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# The Regional Recitations of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* as Reflected in Its Manuscript Tradition

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## Abstract

Muḥammad al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* is one of the most popular and widespread Islamic prayer books in the Sunni Islamic world; consequently, most library collections around the world have many copies of this manuscript. Despite its prolific written form, it is its recitation that should probably be considered the most prominent expression of the text. This paper undertakes a careful analysis of the vocalization and orthoepic signs added to three vocalized copies of 18th-century *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* manuscripts from Mali, the Maghreb, and Turkey. It reveals that they each have distinct recitation styles with their own phonological and morphological features, distinct from the rules applied in Classical Arabic prose text. Moreover, it is shown that these recitation styles clearly draw upon the rules of local Quranic reading traditions, while not entirely assimilating to them, thus giving a distinct local orthoepic flavour to the manner in which this text was recited.

## Keywords

al-Jazūlī – *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* – *qirā'āt* – regionalism – recitation – West Africa

1 Introduction<sup>1,2</sup>

The 15th-century Sufi leader Muḥammad al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465) is well-known for his collection of prayers for the prophet Muhammad, *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt wa-Ṣawāriq al-Anwār fi Dīkr al-Ṣalāt 'alā l-Nabiyy Muḥtār*.<sup>3</sup> While al-Jazūlī was a Moroccan Berber, his book enjoyed broad popularity throughout the Sunni Islamic world, as is also clear from the many copies that can be found in many large Oriental manuscript collections.<sup>4</sup>

While there is a common assumption that classical Arabic would have been more or less standardized by the 15th century, the recitation of the Quran remains a source for non-standard features of Arabic appearing in the everyday life of Muslims. Today, ten different reading traditions of the Quran, each with two transmissions, are accepted as canonical. The first seven of these were canonized by Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936),<sup>5</sup> while another three readers became accepted as part of the canon after Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429).<sup>6</sup>

Until today, Quranic recitation remains quite distinct between different regions of the Muslim world. The Warš (d. 197/812) and Qālūn (d. 220/835) transmissions of the canonical Medinan reciter Nāfi' (d. 120/738), for example, continue to be popular, especially in North Africa. These reading traditions do not just differ in terms of wording here and there, but, for instance, their Arabic grammar varies in an integral way from the reading of 'Āṣim (d. 128/745) in the transmission of Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796)—the prevailing recitation in most of the rest of the Muslim world, including the Ottoman heartland.<sup>7</sup> The Warš recitation has different allomorphs of the plural pronoun, an extra phonemic vowel and a quite pervasive loss of the *hamzah*, whereas these features follow the current classical Arabic norm much more closely in the reading of Ḥafṣ.<sup>8</sup>

1 Submitted on 24 August 2020. Accepted for publication on 10 October 2020.

2 I would like to thank Julien Dufour for commenting on an early draft of this paper.

3 For a discussion on the history of this work, see Jan Just Witkam, *Vroomheid en Activisme in een Islamitisch gebedenboek. De geschiedenis van de Dalā'il al-Khayrāt van al-Ġazūlī* (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, 2002).

4 The Leiden University library alone possesses more than thirty manuscript copies of the text, see Witkam, *Vroomheid*, 139 ff.

5 Shady Hekmat Nasser, "Ibn Mujāhid," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill, 2018).

6 Shady Hekmat Nasser, "Ibn al-Jazarī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill, 2018).

7 Rudi Paret, "Kīrā'a," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill, 1960–), vol. v (1986), pp. 127–129, article first published in 1979–1980.

8 For a complete description of the seven canonical reading traditions, see for example 'Abū 'Amr al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr fi al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'*, ed. Otto Pretzl (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1984 [reprint]).

A prayer book such as the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* shares many similarities with the Quran in its phraseology (occasionally even quoting directly from it), and in its use in prayer.<sup>9</sup> It is therefore no surprise that some of the specifically orthoepic features of the local Quranic recitation bleed through in fully vocalized manuscripts of this book. I encountered such a manuscript while browsing through the Endangered Archives Programme collection under the shelf mark EAP488/1/10/11 (original in the Djenné Manuscript Library, Djenné, Mali), which clearly shows many formal similarities with the Warš recitation. My interest piqued, I decided to expand this study to manuscripts from a similar period (all 18th century) in different places in the Islamic world. In this article, I examine three copies of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*: one from the Maghreb (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 6983; dated 1116 AH/1705 CE, abbreviated as Mgh below);<sup>10</sup> one from Mali (Endangered Archives Programme, EAP488/1/10/11; undated, but likely 18th c., abbreviated as Ma below); and finally, one from Turkey (BnF Arabe 6859; dated 1170 AH/1756–1757 CE, abbreviated as Msh below). As part of my analysis, I compare the phonological systems employed between these different manuscripts.

## 2 The Features Attested in the Quran

### 2.1 'Uṣūl Warš

As we will see in the following sections, the highly popular position of the Quranic recitation of Nāfi' in the Warš transmission in the Maghreb has had a profound effect on how the prayers of *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* were recited and how this is indicated in the manuscripts in question. Consequently, it is worthwhile examining some of the general principles (also known as 'uṣūl) of the Warš reading tradition and how they differ from standard classical Arabic. In the following, I draw upon 'Abū 'Amr al-Dānī's (d. 444 AH/1053 CE) *Kitāb al-Taysīr fī Qirā'at al-Sab'*, an extremely popular introductory guide to the seven canonical reading traditions.<sup>11</sup>

In particular, we will examine how a number of Warš-like features in manuscripts written in the Maghrebi style, and its derivative Sudanic style, are

9 See also Hiba Abid, "Un concurrent du Coran en Occident musulman du Xe/xvie à l'aube du xiiie/xviiie siècle. Les *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* d'al-Jazūlī", *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 19/3 (October 2017), 45–73.

10 See also Jan Just Witkam's contribution to the present volume.

11 Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*.

represented in Maghrebi *muṣḥafs*. For this, we will look at MS Leiden Or. 251, a masterful example of the Maghrebi style of *muṣḥaf* production (ca. 6/12th century).

## 2.2 *Naql*<sup>12</sup>

In cases of an unvowelled consonant preceding a word that starts with a *hamzah*, Warš regularly drops the *hamzah*. The vowel that used to follow the *hamzah* is transposed to the preceding consonant. The technical term for this process is *naql* and it relates to particles such as *qad*, *hal*, *'aw*, *man*, *min*, but also *tanwīn* and the definite article.<sup>13</sup>

When the preceding word ends in a consonant, *naql* is marked in Maghrebi *muṣḥafs* by placing the transposed vowel both on the preceding word and the *'alif* that would usually carry the *hamzah*. The *hamzah* sign (a yellow dot in Quranic manuscripts), however, is removed.

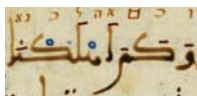


FIGURE 1  
*wa-kam 'ahlaknā* → *wa-kamahlaknā*



FIGURE 2  
*man 'ilāhun* → *manilāhun*

In cases where the preceding word ends in *tanwīn*, the *naql* is only represented by the *'alif*, carrying the vowel of the transposed vowel, without the yellow dot of the *hamzah*.

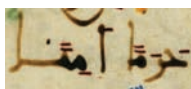


FIGURE 3  
*ḥaraman 'āminan* → *ḥaramanāminan*

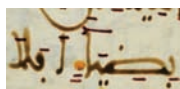


FIGURE 4  
*bi-ḍiyā'in 'afalā* → *bi-ḍiyā'ināfalā*

For *naql*, which occurs after the definite article, an explanation of the Maghrebi use of the *lām-'alif* is in order. Unlike the modern treatment, where the right leg of the *lām-'alif* is treated as the *lām* and the left leg is treated the *'alif*, this distribution was originally reversed,<sup>14</sup> a feature that continued in the Maghrebi

<sup>12</sup> All examples in this section are taken from MS Leiden Or. 251.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 35 f.

<sup>14</sup> This much is clear from the marking of the *hamzah* in vocalized Quranic manuscripts, which is consistently marked on the right leg of the *lām-'alif*. By al-Dānī's time (d. 444/

style until the early modern period. Hence it is found in Maghrebi *muṣḥafs*, but also in Maghrebi and Malian non-Quranic manuscripts, such as the *Dalā'il al-Hayrāt* manuscripts analysed in this study.<sup>15</sup> Mashreqi manuscripts in the Naskh style can be identified from the inversion of *lām* and *'alif*, as is the practice in modern printed Arabic. The image below illustrates this archaic reversal of the *lām* and *'alif* assignment:

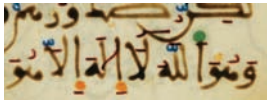


FIGURE 5

*wa-huwa llāhu lā 'ilāha 'illā huwa*

Note that the *fathah* is on the left leg of the *lām*-*'alif* of both *lā* and *'illā* (the *šaddah* for which is also on the left leg). Note also that the defective *ā* in *'ilāh*, is formed by drawing an *alif* that crosses the *lām* in order to create the shape of the *lām*-*'alif*, with the right leg being the *'alif*. The *maddah* sign for the overlong vowel of *lā* is written over the right leg, the *'alif* (see the discussion of *madd* below).

If we then turn our attention to the *naql* of the definite article, we note that the vowel is placed on the *lām*, whereas the *'alif* lacks the sign of the *hamzah*.

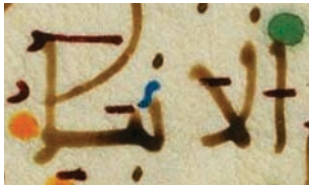


FIGURE 6

*al-'ambā'u →  
alambā'u*

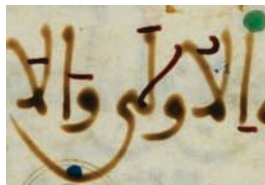


FIGURE 7

*al-'ulā → alulā*

1053), it is clear that both practices are already in use, as he tells the reader in his *Kitāb al-Naqt*: “Know that the ancients of those who are knowledgeable of Arabic, disagreed on which of the two strokes of the *lām*-*'alif* is the *hamzah*. It was said on the authority of al-Ḥalīl b. 'Aḥmad—may God have mercy on him—that he said: the first stroke of the shape is the *hamzah* and the second is the *lām*. And the majority of the vocalizers (*'āmmat 'ahl al-naqt*) both ancient and later followed that opinion.” We can see from all vocalized Quranic manuscripts that use dots that this is indeed the practice, see 'Abū 'Amr al-Dānī, *al-Muḥkam fī naqt al-maṣāḥif*, ed. 'Izzah Ḥasan (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir, 1997), 197.

<sup>15</sup> This is an ancient practice that can be understood from the Nabataean origins of the *lām*-*'alif*. For a discussion, see Younis al-Shdaifat et al., “An Early Christian Arabic Graffito Mentioning ‘Yazīd the King,’” *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 28, no. 2 (2017): 315–324.

### 2.3 *Madd*<sup>16</sup>

The Warš recitation is marked by its excessive use of overlong vowels, which are said to be longer than all other readers and, moreover, are applied in more places than is the case for other readers.<sup>17</sup> Warš applies *madd* within words, to any long vowel followed by (1) a *hamzah*; and (2) two vowelless consonants (in practice, this is almost exclusively geminate consonants), a practice he shares with all other readers.<sup>18</sup> This overlong vowel is marked in both Maghrebi and Mashreqi manuscripts with a *maddah* sign over the long vowel. Note that this does not just affect the long vowel *ā*, but it also affects *ī* and *ū*, although these generally occur less frequently, which perhaps explains why the use of *maddah* with the *ʿalif* is mentioned more often.<sup>19</sup>



FIGURE 8  
*man yašā'ū*

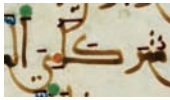


FIGURE 9  
*šurakā'īya*

However, unlike other reading modes, Warš also treats *ay* and *aw* as long vowels and applies *madd* to them too.<sup>20</sup>



FIGURE 10  
*šayyyīn*

Across word boundaries, Warš lengthens long vowels before *hamzah*. This is a common practice among Quranic readers,<sup>21</sup> but it is rare in classical Arabic prose. It should be noted, however, that this lengthening of vowels did occur within words in classical Arabic prose.<sup>22</sup>

16 All examples in this section are taken from MS Leiden Or. 251.

17 His *madd* is longest when combined with *hamzah*. Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 30.

18 Ibid.

19 Marijn van Putten, "Madd as Orthoepey Rather than Orthography," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 12/2 (2021), 202–213.

20 Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 72.

21 Only Ibn Kaṭīr and Qālūn 'an Nāfi' are said to have regularly left out the lengthened across word boundaries. There are also transmissions that omit the overlong vowel across word boundaries for 'Abū 'Amr (al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 30 f.).

22 Van Putten, "Madd," 209.

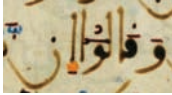


FIGURE 11  
*wa-qālū 'in*

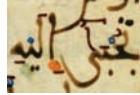


FIGURE 12  
*tujbā' ilayhi*

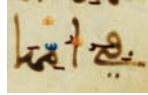


FIGURE 13  
*fū 'ummi-hā*

Under the *maddah* rule, particles like *yā-* and *hā-* are considered separate words. Readers who do not lengthen across word boundaries would say *yā-'ibrahīmu* and *hā-'ulā'ī*. Warš, by contrast, reads *yāā-'ibrāhīmu* and *hāā-'ulā'ī*.

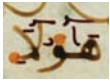


FIGURE 14  
*hāā-'ulā'ī*

Al-Dānī reports that recitation specialists from among the Egyptian experts that follow 'Abū Ya'qūb, would also apply *madd* to long vowels preceded by *hamzah*, e.g. *āādamu* and *an-nabī'ūna*, when transmitting from Warš.<sup>23</sup> This is not usually marked in Maghrebi *muṣṣhafs*, suggesting that they did not follow this practice.<sup>24</sup>

#### 2.4 *Ṣilat mīm al-jam'*<sup>25</sup>

Warš recited the masculine plural pronouns (*'antum*, *hum*, *-kum*, *-hum/-him*, *-tum*) in lengthened form (*'antumū*, *humū*, *-kumū*, *-humū/-himū*, *-tumū*)<sup>26</sup> whenever the subsequent word starts with *hamzah*.<sup>27</sup> The lengthened form also receives *madd*, as is the case for any long vowel before a *hamzah*. This is written with a miniature *wāw* next to the *mīm* with a *maddah* written over it. It is not unusual for this miniature *wāw* to look nearly identical to the *ḍammah*.

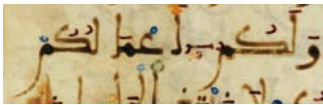


FIGURE 15  
*wa-lakumū 'a'mālu-kum*

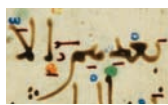


FIGURE 16  
*ba'di-himū illā*

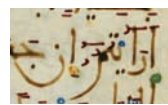


FIGURE 17  
*a-rā'aytumū 'in*

23 Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 31.

24 However, applying this type of *madd* is prevalent in popular recitation by Warš today.

25 All examples in this section are taken from MS Leiden Or. 251.

26 The technical term for this lengthened form of the plural pronoun is *ṣilat mīm al-jam'*.

27 Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 19.



## 2.5 *Hamzah*<sup>28</sup>

The Warš recitation regularly drops every word-internal *hamzah* that follows a vowel when it is the first consonant of the root. The preceding vowel is lengthened if the *hamzah* was preconsonantal, i.e. *yākulu*, *mūmin*, and it is replaced with a homorganic glide if intervocalic, as in *yuwaddi*.<sup>29</sup> In Maghrebi *muṣḥafs* this is simply marked the same way as any other long vowel.

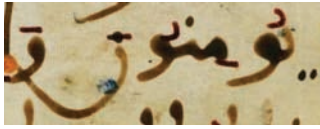


FIGURE 18  
*yūminūna*

Despite this common dropping of the *hamzah*, both Warš and Qālūn, the other transmitter of Nāfi', are exceptionally conservative in the application of the *hamzah* in derivations of the root *nb'*. Unlike all other recitation styles, Warš and Qālūn read: *an-nabī'u* 'the prophet' *an-nabī'īna* 'the prophets', *alambi'ā'u*, 'the prophets' and *an-nubū'ah* 'the prophecy'.<sup>30</sup>



FIGURE 19  
*an-nabī'ā*

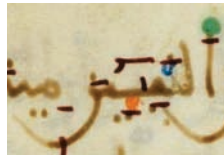


FIGURE 20  
*an-nabī'īna*



FIGURE 21  
*an-nubū'ū'ata*

## 2.6 *Fath yā'āt al-'iḍāfah*<sup>31</sup>

Another feature of the Warš reading (which also applies to the Qālūn reading) is the allomorphy of the first person singular suffixed pronoun *-(n)ī*, which surfaces as *-(n)īya* (known as *fath yā'āt al-'iḍāfah*) not only before the definite article (where it is also typical in the reading of Ḥafṣ), but also before any word that starts with a *hamzah*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> All examples in this section are taken from MS Leiden Or. 251.

<sup>29</sup> Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 34 f.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 73.

<sup>31</sup> All examples in this section are taken from MS Leiden Or. 251.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 63–66.



FIGURE 22  
*'indiya 'a-wa-lam*



FIGURE 23  
*rabbiya 'innahū*

### 3 The Features Attested in *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*

In the following, I examine the features of the Warš reading as it is attested in the transcription of the prayers in the three selected *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* manuscripts. As we will see, all three of the manuscripts operate with different rules. None are identical to Warš, but the Malian and Maghrebi manuscript clearly draw on that recitation style, whereas the Mashreqi manuscript is more akin to the recitation of Ḥafṣ, and thus is also close to what is considered standard classical Arabic. In the following, we will reference the three manuscripts using the abbreviations Ma for the Malian manuscript (EAP488/1/10/11), Mgh for the Maghrebi manuscript (Paris, BnF Arabe 6983), and Msh for the Mashreqi manuscript (Paris, BnF Arabe 6859).

#### 3.1 *Naql*

When a word-initial *hamzah* is preceded by the definite article, Mgh regularly makes use of *Naql*, as does Ma, but Msh, by contrast, retains the *hamzah* in such contexts.

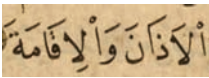


FIGURE 24  
Msh, 11v, l. 9: *al-'aḍāna wa-l-'iqāmah*



FIGURE 25  
Mgh, 22r, l. 8: *alaḍāna waliqāmah*



FIGURE 26  
Ma, 11, l. 9: *alaḍāna waliqāmah*

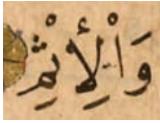


FIGURE 27  
Msh, 26v, l. 10: *wal'ithmi*



FIGURE 28  
Mgh, 42r, l. 2: *wal'ithmi*



FIGURE 29  
Ma, 53, l. 9: *wal'ithmi*

Note that the marking on the *lām-alif* looks identical across the three manuscripts. However, the meaning we should assign to it in the Mgh and Ma is clearly different than that in Msh. For Msh, the right leg of the *lām-alif* is the *lām*, whereas for Mgh and Ma it is the left leg, as can be seen in the way the negative particle *lā* is vocalized.



FIGURE 30  
Msh, 11v, l. 2: *lā*



FIGURE 31  
Mgh, 20v, l. 9: *lā*



FIGURE 32  
Ma, 8, l. 1: *lā*

This is also seen clearly in Mgh, where the asseverative particle *la-* is followed by the *hamzah* of *'anta*, e.g.:



FIGURE 33  
Msh, 17r, l. 1: *la-'anta*



FIGURE 34  
Mgh, 28r, l. 5: *la-'anta*



FIGURE 35  
Ma, 26, l. 10: *la-'anta*

Only Ma applies *naql* when *tanwīn* precedes a word-initial *hamzah*, whereas Mgh and Msh retain the *hamzah*.

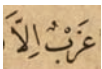


FIGURE 36  
Msh, 14v, l. 3: *ġarḇun 'illā*

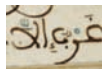


FIGURE 37  
Mgh, 25r, l. 11: *ġarḇun 'illā*

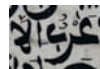


FIGURE 38  
Ma, 19, l. 9: *ġarḇunillā*

When the preceding word ends in a consonant that is not *tanwīn* both Mgh and Ma clearly mark *naql*:



FIGURE 39

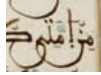
Msh, 11v, l. 6: *min ʿummatī*

FIGURE 40

Mgh, 22r, l. 5: *minummatī*

FIGURE 41

Ma, 11, l. 5: *minummatī*

It should be noted the spelling practice of marking *naql* in Mgh and Ma differs slightly from the Maghrebi *muṣṣḥaf* seen above. The transposed vowel of the *hamzah* is written on top of the *nūn*, and the *ʿalif* that used to carry the *hamzah* does not take the vowel sign, but rather a stroke is placed through the *ʿalif*: at the top for *fathah*; at the bottom for *kasrah*; and through the middle for *ḍammah*. Note, too, that Mgh has a dot below the *ʿalif* to denote *naql*. This closely matches the manner in which *naql* is denoted in the Medina *muṣṣḥaf* print edition<sup>33</sup> of the Warš ʿan Nāfiʿs reading.



FIGURE 42

Q15:5: *minummatīn**Muṣṣḥaf riwāyat Warš*

### 3.2 Madd

Marking of word-internal *madd* is quite typical for classical Arabic prose.<sup>34</sup> The manuscript under discussion here is a case in point; indeed, Msh and Ma mark it quite consistently. Mgh, on the other hand, is less consistent in marking word-internal *madd* with a *maddah* sign.

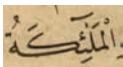


FIGURE 43

Msh, 11v, l. 10: *al-malāʾikatu*

FIGURE 44

Mgh, 21v, l. 9: *al-malāʾikatu*

FIGURE 45

Ma, 10, l. 6: *al-malāʾikatu*

33 *Muṣṣḥaf al-Madīnah al-Nabawīyyah Waqf Riwāyat Warš ʿan al-ʿImām Nāfiʿ*, Medina: King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Quran, no date.

34 Van Putten, “Madd,” 209.



FIGURE 46  
Msh, 12v, l. 3: *ḥaṭīrātu*

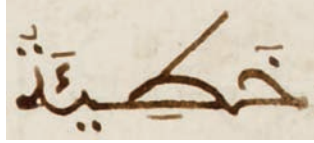


FIGURE 47  
Mgh, 23r, l. 4: *ḥaṭīrātu*

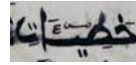


FIGURE 48  
Ma, 13, l. 8: *ḥaṭīrāti*

Mgh marks *madd* less consistently, but when it does it appears in similar environments, suggesting that it was part of the performance register, but was not considered important enough to be marked.



FIGURE 49  
Mgh, 25r, l. 2: *jā'āt*

None of the manuscripts mark the presence of distinctive *madd* typical of Warš' recitation, however.



FIGURE 50  
Msh, 14v, l. 5: *šay'un*



FIGURE 51  
Mgh, 25v, l. 3: *šay'un*



FIGURE 52  
Ma, 20, l. 2: *šay'un*

I have only found evidence for the *madd* used on a long vowel before a geminate consonant in Msh:



FIGURE 53  
Msh 16r, l. 6: *jā'ārrun*



FIGURE 54  
Mgh 27r, l. 10: *jā'ārrun*



FIGURE 55  
Ma, 24, l. 10: *jā'ārrun*

Atypical for classical Arabic prose—but quite typical for Quranic recitation—all three works show signs of *madd* applied across word boundaries, although none mark it consistently.

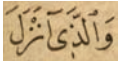


FIGURE 56

Msh 16v, l. 11: *wa-llaḍḍū 'anzala*

FIGURE 57

Mgh 28r, l. 5: *wa-llaḍḍū 'anzala*

FIGURE 58

Ma 26, l. 9: *wa-llaḍḍū 'anzala*

FIGURE 59

Msh, 16v, l. 1: *lā 'uḍnun*

FIGURE 60

Mgh 27v, l. 5:  
*wa-lāā 'uḍnun*

FIGURE 61

Ma, 25, l. 6:  
*lāā 'uḍnun*

As a sidenote, it is worth mentioning that in figure 59, 60 and 61 we see that Msh has *'uḍun* whereas Mgh and Ma have *'uḍn*. Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āsim, the dominant recitation style in the Ottoman Empire, reads the word 'ear' as *'uḍun*, whereas Warš/Qālūn 'an Nāfi' read *'uḍn*.<sup>35</sup> Considering how Mgh and Ma frequently align their Arabic with the Warš reading style, whereas Msh aligns with Ḥafṣ (both prevalent readings in the region at the time), this is unlikely to be a coincidence.

### 3.3 *Ṣilat mīm al-jam'*

Mgh and Ma mostly converge in their phonetic principles, but they deviate when it comes to the long form of the plural pronouns. Mgh also follows the non-Warš norm adhered to by Msh, keeping the pronoun short even before *hamzah*, whereas Ma uses the long pronouns, following the practice of Warš.

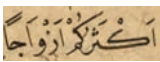


FIGURE 62

Msh, 13r, l. 9: *akṭaru-kum  
'azwājan*

FIGURE 63

Mgh, 24r, l. 2: *'akṭaru-kum  
'azwājan*

FIGURE 64

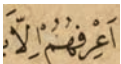
Ma, 16, l. 2: *'akṭaru-kumū  
'azwājan*

FIGURE 65

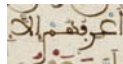
Msh, 13v, l. 1: *'a'rifu-hum 'illā*

FIGURE 66

Mgh, 24v, l. 3: *'a'rifu-hum 'illā*

FIGURE 67

Ma, 17, l. 7: *'a'rifu-humū 'illā*

35 See al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 99.

### 3.4 *Hamzah*

Loss of root initial *hamzah* occurs in Mgh and Ma whenever the *hamzah* follows a vowel and is then followed by a consonant. In line with classical Arabic textbooks, Msh marks the *hamzah* in these places.



FIGURE 68  
Msh 16v, l. 4: *yu'minu*

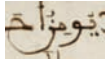


FIGURE 69  
Mgh 27v, l. 8: *yūminu*



FIGURE 70  
Ma, 25, l. 9: *yūminu*



FIGURE 71  
Msh 16v, l. 10: *mu'minan*



FIGURE 72  
Mgh 28r, l. 11: *mūminan*



FIGURE 73  
Ma, 26, l. 7: *mūminan*

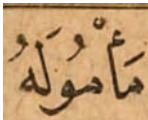


FIGURE 74  
Msh 55r, l. 1: *ma'mūlahū*

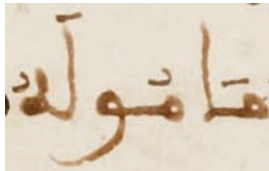


FIGURE 75  
Mgh 74v, l. 5: *māmūlahū*

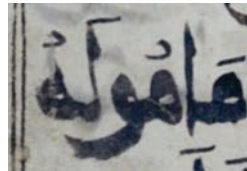


FIGURE 76  
Ma, 131, l. 5: *māmūlahū*

When the same sequence *u'* or *a'* occurs but the *hamzah* is the second root consonant, the *hamzah* is simply retained, as is the case in the Warš reading.



FIGURE 77  
Msh, 18v, l. 2: *ru'yatī*



FIGURE 78  
Mgh, 30r, l. 4: *ru'yatī*



FIGURE 79  
Ma, 31, l. 8: *ru'yatī*

In the case of *ka'sihī*, Ma seems to lack a *hamzah* spelling but the use of the *sukūn* on the 'alif may imply its presence as *ā* is usually not written with a *sukūn*.

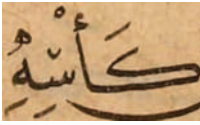


FIGURE 80  
Msh 55r, l. 8: *ka'sihī*

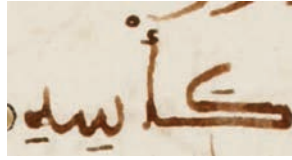


FIGURE 81  
Mgh, 75r, l. 2: *ka'sihī*



FIGURE 82  
Ma, 132, l. 5: *ka'sihī*

Deviating from the principle of Warš, however, in all three manuscripts, when the *hamzah* is the first root consonant but is located between vowels, it is always marked.



FIGURE 83  
Msh, 19v, l. 10: *mu'ammalun*  
Alternative reading *mu'ammilun*  
is marked in red



FIGURE 84  
Mgh, 31v, l. 10: *mu'ammalun*  
Alternative reading *mu'ammilun* is marked  
in the same colour as the first reading



FIGURE 85  
Ma, 35, l. 10:  
*mu'ammalun*



FIGURE 86  
Msh, 48r, l. 5: *mu'ayyadan*



FIGURE 87  
Mgh, 66v, l. 6: *mu'ayyadan*

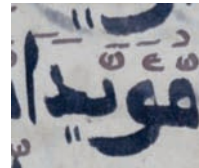


FIGURE 88  
Ma, 111, l. 3: *mu'ayyadan*

### 3.5 The nb' Root

Msh usually omits the *hamzah* on those words where Warš would read the *hamzah* in words derived from the *nb'* root. Both Ma and Mgh follow Msh in the use of *an-nabiyy* without *hamzah*, except in Quranic citations where both (obviously citing from the Warš recitation) use *an-nabī*. Thus, in a non-Quranic context all three usually agree on *an-nabiyy*.





FIGURE 89  
Msh, 10v, l. 6: *an-nabiyyi*



FIGURE 90  
Mgh, 22v, l. 8: *an-nabiyyi*



FIGURE 91  
Ma, 13, l. 1: *an-nabiyyi*

When citing Q33:56 *'inna llaḥa wa-malā'ikatahū yaṣallūna 'alā n-nabiyyi/n-nabū'i*, Mgh and Ma feature the expected Warš-style *hamzah*.

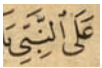


FIGURE 92  
Msh, 12r, l. 9: *an-nabiyyi*



FIGURE 93  
Mgh, 21r, l. 6: *an-nabū'i*



FIGURE 94  
Ma, 8, l. 10: *an-nabū'i*

Interestingly, occasionally, Msh and Ma have *an-nabī* in non-Quranic contexts, apparently freely interchangeable with the more typical *an-nabiyy*. I have not been able to discern a clear rule that triggers its use. While this occurs with some frequency in Msh, it is very rare in Ma. Indeed, I have only found one example in Ma, on a page where the *hamzah* is marked with a yellow dot—imitating Quranic practice—while on most pages *hamzah* is usually indicated with the *hamzah* sign in red ink. One wonders whether the addition of this *hamzah* may be by a later hand.



FIGURE 95  
Msh, 26r, l. 4: *an-nabī*  
The red sign above the *hamzah* seems to mark the reading variant *an-nabiyyi*.

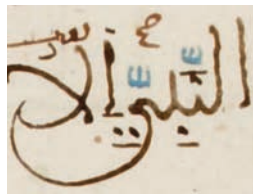


FIGURE 96  
Mgh, 41r, l. 3: *an-nabiyyi*



FIGURE 97  
Ma, 51, l. 8: *an-nabī*

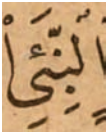


FIGURE 98  
Msh, 36r, l. 4: *an-nabi'i*



FIGURE 99  
Mgh, 52v, l. 6: *an-nabiyyi*

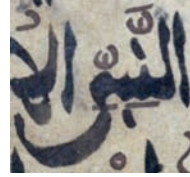


FIGURE 100  
Ma, 77, l. 7: *an-nabiyyi*

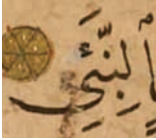


FIGURE 101  
Msh, 44r, l. 7: *an-nabi'i*



FIGURE 102  
Mgh, 62r, l. 10: *an-nabiyyi*

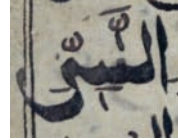


FIGURE 103  
Ma, 99, l. 9: *an-nabiyyi*

With respect to the plural, *an-nabi'īna*, Mgh and Ma always adopt the Warš-style *hamzah* form, even outside of Quranic contexts. Msh never has the *hamzah* in this context.



FIGURE 104  
Msh, 31r, l. 8: *an-nabiyyīna*

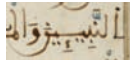


FIGURE 105  
Mgh, 47r, l. 8: *an-nabi'īna*



FIGURE 106  
Ma, 63, l. 7: *an-nabi'īna*

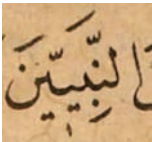


FIGURE 107  
Msh, 54v, l. 1: *an-nabiyyīna*

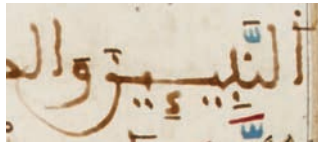


FIGURE 108  
Mgh, 74r, l. 2: *an-nabi'īna*



FIGURE 109  
Ma, 129, l. 9: *an-nabi'īna*

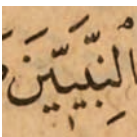


FIGURE 110  
Msh, 55v, l. 4: *an-nabiyyīna*

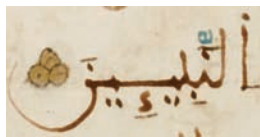


FIGURE 111  
Mgh, 75r, l. 10: *an-nabi'īna*



FIGURE 112  
Ma, 133, l. 3: *an-nabi'īna*

However, in Msh and Ma, *al-'anbiyā'*, the other plural of *nabiyy/nabī*, always lacks the *hamzah* of the third root consonant. It occasionally occurs as *'anbi'ā'* in Msh.

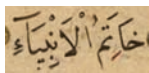


FIGURE 113  
Msh 19r, l. 10: *ḥātam al-'anbiyā'ī*



FIGURE 114  
Mgh 31r, l. 9:  
*ḥātim al-'anbiyā*



FIGURE 115  
Ma 34, l. 6-7:  
[ḥā]timulan-  
biyā'ī

As a sidenote, a red Kasrah in figure 113 marks the alternate pronunciation *ḥātim*. Msh aligns with the Ḥafṣ reading in using *ḥātam* as its main reading whereas Mgh and Ma (figure 114 and 115) align with the Warṣ 'an Nāfi' reading.<sup>36</sup>

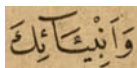


FIGURE 116  
Msh, 30v, l. 10:  
*wa-'anbi'ā'ī-ka*

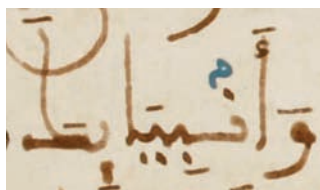


FIGURE 117  
Mgh, 46v, l. 7: *wa-'anbiyā'ī-ka*  
Note the miniature *mīm* above the  
*nūn* to denote its assimilation to the  
following *bā'*



FIGURE 118  
Ma, 62, l. 5: *wa-'anbiyā'ī-ka*



FIGURE 119  
Msh, 32r, l. 7: *'anbi'ā'ī-ka*

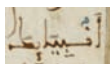


FIGURE 120  
Mgh, 48r, l. 10: *'anbiyā'ī-ka*



FIGURE 121  
Ma, 66, l. 4: *'anbiyā'ī-ka*

### 3.6 *Fath yā'āt al-'idāfah*

Regarding *fath yā'āt al-'idāfah*, we once again find that Mgh and Ma follow the Warṣ pattern of reading, whereas Msh invariably features *-ī* rather than *-iya* before *hamzah*.

<sup>36</sup> al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr*, 179

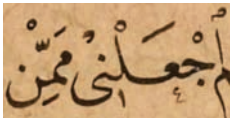


FIGURE 122

Msh, 32v, l. 9: *ij'al-nī mimman*

FIGURE 123

Mgh, 49r, l. 2: *ij'al-nī mimman*

FIGURE 124

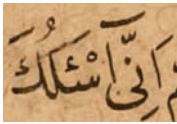
Ma, 67, l. 10: *ij'al-nī [mimman]*

FIGURE 125

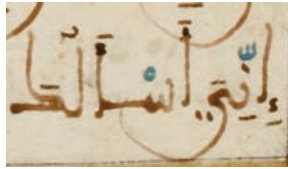
Msh, 33r, l. 5: *'innū 'as'aluka*

FIGURE 126

Mgh, 49r, l. 11: *'inniya 'as'aluka*

FIGURE 127

Ma 69, l. 1: *'inniya 'as'aluka*

#### 4 Conclusion

As should be clear from the previous section, the three manuscripts of the same text all function with clearly distinct, but internally consistent rules. Whereas the Msh shows clear similarities to Ḥaḥṣ 'an Āṣim, the dominant Quranic reading tradition of the Ottoman empire (and the *de facto* standard today), Ma shows clear similarities to the dominant Quranic reading tradition of the Maghreb, that of Warš 'an Nāfi'. Mgh takes a position in between the two, neither being quite like the Mashreqi classical Arabic style, nor like the more Warš-influenced style of Ma. It is worth noting, however, that none of the recitation styles that these manuscripts are vocalized in perfectly corresponds to the Warš recitation, and therefore the Warš-like reading traditions of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* should be seen as clearly distinct (albeit related) traditions.<sup>37</sup> The table below gives an overview of the features examined here.

37 There may be some memory of this local recitation tradition in the Maghreb. In a recitation of *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Ḥayzarān recorded and placed online on YouTube (<https://youtu.be/ubABA1018M>, accessed 24 August 2020), one can hear several of the features identified being applied. For example, at around 2m30s *alummīyyi* is clearly pronounced with *naql* and not as *al-'ummīyyi*, but at 11m15s clearly *al-'awwalūna wa-l-āḥirūni* are pronounced without *naql*. At 6m8s *al-mūminīna* not *al-mu'minīna* is recited but at 8m25s it is recited as *al-ma'mūn*. At 10m8s there is a clear recitation of *wa-n-nabī'n* with a Warš-style *hamzah*, but only seconds later, at 10m23s and again at 10m57s, this

TABLE 1 Overview of features

	Prose	Ḥafṣ	Msh	Mgh	Ma	Warš
<i>Naql</i> after nutation	–	–	–	–	+	+
<i>Naql</i> after definite article	–	–	–	+	+	+
<i>Naql</i> after consonant final word	–	–	–	+	+	+
<i>Madd</i> within word	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Madd</i> between words	–	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Madd</i> on <i>ay'</i> and <i>aw'</i>	–	–	–	–	–	+
<i>Ṣilat mīm al-jam'</i> before <i>hamzah</i>	–	–	–	–	+	+
v'C → v̄C if <i>hamzah</i> is first root consonant	–	–	–	+	+	+
v'v → vvv if <i>hamzah</i> is first root consonant	–	–	–	–	–	+
<i>An-nabī'</i> in non-Quranic context	–	n/a	+/-	–	–	n/a
<i>An-nabī'</i> in Quranic context	–	–	–	+	+	+
<i>An-nabī'īna</i>	–	–	–	+	+	+
<i>Al-'anbī'ā'</i>	–	–	+/-	–	–	+
<i>Faṭḥ yā'āt al-'iḍāfah</i> before <i>hamzah</i>	–	–	–	+	+	+

The columns are arranged according to the three manuscripts, and the Ḥafṣ and Warš reading traditions on either side of those manuscripts. I have also included a 'Prose' column, which represents the linguistic features as they typically appear in classical Arabic prose manuscripts, i.e. non-prayer books.

These manuscripts with Warš-like features do not appear to be isolated outliers. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine every single *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* manuscript available in the Maghrebi and Sudani styles in full detail in terms of the reading tradition they reflect, a cursory look immediately shows that these "Waršisms" are widely attested. Manuscripts that clearly follow some or all of the patterns identified for Mgh include: Otago Library, New Zealand, Shoults MS. 12 (1804/5 CE, Maghrebi script), BnF Arabe 7284 (1882/3 CE, Maghrebi script), Berlin, StaBi Hs. Or. 13986 (undated, Maghrebi script), Berlin, StaBi Wetzstein II 1551 (1666 CE, Maghrebi script). Also, the Metropolitan Museum's 2017.301 (1625 CE, Maghrebi script) discussed by Deniz Beyazit in the present volume, shows typical features (*naql*, *faṭḥ yā'āt al-'iḍāfah* and the use of *an-nabī'īna* with *hamzah*).<sup>38</sup> Many other Malian copies from the

switches to *ḥātami n-nabīyyīn* (NB. also with *ḥātām*, which is typical for (Ḥafṣ 'an) Āšim's recitation, rather than the common *ḥātīm*).

38 I have only been able to examine the folios made available on The Met's webpage, which

Endangered Archives Programme clearly have a similar treatment as Ma discussed above, e.g. EAP488/1/11/3, EAP488/1/9/4, EAP488/1/44/1, EAP488/1/6/19, EAP488/1/1/1. Moreover, the manuscript BnF Arabe 5476 seems to follow the pattern of the Malian manuscripts.

That this Warš-like recitation style of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* is ancient is clear from an examination of the very ancient BnF Arabe 1181 (1599CE, Maghrebi script), which follows all the same patterns that we have discerned in Mgh above:<sup>39</sup> it makes clear use of *naql* (3r, l. 4–5); has *madd* within words (2v, l. 8) and between words (6v, l. 2); uses *an-nabī* in Quranic quotations (2v, l. 8) but *an-nabīyy* outside of Quranic quotations (2v, l. 6)<sup>40</sup> and *an-nabī'īna* (20v, l. 9); uses the *-(n)īya* allomorph before *hamzah* (26v, l. 1); and drops the *hamzah* before a consonant (8v, l. 5). Like Mgh, it lacks *ṣilat mīm al-jam'* (5v, l. 9). Even the earliest dated manuscript currently known, Rabat, Ḥassaniya Royal Library MS. 3227 (dated 1548 CE, Maghribi script) seems to feature at least the Warš-like *naql*.<sup>41</sup>

Not all manuscripts in Maghrebi style have the same Warš-like features. For example, BnF Arabe 1189 lacks *naql* (1v, l. 6; 3r, l. 7, 8) altogether, but it does include other typical features, such as *an-nabī* in Quranic contexts (2v, l. 11). While it uses *an-nabīyy* in non-Quranic contexts (2v, l. 9), it uses the *-(n)īya* allomorph before *hamzah* (28r, l. 5) and drops the *hamzah* before a consonant (8r, l. 6).

These observations demonstrate that such recitational styles, influenced by the Quranic Warš reading tradition, are significantly ancient, as even the earliest manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* attest this influence. The fact that some manuscripts reveal exceptions to the general rules, and the fact that Sudani manuscripts seem to have the additional features, suggests that careful identification of the recitational features of manuscripts can provide researchers with additional hints regarding differences in manuscript production, production centres, and geography.

Moreover, the discovery of distinct recitation registers of classical Arabic in manuscripts as late as the 18th century, seemingly ignored and dutifully scrubbed away in modern text editions, should give us pause. Clearly, the extent of linguistic variation within the norms of classical Arabic was significantly

previews some of the folios <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/752280> (accessed 9 October 2020).

39 See also the discussion on BnF Arabe 1181 in Abid's article in the current volume.

40 However, *an-nabī* occurs at least once in a non-Quranic environment (19r, l. 4).

41 See *ḥātīmu lanbiyā'ī* in figure 3.1 in the contribution of Abid in this volume, with *fathah* on the *lām* marking the *naql*.

more flexible than has previously been assumed. In order for us to write a linguistic history of classical Arabic, we cannot anachronistically impose the textbook norm, as formulated in grammars such as those of Wright<sup>42</sup> and Fischer,<sup>43</sup> onto the pre-modern period. Doing so causes us to lose sight of clear and internally consistent linguistic subsystems of this linguistically diverse literary register.

### Conspectus of Manuscripts

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek

Hs. Or. 13986, bibliographical information and digitization located at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000E7FD00000000>

Wetzstein II 1551, bibliographical information and digitization located at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000AACF00000000>

Djenné Manuscript Library, Mali

see: London, British Library, Endangered Archives Programme 488/1

Leiden, University Library

Or. 251, bibliographical information in Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), sub Or. 251. <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/or01000.pdf> (accessed on 10 May 2021).

London, British Library, Endangered Archives Programme 488/1 (= Djenné Manuscript Library, Mali)

- EAP488/1/1/1, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP488-1-1-1>
- EAP488/1/6/19, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP488-1-6-19>
- EAP488/1/9/4, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP488-1-9-4>

<sup>42</sup> William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language: Translated from the German of Caspari and Edited with Numerous Additions and Corrections*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896).

<sup>43</sup> Wolf Dietrich Fischer, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic, Third Revised Edition.*, trans. Jonathan Rogers (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 2002).

- EAP488/1/10/11, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP488-1-10-11>
- EAP488/1/11/3, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP488-1-11-3>
- EAP488/1/44/1, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP488-1-44-1>

New York, Metropolitan Museum

2017.301, bibliographical information and several digitized pages located at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/752280>

Otago Library, New Zealand

Shoults MS. 12 (Majid Daneshgar & Donald Kerr (2017) *Middle Eastern and Islamic Materials in Special Collections*. University of Otago. Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Library, p. 13, <http://hdl.handle.net/10523/7747>).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Arabe 1181, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110006776>

Arabe 1189, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110006776>

Arabe 5476, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065567d>

Arabe 6859, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84322110>

Arabe 6983, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84061483>

Arabe 7284, bibliographical information and digitization located at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10030352p>

Rabat, Ḥassaniya Royal Library

MS. 3227 (see Abid's contribution to the present volume).

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