THE DISCOURSES OF RASM ʿUS̲MĀNIY AND THE DYNAMICS OF EARLY QURAN MANUSCRIPTS PRIOR TO ABŪ AMR AD-DĀNIY (D.1053/444)

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Abstract

This research attempts to open the intersection between the discourse surrounding *Rasm ʿUs̲māniy* and the historical development of early Quranic manuscripts. This study focused on the impact of the belief in the *Rasm ʿUs̲māniy* as the only valid writing model on the perception of the Quran's originality. By comparing early Quranic manuscripts with the rules of the *Rasm ʿUs̲māniy*, the research has revealed significant differences and similarities, contributing to a deeper understanding of the evolution of Quranic scripts. The findings have implications for the broader discourse on the authenticity of the Quran and the transmission of the Quranic text. This paper recommends further studies to explore the *Rasm ʿUs̲māniy* discourse in different cultural and geographical contexts and to continue examining the differences in readings and the development of research on early Quranic manuscripts.

Keywords: Quranic Manuscripts, *Rasm ʿUs̲māniy*, Quranic Scripts, Authenticity, Transmission.

Diskursus Rasm ʿUṡmāniy dan Dinamika Naskah-Naskah Awal Qur'an Sebelum Abū Amr Ad-Dāniy (W. 444/1053)

Abstrak

Penelitian ini berupaya untuk membuka persinggungan antara diskursus Rasm ʿUṡmāniy yang cenderung teologis dan manuskrip Al-Qur'an awal yang empiris. Kajian ini berfokus pada implikasi keyakinan bahwa Rasm ʿUṡmāniy adalah satu-satunya model penulisan yang sah terhadap persepsi orisinalitas Al-Qur'an. Dengan mengomparasikan manuskrip Al-Qur'an awal dengan pola penulisan Rasm ʿUṡmāniy, penelitian ini menemukan perbedaan dan persamaan yang signifikan, yang berkontribusi pada pemahaman lebih dalam tentang perubahan pada pola penulisan Al-Qur'an. Hasil penelitian berimplikasi pada diskursus yang lebih luas soal autentisitas dan transmisi teks Al-Qur'an. Artikel ini merekomendasikan kajian lebih lanjut untuk mengeksplorasi diskursus Rasm ʿUṡmāniy dalam konteks geografis dan kultur yang berbeda dan melanjutkan kajian terhadap perbedaan bacaan dan perkembangan penelitian terhadap manuskrip Al-Qur'an awal.

Kata kunci: Rasm ʿUṡmāniy, Manuskrip Al-Qur'an, Pola Penulisan Al-Qur'an, Otentisitas, Transmisi.

الحديث عن الرسم العثماني وديناميكيات مخطوطات القرآن الكريم المبكرة السابقة عن أبي عمرو الداني (ت. ٤٤٤/٣٥٠١)

الملخص

يسعى هذا البحث إلى فتح نقطة التماس بين الحديث عن الرسم العثماني الذي يميل إلى الصبغة اللاهوتية والمخطوطات القرآنية المبكرة المائلة إلى التجريبية. يركز هذا البحث على تداعيات الاعتقاد بأن الرسم العثماني هو النموذج الكتابي الوحيد الصحيح في تصور أصالة القرآن. من خلال مقارنة المخطوطات القرآنية المبكرة مع أنماط كتابة الرسم العثماني، يجد هذا البحث اختلافات وتشابهات كبيرة، مما يساهم في فهم أعمق للتغيرات في أنماط الكتابة القرآنية. نتائج البحث لها آثار على الحديث الأوسع فيما يتعلق بصحة النص القرآني ونقله. يوصي هذا المقال بإجراء المزيد من الدراسات لاستكشاف الحديث عن الرسم العثماني في سياقات جغرافية وثقافية مختلفة ومواصلة دراسة القراءات المختلفة والتطورات في البحث عن مخطوطات القرآن المبكرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الرسم العثماني، مخطوطات القرآن، أنماط كتابة القرآن، الأصالة، النقل.

Introduction

The discourses of *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* still revolves around normative aspects and refers to *riwaya* as the only source. Muslim scholars such as ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm az-Zarqāniy (d. 1367/1948) believe that despite the debate over the status of the Rasm, he asserts that the majority of scholars agree that the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* is tauqifiy (az-Zarqāniy 2019: 370). This means that the majority of Muslim scholars believe the writing pattern of the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* comes from the Prophet Muhammad. According to Gānim Qaddūriy al-Ḥamad (b. 1369/1950), the person who popularized the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* came from the Prophet was ʿAbdul ʿAzīz aḍ-Ḍabbāg (d. 1131/1718) (al-Ḥamad 2016). According to aḍ-Ḍabbāgh as quoted by his student, Aḥmad Mubārak (d. 1156/1743), the Prophet instructed the Companions to write according to the rules known as the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy*, from the addition and subtraction of letters to their deletion and designation (Mubārak 2002). Ghānim Qaddūrī also explains that in contrast to aḍ-Ḍabbāgh, other Muslim scholars attribute the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* to the basis of the consensus (*Ijmaʿ*) (Ḥamad 2016).

The belief in the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* as the only valid writing model is based on fatwa of the Fukaha such as Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) that prohibited the writing of the Qurʾan mushaf except by the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* (Suyūṭi 2019). The development of the established *ilm rasm* since Abū ʿAmr ad-Dāniy (d. 444 H/1053 M) who said it was not permissible to write the Qurʾan mushaf except according to its first writing was also contributed to the obligation of using *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* (ad-Dāniy 2010). Scholars of the Qurʾan such as az-Zarkasyiy (d. 794/1392) and as-Suyūṭiy (d. 911/1505) also affirmed the obligation to follow the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* in every writing of the Qurʾanic mushaf (as-Suyūṭiy 2019; az-Zarkasyiy 2006).

Not only among Quran experts, the belief in the originality of the Quran that must be in line with the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* also developed among the lay people. The phenomenon of the Medina Mushaf which is considered more in accordance with the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* than the Indonesian Standard Quran Mushaf (MSI) has also emerged in recent years (Mustopa 2018). The Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qurʾan (LPMQ) also explained to the public about the difference because the historical references chosen were different, both the Medina Mushaf and the Indonesian Standard Quran Mushaf both refer to the writing pattern standardized by ʿUṡmān bin ʿAffān (Hudaeni et al. 2019).

The obligation to use the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* to write down the Mushaf Al-Qurʾan is a topic that continues to be debated by Indonesian scholars. Zainal Arifin Madzkur stated that the narrative of the obligation to use the

Rasm ʿUšmāniy for the writing of the Mushaf Al-Qurʾan is ahistorical. According to him, historical facts prove otherwise, since the beginning of the process of transmitting the Quran has been more dominant with the tradition of memorization. Quoting Subhi Salih, Madzkur stated that the narrative of the obligation to use the *Rasm ʿUšmāniy* in writing the Quran was exaggerated (Madzkur 2012).

In his latest book, Madzkur becomes more pragmatic by placing the *Rasm ʿUšmāniy* based on the standards of ad-Dāniy and Abū Dāwud as the most valid guidelines for assessing the Madinah Mushaf (MM) and the Indonesian Standard Quran Mushaf (MSI). According to him, MSI refers more to ad-Dāniy although it is inconsistent, while MM tries to be consistent by referring to the narration of Abū Dāwud. From the conclusions, it appears that Madzkur was no longer critical of the discourse of *Rasm ʿUšmāniy* (Madzkur 2018).

Apart from the debate over the use of the *Rasm ʿUšmāniy*, the important question that needs to be asked is what was the pattern of writing the Qurʾanic mushaf in the early Islam? To answer the question, we need to look at the evidence of manuscips produced in the early days of Islam.

This study seeks to analyze manuscripts of the Qurʾan mushaf produced in the first four centuries of Islam in accordance with the period before the standardization of the *Rasm ʿUšmāniy*. There are seven manuscripts of the Qurʾan mushaf that are used as objects of research: Qaf 47, Wetzein II 1913, Saray 50385, HC.MS.03223, Arabe 6430, MS Add.1113, dan Is.1431. Each manuscript is stored in a variety of different places. These manuscripts were then compared with the writing patterns with the rules of writing the *Rasm ʿUšmāniy* as standardized by Abū ʿAmr ad-Dāniy and Abū Dāwud Sulaimān bin Najāḥ.

Recent Study on Early Quranic Manuscript

The study of Quran manuscripts has been a subject of scholarly interest for over a century. The earliest attempts to study Quran manuscripts date back to the 19th century when European scholars began to take an interest in the Islamic world. The first significant work on Quran manuscripts was done by Johann Christian Georg Adler, a Danish scholar who examined a few Quranic manuscripts kept in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. However, Adler concluded that there was little to be gained from their study (Déroche 2014).

When the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres organised a scholarly competition in 1858, things significantly changed. The idea of the Academy's committee that formulated the subject topic is

explained by the acquisition of early Quranic pieces from the ʿAmr mosque in Fustat by Jean-Louis Asselin de Cherville, which the then Royal Library in Paris acquired in 1833. Ernest Renan and other members of the group might have also known about the leaves because Jean-Joseph Marcel, a participant in the French expedition to Egypt, had a sample of fragments from the same source with him when he returned. The Academy received three essays. One discussed the quirks of the early manuscripts of the Quran written by Michele Amari entitled "Bibliographie primitive du Coran" (Derenbourg 1910). According to Deroche, the contribution of Michele Amari was eclipsed by Theodor Nöldeke published his *Geschichte des Qorans*, which became a standard reference work on the subject (Déroche 2014). Nöldeke's work was based on a careful analysis of the Quranic text and its variants, as well as on the study of early Quranic manuscripts. Nöldeke's students, Friedrich Schwally, Gotthelf Bergsträsser, and Otto Pretzl, continued his work and made significant contributions to the study of Quran manuscripts (Nöldeke et al. 2013).

The debate on the originality of the Quran by John Wansbrough about the date at which the Quran was compiled as a text, brought about a keener interest for any kind of evidence of the Quranic text existence before the third (AH)/ninth (AD) century (Wansbrough 1978). This renewed interest in Quran manuscripts led to the discovery of several early Quranic manuscripts, including the Sana'a manuscript, which was discovered in Yemen in 1972. Approximately 14,000 fragments of 950 Quranic manuscripts were found in the Grand Mosque in Sanaa, Yemen. The Sana'a manuscript is one of the oldest Quranic manuscripts in existence, and its discovery has shed new light on the early history of the Quranic text. The manuscript contains several variants of the Quranic text that are not found in the standard text of the Quran, and it has been the subject of intense scholarly debate (Déroche 2014).

In recent years, advances in technology have made it possible to study Quran manuscripts in new ways. For example, radiocarbon dating has been used to determine the age of Quranic manuscripts, and digital imaging has made it possible to study the manuscripts in greater detail. Radiocarbon dating is a method used to determine the age of organic materials by measuring the amount of carbon-14 present in the sample. Carbon-14 is a radioactive isotope that is present in all living organisms, and it decays at a known rate over time. By measuring the amount of carbon-14 remaining in a sample, scientists can estimate the age of the material. Sadeghi and Bergmann have made significant contributions as pioneers in the application of radiocarbon dating to early Quranic manuscripts. Their work

has been instrumental in advancing the understanding of the historical development of the Quran and has sparked scholarly discussions and debates about the implications of radiocarbon dating on Quranic studies. Behnam Sadeghi, an Iranian-born scholar, and Uwe Bergmann, a physicist, collaborated on a groundbreaking study that applied radiocarbon dating to a collection of Quranic manuscripts. Their research focused on the dating of parchment samples from early Quranic manuscripts, aiming to provide scientific evidence for the age of these materials and to contribute to the understanding of the Quran's historical context (Shoemaker 2022).

Sadeghi and Bergmann used radiocarbon dating to determine the age of the parchment on which the manuscript Ṣana'a is written. This was crucial in establishing the potential age of the manuscript and its layers of writing. By dating the parchment, they aimed to provide insights into the timeline of the manuscript's production and its relationship to the early Islamic period. The radiocarbon dating results supported the manuscript's significance, indicating that it likely dates to the first half of the seventh century AD, aligning with the early Islamic period and the time of the Prophet Muhammad. This information is essential for understanding the manuscript's historical and textual context within the early Islamic tradition (Sadeghi and Bergmann 2010).

Begnam Sadeghi and Uwe Bergmann tested one of the Sanaa manuscripts coded Stanford 07 with radiocarbon dating methods tested at the University of Arizona. The results indicate with a 68% accuracy probability that Stanford 7 parchments are between 614 and 656 years old. With various calculations and other analyses, Sadeghi and Bergmann concluded that the Sanaa codex was produced no more than 15 years after the Holy Prophetsa or in other words the Sanaa manuscript was written in the time of 'Uṡmān bin 'Affān (Sadeghi and Bergmann 2010).

The results of Sadeghi and Bergmann's research provide empirical evidence that strengthens the argument of the Islamic narrative that the Quran was actually written in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. This refutes the arguments of revisionist scholars such as John Wansbrough, Patricia Crone and Michael Cook who see the Qur'an as a document produced two centuries after the time of the Prophet Muhammad and doubt the traditional narrative of the emergence of Islam and the Quran (Crone and Cook 1977; Wansbrough 1978).

The study of Qur'anic manuscripts gained momentum and in 2007 a project of digitization and research on early Qur'anic manuscripts was launched under the name Corpus Coranicum (Rashwani 2020). Angelika Neuwirth is the initiator and director of the project under the Berlin-

Bradenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Angelika Neuwirth is a senior professor of Arabic Literature at Freie University, speaks fluent Arabic, and has done extensive studies on the literary aspects of the Qur'an and the history of its development associated with the Arabic language. Since its creation, about 40 fragments of the Quran have been made available online on the Corpus Coranicum website. The fragments of Quran manuscripts were originate from collections in Berlin, Birmingham, Cairo, Copenhagen, Leiden, Paris, and others.

Not only digitizing manuscripts so that they can be accessed online, Corpus Coranicum also transcribes and transliterates approximately 600 pages of text making it easier for users to read available digital manuscripts. Michael Marx is the director of the Corpus Coranicum research unit which transcribes, transliterates, and assigns color codes to mark missing, added, variations, or deleted letters that differ from the Egyptian edition of the Qur'anic mushaf currently in circulation. Together with Andreas Kaplony who conducted radiocarbon analysis, Michael Marx then became editor of the results of research from scholars on manuscripts from the Corpus Coranicum collection entitled *Quran Quotation Preserved on Papyrus Document 7th – 10th Centuries* (Kaplony and Marx 2019).

The digital collection of Corpus Coranicum can be used for research into early Qur'anic manuscripts and many studies have made use of its collection, including those conducted by Marx and Kaplony. Marijn Van Putten is another scholar who used the Corpus Coranicum collection to trace the use of the word ni'mah in early Quranic manuscripts. Van Putten concluded that the consistency of the use of the letter ta in almost all existing manuscripts indicates that the manuscripts were copied from a codex he called Usmanic Text type (Van Putten 2019). His research corroborated the Muslim belief that the Quran was codified in the time of ʿUšmān bin ʿAffān.

Beside the manuscript, the transformation of written form of the Quran has been a dynamic process shaped by historical, cultural, and technological changes. From its early forms on parchment and leather to its contemporary digital iterations, the Muṣḥaf in its written form has evolved in response to diverse artistic, linguistic, and religious traditions within the Islamic world. The earliest forms of the Muṣḥaf were written in the Hijazi script, reflecting the early development of the Arabic language and script. The script was simple, with no diacritical marks or punctuation, and the ornamentation was minimal. One of the earliest surviving examples is the Sana'a manuscript, dating back to the 7th century, which provides valuable insights into the early development of the Arabic script and language.

Umayyad period, specifically in the Abdul Malik bin Marwan era, marked a significant transformation of the Muṣḥaf, with the introduction of the Kufic script. This angular and geometric script was used for official inscriptions and symbolized the Umayyad dynasty's power and authority. The Umayyad ruling elite played a role in diffusing the new script and exerting control over the process of book production, reflecting a desire to standardize and regulate the text (Hamdan 2010).

After Umayyad, Abbasid era witnessed further calligraphic innovations, with the introduction of the Naskh and Thuluth scripts. These scripts, characterized by their fluid and elegant styles, became the standard for the Muṣḥaf and were used for centuries. Regional variations in calligraphic styles, such as the Maghrebi and Ottoman scripts, reflected the diverse cultural influences within the Islamic world. The medieval period saw a significant increase in the ornamentation and illumination of the Muṣḥaf. The use of gold leaf, colored inks, and intricate designs reflected the growing importance of the Muṣḥaf as a work of art. Regional styles, such as the Persian and Andalusian styles, showcased diverse artistic traditions and cultural influences. The Ottoman and Mughal empires were significant periods in the history of the Muṣḥaf. The Ottomans developed their own calligraphic style, known as the Ottoman script, characterized by its fluid, cursive style. The Mughals introduced the Nastaliq script, a combination of the Naskh and Thuluth scripts, and incorporated miniature paintings and intricate floral designs into the illumination of the Muṣḥaf (Déroche 2014).

The colonial and post-colonial period brought significant changes to the production and dissemination of the Muṣḥaf. European powers introduced new printing techniques and standardized the text of the Qur'an, while modernization efforts in the post-colonial period led to the use of digital technology and online accessibility. Contemporary Muṣḥaf is characterized by a diverse range of calligraphic styles and ornamentation techniques. Calligraphers are experimenting with new styles and techniques while drawing on the rich heritage of the past. The digital transformation has made the Muṣḥaf more accessible to a wider audience, raising concerns about the preservation of Muṣḥaf heritage and the authenticity of the text (Bunt 2022).

The Manuscripts

I selected seven manuscripts of early Quranic mushafs in the digital collection of Corpus Coranicum as samples. There is no particular reason for the selection of these seven manuscripts other than conformity with the text under study, the beginning of surah Āli 'Imrān especially verse 7.

Manuscript collections in their original form are housed in libraries ranging from Egypt to Berlin. The following is a description of seven manuscripts sorted by age from earliest.

Qaf 47

Figure 1. Gotthelf Bergstrasser Film Archive, Bavarian Academy of Sciences

This manuscript is a collection of Dâr al-Kutub al-Wathâiq al-Qaumiyyah located in Cairo Egypt with the code qaf 47 and consists of 31 pages of various verses and surahs at random, one of which is surah Āli 'Imrān verses 4 to 14 as shown in the picture. Previously this manuscript was thought to come from al-Fusṭâṭ, the first capital of Egypt built by Amr bin Ash around 64 (AlSayyad 2011). The picture above appears in black-and-white because the manuscript image was taken by Bernhard Moritz in 1905 when he was director between 1896 - 1911 which at that time the Library was still called Khedive Library. Later this photo was found in the Gotthelf Bergstrasser archive taken in Cairo. This type of manuscript paper is parchment with a size of 262 x 393 and each page contains 17 – 21 lines (Marx and Jocham n.d.). According to François Déroche, the writing model of this manuscript is Hijazi type II. The Hijazi writing model is the oldest writing model according to scholars researching early Quranic mushaf manuscripts (Déroche 2020). Based on research using radiocarbon dating

of two fragments from the same source, this parchment is estimated to date from the period 606 – 652 with an accuracy rate of 95.4% (Kaplony and Marx 2019).
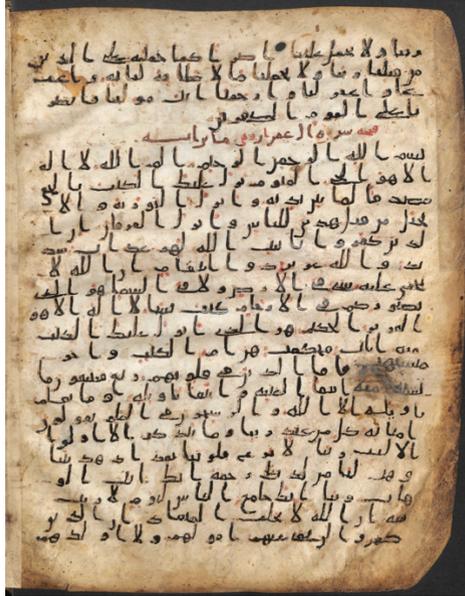
Wetzstein II 1913 (Ahlwardt 305)

Figure 2. Berlin State Library - Prussian cultural heritage

This picture is one of the pages of the codex containing approximately 85% of the Quran, consisting of 210 folios with a size of 270 x 340 and a text area dimension of 220 x 280. The codex is preserved in the Berlin State Library under the code Wetzstein II 1913 and some fragments of the same codex are allegedly stored in the French National Library coded Arabe 6087 with a total of 6 folios. Based on the results of radiocarbon dating tests on three samples of parchments with a probability above 95%, it is estimated that the age of the manuscript is in the period 658 – 775. According to Michael Marx, manuscript production most likely existed before 710 or the middle of the 8th century taking into account the Kufic writing model used (Marx n.d.).

The code name Wetzstein II 1913 refers to Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815 – 1905), a Prussian scholar and diplomat who in 1848 – 1862 was consul in Damascus, Syria, Ottoman Empire. While in Damascus, Wetzstein became a manuscript collector and sold them to the European market as

additional income. Although the people of Damascus saw the impropriety of Wetzstein's manuscript business, he continued to run his business secretly. One of the main targets for selling Wetzstein manuscripts was German libraries. Nearly 3000 manuscripts from Damascus currently in libraries in Berlin, Leipzig, and Tübingen come from Wetzstein's business (Mugler 2023). While the code Ahlwardt 305 comes from the catalog of Arabic manuscripts written by Wilhelm Ahlwardt. Not much information can be found regarding the figure of Wilhelm Ahlwardt.

Sarayi 50385
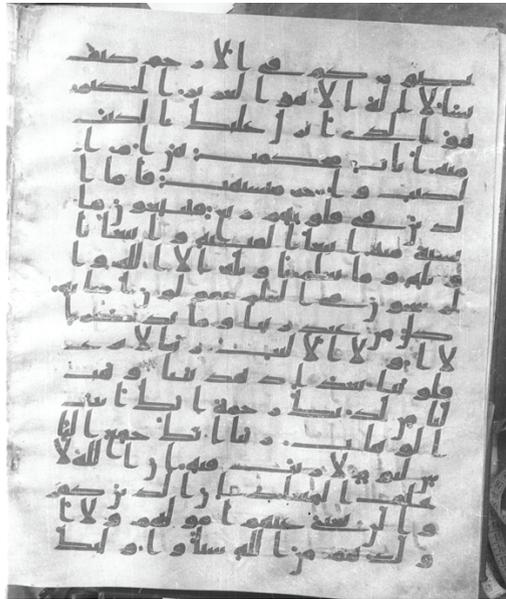
Figure 3. Gotthelf Bergstrasser Film Archive, Topkapi Palace Museum

The coded Quran coded Sarayi 50385 is stored in the Topkapi Palace Museum Istanbul, consisting of 353 folios with a size of 290 x 260, with text contents: Q 1-14:9 – Q114; 15 – 19, and made of parchment with estimated production between 700 – 800. The codex has not been radiocarbon tested so the age of the parchment is estimated from the materials used. The writing model uses hijazi IV script according to Francois Deroche's classification with line numbers between 15 – 19 per pages (Marx n.d.). Just like the manuscript coded Qaf 47, Sarayi 50385 is also taken from the photo archive of the Gotthelf Bergstrasser manuscript which is estimated to be stored since 1930.

Gotthelf Bergstrasser (1886 – 1933) was professor of semitic languages at the University of Constantinople during World War I from 1914 to 1918. It was during this time that he managed to collect and record many manuscripts from the Aya Sofia Library including most likely a manuscript of the Quran from Topkapi Palace Museum as pictured (Meyerhof 1936). Then around 1924 – 1930 when the Egyptian edition of the printed Quran was published, Bergstrasser together with Arthur Jeffery collected early Quran manuscripts in Egypt and documented them (Reynolds 2008). From the collection stored there are at least 12,000 manuscript images from the archive collection of Gotthelf Bergstrasser published in the Corpus Coranicum.

HC MS 03223

Figure 4. Qatar National Library, Heritage Library

This manuscript is part of a popular Qur'anic codex called the Blue Qur'an. This manuscript is made from parchment using Kufi D script measuring 367 x 288 with line number 15. The sheet containing surah Āli 'Imrān verse 7 is stored in the Qatar National Library, Doha. Only one folio is stored there. Some of the Blue Qur'an, about 67 folios, are housed in the National Museum of Islamic Art in Qayrawan, Tunisia. More than 500 folios are in places ranging from London to Dublin to Toronto to Paris and Riyadh.

Scholars argue over the origin of the Blue Qur'an. It was first popularized in academic circles by Frederik Robert Martin in 1912 through his book *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century.* Martin said that the Blue Qur'an comes from Mashhad, Persia, made at the behest of Al-Ma'mun in Abbasid times around the 9th century to commemorate the death of his father, Harun al-Rashid. He said that the blue color on the Blue Qur'an's parchment was a symbol of sadness that was popular at that time in the Islamic tradition (Martin 1912). The review of the origins of the Blue Qur'an continues with three offers submitted: early Fatimid in Egypt by Jonathan Bloom (Bloom 2015), Umayyad court in Spain by Tim Stanley (Stanley 1996), North Africa under the Aghlabids by Marcus Fraser and Will Kwiatkowski (Fraser and Kwiatkowski 2006). By analyzing calligraphy forms, parchment, and color combinations, Alain George argues that the Blue Qur'an was made in the earlier 8th century during the Abbasid period of Baghdad (George 2009). Later Jonathan Bloom corrected his earlier opinion and said that in fact most of the Blue Qur'an was found in the Great Mosque of Qayrawan in Tunisia so the easiest and most plausible theory of origin is the North African theory (Bloom 2015).

MS add.1113

Figure 5. Cambridge University Library

The manuscript of the Quran coded MS Add.113 is in the collection of Cambridge University Library. This manuscript is made of parchment consisting of 16 folios with a size of 115 x 88 containing Q 2,133-286, Q 3:1-128 and what appears in the picture is Q 2,285-286 and Q 3.1-8. The script style used is New Style I based on Francois Deroche classification and consists of 21 lines of each page. Based on models of writing and parchment materials, this manuscript is estimated to have been produced in the 10th-11th CE or 4th-5th Century Hijri (Sanchez n.d.).

Unlike previous manuscripts that still use skeleton letters, this manuscript has been equipped with diacritical marks to distinguish consonants b, t, th, and so on. In addition, this manuscript has also been equipped with a separation mark between suras. As shown in the picture, there is a separation between the end of surah al-Baqarah and the beginning of surah Āli ‘Imrān. Based on these variations, it indicates that this manuscript was made later than previous manuscripts.
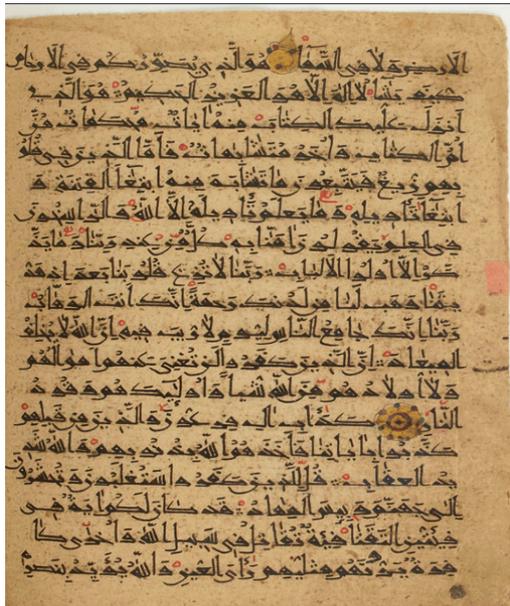
Arabe 6430

Figure 6. gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliotheque nationale de France

This manuscript is one of the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. With paper-based materials, it shows that the production of this manuscript is later than previous manuscripts made of

parchment. Production time is estimated at 900 – 1000. It consists of 265 folios with a paper size of 134 x 136 and 18 numbers of lines per page (Marx n.d.). Not only has it been affixed with diacritical marks and dividing marks between verses as in previous manuscripts, Arabe 6430 is more complete with vocalization marks. The writing format seen in Arabe 6430 is generally more familiar to readers of the Qur'an today.

It is not known where this manuscript came from. However, Élias Géjou was the one who contributed to moving him to France. He was an antique dealer active from 1894 to 1939. As a dealer, he sold antiquities of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Egypt, and Baghdad. Sold his goods to various places including to New York in 1926 (Borowski 1993). Based on the description of the places he visited, it could be that the manuscript of Arabe 6430 came from Egypt or Baghdad.

Is. 1431

Figure 1. Chester Beatty Museum and Library Dublin, Ireland

Of all the Qur'anic manuscripts sampled in this study, only Is-coded manuscripts. 1431 clearly known year of production. As stated in the colophon, this manuscript was completed in 391 H or around 1000 AD. This manuscript is stored in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin Ireland. Consisting of 287 folios with a size of 130 x 177, each page consists of 15

numbers of lines, made of paper, and contains all verses of the Quran (Marx n.d.).

In addition to the year, the colophon also contains the name of the copyist, 'Aliy bin Hilāl or the famous Ibn al-Bawwab. Because of the name of the copyist, the manuscript is also known as Mushaf Ibn al-Bawwab. Ibn al-Bawwab was a famous calligrapher in Baghdad in the Abbasid heyday. He was famous for his expertise in khat and wrote a nazam about khat. Ibn al-Bawwab was born and died in Baghdad and lived between 355 and 413 AH (Al-Rumi al-Hamawi 1993). Although there is no mention of the origin of this manuscript, if you look at the profile of the copyist of the mushaf, it is likely that this manuscript came from Baghdad.

The Discourse and Development of *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy*

Rasm 'Uṡmāniy is a skeleton writing pattern of the Quran which is believed to be the pattern of writing the official mushaf of 'Uṡmān bin 'Affān. Although later early Qur'an manuscripts were found and allegedly during the time of 'Uṡmān bin 'Affān, but the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* here is not related to manuscripts. The *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* in the tradition of Muslim scholarship refers to text transmission that contain narrations on the way in which the Qur'anic mushaf of 'Uṡmān bin 'Affān was written. These stories then continue to be passed down from generation to generation as in other Islamic scholarly traditions. Two texts believed to be magnum opus in the narration of the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* are *Al-Muqni' fī Ma'rifāt Marsūm Maṣāḥif Ahl al-Amṣār* by Abū 'Amr ad-Dāniy and *Mukhtaṣar at-Tabyīn li Hijā' at-Tanzīl* by Abū Dāwud Sulaimān ibn Najāḥ. Both are known as shaykhayn in the field of *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy*. The embedding of shaykhayn cannot be separated from the popularity of both works today and is used as a reference for producing Qur'anic mushaf.

Abū 'Amr 'Uṡmān ad-Dāniy and Sulaimān ibn Najāḥ were teachers and students who made a career in Cordoba Andalusia in the 5th century AH during the Umayyad dynasty. Both Abū 'Amr and Abū Dāwud had the title al-Umawi which indicates that they came from noble families and were related to the Umayyad Dynasty (aż-Żahabiy 2006; Humayyad 2010). Not surprisingly, they were close to the ruler and had access to a wide range of scientific resources, transportation and accommodation to study in areas such as Egypt, Baghdad, and other regions. With this social capital, it is not difficult for them to become leading scholars in Andalusia.

Abū Amr ad-Dāniy's al-Muqni' represents the reality of writing the Qur'anic mushaf in the 5th century. There are three narrative models put forward by Abū Amr ad-Dāniy to show this reality. First, ad-Dāniy quotes

many of the opinions of Imam Qiraah of the seven reciters as written by Ibn Mujāhid through *Kitāb as-Sabʻah*. One example of narration comes from the Qālūn of Nāfiʻ ibn Abī Naʻīm who states that alif is not written in official mushafs in various places: 2.9, 2.51, and so on. Ad-Dāniy also quoted the opinions of other imams such as Ḥamza and al-Kisāʼiy (ad-Dāniy 2010).

Second, ad-Dāniy uses information about the writing of mushaf from scholars of the Qurʼan such as Abū ʻUbaid al-Qāsim ibn Salām and Ibn al-Anbāriy. The history of Abū ʻUbaid al-Qāsim's statement who witnessed firsthand the official mushaf of ʻUṡmān bin ʻAffān's products is widely used as a reference. Third, ad-Dāniy witnessed the mushafs in circulation and narrated them both in terms of similar writing patterns and differences. The narratives that ad-Dāniy uses to show similarities are *ittafaqa Kuttāb al-maṣāḥif, ittafaqa al-maṣāḥif, anna al-maṣāḥif ijtamaʻat,* and so on. These sentences show a consensus among mushaf writers to follow ʻUṡmān's official mushaf writing pattern even though it was not in accordance with the established rules of *imlaʼi* at that time. To show the differences between the mushaf, ad-Dāniy uses the narration of *raʼaytu al-maṣāḥif takhtalif, wajadtu żālika fī baʻd al-maṣāḥif bi gair alif wa iṡbātuhā akṡar* (ad-Dāniy 2010).

Unlike al-Muqniʼ which contains the narration and testimony of Abū ʻAmr ad-Dāniy, Abū Dāwud Sulaimān bin Najāḥ from the beginning was write *Mukhtaṣar at-Tabyīn li Hijāʼ at-Tanzīl* as a technical guideline for the copyists of the Qurʼan mushaf at that time. As a technical guideline for copying the Qurʼanic mushaf, Abū Dāwud compiled his book according to the composition of the suras of the Quran. In the introduction, Abū Dāwud said that his purpose in writing the book was to facilitate students and copyists of the Qurʼan mushaf both by heart and those who did not memorize. Abū Dāwud's statement suggests that at that time some mushaf copyists were not memorizers of the Quran (bin Najāḥ 2002).

Abū Dāwud compiled two guidelines related to qiraah and categories of surahs in the introduction. First, Abū Dāwud used the qiraah of Nāfiʻ al-Madaniy as a writing reference because at that time the qiraah used in Andalusia referred to the qiraah of Nāfiʻ. Abū Dāwud coded in certain details when there were differences between Nafiʻʼs qiraah and other qiraahs, while other qiraahs had similarities. The codes are as follows: Ḥamza and al-Kisāʼiy coded al-Akhawāni; Ibn Kaṡīr and Abū ʻAmr coded aṣ-Ṣaḥībāni; ʻĀṣim, Ḥamza and al-Kisāʼiy coded al-Kūfiyyūn; Abū Bakr and Abū ʻAmr coded al-Abawani, Ibn Kaṡīr and Nāfiʻ coded al-Ḥaramāni; al-Kisāʼiy and Abū ʻAmr coded al-Nahwiyāni; Ibn ʻĀmir and Abū ʻAmr coded al-Arabiyāni; Ibn Kaṡīr and Ibn ʻĀmir coded al-Ibnāni. Secondly, at the

beginning of each surah Abū Dāwud mentions the number of verses and categories of suras between Mecca or Medina. Abū Dāwud explained that based on the existing narrations, there are three categories regarding the determination of a surah: twenty-one suras are Madaniyah, seventy-four suras are Makiyah, and nineteen other surahs there is a difference of opinion between Makiyah and Madaniyah (bin Najāḥ 2002).

From the narration of Abū Amr Ad-Dāniy and the explanations of Abū Dāwud Sulayman ibn Najāḥ, I see the pattern of writing mushaf until their time still varies. But with *Mukhtaṣar at-Tabyīn*, Abū Dāwud had already begun to make efforts to create guidelines for writing the Qur'anic mushaf and chose the narration that he thought was the most valid to be used as a guide for the Qur'anic copyists of his time. However, Abū Dāwud in his explanations still did not deny the existence of variants in the writing of the Qur'anic mushaf when he got a different narration.

After *al-Muqni'* and *Mukhtaṣar at-Tabyīn*, the most influential book was *Risālah fī Rasm al-Muṣḥaf* by Ibn Waṡīq al-Andalusiy. Ibn Waṡīq's contribution to the discourse of Rasm lies in his attempt to combine the model of thematic discussion conducted by Abū 'Amr ad-Dāniy and the model of the order of suras as done by Abū Dāwud bin Najāḥ. In addition to incorporating writing systematics in his work, Ibn Waṡīq also succeeded in making five classifications of the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* writing model used today: removing letters (*al-ḥażf*), adding letters (*az-ziyādah*), replacing letters (*al-badal*), hamzah laws (*aḥkām al-hamzah*), and conjunctions and splits (*al-qaṭ' wa al-waṣl*) (Andalusiy 2011).

The five-classification model formulated by Ibn Waṡīq above became popular with the term *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* Rules and was included in the books of *'Ulūm Al-Qur'ān* written by scholars in the next century including *al-Itqān* by as-Suyūṭiy. Of the five rules compiled by Ibn Waṡīq, as-Suyūṭiy added one more rule, namely a writing pattern that can be read by two reading models (as-Suyūṭiy 2019). However, the sixth rule only emphasizes the differences in Qur'anic readings which in writing patterns are included in the previous five rules.

From the five rules of the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* that have been standardized, 'Aliy Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍabbā' through his book *Samīr aṭ-Ṭālibīn* made a more detailed classification of each rule. The rule of discarding letters (*al-ḥażf*), revolves around five letters, namely alif, ya, wawu, lam, and nun. Each letter in detail is also categorized, for example the letter alif is usually discarded in the format *jam' al-mużakkar, jam' al-muannaṡ, ḍamīr ar-raf' al-muttaṣil*, and so on. Then on the rule of adding letters (*az-ziyādah*), Ḍabbā' made three classifications based on the addition of letters, namely

alif, ya, and wawu. Likewise with other rules, ʿAliy aḍ-Ḍabbāʾ made a classification to make it easier for students of Rasm to understand the rules of Rasm (aḍ-Ḍabbāʾ 1999).

The latest scholar who is quite influential and writes many works on the *Rasm ʿUśmāniy* is Gānim Qaddūriy al-Ḥamad. Two of his important works related to the *Rasm ʿUśmāniy* are *Rasm al-Musḥaf: Dirāsah Lugawiyyah Tārīkhiyyah* and *al-Muyassar fī Ilm Rasm al-Musḥaf*. In the first work Ghānim Qaddūrī traces the process of development of the Arabic script pre-mushaf, in the time of Uthman, and after. The search is supported by existing manuscript evidence. Then he conducted phonetic and phonemic analysis and analysis of the development of consonant writing on the writing pattern of the *Rasm ʿUśmāniy* that had been formulated by the Rasm scholars based on the histories that had been transmitted from generation to generation (al-Ḥamad 1982). The second work is a learning diktat that makes it easier for people to understand Rasm Science equipped with charts in each rule, lighter questions, and practice questions (al-Ḥamad 2016).

Case Study of the Manuscript and Its Study of Abū ʿAmr and Abū Dāwud's Perspectives
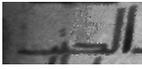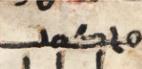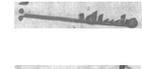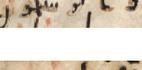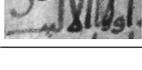
The results of recent research from Zainal Arifin Madzkur who conducted research on the consistency of the use of *Rasm ʿUśmāniy* in two mushaf standards, namely the Indonesian Standard Mushaf and Madinah Mushaf, show that the most striking difference related to Rasm Mushaf is in the pattern of writing alif. He found at least 1765 differences in the writing of alif in the rules of discarding (*al-ḥażf*) and stipulating (*al-iśbāt*) in the Indonesian Standard Mushaf and the Madinah Mushaf (Madzkur 2018). What Zainal Arifin Madzkur found, I also found in the manuscripts of the Quran which became the object of this research. Based on these findings, this study focused on examples of words in the Quran related to alif with samples of surah Āli ʿImrān verse 7 especially on five words: *al-kitāb, muḥkamāt, mutasyābihāt, ar-rāsikhūn,* and *al-albāb*.

Regarding alif according to ʿAliy aḍ-Ḍabbāʾ, in general can be divided into two classifications: regular and irregular. The regular one is found in five places: First is the masculine plural (*jamʿ al-mużakkar*) as for example in the word العلمين in surah al-Fātiḥah verse 2 and the word الصلحين in surah al-Baqarah verse 130. The second is the feminine plural (*jamʿ al-muannaś*) as exemplified in the word الصلحت in surah Ṣād verse 28 and the word قنتت in sura an-Nisāʾ verse 34. Third are plural pronouns with subject position (*ḍamīr ar-rafʿ al-muttaṣil*) such as the word زدنهم in surah an-Naḥl verse 88

and the word علمنه in surah Yūsuf verse 68. The fourth is the plural pronoun for two people (*at-taṡniyah*) as تكذبن drow eht in sura ar-Raḥmān. The fifth are names that are not from Arabic (*al-asmā' al-'ajamiyah*) with an arrangement of more than three letters such as for example إبرهيم, إسمعيل, and إسحق. Then the irregular one is alif which circulates in many words without any standard rules such as the word مسكين in surah al-Mā'idah verse 89 and the word تشبه in surah al-Baqarah verse 70 (Ḍabbā' 1999)

With regard to the seven manuscript samples that were used as objects of study by analyzing five words namely *al-kitāb, muḥkamāt, mutasyābihāt, ar-rāsikhūn*, and *al-albāb*, I divided them into two classifications based on the age of the manuscript. The first classification is manuscripts in the production range of the 7th and 8th centuries. The following is a table that shows the pattern of writing alif in predetermined words.
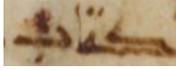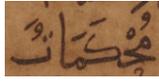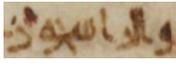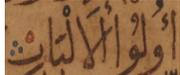
Table 1: The following is a table that shows the pattern of writing alif in predetermined words.

No	Example	Qaf 47	Ahlwardt 305	Sarayi 50385	HC MS 03223
1	al-Kitāb				
2	Muhkamāt				
3	Mutashābihāt				
4	ar-Rāsikhūn				
5	al-Albāb				

In the table above it appears that all the alif in the sample words *al-kitāb, muḥkamāt, mutasyābihāt, ar-rāsikhūn,* and *al-albāb* was not written. The alif discarded in these words is in accordance with the narration of Abū 'Amr ad-Dāniy and Abū Dāwud Sulaimān ibn Najāḥ that the alif listed should be discarded as in the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy*.

The second classification is manuscripts in production between the 9th and 10th centuries. The following is the pattern of writing alif in the manuscripts sampled.

Table 2: The following is the pattern of writing alif in the manuscripts sampled.

No	Example	MS add.1113	Arabe 6430	IS.1431
1	*al-Kitāb*			
2	*Muhkamāt*			
3	*Mutashābihāt*			
4	*ar-Rāsikhūn*			
5	*al-Albāb*			

Unlike the manuscripts produced two centuries earlier, manuscripts produced in the 9th and 10th centuries AD or approximately the 3rd and 4th centuries Hijri did not remove the alif in the examples of the word above. This means that the writing of the Qur'anic mushaf in the period close to Abū ʿAmr ad-Dāniy and Abū Dāwud Sulaiman bin Najāḥ did not follow the rules of the *rasm*. Quranic manuscripts in this period used the rules of *Rasm Imlā'iy*, which are writing rules in accordance with Arabic grammar.

Back to Abū ʿAmr Ad-Dāniy's explanation based on the narration of the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy*. He said, in the topic of discarded alif (*żikr mā ḥużifat minhu al-alif*), that all the words *al-kitāb* in the Qur'an have no alif except in four places: surah ar-Raʿd/13: 38, al-Ḥijr/15: 4, al-Kahf/18: 27, and an-Naml/27: 1 (ad-Dāniy 2010). In line with ad-Dāniy, Abū Dāwud Sulaiman ibn Najāḥ when it comes to the description of surah Āli ʿImrān based on the order of suras in *Mukhtaṣar at-Tabyīn* said alif is not written on the words *muḥkamāt, mutasyābihāt, ar-rāsikhūn,* and *al-albāb* (bin Najāḥ 2002).

According to Abū ʿAmr ad-Dāniy and Abū Dāwud Sulaiman ibn Najāḥ, the manuscript listed in the second table does not follow the rules of the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy*. The question is, were there no *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* rules at that time? Should Mushaf who did not follow the rules of the *Rasm ʿUṡmāniy* be destroyed? Whereas referring to the last manuscript with the code IS.1431 written by Ibn al-Bawwab (355 – 413 AH), for example, the production of the Qur'anic mushaf was certainly with the approval of the Ulema authorities in Baghdad.

The phenomenon of writing the Qur'an mushaf in early Islam as shown by the evidence of mushaf manuscripts shows that the use of the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* was not too obeyed by the mushaf writers at that time. The assumption that the rules of the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* must be followed in writing the mushaf can be refuted by the evidence of manuscripts as shown by manuscripts coded MS add.1113, Arabe 6430, and IS.1431. The debate regarding the use of the Usmani Rasm, between those who consider it obligatory and those who do not, has become a theological issue, perhaps one not aligned with practical considerations. As shown in this research, in the early days, the mushaf writers were not entirely loyal to the Usmani Rasm.

Conclusion

The research has shed light on the historical development of Quranic manuscripts and the discourse surrounding *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* in Indonesia. It has provided valuable insights into the perception of the Quran's originality and the impact of *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* discourse on the Indonesian context. The comparison of early Quranic manuscripts with the rules of the Ottoman Rasm has revealed significant differences and similarities, contributing to a deeper understanding of the evolution of Quranic scripts.

One of the key findings of the research is the impact of the belief in the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* as the only valid writing model on the perception of the Quran's originality in Indonesia. The study has highlighted how this belief has influenced the way Quranic manuscripts are perceived and has implications for the broader discourse on the authenticity of the Quran. By examining the differences in readings and the development of research on early Quranic manuscripts in the Western world, the research has provided a nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* discourse.

Furthermore, the comparison of the writing patterns in early Quranic manuscripts with the rules of the *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* has revealed important insights into the evolution of Quranic scripts and the variations in writing styles. This comparative analysis has contributed to a deeper understanding of the historical context in which these manuscripts were produced and has implications for the study of Quranic manuscripts as historical artifacts.

In light of these findings, the research report recommends further studies to delve deeper into the implications of *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* discourse on the perception of the Quran's originality in different cultural and geographical contexts. It also suggests exploring the impact of *Rasm 'Uṡmāniy* discourse on the standardization of Quranic scripts and the

transmission of the Quranic text. Additionally, the report encourages future research to continue examining the differences in readings and the development of research on early Quranic manuscripts, particularly in non-Western contexts.

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