

- عَصَفَ — عَصَفَ: 18/21: .
- ثَابَتْ أَصْلَهَا فِي الْأَرْضِ — أَصْلَهَا ثَابَتْ: 24/29: and some say he read وَفَرَعَهَا فِي السَّمَاءِ instead of وَفَرَعَهَا فِي الْأَرْضِ .

السَّمَوَاتِ فِي الْأَرْضَ وَجَعَلَ لَكُمُ الْأَرْضَ فَرَايَا - السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ 32/37.

41/42: Some say he read like al-Hasan, 'Ali and others. لَوْلَدَى - لَوْلَدَى

46/47: though others say he read كَادَ مَكْرُمٌ - وَإِنْ كَانَ مَكْرُمٌ. وَإِنْ كَانَ مَكْرُمٌ

50/51: تَغْشَى - تَغْشَى.

SURA XV

2: رُبَّهَا - said to be in the dialect of Tamīm.

6: وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا - وَقَالُوا: إِلَيْهِ - عَلَيْهِ.

7: تُرِيبَةً مَلَائِكَةً - تُرِيبَةً بِالْمَلَائِكَةِ:

14: أَطْلَلُوا - فَظَلَلُوا. So read by Ubai.

15: سُكِّرَتْ - سُكِّرَتْ. So read by Ubai and Abān b. Tagħlib.

17: رَجِيمٌ - رَجِيمٌ.

27: خَلَقَهُ - وَالْجَانَّ خَلَقَهُ. He omitted خَلَقَهُ.

51: وَأَعْلَمُهُمْ - وَأَعْلَمُهُمْ. So read also by Ibn Qais.

52: حَيْنَ - إِذْ. So Ibn Qais also.

53: تَوَجَّلْ - تَوَجَّلْ. said to have been the reading of the friends of Ibn Mas'ud, but others said he read تَخَفَّتْ, as was also read by Ubai.

54: تُبَشِّرُوكَ - تُبَشِّرُوكَ.

55: تُبَشِّرونَ - تُبَشِّرونَ.

56: مِنْ سَعَةِ رَحْمَةٍ - مِنْ رَحْمَةٍ. Read thus also by Ibn Qais.

65: يَلْتَفِتْ - يَلْتَفِتْ.

66: وَقُلْنَا لَهُ إِنَّ دَابِرَ - وَقُلْنَا إِنَّ دَابِرَ - أَنَّ دَابِرَ: though some said

72: لَفِي سَكَرَتِيمْ يَلْعَبُونَ - لَفِي سَكَرَتِيمْ يَعْلَمُونَ: مُسْتَقِيمْ - مُبِينْ:

SURA XVI

9: مُنْكِمْ - مُنْكِمْ Said to have been so read by 'Ali also.

11: بُخْرَجْ - بُخْرَجْ يُسْتَبِّتْ:

12: وَالْزَّيَاحُ - وَالْنَّجُومُ: So Talha b. Muṣarrif.

19: يَعْلَمُ الَّذِي تَبَدَّلُونَ وَمَا تَكْتُمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ - يَعْلَمُ مَا تُسِرُّونَ وَمَا تَعْلَمُونَ: يَعْلَمُ الَّذِي تَدْعُونَ - تَدْعُونَ friends of Ibn Mas'ud.

20: كَعَلِيقِهِمْ لَا يَخْلُقُونَ شَيْئًا - لَا يَخْلُقُونَ شَيْئًا وَهُمْ يُخْلُقُونَ

28/30: تَوْفِقُهُمْ - تَوْفِقُهُمْ Similarly in v. 34.

37/39: بِهِمْ دَى or (بِهِمْ دَى) - بِهِمْ دَى See also Ubai's reading.

41/43: لَشُوْبِهِمْ - لَشُوْبِهِمْ So read by 'Ali, Nu'aim b. Maisara and others.

43/45: فَتَنُوا - ظَلِيمُوا So Ubai and Abū 'l-Barhashīm.

48/50: نُوحِي - نُوحِي He supported TR against the other reading عن آيَمَانِهِمْ وَعَنْ شَمَائِلِهِمْ - عَنِ الْأَيْمَانِ وَالشَّمَائِيلِ سَعَدًا لَهُ بِسْجُودَ لَهُ

51/53: إِنَّهَا هُوَ أَنَا إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ - إِنَّهَا هُوَ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ

54/56: إِذَا كَشَفْتَ -

62/64: مُفْرَطُونَ - مُفْرَطُونَ agreeing with the reading of Warsh.

65/67: لَعَزَّةَ - لَعَزَّةَ

66/68: نَسْفِيْمَ - نَسْفِيْمَ, agreeing with reading of Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and Ya'qūb.

67/69: شَهَرَاتِ الْجَنِيلِ وَالْأَعْنَبِ تَتَخَذُونَ مِنْهُ سَكَرًا وَرِزْقًا حَسَنًا: الْأَعْنَبِ وَالْجَنِيلِ تَتَخَذُونَ سَكَرًا مُسْتَخْرِجُونَ مِنْهُ رِزْقًا حَسَنًا

69/71: يَنْكِرُونَ - يَنْكِرُونَ

71/73: فُصِّلُوا بِرَادِينَ رِزْقُهُمْ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مَلَكُوتُ آيَمَانِهِمْ - بِرَادِينَ He read

72: فَهُمْ فِيهِ شُرَكَاءٌ أَفَيْنِهِمْ أَلَّهُ هُمْ يَجْحَدُونَ though some said he read without the هُمْ يَجْحَدُونَ

- 73/75: مَنْ لَا يَرْزُقُهُمْ — مَا لَا يَمْلِكُ لَهُمْ رِزْقًا: .
 75/77: هَلْ يَسْتَوِي هُوَ وَمَنْ أَتَيْنَا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا — وَمَنْ رَزَقْنَا مَا نَهَا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا: .
 76/78: يُوجَّهُ or يُوجَّهُهُ though some said بُوْجَّهُهُ — يُوجَّهُهُ تَوْجِهًة: .
 77/79: خَبَرُ الْسَّاعَةِ — أَمْرُ السَّاعَةِ: .
 80/82: حِينَ ظَعِنْتُمْ — يَوْمَ ظَعِنْتُمْ: .
 81/83: ظَلَالًا يَا وَيْكُمْ حِينَ مَسِيرِكُمْ وَوَقْتَ مَقِيلِكُمْ — خَلَقَ ظَلَالًا: He read
إِذَا رَأَاهُمْ: .
 85/87: إِذَا — He omitted the ظَلَالَاهُمْ: .
 86/88: شُرَكَاءُهُمْ فِي النَّارِ — شُرَكَاءُهُمْ: .
 96/98: لَيْوَقِينَ — لَنْجَرِينَ: .
 97/99: (لَيْوَقِينَ) — لَنْجَرِينَ: .
 112/113: لِيَاسَ الْخُوفِ وَالْجُوعِ — لِيَاسَ الْجُوعِ وَالْخُوفِ: as Ubai.
 Some, however, said that Ibn Mas'ud simply omitted لِيَاسَ and others that he omitted لِيَاسَ and then read الْخُوفِ وَالْجُوعِ.
 115/116: حَرَمَ اللَّهُ — حَرَمَ عَلَيْكُمْ: .
 124/125: إِنَّمَا أَنْزَلْنَا السُّبْتَ or إِنَّمَا أَنْزَلْنَا السُّبْتَ — جُنُلُ السُّبْتُ: .

SURA XVII

- 1: مِنَ الظَّلَالِ — لَيْلًا: .
 4: عَلَيْاً — عَلُوًّا: So read by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Ali.
 5: عَبَادًا — عِبَادًا: As Ubai and Ibn Qais.
 6: فَلَمَّا كَانَ الدِّيَارِ — فَجَاسُوا خَلَلَ الدِّيَارِ: .
 9: يُبَشِّرُ — يَبْشِرُ: So read by Talha and Ibn Waththāb.
 23/24: وَوَصَى — وَقَضَى: So Ubai.

- إِمَّا يَلْفَانِ عِنْدَكَ — إِمَّا يَلْعَنِ عِنْدَكَ الْكَبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَا أَوْ كُلُّهُمَا
الْكَبَرَ إِمَّا وَاحِدٌ وَإِمَّا كُلُّهُمَا: .
 37/39: فَرَحًا — مَرَحًا: As read by Ibn Qais.
 38/40: سَيِّئَاتٍ — سَيِّئَاتٍ سَيِّئَاتٍ See also Ubai's reading.
 44/46: سَبَحَتْ — تُسَبِّحُ as al-A'mash and Talha, though some said سَبَحَتْ لَهُ الْأَرْضُ وَسَبَحَتْ لَهُ السَّمَوَاتُ that his reading was ما نَظَرْتُكُمْ تَتَبَعُونَ — إِنْ تَتَبَعُونَ: .
 47/50: تَدْعُونَ — يَدْعُونَ: So read also by Qatāda.
 57/59: رَبِّكَ — رَبِّيْمَ أَفْرَبُ دَرَجَاتٍ — أَفْرَبُ
 59/61: مُبَصِّرَةً — مُبَصِّرَةً: So read also by Zaid b. 'Ali.
 60/62: فَتَنَةٌ لَهُمْ — فَتَنَةٌ لِلنَّاسِ: .
 62/64: لَا حَتِنَكَهُ — لَا حَتِنَكَنَ: .
 71/73: يَكْتَابُهُمْ — يَامِسِيمُهُمْ: So Ubai and al-Hasan.
 76/78: فَمَنْ أَهْتَدَى أُوْتَى — فَمَنْ أُوْتَى يُبَشِّرُونَ — فَأَوْلَئِكَ يُقْرَبُونَ
يُلْبِثُونَ — يُلْبِثُونَ: So read also by Ubai.
 85/87: أُوتُوا — أُوتِيتُمْ: Likewise al-A'mash.
 93/95: ذَهَبٌ — رُخْرُفٌ: Cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 17.
 97/99: كُلُّ مَا — كُلَّمَا: A purely orthographic variant.
 106/107: فَرَقَنَةٌ — فَرَقَنَةٌ: as Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and others, but some say he added عليكَ
خَافِتْ بِصَوْتِكَ وَلَا تَعَالَ بِهِ — خَافِتْ بِهَا: .

SURA XVIII

- 1: عَوْجَأَ بَلْ دِينَا — عَوْجَأَ: So Ja'far as-Sādiq.

بِيَسِرٍ - بِيَسِرٍ : 2.

مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ مَا لَمْ عَلِمُوا مِنْ بَهَانٍ - مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ : 5/4

11/10: (عَدَدًا) - عَدَدًا : as read by Talha and Ibn Ghazwan.

16/15: مِنْ دُونِنَا though others say دِنْ دُونِ اللهِ - إِلَّا اللهُ : 16/15

17/16: تَرْوِيرٌ - تَرْوِيرٌ : So read by Abū 'l-Mutawakkil.

20/19: يُظْهِرُوا - يُظْهِرُوا : So read also by Zaid b. 'Ali.

21/20: بَنَاءً - بَنَاءً : As Mu'adh.

25/24: وَقَالُوا وَيَقُولُوا - وَلَيَقُولُوا :

ثَلَاثَ مِائَةَ سَنةٍ - ثَلَاثَ مِائَةَ سِنِينَ : So read also by Ubai.

28/27: عَيْنِكَ - عَيْنِكَ : It was the reading of al-Hasan and al-A'mash.

33/31: كُلُّ الْجَنَّاتِ آتِيَ أَكْلَهُ - كُلُّ الْجَنَّاتِ حَانَتْ أُكْلُهَا : though some say he read كُلًا.

38/36: لَكِنْ أَنَا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ رَبِّي - لَكِنَّا هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي : but others say لَكِنْ أَنَا هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي or لَكِنْ هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ that he read as Ubai and al-Hasan.

45/43: تَدْرِي يُو - تَدْرِي يُو : though others say تَدْرِي يُو - تَدْرِي يُو .

48/46: حَتَّمُونَا كَعَلَقْكُمُ الْأَوَّلِ بَلْ - حَتَّمُونَا كَمَا خَفَقْتُمُ أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ بَلْ زَعَمْتُمُ زَعَمْتُمُ :

52/50: يَقُولُ لَهُمْ - يَقُولُ :

53/51: مُلَاقُوهُمَا - مُلَاقُوهُمَا : So read by al-A'mash and Talha.

55/53: وَمَا مَنَعَ النَّاسَ أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا إِذْ جَاءُهُمُ الْهُدَى وَيَسْتَغْفِرُوا رَبَّهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ : وَمَا مَنَعُوكُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ وَيَسْتَغْفِرُونَهُ بَلْ - تَأْتِيهِمْ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ تَأْتِهِمْ

57/55: فَهُنَّ أَكْثَرُ ذَنْبًا مِنْ ذُكْرٍ - وَمَنْ أَظْلَمُ مِنْ ذُكْرٍ :

- فِي آذَانِهِمْ وَفِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ غَطَاءٌ - فِي آذَانِهِمْ وَفِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ

59/58: تِلْكَ الْفُرُونُ الْخَالِيَةُ - تِلْكَ الْقُرْبَى : So Ubai and Ibn Qais.

أَرَيْتَكَ - أَرَيْتَ : 63/62.

but others say أنْ أَذْكُرُهُ إِلَّا الشَّيْطَانُ - إِلَّا الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ أَذْكُرُهُ his only variant was أَذْكُرُهُ.

فَوْلَى - أَمْرَى : 73/72.

تَصَحِّبِي - تُصَحِّبِي : 76/75.

لِيُنْفَضِ - يُنْفَضِ - يَنْفَضِ : 77/76. as Ubai and al-A'mash, but others say and yet others يَنْفَضِ.

لَتَخْذَلَتْ - لَتَخْذَلَتْ : 78/77. as Qatada and al-Hasan, but others say لا تَخْذَلَتْ. See also Ubai's reading.

هَذَا الْفِرَاقُ لَيْخَنِي وَيَنْلَكَ - هَذَا فِرَاقٌ : 78/78. So Ubai.

سَفِينَةٌ صَاحِبَةٌ - سَفِينَةٌ : 80/79. Some, however, give this only from Ubai.

حَمِيمَةٌ - حَمِيمَةٌ : 86/84. So Talha b. Musarrif, Ibn 'Amir, Hamza, al-Kisai and others.

قَالَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ - قَالُوا :

زُبُرٌ - زُبُرٌ : 96/95. So read also by Ibn Qais.

سَوْيَ - سَوْيَ : So Ali, Ibn 'Abbas and Qatada.

الْمُجَاهِلُونَ - الْمُجَاهِلُونَ : So Ali, Ibn 'Abbas and Qatada.

عَلَيْهِمَا - عَلَيْهِمَا : So Ali, Ibn 'Abbas and Qatada.

أَفَطَنَ - أَفَطَنَ : 102/102.

مَدَادًا - مَدَادًا : 109/109. So Ibn 'Abbas, Mujahid, al-A'mash and others.

أَنْ تُقْضَى - أَنْ تُقْضَى :

مَدَادًا - مَدَادًا : As Ubai, Mujahid, Ibn 'Abbas and others.

SURA XIX

ذِكْرُ رَحْمَةِ رَبِّكَ الْرَّحْمَنِ إِذْ نَادَاهُ رَجَرِيَّا نِدَاءً

See Ubai's reading.

7. نُبِشْرُكَ — نُبِشِّرُكَ : 7/9: عَيْنًا — عَيْنًا. See also Ubai's reading.
- 18: إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ تَقِيًّا — إِنْ كُنْتَ تَقِيًّا. So read by Abū Rājā.
- 19: لَهُبَ — لَأَهَبَ as Nāfi', Abū 'Amr, al-Hasan and others.
- 24: فَخَاطَبَهُمَا مَنْ تَعْهِدَهَا — فَنَادَهُمَا مَنْ تَعْهِدَهَا. So read by Anas and Ubai.
- 26: تَرَيْنَ — تَرَيْنَ. So read by Mu'ādh, Talḥa and others.
- 26/27: صَمَّتَا as Zaid b. 'Alī, but others say he read صَمَّتَا as Anas. See also Ubai's reading.
- 27/28: وَجَاءَتْ يَوْمَهُ إِلَيْهِ قَوْمَهَا — فَأَتَتْ يَوْمَهَا تَحْمِلُهُ.
- 29/30: فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ مَنْ فِي الْمَهْدِ — فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ دِمْتُ — دِمْتُ : 31/32.
- 34/35: قَالَ اللَّهُ or قَالُ or قَالَ اللَّهُ or قَالَ — قَوْلَ : and others قالوا الله الحق.
- 40/41: وَارْسَلُوا الْأَرْضَ — نَرِثُ الْأَرْضَ. See also Ubai's reading.
- 42/43: وَأَبْتَ — يَا أَبْتَ :
- 51/52: صَادِقًا نَبِيًّا — مُخْلَصًا وَكَانَ رَسُولًا نَبِيًّا. So read also by Ibn Dharr.
- 58/59: تَنْلَى — يُتَنْلَى — تَنْلَى as read by Shibil, Abū Ja'far, Shaiba and others.
- 59/60: الْأَصْلَوَاتِ — الْأَصْلَةَ : Was also the reading of al-Hasan and ad-Dahhāk.
- 60/61: سَيَدْخُلُونَ — يَدْخُلُونَ : So read by Talḥa.
- 61/62: جَنَّةٌ — جَنَّتٌ : As read by al-Hasan, 'Alī b. Sāliḥ and al-A'mash.
- 64/65: يَنْزَلُ إِلَّا يَقُولُ — نَزَّلَ إِلَّا يَأْمُرُ :
- 66/67: سَأْخْرُجُ — لَسَوْفَ أُخْرُجُ : So Talḥa.
- 69/70: عَيْنًا : As in v. 9.
- 70/71: صَلَيْا — صَلَيْا :
- 71/72: آهَا قَارِدُهَا — إِلَّا وَارِدُهَا :

- 72/73: شَمَ — شُمَ : So read by Ubai, al-Jahdārī and others.
- 74/75: وَرِيَاءً — وَرِيَاءً : So Ikrima and al-Jahdārī. See also Ubai's reading.
- 75/77: وَاللهُ يَعْلَمُ — فَسَيَعْلَمُونَ :
- 77/80: أَمَا رَأَيْتَكَ يَا — أَفَرَأَيْتَ الدِّيْنَ كَفَرَ بِإِيمَانِنَا وَقَالَ : As Ubai he read مُحَمَّدُ الدِّيْنَ كَذَبَكَ وَجَحَدَ بِإِيمَانِنَا وَقَالَ (though perhaps with أَمَا رَأَيْتَكَ instead of أَفَرَأَيْتَكَ). See Ubai's text. Others say he read أَفَرَأَيْتَ الدِّيْنَ يَقُولُ إِذَا بَيْثَ لَأَوْيَنَ :
- 80/83: وَلَدًا — وَلَدًا : So read by Ya'ya b. Ya'mar.
- وَرِثَةً مَا عِنْدَهُ وَيَأْتِينَا فَرْدًا لَا مَالَ لَهُ — وَرِثَةً مَا يَقُولُ وَيَأْتِينَا فَرْدًا : 80/83: وَلَكَ وَلَكَ
- 90/92: يَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ يَنْصَدِعُ — تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ يَنْفَطَرُ : though some said إِنْ تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ لَتَنْصَدِعُنَ others and others تَكَادُ السَّمَوَاتُ لَتَنْصَدِعُنَ.
- 93/94: إِلَآ أَتَيَ الرَّحْمَنَ — إِلَآ أَنِي الرَّحْمَنُ : as read by Ibn az-Zubair, Abū Ḥaiwa and Ya'qūb, but others said آهَا آنِي الرَّحْمَنُ.
- 97: لَنْبِشَرَ — لَنْبِشَرَ :
- ## SŪRA XX
- 1: طَوِ — طَوِ : See *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvii, 407.
- 2/1: نُزِّلَ عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنُ — أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ : نُشْقَى — لَنْشَقَ.
- 15: أَخْفِيَهَا مِنْ نَفْسِي فَكَيْفَ أَعْلَمُهَا لَكُمْ — أَخْفِيَهَا : See also Ubai's reading.
- آتَيْهَا فَلَا تَسْكُنْ فِي مَرْيَةٍ وَمِنْهَا أَكَادُ — آتَيْهَا أَكَادُ.
- 16/17: مَنْ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِهَا وَكَذَبَ بِهَا — مَنْ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِهَا :
- 17/18: وَمَا ذَا فِي يَسِينِكَ — وَمَا يَنْلَكَ يَسِينِكَ :

- 21/22: إِنَّا سَعَيْدُهَا كَسِيرٌ تَهَا — سَعَيْدُهَا سِيرٌ تَهَا: So read also by Ubai.
- 31/32: وَأَشْدُدْ — أَشْدُدْ: as Ubai.
- 42/44: وَلَا تَهْنَأْ — وَلَا تَهْنَأْ: .
- 44/46: فَقُلَا لَهُ — فَقُلَا لَهُ: .
- 45/47: يُفْرَطْ — يُفْرَطْ: So read by Abū Naufal, al-A'mash and Sallām.
- 46/48: قَالَ لَا تَخَافَا إِنِّي مَعَكُمَا أَسْمَعْ وَأَرَى: فَقَالَ لَا تَخَافَا إِنِّي مَعَكُمَا أَسْمَعْ وَأَرَى: تَحَوَّرُكُمَا وَأَرَى.
- 48/50: إِنَّ الْعَذَابَ — إِنَّا قَدْ أُوحِيَ إِلَيْنَا أَنَّ الْعَذَابَ عَلَى مَنْ كَذَبَ وَتَوَلََّ: سَيُحْيِطُ بِهِنَّ كَذَبَ بِهَا جِئْنَاهَا يَوْمَ وَتَوَلََّ.
- 50/52: خَلْفَهُ — خَلْفَهُ: As read by Abū Nahik and many others.
- 58/60: سُوَّى — سُوَّى: As read also by Ibn Qais.
- 59/61: قَالَ وَمَوْعِدِي مَعَكُمْ يَوْمَ زِيَّنَكُمْ — قَالَ مَوْعِدُكُمْ يَوْمَ الزِّيَّةِ: قَالَ وَمَوْعِدِي مَعَكُمْ يَوْمَ زِيَّنَكُمْ — قَالَ مَوْعِدُكُمْ يَوْمَ الزِّيَّةِ: يَحْشُرُ النَّاسَ — يَحْشُرُ النَّاسَ: So read by al-Jahdārī, an-Nakha'ī and others.
- 60, 61/62, 63: فَخَرَجَ فِرْعَوْنُ فَجَمَعَ سُحْرَهُ ثُمَّ أَلَى: He read these verses as Ubai, or others said. قَالَ لَهُمْ مُوسَى وَلَكُمْ لَا تَقُولُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكَذِبَ by Ubai.
- 63/66: إِنْ هَذَانِ إِلَّا سَاحِرَانِ — إِنْ هَذَانِ لَسَاحِرَانِ: as Ubai, or others said. إِنْ هَذَانِ سَاحِرَانِ and others said. إِنْ هَذَانِ سَاحِرَانِ
- 69/72: كَيْدُ سَعْرَ — كَيْدُ سَعْرَ: as Mujāhid, Humaid and Zaid b. 'Ali.
- 72/75: لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ بِكَ وَنُؤْتِرَكَ عَلَى مَا جَاءَنَا مِنَ الْمِسْتَ: لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ بِكَ وَنُؤْتِرَكَ عَلَى مَا جَاءَنَا مِنَ الْمِسْتَ: رَأَيْنَا مِنَ الْبَيِّنَاتِ: So read by Ubai and Ibn Khuthaim.
- 80/82: بِحِسْنِكُمْ — أَجْيِسْكُمْ: .
- 81/83: فَيَحْلِلُ اللَّهُ لَا عَلَيْكُمْ غَصَّى — فَيَحْلِلُ عَلَيْكُمْ غَصَّى: So read by Ubai also.

- 89/91: بِرَوْنَ — بِرَوْنَ: .
- 94/95: بَيْتَنُومَ: — Al-Farrā' says that he saw it written thus in the Codex of Ibn Mas'ud.
- 96: فَقَبَضَتْ قَبْصَةً — فَقَبَضَتْ قَبْصَةً: So read by Ubai, Ibn az-Zubair and others.
- 97: فَقَبَضَاتْ مِنْ آثَارَ — فَقَبَضَةً مِنْ آثَارِ الرَّسُولِ فَقَبَضَتْهَا وَكَذَلِكَ فَقَبَضَةً فَالْقَيْنَهَا وَكَذَلِكَ Ibni Khuthaim; but others say he read omitting ، مِنْ آثَارِ الرَّسُولِ فَقَبَضَتْهَا and others that he read أَثَرِ فَرَسِ الرَّسُولِ.
- 97: مُخْلَفَةً — مُخْلَفَةً: .
- 98: ظَلَّتْ — ظَلَّتْ: So read by Yahyā b. Ya'mar and Qatāda. See also Ubai.
- 99: وَثُمَّ، أَسْدِبْهُهُ وَلَنْحَرْفَهُ — لَنْحَرْفَهُ: or with ثُمَّ instead of وَ. See also Ubai.
- 103: يَسَّأَلُونَ — يَتَخَوَّلُونَ: So Ubai.
- 112/113: بُحْدِثُ — بُحْدِثُ: , or some said بُحْدِثُ.
- 114/113: تَقْصِي إِلَيْكَ وَجِهَهُ — يُقْصِي إِلَيْكَ وَجِهَهُ: which was the reading of al-Hasan, Ya'qūb and al-A'mash.
- 121/119: فَكَلَّا مِنْهَا فَبَدَتْ لَهُمَا سُوَّادُهُمَا وَطَفَنَا يَخْصَنَانِ عَلَيْهِمَا: عَنْهُ وَعَنْ زَوْجِهِ غِطَاءُهَا وَخَصَنَا عَلَيْهِمَا ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِ رَبُّهُ فَتَابَ عَلَيْهِ وَهَدَى: .
- 122/120: وَلَمَّا يَا تِسْكُمْ: فَلَمَّا يَا تِسْكُمْ: ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِ رَبُّهُ وَهَدَى: .
- 123/121: وَلَمَّا يَا تِسْكُمْ: فَلَمَّا يَا تِسْكُمْ: وَلَمَّا يَا تِسْكُمْ: .
- 128: مِنْ — كَمْ: .
- 135: الصِّرَاطُ الْمُسْتَقِيمُ — الصِّرَاطُ: الصِّرَاطُ الْمُسْتَقِيمُ — الصِّرَاطُ: