

On Sheikh Hamdullah's Muşhaf Writing Technique

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Makale Bilgisi / Article Information

Makale Türü / Article Types: Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Geliş Tarihi / Received: 2 Haziran / June 2025

Kabul Tarihi / Accepted: 29 Ekim / October 2025

Yayın Tarihi / Published: 30 Kasım / November 2025

Yayın Sezonu / Pub. Date Season: Özel Sayı / Special Issue

Sayı / Issue: 26 **Sayfa /Page:** 79-108

Atıf / Cite as: Yücel, Hasan. "On Sheikh Hamdullah's Muşhaf Writing Technique [Şeyh Hamdullah'ın Mushaf Yazım Tekniği Üzerine]". *Amasya İlahiyat Dergisi-Amasya Theology Journal* 26 (November 2025): 79-108.

<https://doi.org/10.18498/amailad.1712210>

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On Sheikh Hamdullah's Muṣḥaf Writing Technique

Abstract

The study attempts to determine the Muṣḥaf writing technique of the famous Amasya calligrapher Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi by analysing two different Muṣḥafs he wrote. This analysis is planned to be made within the scope of the transformations or changes that occurred in the history of the Muṣḥaf. These transformations or changes can be briefly listed as the addition of the diacritical dots expressing the vowels (harakāt) by Abu'l-Aswad al-Dualī, the addition of the skeleton dots that enable the letters to be distinguished by Nasr b. Asim, the determination of today's harakāt and dots by Khalil b. Ahmad, the addition of the hemze sign (ء) to the Muṣḥaf by Khalil b. Ahmad again, the addition of stop signs by Muhammad b. Tayfūr al-Sajāwandī, innovations in calligraphy and illumination, and finally the addition of verse numbers. In this respect, the study includes a new methodological approach to the analysis of the Muṣḥaf through the form of analysis it applies. Firstly, the biography of Sheikh Hamdullah will be given in the study. Then, two Muṣḥafs written by Sheikh Hamdullah, will be analysed and introduced. The first of these is the Muṣḥaf in the Topkapı Palace Museum, which Sheikh Hamdullah wrote for Sultan Bayezid II, and the other is the Muṣḥaf in the Ankara Ethnography Museum. Subsequently, these two Muṣḥafs will be analysed technically in terms of whether they contain the aforementioned changes or not. As a result, the technical features of the Mushaf in question will be examined, and it will be evaluated whether Sheikh Hamdullah's Mushaf adds a new quality to the history of Mushafs. Additionally, it will be discussed whether it has had an influence on the Mushafs written after him. Thus, Sheikh Hamdullah's Muṣḥaf writing technique will be tried to be revealed. As a result of the findings and evaluations made in the study, it is seen that Sheikh Hamdullah wrote Muṣḥaf by taking into account the transformations or changes that occurred in the history of Muṣḥaf until the period he lived. In addition, it was concluded that Sheikh Hamdullah had a Muṣḥaf writing technique that would take the present Muṣḥaf writing technique one step further, especially in the field of writing style (calligraphy). On the other hand, in the two Muṣḥafs analysed, it was observed that Sheikh Hamdullah used different secāvends from time to time in the same places; it was even found that he added new stop signs or preferred to use fewer stop signs. In this framework, these findings are considered as clues that Sheikh Hamdullah was trying to improve

his own writing technique, since it is not known which one of the Muşhafs he wrote before.

Keywords: Qur'anic Studies, Muşhaf, History of Muşhaf, Sheikh Hamdullah, Sultan Bayezid II, Naskh script.

Şeyh Hamdullah'ın Mushaf Yazım Tekniği Üzerine

Öz

Çalışma, meşhur Amasyalı hattat Şeyh Hamdullah'ın mushaf yazım tekniğini, kaleme aldığı iki ayrı mushafı analiz ederek tespit etmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu analizin mushaf tarihinde meydana gelen dönüşüm ya da değişimler kapsamında yapılması planlanmıştır. Bu dönüşüm ya da değişimler kısaca Ebu'l-Esved ed-Düeli tarafından hareke ifade eden noktaların eklenmesi, Nasr b. Âsım tarafından harflerin ayırddilmesini sağlayan noktaların eklenmesi, Halil b. Ahmed tarafından bugünkü hareke ve noktaların belirlenmesi ile mushafa hemze işaretinin (ة) eklenmesi, Muhammed b. Tayfûr es-Secâvendî tarafından durak işaretlerinin eklenmesi, hat ve tezhibe dair yenilikler, son olarak da ayet numaralarının eklenmesi şeklinde sıralanabilir. Bu yönüyle çalışma, uygulamakta olduğu analiz biçimiyle mushaf analizi hususunda yeni bir yöntem denemesi içermektedir. Çalışmada ilk olarak Şeyh Hamdullah'ın biyografisine yer verilecektir. Ardından incelenecek olan Şeyh Hamdullah'a ait iki mushafın tanıtımı yapılacaktır. Bunlardan ilki Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde bulunan ve Şeyh Hamdullah'ın Sultan II. Bayezid için yazdığı Mushaf, diğeri ise Ankara Etnografya Müzesi'nde bulunan Mushaftır. Akabinde bu iki Mushaf, zikredilen değişimleri içerip içermedikleri bakımından teknik olarak analiz edilecektir. Neticede söz konusu Mushafların teknik olarak mushaf özellikleri ortaya konulmaya çalışılacak, Şeyh Hamdullah'ın mushaf tarihi içerisinde mushafa dair yeni bir nitelik kazandırıp kazandırmadığı değerlendirilecek ve kendisinden sonra yazılan mushaflara etkisinin olup olmadığı tartışılacaktır. Böylece Şeyh Hamdullah'ın mushaf yazım tekniği ortaya konulmaya çalışılacaktır. Çalışmada elde edilen bulgular ve yapılan değerlendirmeler neticesinde, Şeyh Hamdullah'ın yaşadığı döneme dek mushaf tarihinde meydana gelen dönüşüm ya da değişimleri dikkate alarak mushaf yazdığı görülmüştür. Ayrıca Şeyh Hamdullah'ın mushaf yazımı hususunda özellikle yazı biçimi (hat) alanında mevcudu bir kademe ileri götürecek nitelikte bir mushaf yazım tekniğine sahip olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Öte yandan incelenen iki mushafta Şeyh Hamdullah'ın aynı yerlerde zaman zaman farklı secâvendler kullandığı

görülmüş; hatta yeni durak işaretleri eklediği ya da daha az durak işareti kullanmayı tercih ettiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu çerçevede elde edilen bulgular, Şeyh Hamdullah'ın kendi mushaf yazım tekniğini geliştirmeye çalıştığına dair ipuçları olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Zira kendisinin hangi mushafı daha önce yazdığı bilinmemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tefsir, Mushaf, Mushaf Tarihi, Şeyh Hamdullah, II. Bayezid, Nesih hattı.

Introduction

Muşhaf is the name given to the physical version of the entire Qur'anic revelation sent by Allah to Muhammad (pbuh) through Gabriel, compiled between two covers. The first person to do this in history was Abu Bakr. So, we can say that the writing of muşhaf started with him. So, we can say that the writing of Muşhaf started with it. Each Muşhaf naturally carries the spelling characteristics of the period in which it was written. For example, the Muşhafs written or copied during the caliphate of Abu Bakr and Uthman could represent the 28 letters of modern Arabic with 15 shapes, due to the script of the period. Over time, with the development of writing, the Muşhaf script also developed. In fact, we can say that the main factor that accelerated the development of Arabic script was the effort to ensure the correct reading of the Qur'an. In the other words, we think it would be more accurate to say 'The development of the Muşhaf script led to the development of the Arabic script'.

In the historical process from the first Muşhaf to today, the changes in the Muşhaf have not only been limited to writing and spelling, but a series of changes, transformations or developments have taken place, mainly focused on meeting a need. We can list these transformations chronologically as follows:

1. Addition of Diacritical Dots Expressing Vowel Points (Harakāt) to the Muşhaf by Abu al-Aswad al-Duelî (d. 69/688)
2. Adding the Skeleton Dots that Distinguish the Letters to the Muşhaf by Nasr b. Asim (d. 89/708)
3. Determination of the shapes of Today's Vowel Diacritical Dots (Harakāt) by Halil b. Ahmed (d. 175/791)

4. Addition of the Hamza Sign (ء) to the Muşhaf by Halil b. Ahmed (d. 175/791)

5. Addition of Stop Signs to the Muşhaf by Muhammad b. Tayfûr al-Sajawandî (d. 560/1165)

6. Innovations in Calligraphy and Illumination / Under the leadership of Ibn al-Bavvâb (d. 413/1022)

7. Adding Verse Numbers to the Muşhaf by Abraham Hinckellmann (1694)

8. Development of Computer Aided Muşhaf Script / 21. century Republican Period

In this article, it will be examined comparatively whether these technical changes in the history of Muşhaf are followed by Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi (d. 926/1520) in his muşhafs or not, by analysing his Muşhaf¹ written specifically for the recitation of Sultan Bayezid II (d. 918/1512) and the other Muşhaf he wrote, which is preserved in Ankara Ethnography Museum.² Thus, we will try to get an idea about his Muşhaf writing technique. The fact that previous studies on Sheikh Hamdullah focused on his life and the artistic aspects of his works, especially calligraphy and illumination,³ was effective in limiting our article to the scope we stated. On the other hand, we would like to point out that we

¹ Hamdullah b. Mustafa, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, III. Ahmed Koleksiyonu, 5, 377, 1503). In the comparison section of the article, this Muşhaf will be referred to as Hamdullah's first Muşhaf.

² Hamdullah b. Mustafa, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif- Tıpkı Basım* (Ankara: Ankara Etnografya Müzesi, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991, 736). In the comparison section of the article, this Muşhaf will be referred to as Hamdullah's second Muşhaf.

³ Muhittin Serin, "Hamdullah Efendi, Şeyh", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006), 15/449-452; Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Yayınları), 2007; Muhittin Serin, *Kıbletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Muşhaf-ı Şerif* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2016); SüleymanBerk, "Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi Kur'an Koleksiyonundan Nâdir Bir Muşhaf: 'Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi'nin 350 Yıl Sonra Tamamlanan Muşhafi'", *Journal of Istanbul University Faculty of Theology* 34 (Haziran 2016), 139-171; Hilal Kazan, "Şeyh Hamdullah ve Neslinin İstinsah Ettiği Muşhaflar (Arşiv Belgeleri Çerçevesinde)", *İn Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Kur'an ve Hüsn-i Hat*. ed. Recep Orhan Özel (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2017), 251-265; Bünyamin Erul, "Amasyalı Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah'ın Bir Hadis Derlemesi Üzerine", *Uluslararası Amasya Âlimleri Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı-I*, ed. Şuayip Özdemir vd. (Ankara: Kibatek Yayınları, Aralık 2017), 24.

could not find any study conducted in this context regarding both these two Muşhafs that we are examining and Sheikh Hamdullah's other Muşhafs. In this respect, we think and hope that our article will add a new dimension to the field of Muşhaf studies.

Considering that the tahrîr/writing of the first of the Muşhafs we are examining was completed in 909/1503, and that the date of the other one is unknown, it should have been completed in 1520, the date of the calligrapher's death, at the latest, it can be assumed that all of the transformations mentioned above took place in these two Muşhafs, except for the last two. Therefore, it can be considered that the Muşhafs have a technically advanced structure. This study aims to bring this preliminary evaluation to a technically definitive conclusion. In line with this goal, the study will not examine the artistic qualities of the relevant Muşhafs, such as the size of the letters written, the elegance of the calligraphy, and the illumination qualities,⁴ but the script size of the Muşhafs will be reviewed only to the extent of revealing the basic aspects and the transformation in Muşhaf writing.

It is stated in the works which deal with the life of Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi that there were two periods in his artistic life: Amasya and Istanbul. Roughly, what he wrote while in Amasya can be described as the period when the Yâkût style was dominant, and what he wrote in Istanbul can be described as the period when he revealed his own style. This distinction between Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi's writings is evident from his early period (his works recorded in Topkapı Palace Museum, Ahmed III, nr. 1996 and Süleymaniye Library, Hagia Sophia, nr. 3740) and his late period or mature period writing samples (Istanbul University). The above mentioned features can be easily seen when the Muşhafs in the Rare Works Library (AY, no. 6662) and the Muşhafs written by Yâkut el-Musta'sımî (for example, the Muşhaf registered in the Istanbul University Library (AY, no. 6680)) are examined mutually.⁵ The relevant works state that the naskh script he developed was adopted as the Muşhaf script after him, and that from then on, the Muşhaf was written only with this script:

⁴ For evaluations that reveal these aspects of the work in detail, see. Serin, *Kıbletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Muşhaf-ı Şerîf*, 64-66.

⁵ Serin, "Hamdullah Efendi, Şeyh", 15/449-452.

The fact that Naskh script became admirably beautiful and easy to read with the Sheikh Hamdullah school caused it to be preferred as the script of books and Muşhaf. The text of the Muşhaf was written only in naskh, ensuring continuity in the text and easiness of reading; Certainly, the Yâkût writing of the Muşhaf, in which basilisk or aklâm-ı sitte was used mixedly, was abandoned over time, and instead, the tradition of writing Muşhafs with the naskh script developed by Sheikh Hamdullah became dominant throughout the Islamic world. Moreover, the page layout and line spacing found their best dimensions in Sheikh Hamdullah, and with his style; the Muşhaf script achieved elegance, simplicity, continuity and cuteness.⁶

This success of Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi should be added to the items we have tried to identify above, as an important transformation that took place in the history of Muşhaf. In our opinion, the fact that the script he developed was later accepted as *the Muşhaf script* is sufficient reason for this.

It is reported that Sheikh Hamdullah, who has many works written in *aklâm-ı sitte scripts/styles* in various museums, libraries and private collections, has a total of 47 Muşhafs written either during the Amasya period or the Istanbul period.

Following this introduction, the study will firstly include Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi's biography, and then the technical Muşhaf features of the two Muşhafs in question will be presented comparatively. Thus, it will be determined whether these two Muşhafs brought a new quality to the Muşhaf within the history of the Muşhaf or not, and whether they had an impact on the Muşhafs written after them or not; It will be discussed whether the writing techniques of the two Muşhafs are the same, that is, whether the calligrapher used a single method in writing the Muşhaf, or whether he experienced any change or transformation within his writing style or not. In other words, Sheikh Hamdullah's Muşhaf writing technique will be tried to be revealed.

1. Biography of Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi (d. 926/1520)

Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi, who is considered the founder of the Ottoman calligraphy art/school, was born in the Eslem Hatun neighborhood of Amasya, in 840/1436, according to Müstakimzâde. Although there are different opinions about the date of his birth, such as 830, 833, the date 840, which is stated by Müstakimzâde, has gained the

⁶ Serin, "Hamdullah Efendi, Şeyh", 15/451.

acceptance of the majority. Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi is a member of the Sarıkadıızâdeler family from Amasya. Sources recorded that his father Mustafa Dede, sheikh of Sühreverdîyye, or his grandfather Sarıkadı Rukneddin Mahmud, was among the saints who migrated from Bukhara to Amasya. Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi is known for the titles sheikh, ibnu's-sheikh, kibletu'l-kuttâb, kutbu'l-kuttâb, sheikhu'r-râmiyân.

Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi learnt sciences regarding religious, language and literature from Hatib Kasım Efendi. He acquired authorization/ijazah from Hayreddin Mar'ashî in Amasya, where is considered the cradle of calligraphy, in the six types of writing that he studied, namely aklâm-ı sitte, as it is commonly called. He wrote his writings in the style of Yâkut el-Musta'sımî (d. 698/1299), which was common in Anatolia at that time.⁷ During his principedom Bayezid II appointed Sheikh Hamdullah as his calligraphy teacher and acquired authorization/ijazah from him. On the other hand, he completed his Seyr u Suluk with his father Sheikh Mustafa Dede and became the caliph, on which is probably his nickname Sheikh is based. It is estimated that the background of his acquaintance and friendship with Sultan Bayezid II was his father's huzur lessons / peace courses.

Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi married the daughter of his uncle, Celâleddin Amasî, one of the famous calligraphers of the period; He had a daughter and a son. His son named Mustafa will be a calligrapher like him in the future. When Bayezid II ascended to the throne, he invited Sheikh Hamdullah to Istanbul, so Sheikh Hamdullah settled in Istanbul with his family. Sheikh Hamdullah, who started to produce his most beautiful works after being assigned to the palace, used the title 'kâtibü's-Sultân Bâyezîd Han - calligrapher of Sultan Bayezid Khan' in the title of his works.

The funeral prayer of Sheikh Hamdullah, who died at the age of eighty-four during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, was performed by Sheikhu'l-Islam Zenbilli Ali Efendi at the Hagia Sophia Mosque, and then he was buried in Üsküdar Karacaahmet Cemetery. Many famous calligraphers were buried near the grave of Sheikh Hamdullah, and over time, this place was named Sheikh's Sofa.

⁷ Berk, "Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi'nin 350 Yıl Sonra Tamamlanan Muşhafı", 145.

2. Introduction of Sheikh Hamdullah's Two Muşhaf

2.1. Introduction of the Muşhaf He Wrote for Sultan Bayezid II

The Muşhaf is catalogued under number 5 in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ahmed III collection. In the work, the date of writing was recorded as 909 by Sheikh Hamdullah himself. The Muşhaf, illustrated by Hasan b. Abdullah, measures 32.1 x 23 cm; the text area, where the verses are written, is 20 x 13 cm in size. The pages of the Muşhaf, which consists of 377 leaves, that is 754 pages, are designed as 11 lines, and the page number is written on each page. High-quality paper, black soot ink, gold and ornamental paints are used for the Muşhaf.⁸

It is known that the works written by Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi are rarely dated. In this Muşhaf, as just mentioned, the date was written by himself. The relevant record is as follows:

صدق الله العظيم وبلغ رسوله الكريم ونحن على ذلك من الشاهدين وكتب حمد الله المعروف بابن الشيخ في اوان شبيهه مع اشتعال شعره وارتعاش راسه والمامل من الكرم العفو عن زلل القلم في تاريخ سنة تسع وتسعمائة.

Allah Almighty spoke the truth, and His esteemed messenger conveyed it, and we are among those who bear witness to it. Hamdullah, known as Ibnu's-Sheikh, wrote this in the year 909, when his hair was turning gray and his head was trembling, hoping for forgiveness for his slips of the pen (in the writing) from the generosity of (Almighty Allah).⁹

The Muşhaf was specially prepared for the recitations of Sultan Bayezid II. This information is recorded on page 371b of the Muşhaf with the following expressions:¹⁰

تلاوة سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين، برهان الغزاة والمجاهدين، ثم لإجراء أحكام الكتاب المبين، المجاهد في أحكام الشرع المتين، بايزيد بن سلطان محمد خان.

For the recitation of Sultan Bayezid, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, the sultan of Islam and Muslims, the leader of fighters and mujahideen, the enforcer of the provisions of the Clear Book, the son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, who strived for the provisions of the everlasting sharia...¹¹

The Muşhaf, written according to Asim recitation in naskh script, belongs to the Istanbul period of Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi's artistic life. So much so that the Muşhaf has been described as a unique work that represents all the rules and features of the breakthrough it opened in

⁸ Serin, *Kıbletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Musahaf-ı Şerif*, 58.

⁹ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif-Topkapı*, 371a.

¹⁰ Serin, *Kıbletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Musahaf-ı Şerif*, 62.

¹¹ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif-Topkapı*, 371b.

naskh script and Muşhaf writing.¹² In a study giving information about the Muşhaf, it was noted that the Muşhaf was copied with the script of 'naskh and rikā'.¹³ However, this expression may mislead the reader into thinking that one part of the Muşhaf is written in naskh script and the other part is written in rikā'. Similarly, Serin noted the script of the Muşhaf as naskh, rikā' and nasta'lik, which can be considered as an identity card, in which he gave technical information about the Muşhaf.¹⁴ However, as Serin clearly states in the following pages of the same work, the entire text of the Qur'an is written in naskh script in the related Muşhaf; in order not to be confused with the text of the Qur'an, the names of the surahs, the writings of the ornamented parts-such as ta'shīr, juz' and the notes on manuscript such as ketebe and ferağ are written in rik'a script. The Qur'an fortune (Kur'an Falı) at the end of the Muşhaf was written in Nasta'lik script, and the khatim prayer, which was later added by another calligrapher, was written in Naskh script. Therefore, we can say that it has become clear that the text of the Qur'an in the Muşhaf was not written in two separate scripts, but was written only in naskh script, and this aspect can be tested by a quick examination of the related Muşhaf.

There are expressions on page 371a, at the bottom margin of the Muşhaf, and on page 371b, which explain by whom and why the work was written; the Qur'an fortune between 372b-374a; between 374b and 377b, there is the khatam al-Qur'an prayer added by Sultan Mehmed IV.

¹² Serin, *Kibletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Musahaf-ı Şerîf*, 64. For detailed information about the work's calligraphy, illumination, binding, etc. and the records such as ketebe, ferağ, etc. in the work, see: Serin, *Kibletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Musahaf-ı Şerîf*, 62-75.

¹³ Hilal Kazan, "Şeyh Hamdullah ve Neslinin İstinsah Ettiği Muşhaflar (Arşiv Belgeleri Çerçevesinde)." *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Kur'an ve Hüsn-i Hat*, ed. Recep Orhan Özel (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2017), 252.; Serin, *Kibletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Musahaf-ı Şerîf*, 64-66.

¹⁴ Serin, *Kibletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Musahaf-ı Şerîf*, 58.



Figure 1: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif* - *Topkapı*, 115a.

As can be seen in the figure, the pages are not designed verse-by-verse in the *Muşhaf*. In other words, pages do not have to start with the beginning of the verse and end with the end of the verse. Likewise, juzs/parts do not have to start at the beginning of the page. For example, the expression “يعتذرون اليكم” in the above given image, which is the beginning of the eleventh juz, is located in the middle of the fifth line of the page.

The facsimile edition of the *Muşhaf* was made by the Turkish Manuscripts Association in 2016 and made available for access and use by those concerned. In this edition, an introductory book was also published along with the *Muşhaf*, in which the life of Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi was discussed in detail and the *Muşhaf*, especially its artistic aspects, was introduced in detail. However, this booklet printed with the *Muşhaf* does not include analysis of the *Muşhaf* in terms of the transformations occurred in the history of the *Muşhaf*, which are the subject of our article. As just mentioned, it has been stated that this writing style (naskh) was

used as *Muşhaf script* after Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi.¹⁵ In this respect, we hope that the present study will be able to fill an important gap in the history of the Muşhaf related to the work in subject.

2.2. Introduction of the Muşhaf Preserved in Ankara Ethnography Museum

The Muşhaf is preserved in the Ankara Ethnography Museum. The date of writing was not recorded in the ketebe record of the work, only the name of the calligrapher was written. The size of the Muşhaf is 14 x 20.8 x 3.7 cm. The pages of the Muşhaf, which consists of 368 leaves, that is, 736 pages, are designed as 13 lines. Page numbers are not written on the pages. The leaf numbers are probably not recorded because they do not exist in the original copy. This situation makes it difficult to cite pages of the work when intended to be given as examples.¹⁶

At the beginning of the facsimile manuscript we have at our disposal, it is stated that this manuscript was purchased by the Ministry of Culture from the auction held by London Sotheby's on 26.4.1990 and delivered to Ankara Ethnography Museum.¹⁷ This record also contains the following information about the work:

"The most important feature of the Muşhaf, which is mentioned, is that it was repaired in the 19th century, similar to the books in the "Treasury of Trust" in the Sacred Trust Department of the palace. It can be said that the work was most likely in the Palace collection in the late 19th century; the leather binding appears to have been renewed in the early 18th century; it is understood from the colors used, color compositions, motifs and other stylistic features that the illuminations on its zahriyah, serlevha, surah heads and roses were made in the first half of the 16th century, probably after 1540."¹⁸

The Muşhaf was written in naskh script and according to Asim recitation. At the end of the Muşhaf, there is a spelling/writing record, followed by the khatim prayer, hilye-i şerîf and salavât-ı şerîf.

¹⁵ Serin, *Kibletü'l-Küttâb Şeyh Hamdullah ve Yazdığı Musahaf-ı Şerîf*, 64.

¹⁶ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 5a, 8b.

¹⁷ See: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, note in zahriye page.

¹⁸ See: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, note in zahriye page.



Figure 2: Hamdullah, *Muṣḥaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 13b.

As can be seen in the figure, the pages of the *Muṣḥaf* are not designed verse by verse. Just as the pages in the *Muṣḥaf* do not have to start with the beginning of the verse and end with the end of the verse, the parts do not have to start at the beginning of the page. On the page in the image presented as an example, the expression “سيقول السفهاء”, which is the beginning of the second juz', is located at the beginning of the ninth line.

A facsimile edition of the *Muṣḥaf* was made by the Ministry of Culture in 1991 and made available to those concerned. In the annotation of the edition, the explanation “Since the idea of preserving the originality of the work is taken as a basis, this Qur'an is presented to the attention of those who are interested in the art of calligraphy rather than readers.” is included.¹⁹ In the printing, a 45-page true-false table prepared by the

¹⁹ Hamdullah, *Muṣḥaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, note in zahriye page.

Presidency of Religious Affairs' Muşhaf Examination Board was added at the end of the Muşhaf.²⁰

2.3. Analysis of Both Muşhafs in Terms of Transformations in The History of The Muşhafs

Under this chapter, it will be tried to determine and evaluate whether the transformations in the history of the Muşhaf, which are mentioned in 8 items in the introduction, are included in these two Muşhafs or not. Since both Muşhafs were written before 1520, we can say that the first six of the eight items mentioned above have completed their development phase in the history of Muşhaf writing by this date. For this reason, these two Muşhafs, which we have examined, are expected to have the relevant level of development, at least. In addition, we can say that the transformations that took place after this date cannot naturally be included in these two Muşhafs. Sample pages or sections from these pages will be given right above the relevant analysis so that the reader can see the analysis we will make below. At each stage of this title, firstly the Hamdullah's first Muşhaf, then the Hamdullah's second Muşhaf will be examined, and in this examination, the pages containing the same verses of both Muşhafs will be taken into consideration as much as possible. At the end of the research, the similarities or differences in the Muşhaf writing technique between the two Muşhafs will be presented together in a table.

²⁰ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 1-45.

2.3.1. Addition of Diacritics Expressing Vowels (Harakāt) to the Muşḥaf; Adding the Skeleton Dots that Distinguish the Letters to the Muşḥaf; Determination of Today's Vowel Diacritics (Harakāt); Addition of the hamzah sign (ء) to the Muşḥaf

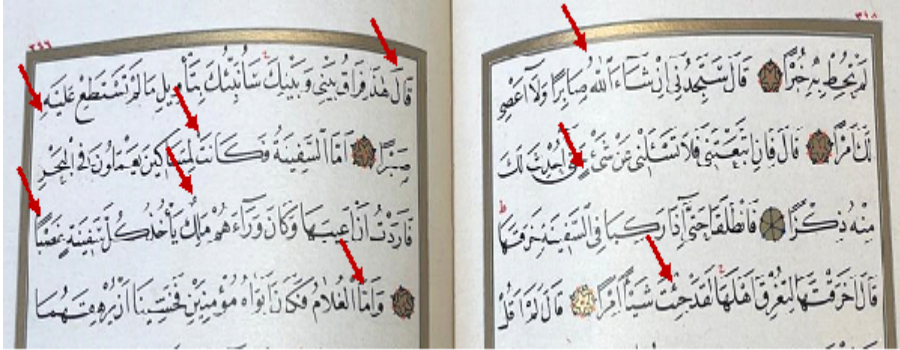


Figure 3: Spelling of harakah, shaddah, jazm and hamzah. (A section from Hamdullah, *Muşḥaf-ı Şerîf - Topkapı*, 173b (right) and 174a (left)).

In figure 3, in the section taken from the Hamdullah's first Muşḥaf, it is seen that there are no dots used to show the vowel points of the letters, developed by al-Dualî; instead, it is seen that the vowel points symbols in the form of (———— ُ fathah, kasrah, dammah, jazm and shaddah) and hamzah (ء), which were determined by Halil b. Ahmad and are still in use today, are included. In addition, in the section quoted above, it can be clearly seen that the dots, which are invented by Nasr b. Asim to distinguish the letters from each other, are used exactly with the same form.

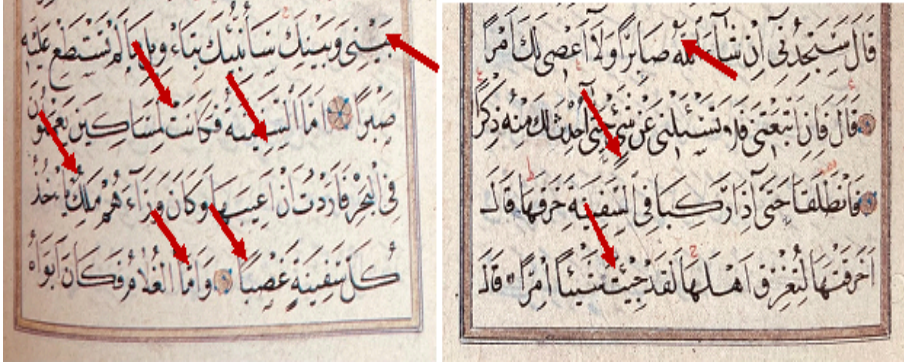


Figure 4: Spelling of harakah, shaddah, jazm and hamzah. (A section from Hamdullah, *Muṣḥaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 175a (right) and 175b (left).)

The figure 4 is a section from the Hamdullah's second Muṣḥaf. When the cross-section is examined, it is seen that the same technique used in the Hamdullah's first Muṣḥaf was used in activating and punctuating the letters. In this case, the points used to distinguish the letters of both Muṣḥafs are those invented by Nasr b. Asim, and he used the diacritics, which indicate the vowels, invented by Halil b. Ahmad.

2.3.2. Addition of Stop Signs to the Muşhaf by Muhammad b. Tayfûr al-Sajāwandî (d. 560/1165)

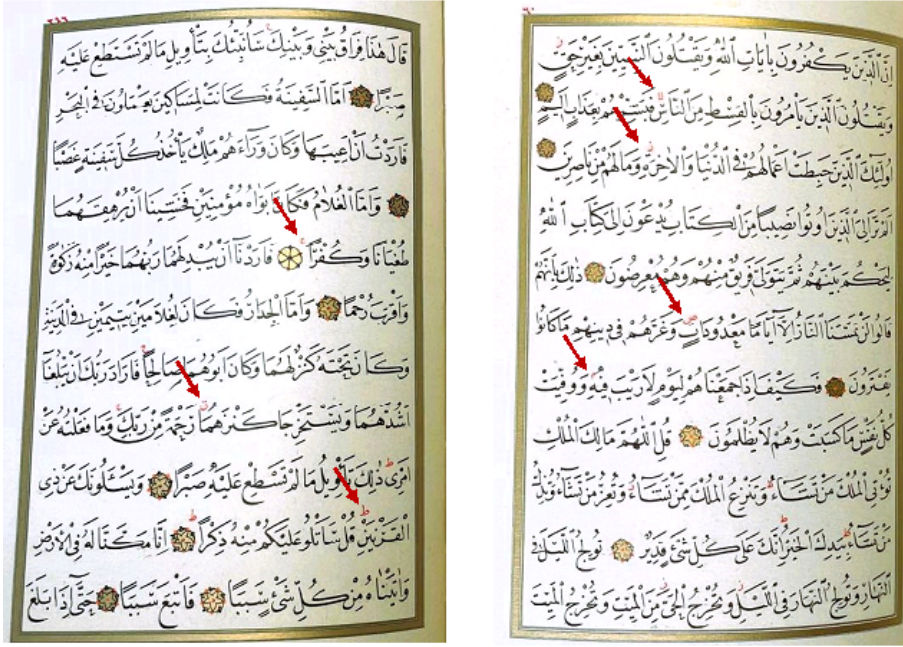


Figure 5: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf* - Topkapı, 174a (left); 31a (right).



Figure 6: Hamdullah, *Muṣḥaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 176a (left); 32a (right).

When the leaves in figure 5 are examined, it is seen that all the stop signs (لا، ص، ز، ج، ط، م symbols) improved by Muhammad b. Tayfûr al-Sajāwandī²¹ were used in the Hamdullah's first *Muṣḥaf*. In addition, although it was not improved by Sajāwandī, the stop sign ق, which was developed after him and is named after him, was also used. In the *Muṣḥaf*, the normally dotted signs/diacritical dots are sometimes written with dots and sometimes without dots. In fact, using letters, which should have dots, without dots in manuscripts is considered a normal practice and this situation is frequently encountered. For example, in this *Muṣḥaf*, the letter

²¹ Muhammad b. Tayfur al-Sajawandī, *İlêl al-Vukûf* this title is half in Turkish and half in English, and not just this title but also some others. Please take care while writing/romanising the title of the sources and follow the same pattern all in your article (Riyad: Mektebet al-Ruṣd, 2006). For a notable doctoral thesis on the subject, see: Recep Koyuncu, *Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'in Anlaşılmasında Vakf İbtidâ'nın Rolü (İbnü'l-Enbârî, ed-Dânî ve es-Secâvendî Örneği)* (Konya: Necmettin Erbakan University, Institute of Social Sciences, PhD dissertation, 2015).

ق is dotted on leaves 238a, 277b and 352a; It is written without dots on pages 238a and 351b.²²

When the leaves in figure 6 are examined, it is seen that all the stop signs (لا, ص, ز, ج, ط, م, symbols) improved by al-Sajāwandī were used in the Hamdullah's second Muşhaf, just as they were used in his first Muşhaf. In addition to these, there are also stop signs “ق, ع, ق, وقف/قف, وصل/صل” in his second Muşhaf.²³

In addition, although there is no stop sign in the Hamdullah's first Muşhaf, symbols indicating some tajweed rules such as qasr²⁴ (قصر) and transition nun (geçiş nûnu) with kasrah²⁵ (ن) were also used and these were written in red ink. However, symbols indicating some other tajweed rules such as sakt²⁶ (سكت), ishmâm²⁷ (إشمام), imâla²⁸ (إمالة) and tasheel²⁹ (تسهيل), which are included in the Muşhafs published today by the Presidency of Religious Affairs, were not used in both Muşhafs.

²² These leaves are given as examples. Otherwise, there are similar writing examples not only in these leaves but also in many other places.

²³ For sample places where the ع symbol is used, see: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 78a, 105b, etc; for example places where the قف symbol is used, see: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 30a, 117a, etc; for example places where the وصل symbol is used, see: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 72a, 130a, etc. (In these pages, this sign is used together with other stop signs).

²⁴ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 14a.

²⁵ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 17a.

²⁶ There are 4 sakta places in the Qur'an. Firstly, “عَوَجًا - قَيْمًا” between the last word of the first verse of the Surat al-Kahf and the first word of the second verse; the second one is in the word “مِنْ مَرْقَدًا - هَذَا” in the 52nd verse of surat Yâ Sîn; the third one is on the word “مَنْ” in the word “وَقِيلَ مَنْ - رَاقٍ” in the 27th verse of the surat al-Qiyamah; the fourth one is on “كَذَّابٌ - رَانَ” in the 14th verse of surat al-Mutaffifin. In this Muşhaf, there is no symbol or rose/medallion on the page side/footnote to indicate sakta in any of them. While there is a stop sign م in place of the sakta in Surat Yâ Sîn and ط in the place of the sakta in Surat al-Kahf, there is no stop sign in other places. See: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf-Topkapı*, 168-b, 260b, 350b ve 358b.

²⁷ Yûsuf 12/11. See: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf-Topkapı*, 135a; Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 136b.

²⁸ Hûd 11/41. See: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf-Topkapı*, 129a; Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 130b.

²⁹ Fussilet 41/44. See: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf-Topkapı*, 284b. Another name of the surah is *Hâ mîm al-Sajdah*. Because, among the surahs starting with “Hâ mîm”, only this surah contains the verse of prostration. (See: Emin Işık, “Fussilet Süresi”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1996), 13/228.) In this Muşhaf, the name of the surah is recorded only as Sajdah. See: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf-Topkapı*, 281b.

2.3.3. Innovations in Calligraphy and Illumination / 10th Century under the Leadership of Ibn al-Bawwâb

When the Muşhaf was examined, it was seen that the innovations in calligraphy and illumination pioneered by Ibn al-Bawwâb were also present in these two Muşhafs. Naskh script was used in both Muşhafs. It has been observed that the script and illumination in the Hamdullah's first Muşhaf are more meticulous and organized than the script and illumination in the other Muşhaf. So much so that, while there is no recorded phrase/expression in the footnotes/hâmish of any page in Hamdullah's first Muşhaf indicating the things that were forgotten on the relevant page, it was determined that some phrases that were forgotten/skipped in the text of the Qur'an were added on footnotes of some pages³⁰ in Hamdullah's second Muşhaf. In Hamdullah's second Muşhaf, it can sometimes be seen that even the verse intervals/fâsilahs are placed on the side of the page,³¹ which in our opinion confirms that this Muşhaf was not written as measuredly and carefully as the other one. On the other hand, there are some words that are misspelled in both Muşhafs. In Hamdullah's second Muşhaf, these errors and their corrected versions were added in a table at the end of the facsimile edition of the Muşhaf. The errors identified in the Hamdullah's first Muşhaf and their corrected versions have been added in the form of a table at the end of the introductory booklet about the Muşhaf, which was published together with the facsimile of the Muşhaf. In addition, it is specifically stated in the booklet that a standard has been achieved in the Muşhaf script with Hamdullah's first Muşhaf. In this respect, Hamdullah's contribution to the transformations in the history of the Muşhaf should be added to the relevant items mentioned above in introduction section.

³⁰ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 24a.

³¹ Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerîf - Tıpkı Basım*, 166a.

2.3.4. Adding Verse Numbers to the Muşhaf by Abraham Hinckellmann (1694)

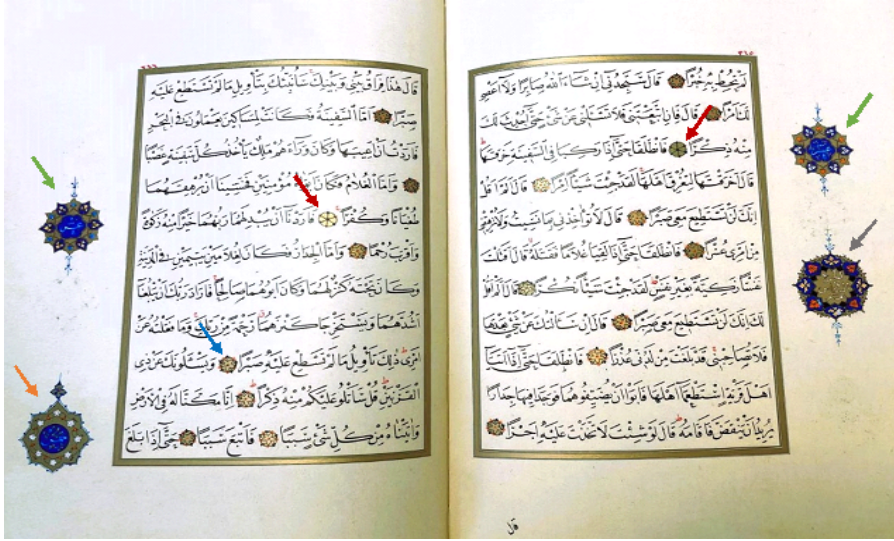


Figure 7: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif* - *Tıpkı Basım*, 173b, 174a.



Figure 8: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif* - *Tıpkı Basım*, 248b, 249a.

In the history of the Qur'an, the first person who wrote the numbers of all the verses on the Muşhaf was the German orientalist Abraham Hinckelmann. He carried out this process by using Latin numerals³² in the Muşhaf he printed in Hamburg in 1694.³³ When the pages in the figures of both Muşhafs were examined, it was seen that the intervals/fâsilahs separating the verses in the Muşhafs were in the form of flowers/roses, but the numbers of the verses were not written inside of these intervals. On the other hand, it has been determined that the roses used in the intervals in Hamdullah's first Muşhaf have two different forms. When counted carefully, the interval used in every ten verses is shown in the form signified by the red arrow in figure 7; it has been determined that it has the form indicated by the blue arrow at the end of the other verses. This practice is essentially the preferred method in most Qur'anic manuscripts. A similar situation exists in Hamdullah's second Muşhaf. Here, we encounter two different interstitial rose forms. Of these, the form shown with the red arrow in figure 8 is used after every ten verses; but the form shown with the blue arrow is used at the end of the other verses.

³² For detailed information and findings on the subject see: Hasan Yücel, "Ayet Numaralarının Muşhafa Ekleniş Amacı Üzerine", *Dini Araştırmalar* 24/61 (Aralık 2021).

³³ Abraham Hinckelmann, *Al-Coranus Muhammedis* (Hamburg: Ex Officina Schultzio-Schilleriana, 1964).

2.3.5. Division of the Muşhaf:³⁴



Figure 9: Separation of Surahs Luqman and Sajdah. (Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif-Topkapı*, 242b (left); Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif - Tıpkı Basım*, (right).)



Figure 10: Surah Fatiha and the first 4 verses of Surah Baqarah. (Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif - Topkapı*, 1b, 2a.)

³⁴ We would like to state that since we cannot give a single date for the division of the Muşhaf, we find it necessary to add this title here as a separate title.

What we mean by the expression 'division of the Muṣḥaf' in the title is the division of the Qur'anic text into surahs/chapters, juzs, hizbs, verse groups and each verse independently. First of all, it is known that in the Muṣḥafs prepared by Abu Bakr and Uthman, there was a surah distinction and the surahs were separated from each other by using Basmalah. On the other hand, it is known that the verses were not separated by any signs and were written consecutively. It is said that the use of interval-type signs to separate the verses one by one was initiated by Yahya b. Ya'mar (d. 89/708) in the first century of hijri, after al-Dualī's effort to show vowels. So much so that such signs can be seen in some of the Muṣḥafs that have come down to us and are thought to belong to the first century of hijri. Verse numbers are not written in the first place in such signs called intervals. After a while, words or symbols indicating numbers began to be written, such as خمسة after every five verses and عشر after every ten verses.³⁵ As mentioned above, the process of writing all the verse numbers on the Muṣḥaf was carried out by Hinckellmann for the first time in 1694. Muslims, on the other hand, began to write the exact verse numbers in the Muṣḥaf known as al-Muṣḥaf al-Amīrī , which was first published in 1924 in Egypt.

When examined from beginning to the end, it was determined that both Muṣḥafs have the same surah distinction as in the period of the companions and that the order of the surahs is compatible with the Muṣḥaf of Uthman, that is, the Imam Muṣḥaf. The surahs are separated from each other by an illuminated section on which the names of the surahs and the number of verses of the surah are written, as seen in figure 9. In both Muṣḥafs, along with these sections at the beginning of the surahs, juz,³⁶ hizb,³⁷ ta'shir³⁸ and prostration roses were used in footnotes of the relevant pages. In addition to these, Hamdullah's first Muṣḥaf also

³⁵ For detailed information see: Ebû Bekr Abdullah b. Süleyman b. Eş'as İbn Ebû Davud, *Kitâbu'l-Mesâhif* (Kahire: Matbaatu'r-Rahmaniyye, 1936); Mehmet Emin Maşalı, *Kur'ân'ın Metin Yapısı: Muṣḥaf Tarihi ve İmlası* (Ankara: Otto Yayıncılık, 2015), 284-299.

³⁶ It is the juz' rose shown with the gray arrow in figure 7. These roses are also called medallions.

³⁷ It is the hizb rose shown with the orange arrow in figure 8.

³⁸ The one shown with the green arrow in figure 7 is the ta'shir rose.

contains the takhmis³⁹ rose after every five verses, which is not found in Hamdullah's second Muşhaf.



Figure 11: Hamdullah, *Muşhaf-ı Şerif* - *Tıpkı Basım*, 1b, 2a.

Unlike the other surah titles in Hamdullah's first Muşhaf, as seen in the figure above, the name of the surah is recorded in the section above *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, and the number of verses and where it was sent down are recorded with the phrase *Meccan* in the section below it. Apart from this, it is not written where any of other surahs was revealed. Similarly, in Hamdullah's second Muşhaf, only the places where the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* and *al-Baqarah* were revealed are recorded in the bottom margin. However, in our opinion, the *Sūrat al-Baqarah*, which is known as *Medinan*, was mistakenly noted as *Meccan* in this Muşhaf.

When figures 10 and 11 are examined, it is seen that *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* in the Hamdullah's first Muşhaf is divided into 7 verses. However, unlike in the Muşhafs printed by the Presidency of Religious Affairs, in this Muşhaf the basmalah is not accepted as the first verse. Instead, the last verse was divided into two parts, and the number of verses of the surah, whose verse numbers are seven by consensus, reached seven in this way.⁴⁰

³⁹ It is the hams rose shown with the orange arrow in figure 7.

⁴⁰ Emin Işık, "Fātiḥa Sūresi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995), 12/253.

In Hamdullah's second Muṣḥaf, a fâsilah/interval is placed at the end of the basmalah. This indicates that it is considered as a verse. However, since the last verse is divided into two parts, the surah appears as eight verses in this Muṣḥaf. Since the Sūrat al-Fātiḥah has 7 verses by consensus, and if the other Muṣḥaf, which is observed to be prepared by the calligrapher more carefully, is taken into consideration, it can be said that the interval placed on the border of the Basmalah in this Muṣḥaf is a mistake.

At this stage of our article, just before moving on to the conclusion section, we would like to present both of the Hamdullah's Muṣḥafs in a wholistic way by means of a table in order to see comparatively the features of the Muṣḥaf writing techniques that we have identified in both Muṣḥafs within the framework of our examinations.

Comparative Similarity-Difference Table			
Feature		The Hamdullah's first Muṣḥaf	The Hamdullah's second Muṣḥaf
Skeleton dots to distinguish letters from each other		+	+
Vowel points; fathah, kasrah, dammah, jazm and shaddah ()		+	+
Sajawand Signs	لا	+	+
	م	+	+
	ط	+	+
	ج	+	+
	ز	+	+
	ص	+	+
	وقف/قف	-	+
	وصل/اصل	-	+
	ق	+	+
	ع	-	+
Kasr/shortening sign (فصر)		+	-

The transitional nun with kasrah (نْ)	+	-
Saktah/standstill sign (سكت)	-	-
Ishmam sign (إشمام)	-	-
Imala sign (إمالة)	-	-
Tashieel sign (تسهيل)	-	-
Script	Naskh	Naskh
Surah Sections/Separators	+	+
Juz' Rozes	+	+
Hizb Rozes	+	+
Ta'shir Rozes	+	+
Takhmis Rozes	+	-
Prostration Rozes	+	+
Interval/fâsilah	+	+
Verse Numbers	-	-
Writing Date	909	?

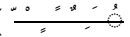
Table: Comparative Similarity-Difference Table

Conclusion

In the study, the Muşhaf that Sheikh Hamdullah Efendi compiled specifically for Sultan Bayezid II in 909 and another Muşhaf of his, which is preserved in the Ankara Ethnography Museum, whose writing date is unknown, are examined in terms of transformation, change or developments in the history of the Muşhaf.

Considering the dates in which they were written (at least the date of the calligrapher's death, 1520 A.D.), as initially envisaged, both Muşhafs bear the qualities required by the transformations in the Muşhaf history that have been completed up to this date. In other words, it was observed that both Muşhafs had the level of technical development expected for a Muşhaf written at that time. In this context, the following technical issues regarding both Muşhafs were identified:

1. In both Muşhafs, the letters have dots determined by Nasr b. Asim, that is, the dots used to distinguish the letters from each other were used.

2. In both Muşhafs, the diacritics that indicate the vowels (, fathah, kasrah, dammah, jazm and shaddah), which were improved by Halil b. Ahmad, were used. This practice continues to be taken as basis in today's Muşhafs.

3. In both Muşhafs, the hamzah sign (ء) that Halil b. Ahmad added to the Muşhaf writing style was used.

4. The preferred script in both Muşhafs is the naskh script. In the Ottoman Empire, this script has been accepted as the Muşhaf script since Sheikh Hamdullah. In this respect, it can easily be said that these Muşhafs have led to an important development in terms of script in the history of Muşhafs.

5. In both Muşhafs, the same division style that was used until that date is included. Accordingly, both Muşhafs are divided into surahs, juzs and hizbs. In addition, the verses are designed to show groups of ten, by means of the two separate rose forms used at the end of the verses.

6. In both Muşhafs, the verse numbers are not written within the intervals placed after the verses. The interior of the intervals has a rose form.

7. All the stop signs (لا، ز، ص، ج، ط، م) improved by al-Sajawandî were used in both Muşhafs. In addition, while the stop sign ق is used in both Muşhafs, the signs “وقف” and “وصل” are used in Hamdullah's second Muşhaf, unlike his first Muşhaf.

8. Surah titles, juz', hizb, ta'shir and prostration roses are used in both Muşhafs. However, unlike Hamdullah's second Muşhaf, there is also a takhmis rose in his first Muşhaf.

Based on the findings mentioned above, it can be said that Sheikh Hamdullah wrote the Muşhaf by taking into account the transformations that took place in the history of the Muşhaf until his lifetime, and that he even had a Muşhaf writing technique that took him one step further in this field, especially in script. In both Muşhafs examined, Sheikh Hamdullah used different stop signs from time to time in the same places; moreover, he added new stop signs or preferred to use fewer stop signs -for it is not known which Muşhaf he wrote first. All these can be evaluated as an indication that he was trying to improve his own writing techniques of Muşhaf.

As a result, we would like to express our hope that the technical findings obtained and the evaluations made based on Sheikh Hamdullah's two different Muşhafs lead to the conclusion that this article, which tries to examine the relevant Muşhafs in terms of technical transformations and developments in Muşhaf history, will open a new field of research in the Muşhaf history with the new analysis method it offers on Muşhaf.

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