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From Monumental to Functional: A Comparative Study of Qur'anic Manuscript Production in The Umayyad and Abbasid Periods

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Abstract

This study examines how the production of Qur'anic manuscripts changed between the Umayyad (41–132 AH/661–750 CE) and Abbasid (132–656 AH/750–1258 CE) periods. It addresses three questions: what material, scribal, and visual features characterised Qur'anic manuscripts in each period; which agents and institutions shaped their production; and what explains the differences between the two periods. Using a qualitative historical-codicological approach with comparative analysis, the study draws on classical Arabic sources, published descriptions of early manuscripts, and modern scholarship. The findings show that Umayyad manuscripts were written mainly in *ḥijāzī* and early Kufic scripts on parchment, with only sporadic letter-pointing (*iʿjām*), and that from the reigns of ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd onward large, monumental codices were produced under state patronage, including the textual project associated with *al-Ḥajjāj*. In the Abbasid period, production moved from early Abbasid (Kufic) scripts in horizontal format towards the systematic use of vowel dots and later al-Khalīl's vocalisation system, the gradual adoption of paper and vertical format (the "New Style"), the proportioned scripts associated with Ibn Muqlah and Ibn al-Bawwāb, and a wider circle of professional copyists and endowers. The study argues that the shift from a monumental Umayyad style to a more functional Abbasid style reflects changes in political legitimation, writing technology, and the needs of a growing, linguistically diverse readership. Its contribution lies in integrating codicological evidence and socio-political context within a single comparative framework, particularly for Indonesian-language scholarship.

[*Penelitian ini mengkaji perubahan produksi naskah al-Qur'an antara masa Dinasti Umayyah (41–132 H/661–750 M) dan Dinasti Abbasiyah (132–656 H/750–1258 M). Penelitian ini menjawab tiga pertanyaan: bagaimana karakteristik material, penulisan, dan visual mushaf pada masing-masing periode; siapa aktor dan institusi yang membentuk produksinya; dan faktor*

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apa yang menjelaskan perbedaan kedua periode tersebut. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif historis-kodikologis dan analisis komparatif, penelitian ini menggunakan sumber-sumber Arab klasik, deskripsi manuskrip awal yang telah dipublikasikan, dan kajian akademik modern. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa mushaf Umayyah umumnya ditulis dengan khat ḥijāzī dan kufi awal di atas perkamen dengan titik pembeda huruf (iʿjām) yang masih sporadis, dan sejak masa ʻAbd al-Malik dan al-Walīd mulai diproduksi mushaf berformat besar yang monumental di bawah patronase negara, termasuk proyek mushaf yang dikaitkan dengan al-Ḥajjāj. Pada masa Abbasiyah, produksi mushaf bergeser dari aksara Abbasiyah awal (kufi) berformat horizontal menuju penggunaan titik vokal secara sistematis dan kemudian sistem harakat al-Khalīl, penggunaan kertas dan format vertikal secara bertahap ("New Style"), gaya tulisan berproporsi yang dikaitkan dengan Ibn Muqlah dan Ibn al-Bawwāb, serta meluasnya lingkaran penyalin profesional dan pewakaf. Penelitian ini berargumen bahwa peralihan dari gaya monumental Umayyah menuju gaya fungsional Abbasiyah mencerminkan perubahan kebutuhan legitimasi politik, teknologi tulis, dan kebutuhan pembaca yang semakin luas dan beragam bahasanya. Kontribusi penelitian ini terletak pada upaya memadukan bukti kodikologis dan konteks sosial-politik dalam.]

Keywords: Qur'anic manuscripts; codicology; Kufic script; Umayyad; Abbasid

Introduction

The Qur'an, as the holy text of Muslims, does not only possess a theological dimension, but also a historical-material dimension that is visible in the tradition of the production of its manuscripts. The Qur'an also holds a very important position in the spiritual, social, and intellectual life of Muslims.[1] Since its revelation during the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, efforts to preserve and disseminate the Qur'an have continuously been carried out so that the authenticity and the beauty of its recitation are maintained. One concrete form of these efforts is the production of Qur'anic manuscripts, which developed from time to time in accordance with political, social, and cultural conditions.[2]

During the period of the Umayyad Dynasty (661–750 CE), the production of Qur'anic manuscripts began to show significant progress, especially in the aspects of writing, the use of *khat* (calligraphy), as well as dissemination to various regions of Islamic rule.[3] The support of the Umayyad caliphs in the standardization of the *mushaf* became an important milestone in maintaining the unity of recitation of Muslims in a very vast territory. This development became increasingly advanced

1 Asma Abdul-Qader Abdullah Al-Ani dan Imad Abdul-Karim Saleem Al-Khasawneh, "The Holy Quran," Mesopotamian Journal of Quran Studies 2024: 55–57, https://doi.org/10.58496/MJQS/2024/008.

2 Muhamad Turmuzi, "Studi Living Qur'an: Analisis Transmisi Teks al-Qur'an dari Lisan ke Tulisan," Basha'ir: Jurnal Studi al-Qur'an dan Tafsir, 2022, https://doi.org/10.47498/bashair.v2i1.889.

3 Azkia Muharom Albantani dkk., "Tracing the Development of Arabic Khat from the Land of Origin to Indonesian Archipelago," Al-Ta'rib : Jurnal Ilmiah Program Studi Pendidikan Bahasa Arab IAIN Palangka Raya 9, no. 1 (Juni 2021): 13–24, https://doi.org/10.23971/altarib.v9i1.2578.

during the period of the Abbasid Dynasty (750–1258 CE), in which the intellectual, artistic, and cultural traditions of Islam reached the peak of their glory. In this period, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts was not merely limited to an effort to preserve the holy text, but also became a means for the development of the art of calligraphy, illumination, and beautiful *mushaf* design. The role of the *ulama*, calligraphers, and religious institutions made the Qur'anic manuscripts of this period monumental works that combined spiritual and artistic values.[4]

However, existing studies often treat the production of Qur'anic manuscripts descriptively and separately, with excessive emphasis on the codification of the early text without connecting it comprehensively with the socio-political, institutional, and cultural dynamics of the two dynasties. As a result, the process of Qur'anic manuscript production during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods is often understood simplistically, as if it were merely a technical activity of copying, not as a complex cultural and intellectual practice.

The study of Qur'anic manuscript production during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods becomes urgent because these two periods constitute a formative phase in the history of the transmission of the Qur'anic text. During the Umayyad period, *mushaf* production was closely related to the efforts of political and religious standardization of the developing Islamic state, while during the Abbasid period the production of Qur'anic manuscripts was integrated with the advancement of science, bureaucracy, and Islamic art.[5] An in-depth understanding of manuscript production in these two periods is important to explain how the authority of the Qur'anic text was built, maintained, and represented materially. In addition, this study is also relevant for responding to contemporary issues regarding the authenticity of the Qur'anic text and the history of its transmission, which are often debated in modern academic discourse.

In academic studies, there is a debate regarding the extent to which the production of Qur'anic manuscripts during the Umayyad period was centralistic and controlled by the state, as well as whether the early *mushafs* were truly uniform or still showed textual and visual diversity. Some Western scholars emphasize the existence of a plurality of *mushaf* writing traditions in the early period of Islam, while Muslim scholars tend to affirm the continuity and stability of the text since the early codification.[6] During the Abbasid period, the debate shifted to the relationship between the development of the art of calligraphy, the use of paper, and the institutionalization of *mushaf* copying with scholarly and religious authority. However, this debate is often fragmented, without adequate comparative analysis between the Umayyad and Abbasid periods within a single framework of the history of manuscript production.

Although there has been much research on early Qur'anic manuscripts as well as the history of Islamic art, there is still a research gap in studies that integrate the aspects

4 Francois Deroche, Abbasid Traditions: Qur'ans of the 8th and 10th Centuries AD (I. B. Tauris, Limited, 2005), 45–46.

5 Fatih Cankurt, "Early Qur'anic Manuscripts Studies: Foreign Resources," *Journal of the Near East Unıversıty Islamıc Research Center* 8, no. 1 (2022): 75–90, https://doi.org/10.32955/neu.istem.2022.8.1.05.

6 Muhammad Anshori, "Otoritas Politik Dalam Kodifikasi Mushaf Pada Masa Khulafā'Al-Rāsyidīn," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Ushuluddin* 18, no. 2 (2019): 197–211, https://doi.org/10.18592/jiiu.v18i2.3188.

of Qur'anic manuscript production comparatively between the Umayyad and Abbasid Dynasties. Most studies focus on specific manuscripts, specific regions, or merely technical aspects, such as paleography and codicology, without connecting them wholly to the political, economic, and intellectual contexts of each dynasty. In addition, studies in the Indonesian language that present a critical synthesis between manuscript findings, classical historical sources, and modern historiographical analysis regarding the production of Qur'anic manuscripts are still limited.

Research Methodology

This research is a qualitative research of the library research type with a historical-codicological approach. The historical approach is used to reconstruct the political, social, and intellectual context of *mushaf* production during the Umayyad (41–132 AH/661–750 CE) and Abbasid (132–656 AH/750–1258 CE) periods. The data sources of this research are from books, journals, and research results. The literature was selected based on three criteria: (1) direct relevance to the aspects of *mushaf* production; (2) coverage of the Umayyad and/or Abbasid periods; and (3) the authority of the author or publisher, by prioritizing specialist studies of the codicology and paleography of the *mushaf*. Data were collected through the documentation technique, namely the tracing, recording, and grouping of information from these sources in accordance with the dimensions of production being analyzed.

Data analysis follows the stages of the historical method, and the data are analyzed comparatively based on six dimensions of production, namely (1) writing materials and tools; (2) types of script; (3) format and layout; (4) the system of diacritical marks (*naqṭ* and *shakl*); (5) illumination and binding; and (6) agents of production (copyists, patrons, and institutions). The similarities and differences in each dimension are then connected with the socio-political context of each dynasty to explain the direction of change in *mushaf* production. Because it does not involve direct physical examination of the manuscripts, the findings of this research depend on the accuracy of the codicological descriptions that have been published.

Results and Discussion

The Production of Qur'anic Manuscripts during the Umayyad Dynasty

The Umayyad Dynasty was the first Islamic dynasty to implement a system of hereditary monarchical government after the end of the period of the Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn. This dynasty was established in 41 AH/661 CE with the appointment of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān as caliph, and ended in 132 AH/750 CE when power shifted to the Abbasid Dynasty.[7] The center of government of the Umayyad Dynasty was in Damascus, which had previously become the administrative center of the region of Syam (Greater Syria) since the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Historically, the emergence of the Umayyad Dynasty cannot be separated from the political conflict after the death of Caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, especially the event

7 Muhammad Kautsar Thariq Syah, Dandie Hambaliana, dan Putri Lailatus Sa'adah, "Bani Umayyah (661-750M): Peristiwa Ammul Jamaah (Tahun Perdamaian) sebagai Awal Berdiri Dinasti Bani Umayyah," *Jazirah: Jurnal Peradaban dan Kebudayaan* 5, no. 02 (2024): 93–114, https://doi.org/10.51190/jazirah.v5i02.166.

of the civil war (*al-fitnah al-kubrā*). Mu'āwiyah, who had previously served as governor of Syam, succeeded in consolidating political and military power so that he was able to build governmental stability. In this context, the Umayyad Dynasty played an important role in forming the structure of an Islamic state that was organized administratively, militarily, and bureaucratically. The transition of the leadership system from the *shūrā* model to hereditary monarchy under Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān brought fundamental changes in the structure of Islamic government.[8] The state was no longer understood merely as a religious community, but rather as a political entity organized with an established administrative, military, and financial bureaucracy. In this context, the Qur'an had a strategic position as a source of normative legitimacy as well as a symbol of the unity of the *ummah*.

The territorial expansion of the Umayyad Dynasty took place very rapidly and extensively, covering the regions of Syam, Iraq, Persia, North Africa, up to Andalusia. The vastness of this territory of power caused Muslims to live in very diverse socio-cultural contexts, with different linguistic backgrounds and writing traditions.[9] herefore, the Umayyad Dynasty paid great attention to religious symbols that could strengthen the legitimacy of power, including the Arabic language, Islamic currency, religious architecture, and of course the Qur'an as the holy book of Muslims.

The administrative reform carried out by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (d. 86 AH/705 CE) became an important milestone in the history of the Umayyad Dynasty. He carried out the Arabization of state administration, replacing the Greek and Persian languages in the bureaucracy with Arabic. This reform directly impacted the position of the Qur'an, because the Arabic language of the Qur'an was made the main reference in religious and state life.[10] Thus, the Qur'an was not only positioned as a religious text, but also as a symbol of Islamic political and cultural identity.

Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Ḥarb was often called Abdurrahman; he was a convert (*muallaf*) and was among the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.[11] Then he was once appointed to become one of the 23 scribes of revelation, "scribes of the Qur'an," from among the Muhājirūn when he was 23 years old. And he narrated approximately around 130 hadiths of the Messenger of Allah SAW, of which 13 are contained in the books *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim*. Meanwhile, when he was 55 years old, he served as the first caliph of the Banū Umayyah for 19 years of his reign.

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8 Muhamad Hazim dkk., "Pemikiran dan Peradaban Islam Dinasti Umayyah dan Abbasiyah: Kajian Historis dan Relevansi Warisan Intelektual dan Peradaban Islam dalam Dunia Kontemporer," *AL-MUADDIB: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Kependidikan* 7, no. 2 (2025): 629–42, https://doi.org/10.46773/muaddib.v7i2.1794.

9 Nashrurrahman Zein, "Contribution of the Umayyad Dynasty to the Development of Islamic Civilization (661-750 AD)," *El Tarikh : Journal of History, Culture and Islamic Civilization* 3, no. 1 (2022): 44–56, https://doi.org/10.24042/jhcc.v3i1.8532.

10 Emi Hariyanti dan Kholid Mawardi, "Perkembangan Ekonomi dan Administrasi Pemerintahan Masa Dinasti Umayyah," *Journal on Education* 6, no. 1 (2023): 1762–73, https://doi.org/10.31004/joe.v6i1.3147.

11 Muhammad Kautsar Thariq Syah, Dandie Hambaliana, dan Putri Lailatus Sa'adah, "Bani Umayyah (661-750m): Peristiwa Ammul Jamaah (Tahun Perdamaian) Sebagai Awal Berdiri Dinasti Bani Umayyah," Jazirah: Jurnal Peradaban dan Kebudayaan 5, no. 02 (2024): 93–114, https://doi.org/10.51190/jazirah.v5i02.166.

If we look at the genealogical line of descent, Mu'āwiyah is connected to the Prophet Muhammad SAW through their ancestor 'Abd Manāf ibn Quṣayy (a chief or leader of the Quraysh tribe in the time of *jāhiliyyah*). In addition, he is also connected to Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān ibn Abī al-'Āṣ ibn Umayyah, whose ancestor was Umayyah ibn 'Abd Shams.[12] Meanwhile, the period of the Caliphate of Mu'āwiyah stopped at only 3 generations, namely Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, and Mu'āwiyah ibn Yazīd. Next, it was continued by the descendants of al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ ibn Umayyah, led by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, until it was continued by his children and grandchildren.

The massive entry of non-Arab society (*mawālī*) into Islam also influenced the need for the production of Qur'anic manuscripts. Dependence on the oral tradition, which was previously dominant, began to be considered inadequate to reach Muslim communities that did not have strong Arabic language competence.[13] Therefore, the written *mushaf* became the main instrument in the process of religious education and the internalization of Islamic teachings.

Furthermore, the political policies of the Umayyad Dynasty, especially during the time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, showed a strong tendency toward the centralization of power and the standardization of Islamic symbols. The Arabization of state administration, the reform of Islamic currency, and the construction of monumental mosques were part of a grand project of forming an integrated Islamic identity.[14] Within this framework, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts cannot be separated from the political-religious agenda of the state, namely creating doctrinal and symbolic uniformity throughout the territory of power. Thus, the Umayyad Dynasty can be understood as a formative period in Islamic history, in which political stability, territorial expansion, and the formation of religious identity were intertwined. This condition then became the historical background for the development of the production of Qur'anic manuscripts in a more systematic and controlled manner.

The Production of Qur'anic Manuscripts

The production of Qur'anic manuscripts during the Umayyad Dynasty was a continuation as well as a strengthening of the process of codification of the Qur'an that had begun during the period of the Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn, especially during the time of Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. The 'Uthmānic *mushaf* produced in the mid-7th century CE became the main foundation for the production of Qur'anic *mushafs* during the Umayyad period. However, during the Umayyad period, the production

12 Abdul Aziz Nashiruddin, "Khalifah Mu'awiyah Bin Abu Sufyan : Peletak Dasar Pemerintahan Islam Monarki 661 - 680 M," *FACTUM: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pendidikan Sejarah* 9, no. 1 (2020): 75–84, https://doi.org/10.17509/factum.v9i1.23085.

13 Jazuli Abu Bakar, *Sejarah Lengkap Mazhab-mazhab Nahwu: Menelusuri Akar Sejarah, Para Tokoh, dan Pengaruhnya sampai Kini* (DIVA PRESS, t.t.), 386–87.

14 Rina Fauziah Jufri, "Transformasi Kekuasaan dan Kebudayaan di Era Umayyah: dari Arabisasi Hingga Pusat Peradaban Damaskus," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Theosofi dan Peradaban Islam* 7, no. 1 (2025): 150–66, https://doi.org/10.51900/alhikmah.v7i1.25389.

of Qur'anic manuscripts underwent significant development in terms of quantity, distribution, and visual aspects.[15]

One of the main characteristics of Qur'anic manuscript production during the Umayyad period was the use of the 'Uthmānic *rasm* without the systematic use of diacritical dots (*i'jām*) and vowel marks (*ḥarakāt*). Umayyad *mushafs* were written in early Arabic writing styles such as the *ḥijāzī* script and early *kūfī*, which emphasized geometric letter forms and visual simplicity.[16] This shows that the main orientation of *mushaf* production in this period was preserving the purity of the text, not merely the aesthetic aspect.

The production of *mushafs* during the Umayyad period is strongly suspected to have been under state supervision, especially in the context of the distribution of official *mushafs* to various regions of Islamic rule. The state had an interest in ensuring the uniformity of the Qur'anic text as the foundation of the unity of the *ummah*. Nevertheless, the copyists of the *mushaf* (*kuttāb* and *nussākh*) still came from among the *ulama* and educated society, so that *mushaf* production was the result of interaction between political authority and scholarly authority.[17]

The form of writing of the Qur'anic text during the Banī Umayyah period after the Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn was still very much classified as simple, without the existence of reading marks (*ḍabṭ*), diacritical dots (*nuqṭah*), and vowel marks (*shakl*). From here was the origin of the emergence of a creative initiative (*ijtihādī*) in order to further develop the writing (*rasm*) of the *mushaf*, as Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī received a mandate from a governor of Basra named Ziyād ibn Abīhi (45–55 AH) during the leadership of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, who sent [a request] to Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī to create vowel marks (*shakl*) or dots (*nuqṭah*) that served as proof (*dalīl*) of the existence of voiced letters or vowels. This was none other than introducing a system of diacritical dots (*nuqṭah*) into the text of the *mushaf*.[18]

Material evidence of Qur'anic manuscript production during the Umayyad period can be found in various early manuscripts that are still preserved to this day, such as *mushaf* fragments in Ṣan'ā', Paris, London, and Istanbul. Codicological analysis of these manuscripts shows uniformity in the structure of *sūrahs* and verses, although there are small variations in spelling and layout. These variations are more graphic than textual in nature, so they do not disturb the substance of the content of the Qur'an.[19] In addition to manuscripts, evidence of Qur'anic production during the Umayyad period also appears in Qur'anic inscriptions on buildings and official artifacts of the state. Qur'anic verses carved on religious buildings show the existence of certain standards in the writing and selection of the text. This

15 Muhammad Husein, Rusiana Rusiana, dan Arifinsyah Arifinsyah, "Kodifikasi Teks Al-Qur'an Dan Karakteristiknya Pada Masa Bani Umayyah," *Al Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 17, no. 3 (2023): 1893–907, https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v17i3.2164.

16 Haikal Al Fiqri, "Periodisasi Penulisan al-Qur'an Masa Klasik Islam," *FIHROS: Jurnal Sejarah dan Budaya* 9, no. 02 (2025): 76–92, https://doi.org/10.63915/fihros.v9i02.185.

17 Adam Gacek, The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography - Supplement (BRILL, 2008), 321–322.

18 Irfan Jaya Sakti dkk., "Penyempurnaan Penulisan al-Qur'an Pasca Khulafa' al-Rasyidin: Suatu Tinjauan Historis," *Hamalatul Qur'an : Jurnal Ilmu Ilmu Alqur'an* 6, no. 1 (2025): 138–51, https://doi.org/10.37985/hq.v6i1.486.

19 Karin Finsterbusch dkk., *The Comparative Textual Criticism of Religious Scriptures* (BRILL, 2024), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004693623.

strengthens the argument that the production of the Qur'anic text during the Umayyad period had entered the stage of institutionalization.[20]

During the Banī Umayyah period, the writing of the text of the Qur'anic *mushaf* still appeared as "bare Arabic" (*arab gundul*, i.e., unpointed and unvocalized script), thus triggering deeper research as a development of the codification of the writing (*rasm*) of the Qur'anic *mushaf*, beginning with the discovery of reading marks (*ḍabṭ*) by Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī, which included dots and diacritics and the giving of the vowel marks *ḍammah*, *fatḥah*, *kasrah*, and *tanwīn*, as well as the giving of dots to letters. If seen, the giving of dots to letters was initially in the form of a circle and continued to develop into a cube [square] form, up to the form of a circle with a hole in the middle, where these dots were written in a similar color in order to serve as distinguishing dots from the vowel dots, which were generally red in color. In addition, real evidence can also be seen from the style of writing (*rasm*) of the Qur'an, which had undergone rapid development. Let us say, in the era of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, who established Arabic as the official language of the kingdom. Therefore, there are various characteristics (manuscripts) of the Qur'an from the Banī Umayyah period that have been found, such as: the *Ḥijāzī* writing script, the *Kūfī* writing script, and so forth.[21]

The standardization of the Qur'anic *mushaf* carried out during the time of Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (d. 35 AH) was a fundamental milestone in the history of Qur'anic writing. The 'Uthmānic *mushaf* was compiled based on a certain *rasm* and sent to various Islamic centers to be used as the official reference. During the Umayyad Dynasty, this project was not only maintained, but also expanded and strengthened through the massive production of *mushafs*.[22]

The Umayyad rulers viewed the 'Uthmānic *mushaf* as a legitimate symbol of religious authority that must not be rivaled by other versions. Therefore, the copying of *mushafs* in this period was carried out with a high level of caution, referring strictly to the 'Uthmānic *rasm* without making changes to the structure of the text. This shows that the Umayyad Dynasty was conservative in matters of the Qur'anic text, but progressive in the aspects of its distribution and dissemination.[23]

The dissemination of the standard *mushaf* became an urgent need along with the increase of Islamic territory. The great mosques in strategic cities such as Damascus, Kufa, Basra, Fusṭāṭ, and Kairouan became centers for the storage and recitation of the *mushaf*. The existence of the standard *mushaf* in these public spaces functioned as an authoritative reference in the teaching of the Qur'an, especially for the *qāri'* (reciters) and students.[24]

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20 Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 356.

21 Abdul Hakim Syukrie, "Perkembangan Kaligrafi dan Urgensinya bagi Khazanah Mushaf," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 19, no. 1 (2021): 69–102, https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v19i1.911.

22 Fathul Amin, "Kaidah Rasm Utsmani dalam Mushaf al-Qur'an Indonesia sebagai Sumber Belajar Baca Tulis al-Qur'an," *Tadris : Jurnal Penelitian dan Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam* 14, no. 1 (2020): 72–91, https://doi.org/10.51675/jt.v14i1.73.

23 Ghufron Maksum, "Stagnasi Perkembangan Tafsir di Arab Saudi: Analisis Corak Penafsiran dan Faktor Sosial-Politik," *Alashriyyah* 11, no. 1 (2025): 87–100, https://doi.org/10.53038/alashriyyah.v11i1.247.

24 Michael Cook, *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction* (OUP Oxford, 2000), 214.

In addition, the standardization of the *mushaf* during the Umayyad period also played an important role in suppressing the potential for theological conflict due to differences in recitation. Differences in Arabic dialects and variations of *qirā'āt* that developed in the early period of Islam had the potential to give rise to disputes among the *ummah*. By making the 'Uthmānic *mushaf* the single reference in writing, the Umayyad Dynasty succeeded in maintaining the unity of the Qur'anic text, although variations of recitation orally were still recognized.[25]

Overall, the production of the Qur'an during the Umayyad Dynasty can be understood as a phase of consolidation and early institutionalization of the *mushaf* tradition. The main focus of this period was to maintain the purity and uniformity of the Qur'anic text in the midst of very rapid political and social expansion. Although in terms of aesthetics and technology it had not yet reached the level of maturity as in the Abbasid period, the foundation laid by the Umayyad Dynasty was very decisive for the direction of the development of Qur'anic production in the subsequent periods. It needs to be emphasized that the continuation of this standardization does not mean the freezing of the tradition of Qur'anic scholarship. On the contrary, it was precisely from the consistency of the 'Uthmānic *rasm* that various disciplines of Qur'anic sciences developed, such as the science of *qirā'āt*, *rasm al-Qur'ān*, and *ḍabṭ al-muṣḥaf*. In other words, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts during the Umayyad period became the foundation for the birth of a more systematic tradition of Qur'anic scholarship in the following period, especially during the Abbasid Dynasty.

The Production of Qur'anic Manuscripts during the Abbasid Period

Officially, the Abbasid Dynasty was established in 750 CE, replacing the Umayyad Dynasty, which in that year was successfully overthrown from the Islamic caliphate. The founder and at the same time the first caliph of the Abbasid Dynasty was 'Abdullāh al-Saffāḥ ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās, or better known by the name or title Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ. The rise of al-'Abbās to the seat of the caliphate had already been predicted by the Messenger of Allah SAW.[26] The Abbasid revolutionary movement was centered in the region of Khurasan and was led by key figures such as Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī. This revolution succeeded in overthrowing Umayyad power after the victory in the Battle of the Zab in 132 AH/750 CE. The last Umayyad caliph, Marwān ibn Muḥammad, was killed, marking the end of Umayyad power in the Islamic East.[27]

The transfer of power from the Umayyads to the Abbasids was not merely a change of dynasty, but also a transformation of the political, social, and intellectual paradigm in Islamic history. If the Umayyad Dynasty was Arab-centric in character and based on the Quraysh aristocracy, then the Abbasid Dynasty appeared with a

25 Ikma Pradesta Putra Prayitna dkk., "Sejarah Kodifikasi Ilmu Qira'at dan Urgensinya Sebagai Warisan Bacaan Al-Qur'an Yang Mutawatir," *Al-Fahmu: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 3, no. 1 (2024): 73–85, https://doi.org/10.58363/alfahmu.v3i1.182.

26 Ivan Fajriyanur dan Muhammad Alawilhuda, "Menilik Jejak Dinasty Abbsiyyah Dalam Perspektif Sejarah, Priodisasi, Dan Sisitem Pemerintahan Yang Mewarnai Peradapan Islam," *Ummul Qura Jurnal Institut Pesantren Sunan Drajat (INSUD) Lamongan* 9, no. 1 (2025): 10–17, https://doi.org/10.55352/uq.v9i1.1271.

27 Syaikh Muhammad Al-Khudari, *Bangkit Dan Runtuhnya Khilafah Bani Abbasiyah* (Pustaka Al-Kautsar, t.t.), 851.

cosmopolitan character, opening wide space for non-Arabs (especially Persians) in the structure of government and intellectual culture. This change had a great impact on the development of science, state administration, and religious traditions, including in the production and transmission of Qur'anic manuscripts.

Compared with the Umayyad Dynasty, the Abbasid Dynasty was far more glorious in the advancement of Islamic civilization. This is understandable, because the period of Abbasid rule was five times longer than the period of rule of the Umayyad Dynasty. In addition, many of the caliphs of the Banī 'Abbās also had high integrity, so that this also influenced the length of the golden age of Islam at that time. Furthermore, the name Abbasid used by the Abbasid Dynasty was actually taken from the name of their ancestor named al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim. In terms of lineage, al-'Abbās was very closely related to the family of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, namely both being of the family of Banū Hāshim. Al-'Abbās was the uncle of the noble Prophet Muhammad SAW. On the basis of this closeness of lineage, the descendants of al-'Abbās felt that they were the most entitled to become the heirs of Islamic government compared with the Umayyad Dynasty. This also became one of the motivations of the Banī 'Abbās in their effort to seize the caliphate from the Banī Umayyah. The Banī 'Abbās were descendants of the Banū Hāshim who had a very close blood relationship with 'Abdullāh, namely the father of the noble Prophet Muhammad SAW.[28]

One of the monumental steps of the Abbasid Dynasty was the transfer of the capital from Damascus to Baghdad during the time of Caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 158 AH/775 CE). Baghdad was designed as a political center as well as an intellectual center of the Islamic world. This city became a magnet for *ulama*, scholars, artists, and manuscript copyists from various regions of Islamic rule.[29] In this context, the Qur'an occupied a central position as the main source of the Islamic sciences and as a symbol of the religious authority of the state.

Baghdad was designed as the political, economic, and intellectual center of the Islamic world. This city became a symbol of the shift of Abbasid orientation from Arab-centrism toward cosmopolitanism. Under the Abbasids, various ethnicities and cultures, Arab, Persian, Turkish, and others, interacted intensively. This condition encouraged the development of a very fertile intellectual tradition and writing culture, making Baghdad the center of world civilization in its time.

The Abbasid period is often referred to as the golden age of Islamic civilization, especially in the early period (8th to 10th centuries CE). In this period, Islamic sciences such as *tafsīr*, *qirā'āt*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and the sciences of the Arabic language developed rapidly. This development was directly related to the need for a Qur'anic text that was accurate, preserved, and easily accessible.[30] Therefore, attention to the writing, copying, and preservation of the Qur'anic *mushaf* increased further.

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28 Syofiah Pribadi dkk., "Sejarah Dinasti Abbasiyah: Sistim Politik, Sistim Peradilan, Dan Manajemen Kepemeimpinan," *Attractive : Innovative Education Journal* 5, no. 2 (2023): 715–29, https://doi.org/10.51278/aj.v5i2.681.

29 Azizah dkk., "Dinasti Abbasiyyah: Jejak Sejarah dan Peradaban Islam Yang Gemilang," *Jurnal Integrasi Pengetahuan Disiplin* 6, no. 1 (2025), https://ijurnal.com/1/index.php/jipd/article/view/409.

30 Muhamad Hazim dkk., "Pemikiran Dan Peradaban Islam Dinasti Umayyah Dan Abbasiyah: Kajian Historis Dan Relevansi Warisan Intelektual Dan Peradaban Islam Dalam Dunia Kontemporer," *AL-*

In addition, the Abbasid Dynasty was also known for its support of the translation movement and the development of science through institutions such as Bayt al-Ḥikmah. Although the main focus of this institution was the rational sciences and science, the intellectual climate that was created also encouraged the development of written culture, including in the tradition of Qur'anic manuscripts. The production of manuscripts was no longer limited to the interests of the state, but became part of the scholarly and religious life of Muslim society. In the religious field, the Banī 'Abbās played an important role in the codification and institutionalization of the Islamic sciences. In this period, the disciplines of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and the sciences of the Arabic language were compiled systematically. The great schools of *fiqh* such as the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfi'ī, and Ḥanbalī developed and gained a place in the socio-religious structure.[31] he Qur'an was positioned as the center of the authority of knowledge and law, so that attention to its writing, teaching, and preservation increased further.

Politically, the Abbasid Dynasty experienced complex dynamics. After the period of early glory, Abbasid power slowly weakened due to territorial fragmentation, the emergence of autonomous dynasties such as the Aghlabids, the Tulunids, the Buyids, and later the Seljuks. Although formally recognizing the Abbasid caliph, these dynasties in practice ran their governments independently.[32] As well as the domination of the Turkish military. Nevertheless, the religious authority of the Abbasids as the guardian of the symbols of Islam, including the Qur'an, remained recognized until the fall of Baghdad due to the Mongol attack under the leadership of Hulagu Khan in 656 AH/1258 CE. Meanwhile, real power was in the hands of the *amīrs* and military commanders. Internal conflicts, economic crises, and sectarian tensions further weakened the stability of the state. Thus, although politically it experienced ups and downs, the Abbasid Dynasty still played a key role in shaping the intellectual and religious tradition of Islam. In this context, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts during the Abbasid period must be understood not only as a technical activity of copying the text, but as an integral part of the scholarly, religious, and cultural system of Islam that developed rapidly for more than five centuries. Thus, the history of the Banī 'Abbās is a long narrative about the transformation of Islamic civilization. This dynasty did not only play a role as a political entity, but also as the main driver of the development of science, culture, and the religious tradition of Islam. The Abbasid legacy, especially in the fields of scholarship and written culture, continues to influence the Islamic world up to the modern period and has become an important foundation in the history of human civilization.

The Production of Qur'anic Manuscripts during the Abbasid Period

The production of Qur'anic manuscripts during the Abbasid Dynasty marked a phase of maturity of the Islamic manuscript tradition. If during the Umayyad period the main focus of *mushaf* production was the standardization and stability of the

MUADDIB: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Kependidikan 7, no. 2 (April 2025): 629–42, https://doi.org/10.46773/muaddib.v7i2.1794.

31 Rusdiyah Rusdiyah dkk., "Situasi Keilmuan Dan Keagamaan Pada Masa Lahirnya Imam Mazhab," Interdisciplinary Explorations in Research Journal 3, no. 1 (2025): 198–209.

32 Rizem Aizid, *Selayang Pandang Dinasti Seljuk* (Diva Press, 2023).,100.

text, then during the Abbasid period the production of Qur'anic manuscripts developed in broader dimensions, covering philological, aesthetic, technological, and institutional aspects. As a continuation of the Umayyad Dynasty, with its founder and at the same time first caliph being 'Abdullāh al-Saffāḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās, on the basis of the abuse of power of the previous dynasty. Related to the development of Qur'anic manuscripts in this era, it was during the time of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809 CE).

During the Abbasid period, the *naskhī* and *thuluth* scripts developed, which were later standardized through the system of proportioned script (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*) by Ibn Muqlah (d. 328 AH/940 CE) and perfected by Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413 AH/1022 CE). One of the oldest *mushafs* written in the *naskhī* script is the *mushaf* by Ibn al-Bawwāb, copied in Baghdad in 391 AH/1000–1001 CE. It was this *naskhī* script that later became the basis of the printed typeface of the Qur'an, including the first printing of the Qur'an with movable type, produced in Venice around 1537–1538 CE by Paganino and Alessandro Paganini. Different from the manuscripts of the Umayyad period, many early Abbasid *mushafs* were written in a horizontal format with few lines on each page, so that one complete *mushaf* was often copied in several volumes.[33] The New Abbasid Style only began at the end of the 9th century CE and was used to copy the Qur'an until the 12th century and perhaps even until the end of the 13th century. Unlike the manuscripts copied with the Early Abbasid scripts, the manuscripts have a vertical format. In this period, al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 786 CE) designed the system of *tashkīl* to replace the system of Abū al-Aswad.[34] His system has been used universally since the beginning of the 11th century, and includes six marks, namely *fatḥah*, *ḍammah*, *kasrah*, *sukūn*, *tashdīd*, and *madd*.

Another central figure in this period was Abū Bakr ibn Mujāhid (d. 324 AH/936 CE). His aim was to limit the number of reliable readings and to accept only readings that were based on a sufficiently uniform consonantal text. He chose seven prominent Qur'an teachers of the 2nd century [AH] and declared that all of their readings had divine authority, which other readings did not have. He based this on a popular hadith stating that the Prophet Muhammad SAW said the Qur'an was revealed to [him] in "seven *aḥruf*". In this period, there were strong Qur'anic traditions in Kufa, Basra, Medina, Damascus, and Mecca.[35] Therefore, the effort to limit the number of canonical readings to seven could not be accepted by everyone, and there was strong support for alternative readings in most of these five cities. At present, the reading most commonly used is the reading of 'Āṣim al-Kūfī through [the transmission of] Ḥafṣ.

Material evidence of Abbasid *mushaf* production can be found in manuscript collections in various libraries of the world, such as in Istanbul, Cairo, Tehran, Paris, and London. These manuscripts show a high level of precision in copying, consistency of layout, as well as visual beauty that reflects the integration between

33 Amyn Sajoo, *A Companion to Muslim Cultures*, 2011, 1–256.

34 J. R. Osborn, Letters of Light: Arabic Script in Calligraphy, Print, and Digital Design (Harvard University Press, 2017), 192.

35 Azis Anwar Fachrudin, *Linguistik Arab: Pengantar Sejarah dan Mazhab* (DIVA PRESS, 2021).

knowledge, art, and religiosity.[36] Thus, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts during the Abbasid Dynasty can be understood as the peak of the development of the Qur'anic manuscript tradition in pre-print Islamic civilization. This tradition not only guaranteed the accurate preservation of the Qur'anic text, but also gave birth to an intellectual and artistic legacy that has had a great influence up to the modern period. It was this foundation built during the Abbasid period that later became the basis for the *mushaf* tradition in the Islamic world, including during the Ottoman Turkish period and the era of printing.

The Production of Qur'anic Manuscripts in the Pre-Print and Print Periods

The production of Qur'anic manuscripts in the pre-print period was one of the most important phases in the history of the transmission and preservation of the holy text of Islam. The pre-print period refers to the time before the discovery of modern printing technology in the Islamic world, especially before the 18th century CE, when the Qur'an was entirely produced through manual copying (manuscript culture).[37] In this period, the Qur'an was not only understood as a text of revelation that was read and memorized, but also as a material artifact produced through complex social, intellectual, and artistic processes.

Entering the period of the Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn, especially during the time of Caliph Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts began to be directed toward efforts of codification and standardization of the text. The 'Uthmānic *mushaf* that was produced became the main reference for all production of Qur'anic manuscripts in the pre-print period. Since then, every *mushaf* produced was basically a copy of the tradition of the 'Uthmānic *rasm*, although in practice graphic and orthographic variations of a non-substantive nature were still found. In the pre-print period, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts depended entirely on human labor, namely professional copyists (*nussākh*), *ulama*, and calligraphers. The process of copying the *mushaf* was not merely a mechanical activity, but was regarded as an act of worship that required precision, piety, and spiritual discipline. Many *mushaf* copyists performed certain rituals before writing, such as performing ablution (*wuḍū'*) and reciting prayers, as a form of reverence for the sanctity of the Qur'an. This shows that the production of Qur'anic manuscripts in the pre-print period was within a very strong religious framework.[38]

In the aspect of writing, the pre-print period witnessed a major evolution in the art of Arabic calligraphy. Early *mushafs* were written in simple writing styles such as the *ḥijāzī* script and early *kūfī*, which emphasized clarity of letter forms. Over time, especially during the Abbasid period and afterwards, various calligraphic styles developed, such as *naskh*, *thuluth*, *muḥaqqaq*, and *rayḥānī*. Each writing style carried a certain visual character that reflected the development of aesthetics and

36 Achmad Yafik Mursyid, "Paradigma Penelitian Manuskrip Al-Qur'an: dari Diskursus ke Metodologi," *Islamika : Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 21, no. 02 (2022): 77–95, https://doi.org/10.32939/islamika.v21i02.817.

37 Nur Sobers-Khan, Layli Uddin, dan Priyanka Basu, *Beyond Colonial Rupture: Print Culture and the Emergence of Muslim Modernity in Nineteenth-Century South Asia*, Brill, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1163/25899996-20230010.

38 Wardah Alkatiri dkk., American Journal of Islam and Society (AJIS) - Volume 39 Issues 3-4 (International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), 2023), 280-281.

cultural taste in its time.[39] Calligraphy in pre-print *mushafs* did not only function as a medium of text, but also as a highly valued expression of Islamic art.

Another important aspect in the production of pre-print Qur'anic manuscripts was the development of the system of reading marks and the supporting sciences of the Qur'an. In the early period, *mushafs* were written without diacritical dots and vowel marks, so that they could only be read correctly by fluent Arabic speakers. However, along with the spread of Islam to non-Arab regions, there arose a need to facilitate the reading of the Qur'an. Therefore, the system of *i'jām* (letter dots) and vowel marks (*ḥarakāt*) began to be developed and perfected.[40] The production of pre-print *mushafs* in the classical period was almost always equipped with complete reading marks, reflecting philological and pedagogical progress in Qur'anic studies.

The transition from the pre-print manuscript culture to printing technology not only brought technological impacts, but also gave rise to significant theological, social, and institutional consequences. The print era changed the way the Qur'an was produced, disseminated, and accessed by Muslims, while at the same time demanding new mechanisms for maintaining the authenticity and sacredness of the text.[41] The earliest known printings of the Qur'an appeared in Europe in the 17th century, such as the Hamburg edition (1694), which was printed by Western orientalists. However, this edition was not widely used by Muslims because it contained many errors. Only in the 19th century did the Islamic world begin to accept printing technology, after methods were found that were able to guarantee the accuracy of the text.[42]

Another important development was the emergence of official institutions responsible for the publication and supervision of the Qur'anic *mushaf*. In the 20th century, many Muslim countries established special institutions to ensure the accuracy of the printed Qur'anic text.[43] From the technical side, the production of the printed Qur'an underwent rapid development along with the advancement of printing technology. The technique of lead type printing (letterpress) used in the early stages was gradually replaced by offset and digital printing technology. This development enabled the printing of *mushafs* in large quantities with a high level of precision. In addition, modern printing technology also enabled variations in the size, design, and format of the *mushaf*, ranging from large *mushafs* for mosques to pocket *mushafs* for personal use.[44]

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39 S. M. V. Mousavi Jazayeri, Perette E. Michelli, dan Saad D. Abulhab, *A Handbook of Early Arabic Kufic Script: Reading, Writing, Calligraphy, Typography, Monograms* (Blautopf Publishing, 2017), 300.

40 Zaenal Arifin Madzkur, "Harakat dan Tanda Baca Mushaf Al-Qur'an Standar Indonesia dalam Perspektif Ilmu Dabt," *SUHUF* 7, no. 1 (2015): 1–23, https://doi.org/10.22548/shf.v7i1.20.

41 Ahmad Hotib HS, *Kitab Misbah al-Zalam Karya Syaikh Muhammad Muhajirin Amsar al-Dary dalam Perspektif Dakwah bi al-Qalam* (Penerbit A-Empat, 2020), 229.

42 Arjan Van Dijk, "Early Printed Qur'ans: The Dissemination of the Qur'an in the West," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 7, no. 2 (2005): 136–43, https://doi.org/10.3366/jqs.2005.7.2.136.

43 Sri Sukamto, "Sejarah Perkembangan Penulisan Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir di Indonesia," *AL-MIKRAJ Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora (E-ISSN 2745-4584)* 5, no. 01 (2024): 1341–53, https://doi.org/10.37680/almikraj.v5i01.6268.

44 F itriatus Shalihah, "Media Islam dan Kesalehan Publik: Kajian terhadap Ragam Cetakan Al-Qur'an Kontemporer di Indonesia," *Nun: Jurnal Studi Alquran dan Tafsir di Nusantara* 7, no. 2 (2022): 301–28, https://doi.org/10.32495/nun.v7i2.244.

In the context of globalization, the production of the printed Qur'an has become an industry of international scale. Qur'anic *mushafs* are printed and distributed to various corners of the world, reaching Muslim communities in minority regions. This phenomenon brings a positive impact in the form of increased access to the Qur'an, but also gives rise to new challenges related to the supervision of the quality and accuracy of the text..[45] Therefore, cooperation between countries and religious institutions has become increasingly important in maintaining the standards of the modern Qur'anic *mushaf*. Thus, the production of Qur'anic manuscripts in the print period or modern era cannot be understood solely as a technological innovation. It is a historical process that involves the adaptation of religious tradition to the changes of the times, as well as a continuous effort to maintain the authenticity and sanctity of the Qur'anic text. The print era has changed the face of Muslims' interaction with the Qur'an, from a text whose access was relatively limited to a holy book that is widely available and easily reachable, without losing its religious authority.

Conclusion

The production of Qur'anic manuscripts during the Umayyad and Abbasid Dynasties shows two continuous phases in the history of the transmission of the Qur'anic text. During the Umayyad period, *mushaf* production was oriented toward the consolidation of the text. *Mushafs* were copied on parchment in the *ḥijāzī* and early *kūfī* scripts, strictly following the 'Uthmānic *rasm*, and began to be equipped with the vowel dots pioneered by Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī to facilitate reading, especially for non-Arab Muslims. Their production took place within the framework of centralized state policy, particularly under 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, so that the *mushaf* functioned as a symbol of textual unity and political-religious legitimacy.

During the Abbasid period, *mushaf* production entered a phase of maturity. In terms of materials, paper gradually began to replace parchment. In terms of script, the Early Abbasid scripts developed, followed by the New Abbasid Style, and then the *naskhī* and *thuluth* scripts, whose proportions were standardized by Ibn Muqlah and perfected by Ibn al-Bawwāb. The format of the *mushaf* shifted from horizontal and multi-volume toward a vertical format. The *shakl* system of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī replaced the dotting system of Abū al-Aswad, while illumination and binding became increasingly elaborate. In terms of agents of production, the role of the state was no longer dominant; professional copyists (*nussākh*), scholars, and institutions such as mosques and libraries became the main actors, supported by the growth of a manuscript market and of scholarly disciplines such as *qirā'āt*, which was standardized by, among others, Ibn Mujāhid. A comparison of these two periods shows that changes in *mushaf* production moved from a political-normative orientation toward a scholarly and aesthetic orientation, without altering the structure of the consonantal text inherited from the 'Uthmānic *mushaf*. Conservatism toward the text and innovation in material, visual, and institutional aspects went hand in hand. Amid ethnic and cultural diversity, the *mushaf* functioned as a unifying symbol that transcended geographical and social

45 Hafiz Muhammad Tahir Al-Mustafa, "The Official Indonesian Qur'ān Translation, The History and Politics of Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya," *Journal of Religious and Social Studies* 2, no. 02 Jul-Dec (2022): 90–92, https://doi.org/10.53583/jrss.v02i02.06.2022.

boundaries. The *mushaf* was not only a means of transmitting revelation, but also the material embodiment of the authority of the Qur'anic text, built, preserved, and represented by Muslim society over time.

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